The article is devoted to the theoretical reconstruction of the of the conceptual version of postsecular religiosity. All the theories claim that the traditional religion can survive today through cover-up it’s religious identity. This is accompanied by the marginalization of religious organizations and an increase in the influence of religion at the level of individual interest. Theological analysis is limited mainly by negative characteristics when describing post-secular religiosity: the devaluation of transcendence and the rejection of dualism (Daniel Hervier-Leger), the absence of doctrinal boundaries (Thomas Luckmann), the weakening of the ideological core of the doctrine (Roberto Cipriani). The author argues that post-secular religion is an implicit ideology in terms of the way it functions. In the late XX - early XXI century, a number of researchers (U. Eco, S. Zizek, G. Marcuse and others) noted that the imaginary post-ideology of modern society is associated with the formation of a specific type of ideology, which can be designated as "implicit". The post-Christian secular world is also "implicitly" religious. The author reveals the commonality of the processes taking place in the field of religion with the characteristics of the "post-ideological" world and concludes that the religiosity of the post-secular society is most productive to study precisely as part of an implicit ideology.

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Since the middle of the twentieth century, researchers dealing with the problems of religion have increasingly begun to use the concept "post-secular". Its popularization is associated with the name of J. Habermas [1]. The concept of the postsecular is usually associated with two aspects. On the one hand, this is a certain moral legitimation of religious fundamentalism, which looks like a defense of the rights of religion against the atheism and agnosticism of the Western world (religious "minority" in the secular "majority"

Key words: secularism, post-secular, diffuse religion, religion of values, invisible religion, implicit ideology.

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POSTSECULAR RELIGIOSITY AND ITS CONCEPTUAL VERSIONS:
FROM "INVISIBLE RELIGION" TO "RELIGION WITHOUT ESSENCE"


The article is devoted to the theoretical reconstruction of the of the conceptual version of postsecular religiosity. All the theories claim that the traditional religion can survive today through cover-up it’s religious identity. This is accompanied by the marginalization of religious organizations and an increase in the influence of religion at the level of individual interest. Theological analysis is limited mainly by negative characteristics when describing post-secular religiosity: the devaluation of transcendence and the rejection of dualism (Daniel Hervier-Leger), the absence of doctrinal boundaries (Thomas Luckmann), the weakening of the ideological core of the doctrine (Roberto Cipriani). The author argues that post-secular religion is an implicit ideology in terms of the way it functions. In the late XX - early XXI century, a number of researchers (U. Eco, S. Zizek, G. Marcuse and others) noted that the imaginary post-ideology of modern society is associated with the formation of a specific type of ideology, which can be designated as "implicit". The post-Christian secular world is also "implicitly" religious. The author reveals the commonality of the processes taking place in the field of religion with the characteristics of the "post-ideological" world and concludes that the religiosity of the post-secular society is most productive to study precisely as part of an implicit ideology.

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Another aspect is associated with the awareness of the fact that the loss of the monopoly of institutional religiosity on the sacred leads to a seemingly paradoxical effect - an increase in the potential for the influence of religion on society. The latter is due to new forms of functioning of post-secular religiosity.

These new forms of functioning have not yet received a systematic understanding in the research literature. O. Spengler noted that a myth stands at the origins of culture; at the time of the decline of culture, a return to myth is inevitable. With the growth of non-institutionalized religiosity, P. Sorokin linked the transition from a sensual type of culture to an idealistic one. T. Lukman used the concept of "invisible religion" to designate the essence of the modern religious situation. M. Eliade and A. Toynbee pointed out the importance of the role of non-traditional religiosity of the Eastern type in modern Western culture. "New paganism" (V. Krutous), remythologization, new archaism, "new sectarianism" (MN Epstein), "factitious sectarianism" (T. Olenich), "quasi-religion" (M. Brinkerhof and J. Jacob), "Faith without belonging" (G. Davey), "patchwork belief" (D. Ervier-Leger), "secularized esotericism" (W. Hanegraafairmin), pseudo-religion (J. Wach), "cult environment" (K. Campbell) - far from a complete list of those concepts that are used to describe the essence of post-secular religiosity. It is often viewed as part of the ideology of consumption (Z. Bauman) or one of the aspects of postmodern sensibility. In the latter case, the emphasis is on rejecting transcendence, giving value to this-worldly meanings (S. Hunt, M. McGuire, V. Velancourt).

Despite the diversity of definitions, there is the main idea: the recognition of the fact that the marginalization of religious organizations is accompanied by the degeneration of religion and an increase in its influence at the level of individual interest. It turns out a paradox: the spread of religiosity increase in its influence at the level of individual interest is due to new forms of functioning of post-secular religiosity. This term means that, despite the marginalization of church religion, its inherent traditional religions, and at the same time significantly radicalized them, thanks to which today it becomes the main representative of implicit religiosity [3, p. 166]. Thus, the tendency associated with the search for authenticity, which is given in personal experience, experience, functions within the New Age as a statement of truth-in-itself. As a result, the main religious goal is individual self-improvement, and the ideal is complete self-realization of the individual. Logically, the absolute individual conditioning of religious experience makes doctrinal systems, dogmas that offer ready-made formulas for understanding reality superfluous. When the truth received from others is rejected, it turns out that a person himself chooses whom to call God, and the choices turn out to be potentially inexhaustible.

Another consequence of considering individual experience as the main criterion of authenticity is the complete devaluation of transcendence in the modern type of religiosity. In the New Age, this trend is realized in the concept of salvation in this world (this-worldly salvation), which presupposes a monistic vision of reality. In the spirit of postmodernism, the New Age proclaims "the rejection of all dualisms." Thus, the mutation of individualism passes into the ontological channel, pouring out into pantheism and rejecting the transcendent. The consequence of the transfer of transcendence to the profane sphere is the convergence of religion and science. Power over nature acquires a sacred meaning, it is achieved through the implementation of physical and mental abilities. Therefore, paranormal phenomena are of such importance for post-secular religiosity: out-of-body experiments, travel to "past lives", communication with spirits and aliens are considered as not contradicting science, as a manifestation of power over the world, obtained through self-realization. [3, c.165-166]

Individualism makes membership in a religious organization secondary (if not meaningless) and actualizes the question of what type of religion is capable of existing in these conditions. To describe the functioning of individual religiosity, D. Hervier-Leger uses the concepts of "belief without belonging" and "free-floating believers" [3, p. 167]. "Belief without belonging" occurs when a person who does not belong to a religious organization identifies himself as belonging to a particular religion. The linguistic formulas of such a religious self-identification are "spiritually I feel like a Christian, but I don't belong to any confession", "I feel close to Buddhism". To become a "free-floating believer", one does not need to belong to a group, it is enough to read certain literature, visit thematic Internet sites. Participants in one movement "recognize" each other, although they are not institutionally related to each other. This method corresponds to the type of New Age distribution. It is a religion in the sense of a common vision of reality, which falls under the concept of "ideology".

R. Kipriani uses the concept of "scattered religion" ("religion of meanings") to describe the functioning of post-secular religiosity. This term means that, despite the marginalization of church religion, its inherent
values operate at the level of legitimation of actions laid down by the previous centuries of the dominance of the religious worldview. Therefore, another name used by R. Kipriani for this type of religiosity is "religion of meanings" [4, p. 292-294]. The presence of "scattered religion" is clearly visible in non-ecclesiastical forms, especially in the area of ethics and politics.

R. Kipriani notes that the religion of meanings is becoming the dominant form of post-secular religiosity, becoming a kind of "antidote" to secularization, a compromise between secularization and religion [4, p.301]. However, her research is associated with a number of difficulties due to the same "scattered" nature of religion, its vague, indefinite doctrinal outlines, which are difficult to empirically define. Because of this, the task of identifying a scattered religion, identifying features that would allow it to be recognized as a phenomenon, acquires special significance.

R. Kipriani names the following features. First, it is not an authoritarian nature (which is a logical consequence of out-of-institutionality), which naturally leads to openess to options for religious self-identification, religious and moral pluralism. Secondly, a decrease in the originality of religious content, leading to a weakening of the ideological core of the doctrine and negligence in relation to theological, doctrinal and confessional boundaries. R. Kipriani also calls "surrender of demands" or less orthodoxy. Non-authoritarianism is paradoxically combined with the passivity of the bearers of this type of religiosity - the "scattered" nature of the latter leads to inertia, even automatism, in accepting this form of religious identification. Subjects of "scattered religion" are not inclined to enter into conflicts in the name of their "ideal referents", do not dispute other points of view. The next characteristic is dynamism (which is both a feature and one of the reasons for the lack of clear characteristics). Finally, religion functions primarily as a way of transmitting and disseminating values, a means of dispersing meanings, it is a religion of meanings, and not a religion of rituals and beliefs. [5]

One of the first who tried to describe features of the existence of religion in the "secular world" was T. Luckmann. The result was the emergence of the concept of "invisible religion" [6]. This term is associated with T. Luckmann's attempts to break the deadlock of the classical sociology of religion. The methodological framework of research in the latter suggests that religion becomes a social fact either as an institutionalization of ritual or as doctrinal ideas. Such a framework leads to the identification of religion with the church, and they also lead the post-secular sociology of religion to a dead end, since the existing forms of religiosity are not considered as a subject of research. T. Luckman understands invisible religion as "an institutionally non-specialized social form of religion that arises when church religion disintegrates" [7, p. 389]. Other names used by T. Luckmann for this type of religiosity are individual religion, private religion.

To describe the way the invisible religion functions, T. Luckmann addresses the problem of the religious component of any social experience. The objectification of meaning, the constitution of the symbolic universe, presupposes going beyond the biological nature of man - transcending. It always has a religious character. Therefore, any objectification of meaning in society, leading outside the limits of everyday experience, is a religious phenomenon: "religion is rooted in the main anthropological fact: the transcending of the biological nature of man." The worldview, being universal for society and being supra-individual, performs a religious function and is an elementary social form of religion [6, p. 69]. At the same time, worldview constructs are perceived as "natural", taken for granted, that is, they are an implicit form of religiosity [6, p. 53]. Institutional religiosity, in turn, is secondary to this elementary form of individual religion. In this, the position of T. Luckmann is similar to the concept of O. Rosenstock-Huessi, who considers the premises of a person in time and space to be the basis of any social order, which go beyond the capabilities of their senses. Since any social integrity is in relation to an individual person "unnatural", "transcending", it can be considered as religious in the broad sense of the word [8].

The concrete individual, of course, does not build a worldview and does not create sacred universes. He falls into an already existing social order and an existing system of meanings. Humanity as a reality brings human nature beyond itself: an objective view of the world becomes a subjective orientation system. The internalization of implicit religiosity occurs through socialization. The system of absolute meanings forms the basis of subjective priorities and becomes a part of identity. The main mechanism for the objectification of meaning in society (and, therefore, according to the logic of T. Luckmann, the main mechanism for the transmission of invisible religion) is language: "The logic and taxonomy contained in the worldview are stabilized in the syntactic and semantic structures of the language" [6, p. 54], "The internal form of the language (explicit and contextual elements, cryptotypes) - represent a comprehensive model of the world. Together with language, a person assimilates its internal form, "natural" logic and taxonomy of worldview." Through language, the worldview as an elementary social type of religion is assimilated by any member of society. Language is a meaning that is "constantly available" [6, p. 56]. Considering the transcending meaning of language, through it the profane level of reality becomes sacred. In the interpretation of language as a religious phenomenon, one can again note the similarity with the position of O. Rosenstock-Huessi. Believing that any social community is the result of transcending, he also calls language as the main means of its creation [8].

The more clearly the "sacred cosmos" is articulated within the framework of the worldview, the greater the likelihood that the religious ideas internalized by the individual will be formulated clearly, in explicated terms. This is a case of "visible",
ecclesiastical religiosity. Moreover, the process of institutionalization of religion, according to T. Luckman, sooner or later leads to a number of contradictions, the main of which are the following:

1. The discrepancy between the official formulations of absolute meanings and subjective experiences. Specialized religious concepts may cease to function as integrative elements of the subjective system of absolute meanings. This contradiction can reach critical states, since the immutability of dogma ceases to be correlated with the fickleness of subjective religious experience.

2. As a social institution, church religiosity cannot be limited to sacred issues, which inevitably leads to difficulties that are resolved in theology through the concept of “visible and invisible church”.

3. Another source of contradictions is the general process of autonomization of individuals, the liberation of individual consciousness from the social structure. As a result, primary social institutions are losing their influence, and this process concerns not only religion.

4. In the era of globalization, the factor of religious pluralism is added. The struggle between religions to have a monopoly on the constitution of the system of absolute values of society leads to relativization and skepticism about these claims. As a result, this struggle has no winners. The depth of the impact of this factor increases with the speed of social change. [6, p. 76-89]

All these factors together lead to the modern marginalization of church religion, as well as to its so-called “internal” secularization. T. Luckman calls “external” secularization the process by which church religion becomes a marginal phenomenon, is pushed to the periphery. “Internal secularization” is a process by which a teaching that is churchly in the doctrinal sense becomes secular [6, p. 35-36]. For example, when the importance of religious teachings for relieving stress, treating depression is emphasized, if religiosity is perceived as part of a healthy lifestyle, or the doctrine is reduced exclusively to a code of ethics. Common to external and internal secularization is the departure of religious values from the “semantic space” of society.

A complex process in which the consequences of the institutionalization of religion and the global transformation of the social order play a decisive role, leads to the transformation of religion into a private, subjective one. This is not the decline of Christianity, but part of a more revolutionary transformation - the replacement of institutional religiosity with new social forms of religion. Therefore, according to T. Luckman, institutional religiosity cannot serve to assess the state of religion in modern society. This is just one of many forms of religiosity: “Many phenomena of modern church religion get more meaning if we put them on the second, not the first,” [6, p. 101]. The decline of church religiosity is accompanied by the growth of the influence of non-church religion. Invisible religion (sometimes called "pseudo-religion") dominates society in terms of the proliferation of systems of absolute value. Therefore, T. Lukman considers the very concept of secularization to be erroneous, using more often the expression “so-called secularization” [7, p. 72, 76, 90]. Thus, secularization is not the absence of religion, but the presence of a new type of religion. Secularization is a new type of sacralization that has a global character.

Given such a position of religion in modern society, its scientific description encounters methodological difficulties associated precisely with such characteristics as "implicitness", “non-institutionalism”, "non-confessional". T. Luckman, asking about the way of objectification of the "sacred space" in the era of the dominance of invisible religion, dwells on the method of content analysis of popular literature, radio, cinema, television. Its result was the identification of the following features of the invisible religion:

1. It is a "bricolage" of selected values of traditional religious systems, archaic beliefs, former dominant religious ideologies [7].

2. Doctrinal blurring, a tendency to "level out" ideological differences, the unimportance of doctrinal teaching for church members [6, p. 34]. T. Lukman points to the process of "doctrinal alignment" in Protestantism, as well as between Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism. Because of it, dogmatic differences are not essential in relations between denominations.

3. Consumer orientation. Attitude to culture and “sacred space” as a buyer [6, p. 96-98]. If religion is a private matter, then a person can choose from an assortment of “absolute meanings” what he needs, guided by personal preferences.

4. The sacred status of the individual. As an example, T. Luckman considers the “inner man” in the New Age. Self-realization, self-expression become a “lifelong” task that has absolute meaning. Individuality plays a unique role as a source of "absolute" meaning. One of the aspects of self-expression and self-realization is sexuality. [6, p. 109-111]

Thus, the decline of church religiosity is accompanied by an increase in the influence of non-church religion. Invisible religion dominates society in terms of the proliferation of systems of absolute value, and traditional Christian rhetoric survives to the extent that it hides its Christian essence. The revealed features of the invisible religion allow T. Luckman to assert that the modern type of religiosity is an ideology in terms of its mode of functioning. In the absence of institutional, doctrinal, ritual boundaries, the “attitude of people to the conditions of their existence,” which presupposes an appeal to the sacred, comes to the fore.

S. Zizek believes that the new social form of religion is ideology in the absolute sense. Traditional religion fulfills an ideological function. The first criticism of ideology in history S. Zizek calls the Book of Job, in which three theologians present discursive strategies to legitimize suffering, while Job himself presents their refutation [9, p. 163]. Many secular ideologies are mutations of traditional religion, since, on the one hand, they are formed as counter-religions, substitutes for religions, and with the arc, they are associated with global ideological claims. It is significant that the term "ideology" was introduced by
Destitute de Tracy at the beginning of the 19th century, in the era of the intensification of the process of secularization. The term refers to a doctrine of ideas that provides a solid foundation for policy and ethics. Previously, this function was performed by a religious doctrine. In the middle of the 20th century, the American-German philosopher E. Vogelin introduced the concept of "secular mysticism" (intradimensional religion, intradimensional mysticism) to describe "political religions", which was considered an explanatory construct to describe the substitution of ideology for religion [10]. Thus, ideology initially played the role of a secular substitute for religion when the religious type of consciousness changes to a secular one. However, in the modern world, the situation is being radicalized. Post-secular religion becomes an ideology in the full sense of the word.

This is due to the new forms of the functioning of religiosity, which S. Zizek defines as the existence of a religion devoid of essence. Analyzing the new way of being of religious ideas in the era of secularization, S. Zizek draws attention to the fact that the abundance of things devoid of essence is specific to our time: decaf coffee, fat-free cream, non-alcoholic alcohol, virtual sex, war without military losses (Colin Powell), multiculturalism as the experience of the Other, devoid of otherness. It is logical to continue the analogy in relation to more global things: society without society (E. Laclos and C. Mouffe "society does not exist"), politics without politics (J. Baudrillard "political is dead", "emptiness of politics") and, finally, irreligious religion. [9, p.21-23]

The functioning of a non-religious religion is associated by S. Zizek with two aspects. First, it is the process of globalization of religion. Its essence lies in the fact that from the point of view of the specifics of the structure of modern secular society, religion is no longer identified with a certain cultural order. Since religion is not integrated into a particular social order, it is capable of autonomous existence in different cultures. However, religion is related to the deprivation of religiosity of its religious essence. In this case, the essence is understood as a connection with the transcendent, and religion is taken in the Western theistic version. The religiosity of a post-secular society presupposes the reduction of religion to non-religious tasks that have traditionally been secondary to it. This process to some extent resembles the aforementioned "internal secularization" of T. Luckman and is in line with the postmodernist attitude of rejection of the transcendent.

To describe a religion devoid of religious essence, S. Zizek cites a number of phenomena as an example. The first of these he calls "disavowed" or displaced faith. This designates a faith that is held for cultural reasons. It is assumed that we follow a set of norms, rules, values by virtue of tradition and habit, not really believing [9, p.8]. Many researchers pay attention to the transmission of religious traditions in this form. For example, Y. Ryzhov points out the preservation of traditional religions as an ethnocultural phenomenon [11]. T. Lukman also points out that this way of broadcasting is depriving religion of its essence: "What the fathers preach, but do not practice, will be assimilated by the sons as rhetorical systems, and not as a system of absolute meanings" [6, p. 89].

The second phenomenon is called by S. Zizek "the suspended faith". This is a faith that is not recognized, which is "guarded as a kind of obscene secret" [9, p. 7]. S. Zizek's text is not transparent enough to clarify what exactly is meant by this type of faith. Suppose that this describes the departure of religion from the public to the private sphere, when a secular position becomes privileged in a liberal society. In such a society, the believer is doomed to a kind of division into two hypostases: the secular in the public sphere and the religious in the private. Subsequently, criticism of this situation was presented in the works of J. Habermas.

A third example is polytheistic premodern religions suppressed by traditional religiosity. Their implicitness is due to their inclusion in the mythological foundations of culture, in the collective unconscious. E. Bailey also emphasized this type of postsecular religiosity in the concept of implicit religion [12]. Instead of the concept of "religion," he suggests using the "sacred", which allows one to go beyond institutional religiosity to culture as a whole. The use of the concept of "sacred" emphasizes that it is not limited to religion. Religion is "obviously," clearly sacred. But there are many other forms of religiosity that qualify as sacred "implicitly." E. Bailey uses the concept of implicit religion to address the problems of the sacred dimension of culture. Any system of symbols, beliefs provides for a reverent status, a "leap of faith", thanks to which relative principles have the character of absolute standards. If we view culture as a system of values, trusting them requires extra-empirical faith. It is no accident that one of the etymologies of the concept of culture is raised to cult.

As the fourth phenomenon, S. Zizek points to the Jewish heritage, widely understood as a unique experience of meeting a radically Other. This includes the experience of transcendence as a cultural phenomenon, understood as going beyond a certain confessional framework. The Gnostic and mystical tradition of Christianity adjoins the Jewish heritage, which is interpreted not so much as a religious, but as a philosophical and occult phenomenon. Moreover, it is emphasized that a reference to Christianity is permissible today only in this form. [9, c.20]

The fifth non-religious religion is Western Buddhism, understood as a phenomenon of secular pop culture, fully fitting into the ideology of late capitalism [9, p.21-24]. Meditative practices designed to develop an indifferent attitude towards fierce competition are reduced to adaptation to the capitalist system. Religion is reduced to psycho-training.

Summing up the results of the theoretical reconstruction of a number of concepts of post-secular religiosity, the following should be noted. By the way it functions, it differs significantly from traditional religion and is, in essence, an implicit religious ideology. Therefore, it is productive to study it in this...
capacity. Certain features of this ideology are present in any modern manifestation of religiosity.

It is necessary to note the correlation of the processes taking place in the field of religion with the characteristics of the "post-ideological" world. At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, a number of researchers (U. Eco, S. Zizek, G. Marcuse and others) noted that the post-ideology of modern society is associated not so much with the absence of ideology, but with the formation of its specific type, which can be designated as “implicit”. This term covers a wide range of phenomena, ranging from Western-centrism and multiculturalism and ending with the ideology of consumption and transhumanism. They are not interpreted as ideological, being taken for granted as a system of evidence, the norm. The secularized post-Christian world is also “implicitly” religious. It is most productive to study the religiosity of a secular society precisely as part of the general ideological transformations of modern culture.

Religious and sociological analysis reveals some helplessness in describing post-secular religion, limiting itself for the most part to negative characteristics: religion without essence (S. Zizek), faith without belonging (D. Ervieux-Leger), weakening of the ideological core of the doctrine (R. Kipriani), doctrinal blur (T. Lukman). It should also be noted that in the conditions of the implicit functioning of ideology, its meaningful analysis is practically meaningless: it is difficult to analyze in the form of a doctrine, a system of ideas, a list of provisions or a meaningless: it is difficult to analyze in the form of a doctrine, a system of ideas, a list of provisions or a

Bibliography