Ottmar Ette

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A Literary History of Globalization

Translated by Mark W. Person

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In Gratitude
to friends
the world over

I said that the island is closing itself off after the violence of its conquest. I did not say that it is closing itself within its past, that it is becoming a prisoner of memory (*mémoire*). In truth, the island is one of those places where firmly emplaced memory is of quite the least importance. The Antilles, the Mascarenes—but also the Pacific atolls, the archipelagos of the Society Islands and of the Gambiers, Micronesia, Melanesia, Indonesia. They fell victim to such unbearable, horrific violations and crimes that there was nothing left to their inhabitants but to turn their gaze away from these to some point in their history, that they might again learn to live, for otherwise, they would perforce sink into nihilism and despair.
—Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio, *Raga: Approche du continent invisible* (2006, p. 123).

weltweit:
repetition of *welt* in *weit*
with **l** and **i** as the word-for-word minimal
difference. between the graphic continuity of
the whole and unbroken **l** and the relational insularity
of the two dissimilar islands of the **i** an always new and different
programming and prospecting of the world of the future. fractal
discontinuity stored away within the broken **i**, the
world-wide insularium as imaginarium. resist-
ance of the aesthetic against the infinite
continental continuity of no-alt-
ernative no-fantasy wor**l**d-
view: w**i**deview
weltweit

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Compass Rose of Concepts

Globalization, Vectorizations, Literatures of the World: Transareal Studies

Globalization and Literature: Responding to the Dissolution of World Order

Novelist and essayist Amin Maalouf was born in Beirut, but now lives in France, alternating between Paris and the Ile d'Yeu. In *Le dérèglement du monde*, his 2009 analysis of a world gone off course, he demonstrates inexorably the dangers that have pushed humanity at the start of the 21st century to the edge of a precipice. Even in the first few lines, the incipit of this far-reaching essay—the favored German title being *Die Auflösung der Weltordnungen*[1] (*The Dissolution of World Orders*)—the dimensions of Maalouf's reflections may be recognized:

> Without any sort of compass, we have entered the new century.
>
> Even within the first few months, alarming events took place that suggest that the world is undergoing a fundamental dissolution of order which simultaneously affects several fields—spiritual disorder, financial disorder, climatic disorder, geopolitical disorder, ethical disorder.[2]

After this prelude, anyone who might be expecting a deeply pessimistic point of view of a planet and a world society in which everything—consistent with the metaphorical nature of the opening sentence—has gone off the track and is irredeemably *à la dérive*, will find that they are quickly disabused of such an idea in this volume, despite its subtitle speaking of civilizations and cultures exhausting themselves. For Amin Maalouf's essay on *the dissolution of world orders*—and this means something different from "world disorder"[3]—reads in some places like an *indignant* correction of Samuel P. Huntington's book (as well-

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1 C.f. Amin Maalouf: *Die Auflösung der Weltordnungen*. Translated from French by Andrea Spangler. Berlin: Suhrkamp 2010.

2 Amin Maalouf: *Le dérèglement du monde. Quand nos civilisations s'épuisent*. Paris: Bernard Grasset 2009, p. 11. Where not otherwise stated, the translations of passages quoted from the foreign language originals are by the translator (O.E.).

3 C.f. Tzvetan Todorov: *Le nouveau désordre mondial. Réflexions d'un Européen*. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont 2003.

known as it is notorious) that deals with that *Clash of Civilizations*[4] (1996), toward which the antagonistic thought structures of the George W. Bush administration (which still remains very much in the present in terms of its effects, despite having now become history), steered unperturbed and imperturbably, in a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy. In contrast, the Lebanese and French Maalouf attempts either to find or to invent those points of orientation and that compass by which the planetary Ship of Fools might direct itself anew, in terms of an alternative world order.[5]

For Maalouf, unlike Huntington, this is not a matter of an ideology of homogenous cultural blocs gruffly facing off against one another (an ideology that does not stand up to any real theory.) Instead, it is a matter of a sophisticated understanding of the long-continuing process of a globalization whose cultural implications have long been underestimated, and which, during the ongoing financial crisis, are in danger of being eclipsed once more by economic policy debates involving sums in the billions.[6] However—and of this Maalouf's reflections leave no doubt—it is these conflicting cultural dimensions that will fundamentally determine the future of humanity. Removing entire continents from consideration is always merely ostensible: since the first stage of accelerated globalization at the latest, we have been condemned to shared existence on a world-wide scale.[7]

In 1993, Maalouf received the most prestigious of French literary honors, the *Prix Goncourt*, for his novel *Le rocher de Tanios*. It should come as no surprise that the great Lebanon-born writer views cultural dimensions as being critical to the present and future of a human race that ever more seriously threatens itself. An indication of the important, indeed, possibly even fundamental role the author of *Léon l'Africain* allots to literature, however, is clear in light of the motto by William Carlos Williams that precedes the volume. In the compact form of

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4 Samuel P. Huntington: *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World* Order. New York: Simon & Schuster 1996. C.f. the German translation *Der Kampf der Kulturen, Neugestaltung der Weltpolitik im 21. Jahrhundert*. Translated from the American edition by Holger Fliessbach. Munich–Vienna: Europa Verlag 1996

5 For a critical evaluation of such "blueprints of an alternative world order" see Thomas Speckmann: "Eine Welt, die uns gefällt," in *Internationale Politik* (Berlin) LXV, 5 (September–October 2010), p. 132.

6 Aspects of the concept of globalization, first in the nature of economic science and later of social science, were influential to early debates on globalization; c.f. Ulfried Reichardt: *Globalisierung. Literaturen und Kulturen des Globalen*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag 2010, pp. 12–14.

7 C.f. Ottmar Ette: ZusammenLebensWissen. List, Last und Lust literarischer Konvivenz im globalen Maßstab. Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos 2010.

the poem "The Orchestra," it pushes the life-knowledge of literature into view within the sense of a survival-knowledge:

Man has survived hitherto
because he was too ignorant to know
how to realize his wishes.
Now that he can realize them,
he must either change them
or perish.[8]

It is critical, says Maalouf, no longer to view from the perspective of hetero-stereotypes those who, up to now, have been "others", should they appear to present us with ideological, religious, or mass-cultural constructs, but rather, to perceive them "more intimately" with other eyes—with the eyes of many others—from different points of view simultaneously:

> But this can only be achieved through their culture. And above all, through their literature. The intimacy of a people is their literature. Within it, they reveal their passions, their aspirations, their dreams, their frustrations, their matters of faith, their view of the surrounding world, their perceptions of themselves and of others, ourselves included. For when one speaks of "others," one must never lose sight of the fact that we, too, whoever we may be and wherever we may be found, are for all others "the others."[9]

In this assessment of literature and its "intimate" knowledge especially, Maalouf sees the possibility of finding a way out of that sinister age (*ère sinistre*) in the course of which a mass-cultural "inculture" has come to signify authenticity, an attitude that affects the development of democratic structures in the most damaging way, tacitly implying, in paradoxical agreement with a creeping elitism, the view that a complex cultural understanding is reserved for only a small ruling class, while the vastly preponderant "remainder" of the population can be fobbed off or silenced with large baskets of goods, simplistic slogans, and cheap amusements.[10] But here, literature opens new horizons beyond the world of commodities.

For the literature of one like Amin Maalouf indefatigably comes out against such a world of consumable clichés, ever conscious of educing with his own

8 This is an excerpt from the poem "The Orchestra" from *The Desert Music and Other Poems* (1954), in William Carlos Williams: *The Collected Poems of William Carlos Williams*. Vol. II: 1939–1962. Publ. by Christopher McGowan. New York: New Direction Books 1991, pp. 250–252.
9 Amin Maalouf: *Le dérèglement du monde*, p. 206.
10 Ibid. p. 207.

writing a specific knowledge from life and in life.[11] But how might this knowledge of literature be grasped in terms of literary studies? Are literary and cultural studies even prepared to offer countervailing arguments against the role of literature apparently becoming ever more marginalized, and to define new functions for a philology based on the diversity of individual and collective life?

For some years, the question of the specific knowledge of literature has been the flash point of still-current debates in literary studies.[12] This fact is not easily tied in with the trend which is growing ever more apparent in the humanities and in cultural studies that the place of the memoria theme, which has been dominant for the last quarter-century, is being taken over by knowledge problematics—regardless of whether or not one may be speaking here of a paradigm shift significant in terms of historical studies. The question of memoria will, of course, remain on the agenda. But in the coming years it will undoubtedly come down (especially with a view to the dissolution of world order as stated by Amin Maalouf) to the development of views with multiple perspectives, in the combination of which the historical depth of focus opens upon that which is *prospective*, and thus upon the modeling of the future. A redirection of the philologies? Certainly. And it is already in motion.

In the long run, the question of the knowledge of literature—and Amin Maalouf's ruminations also point in this direction—is not the question of the societal, political, and cultural relevance of this knowledge within the current, variously-formed information and (especially) knowledge societies.[13] What, then, does literature want? What can it do? And what can it contribute to meet globalization's challenges to find new, imaginative answers that will lead the way out of the blind alleys of thought?

This volume proceeds from the thesis, from the understanding and the conviction, that there is no better, nor any more complex access to a community, to a society, to an epoch and its cultures, than literature. For over the course of long millennia, it has gathered, from the widest variety of geocultural *areas*, a knowledge of life, of survival, and of living together that specializes in being

11 C. f. Amin Maalouf: "Vivre dans une autre langue, une autre réalité." Entretien avec Ottmar Ette, Ile d'Yeu, 15 Sept. 2007. In *Lendemains* (Tübingen) XXXIII, 129 (2008), pp. 87–101.

12 See also (among others) Jochen Hörisch: *Das Wissen der Literatur*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag 2007; Ralf Klausnitzer: *Literatur und Wissen. Zugänge—Modelle—Analysen*. Berlin–New York: Walter De Gruyter 2008; also Ottmar Ette: *ÜberLebenswissen. Die Aufgabe der Philologie*. Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos 2004.

13 C.f. Manuel Castells: *The Rise of the Network Society, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*. 3 Vol. Malden, MA; Oxford, UK: Blackwell 1996–1998. In German c.f. Manuel Castells: *Das Informationszeitalter*. Opladen: Leske & Budrich 2001.

neither discursively nor disciplinarily specialized, nor specialized as a dispositif of cultural knowledge. Its capacity to impart its knowledge to its readers as experiential knowledge which can be reconstructed step by step, or even more, can be acquired by reliving it, allows literature to reach people and be effectual even over great spatial and temporal distances. Literature—or that which, spanning different times and cultures, may in a broad sense be understood as such—has always distinguished itself by its transareal and transcultural manner of emergence and impact. It consists of many logics and teaches us to think multilogically, *polylogically* (and not monologically). It is the experiment of life, and of life in an experimental state.

In a fundamental, indeed, radical way, literature is, or the literatures of the world are, designed such that they may be laid out in the most widely differing ways so as to span that cosmos of the multiplicity of speech, the coordinates of which have come to stand out far more distinctly in our consciousness since the considerations of Michail Bakhtin.[14] Accordingly, literature is the arena of that which possesses manifold meanings, of the polysemic, insofar as it allows itself to move (indeed even creates the necessity of moving) simultaneously along the most divergent lines of logic. Its fundamental capacity for multiple meanings provokes the development of polylogical structures and methods of structuring which are oriented not toward a single, fixed point of view, but toward the continually changed and renewed movements of understanding and comprehension. For us today, within our current forms of contradictory world-socialization[15], is this not a capacity that is far more valuable than it has been for every generation before us?

Literature brings forth the *mobility* of knowledge, and as the *mobile* (sculpture) of knowledge, sees to it that the most widely varying realms and segments of the knowledge of one, of several, of a great many communities and societies are continuously being experimentally related to one another in new ways. This uninterrupted transfer necessarily contains transformation: the cultural consolidation carried out by literature always implies more than mere integration[16]—

14 C.f. Michael Bakhtin: *Die Ästhetik des Wortes* (*The Aesthetics of the Word*). Published and with an introduction by Rainer Grübel. Translated from the Russian by Rainer Grübel and Sabine Reese. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1979.

15 See also Mathias Albert: *Zur Politik der Weltgesellschaft. Identität und Recht im Kontext internationaler Vergesellschaftung*. Weilerswist: Velbrück Wissenschaft 2002.

16 On the concept of integration and the *histoire croisée*, c.f. Michael Werner / Bénédicte Zimmermann: "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der "Histoire croisée" und der Herausforderung des Transnationalen." In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für historische Sozialwissenschaft* (Göttingen) 28 (2002), pp. 607–636.

and in such a way, opens up margins that oppose an annihilation of culture and of cultures.

Literature is thus a knowledge in motion, whose polylogical structure is vitally significant to survival for the world of the 21st century, the greatest challenge of which may very well be a global coexistence in peace and diversity. For literature allows, within the serious playing out of its variously—whether aesthetically or poetologically—verified experiments, a simultaneous thinking to probe and evolve within differing types of cultural, societal, political, or psychological contexts and logics. Literature coins that which is coming; it models our future—from the traditions of a world consciousness thousands of years old.

Thence comes the prominent significance that it gains on an experimental plane in the shaping of the future under the conditions of globalization. The glaring lack of imagination that characterizes global relations on political and economic, on ideological and religious levels may not be overcome, perhaps, by the experimental imaginative power of literature, but it can certainly be combatted. With its manifold references to life, literature develops its actual life-force: its capacity to take into account things as they are, or as they can be thought to be, but at the same time to transform them such that from the "as they are" and the "as they could have been" a movement, indeed an undertow arises, of "how they must eventually be." In other words: the concentration of life in literature not only creates a life (and thus a history) of literature; rather, it impels, in a process comprising decades, centuries, and millennia, a knowledge of life within life that in the transfer processes of literature transforms life itself—on the individual as well as, clearly, on the collective level.

By no means should we cease to consider the phenomena of globalization from the viewpoint of economics or politics, of finance or jurisprudence, of medicine, history, or geography; we should, however, be mindful of the fact that these viewpoints always provide us at best limited apertures and perspectives, while the literatures of the world make possible for us a complexity of sensory thinking and experiencing—that is neither reductive nor seeks to mask contradiction—of that which makes up the life of and upon our planet, life that is understandable only by multiple logics. Literature's knowledge may be replaced by no other: it is knowledge of life, from life, within life.

Since the *Gilgamesh* epic and the earliest lines of narrative tradition in the *Thousand and one Nights*, the literatures of the world confront the phenomena of the global on levels of both production and reception aesthetics. Accordingly, literature and globalization do not stand in opposition, strange and distant, and in this volume, they must also not be placed in an artificially forced interdependence. They create, rather, a relationship, which in the character of transfer and

transformation—and thus, at the same time, of the greatly differing phenomena of rendering and translation—could not possibly be more intimate. The current dissolution of world order finds in the global consciousness of world literature(s) many answers that depict not simple recipes, but rather *Means of Living* and Means of Survival, to such an extent that they may be understood as imaginative testing grounds of things to come. Always necessary to a new understanding, however, are concepts to render somehow visible that which, though not to be overlooked, is often missed.

What is Globalization?

This work proceeds from the thesis that globalization is not a recent phenomenon, but a long-abiding process extending over several centuries, a process that may be divided into four phases of accelerated globalization, and which ties the early modern era of European historical writing, across the world-wide, variously diverging modern eras, to our present day in the first decades of the 21st century.[17] The differentiation, necessary in light of a number of complex and often contradictory developments, between different phases of *acceleration* should at the same time avoid either dehistoricizing the current phase of globalization, or separating from it a sort of "prehistory"—as does, for instance, Ulfried Reichardt—which is seen to begin with 1492, which "coincided with European expansion," and finally "ended at the beginning of the 20th century."[18] All of these phases of acceleration possess their individual centers and courses of progression, legitimation strategies and global historical consequences, without the understanding of which the following phases of accelerated globalization cannot be adequately understood. In order to grasp the current phase of accelerated globalization, not only historical, but also cultural depth of field is indispensable.

That the concept of "globalization" is of more recent coinage and was able to gain prominence only over the course of the nineties in the previous century

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17 I presented a first sketch of this four-phase model in Ottmar Ette: *Weltbewußtsein. Alexander von Humboldt oder das unvollendete Projekt einer anderen Moderne*. Weilerswist: Velbrück Wissenschaft 2002, pp. 26–27. For a specific historioscientific view see also Jürgen Osterhammel / Nils Petersson: *Geschichte der Globalisierung. Dimensionen, Prozesse, Epochen*. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck 2003.

18 Ulfried Reichardt, *Globalisierung*, p. 29.

is an indisputable fact.[19] Nevertheless, after the turn of the millennium, the emerging insight (that had begun with Alexander von Humboldt, probably the first globalization theorist) that processes of globalization may only be adequately comprehended from a long-term perspective caught on in the cultural sciences. Additionally, each one of the principal phases possesses specific aspects that separate it from earlier or later phases of globalization and make it unmistakable. And yet we will only adequately understand the current fourth phase—and with it, the dissolution of world order, as it is called by Amin Maalouf—when we succeed in comprehending the previous phases in their continuity as well as in their differences. For even still, the present surge in globalization follows, in many respects, the trailblazing and vectorizations that introduced a decisive change of epoch at the end of the 15th century.

The fact that the trailblazing traced here was shaped essentially from out of Europe does not mean that a Eurocentric explanatory model is to be presented in this work. Certainly there were, at the time of the first phase of accelerated globalization, systems of power and cultures—like the *Tawantinsuyu* of the Incas in the Andean region, or the Aztec Empire in the North American, for instance—that were in a state of rapid expansion when the first Spanish caravels appeared on the horizon. Yet these expansions, which were not taking place on a global scale, were caught in the undertow and the whirlpool of a world-wide Iberian expansion of power which knew, in the awareness of these Incan or Aztec conquests and their local restriction to single areas, how to serve itself in gaining the ability to attain its goals of power acquisition more effectively and more quickly.

These complex military, social, and economical processes will be illuminated in this volume from various geographical viewpoints and cultural perspectives. Through this multi-perspective view, the central role of the so-called "Old World," which drove the surges in globalization that came from, and were primarily shaped by, Europe, will become more clearly recognizable, and should not disintegrate in an all-relativizing image of history, even if Europe's culpability and its accompanying responsibility for a process *de longue durée* spanning centuries (and which has by no means reached its close) be relativized in those cases where it is necessary to elaborate and cast light on the brutality as well as

19 C.f. Zwischenbericht der Enquête-Kommission des Deutschen Bundestages "Globalisierung der Weltwirtschaft—Herausforderungen und Antworten." Document 14/6910 of 13 Sept., 2001, p. 3. From 34 mentions in 1993, the number climbs to 175 mentions in 1995, to 535 mentions in 1996, and to 1062 mentions in the year 2000.

the long-term consequences of these actions. For, though it is recast in greatly differing cultural configurations and economic formats, the *Conquista* goes on.

Phases of Acceleration

One

Standing at the beginning of the string of events that without a doubt decidedly shaped and programmed the early modern era,[20] the *first phase* of accelerated globalization is the colonial expansion of Europe, which—driven by developments in the entire Mediterranean region—was carried out substantially by the Iberian powers of Spain and Portugal. Even though the venture of Christopher Columbus was based, as is well-known, upon partially erroneous and excessively optimistic suppositions and calculations to the extent that the Genoese explorer's ships, which had long since passed the point of no return, were only saved from sinking with all hands to the bottom of the sea by the fact of the American continent lying across their route at the midway point, this enterprise to reach the East by navigating westward across the sea was still tremendously influential to subsequent history. And this is not only because the route by land, which was controlled largely by Arab powers, was circumvented and direct trade relations could be established with the spice islands and the great Asian empires to the east of Europe, but even more because the rival Iberian kingdoms in the western part of the European continent, with the active abettal of the Pope (most recently with the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494), were dividing the world among themselves and pursuing in its truest sense an expansionist *Weltpolitik* from Europe outward.

Thus do the caravels of Columbus lead to a powerfully and equally recklessly executed *Weltpolitik* that, for the first time, was conceived on a truly planetary scale. After the conquest of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, which was the last remaining Arab-dominated region in the Iberian territory, Spain, having been unified under the Catholic Monarchs only shortly before, now directed the motion of the *Reconquista* no longer to the south, into North Africa, but instead threw all available forces at the new conquest, the *Conquista* of those immense territories to be torn quickly away from the numerous indigenous cultures far

20 C.f. Rudolf Schlögl: "Kommunikation und Vergesellschaftung unter Anwesenden. Formen des Sozialen und ihre Tranformation in der Frühen Neuzeit." In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für historische Sozialwissenschaft* (Göttingen) 34 (2008), pp. 155–224.

outside of the realm of influence of the Aztecs or Incas. Spain and Portugal both were working under great pressure to build up and expand empires of dimensions that spanned the globe.

With the so-called discovery of the "New World" by the Europeans, there followed by the middle of the 16th century an enormous expansion of European dominance which was by no means restricted to America, and within which the astonishingly quickly built colonial institutions, mechanisms of power, and structures for disseminating information[21] created trade connections that for the first time could be reasonably described as global. The emblematic globalizing means of transport for this period was the caravel, which embodied the state-of-the-art in advanced European shipping technology.

Beside the impact of this immensely accelerating process of expansion, accompanied as it was by genocides and massacres, all preceding expansions of powers both within and beyond Europe appear to be but a prologue, falling far short of the dimensions of a truly world-wide movement.[22] In light of this tremendously multiform process, it appears from today's perspective to be quite self-evident that the hazardous venture of a circumnavigation led by Magellan or Elcano—even in the face of enormous losses—must succeed. The dimensions of the Earth were now empirically known to the people of the Occident, the Earth in her spherical shape now potentially conquerable.

In short order, Europe came into possession of enormous riches[23]—start-up capital for a new age which for centuries would stand as the "modern era," essentially as a sign of this colonial power structure that was neither consistent in its progress nor controlled by the same central power. The power structures and asymmetries between "civilized" and "wild,"[24] between "Christian" and "Heathen," between the "West" and the "Rest," in which, for a long time, Europe dealt with the "Problem of the Other" (and not only discursively) seemed thus to be established once and for all.[25] The age of that which one could designate in a

21 C.f. also Arndt Brendecke: *Imperium und Empirie. Funktionen des Wissens in der spanischen Kolonialherrschaft*. Cologne–Weimar–Vienna: Böhlau Verlag 2009.

22 C.f. Serge Gruzinski: *Les Quatre parties du monde. Histoire d'une mondialisation*. Paris: Editions de La Martinière 2006.

23 See Stephen Greenblatt: *Marvelous Possessions: the Wonder of the New World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1992.

24 C.f. Urs Bitterli: *Die "Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten". Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung*. Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1976.

25 C.f. Tzvetan Todorov: *The Conquest of America. The Question of the Other*. Translated by Richard Howard. New York: Haper Perennial 1992. Tzvetan Todorov: *Die Eroberung Amerikas*.

truly globally "rounded" sense as world economy had begun—even before the Iberian circle around the planet could finally be closed with the conquest of the Philippines and their inclusion in the colonial economy controlled by Spain. The initial power-positioning of a world increasingly dominated and shaped by Europe dates from this time.

The asymmetry in European/non-European connections that comes to expression in this first phase of accelerated globalization became the point of origin for subsequent phases of accelerated globalization and influenced the structural formation of asymmetric relations in the military, economic, political, technological, and cultural fields all the way to the present day. Consistent with this phase, too, are the extremely one-sidedly moving paths for the transfer of knowledge regarding the "New World," as they are reflected in not only the logbook of Columbus, but even more in the letters and chronicles of Spanish or other European conquerors and historians of the 16th century, and even in the reports, investigations, and speculations of many missionaries. The names of such diverse figures as Hernán Cortés and Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Francisco López de Gómara and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Garcilaso de la Vega el Inca und José de Acosta, Bartolomé de las Casas, and Bernardino de Sahagún stand as representatives of a transfer process of that begins to cause knowledge of the New World to accumulate in the Old and to be used for the development of connections for global domination and exchange.[26] Processes of globalization always presuppose not only new norms of configuration, but new forms of the circulation of knowledge as well.

In the first phase of accelerated globalization, archipelagic and transarchipelagic[27] connections take on a tremendous significance. For the history of dis-

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Das Problem Des Anderen. Translated from the French by Wilfried Böhringer. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1985.

26 C.f. here the research projects of Birgit Scharlau: "Beschreiben und Beherrschen. Die Informationspolitik der spanischen Krone im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert." In: Karl-Heinz Kohl (ed.): *Mythen der neuen Welt*. Berlin: Frölich und Kaufmann 1982, pp. 92–100; Birgit Scharlau (ed.): *Bild—Wort—Schrift: Beiträge zur Lateinamerikasektion des Freiburger Romanistentages*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag 1989; Birgit Scharlau: "Nuevas tendencias en los estudios de crónicas y documentos del período colonial latinoamericano". In: *Revista de crítica literaria latinoamericana* (Lima) 31–32 (1990), pp. 365–375; Birgit Scharlau (ed.): *Übersetzung in Lateinamerika*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag 2002.

27 On the concept of the transarchipelagic, see Ottmar Ette: "Le monde transarchipélien de la Caraïbe colonial." In: Ottmar Ette / Gesine Müller (eds.): *Caleidoscopios colonials. Transferencias culturalesen el Caribe del siglo XIX. Kaléidoscopes coloniaux. Transferts culturels dans les Caraïbes au XIXe siècle*. Madrid–Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana–Vervuert 2010, pp. 23–64.

covery, and for that of conquest as well, the Canary Islands, Cape Verde, the Azores, and Madeira were of decided importance on the Old World side, while the Island World of the Caribbean—as will be shown in all clarity by the world map of Juan de la Cosa from the year 1500, which is to be discussed more extensively in the first part of this volume—likewise became the beachhead for the conquest of the entire continent. Deploying from the secure bases of these islands, strongholds on the continent were established so that the dominance of the Iberian interlopers over vast areas of land was organized and enforced from within the insular structures of the cities: an island strategy that differed fundamentally from the territorial or continental course of action involving an advancing *frontier*, as it would later come to be so successfully applied on the North American continent.[28]

The first phase of accelerated globalization already begins to distinguish itself by the fact that, especially within the realm of Spanish influence, the deliberated language policy for a rising empire was adjusted to be extremely goal-oriented. Altogether, three European languages were globalized and established as world languages in this fashion: Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin (about which, in terms of its presence in the process of conquest and administration, and in the transatlantic circulation of knowledge as well, there continues to be a distinct paucity of research).

Along with processes of globalization there are always accompanying globalization fears that tend to express themselves in catastrophic contexts. The Europeans dragged into the "New World" a multitude of "new" diseases that, once there—and in part deliberately introduced by the Spanish conquistadors through the distribution of infected objects—considerably hastened the process of conquest, insofar as the indigenous populations' capacity to mount resistance was, at least in part, substantially weakened. Conversely, the conquerors also infected themselves with sicknesses hitherto unknown to them, whereupon the Iberian soldiers, who were stationed not only on the American continent, but in a wide variety of places in Europe, Africa, and Asia, quickly spread these sicknesses.

Syphilis came to be the defining epidemic of the first phase of globalization, which soon appeared not only in Spain and Italy, but in various parts of North Africa as well, as we know, for instance, from the reports of Giovanni Leone

28 C.f. Walter L. Bernecker: "Staatliche Grenzen—Kontinental Dynamik. Zur Relativität von Grenzen in Lateinamerika." In: Marianne Braig / Ottmar Ette et.al., (eds.): *Grenzen der Macht—Macht der Grenzen. Lateinamerika im globalen Kontext*. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag 2005, pp. 7–37.

l'Africano, who will be discussed later. The intensified emergence of plagues and epidemics consistently accompanies such accelerated phases that drive the process of *mondialisation* onward. In his cultural history of plagues, Stefan Winkle very concisely asserts from a viewpoint of medical history:

> When, on the 15th of March, 1493, the returning fleet of Columbus—after the loss of one ship—arrived at Palos, their port of departure on the southern coast of Spain, they brought back with them, along with the account of the New Continent, as a special "gift," a heretofore unknown, sexually transmitted disease: syphilis. Departing Palos, they next sailed to nearby Seville, where they remained for four weeks. There, the sex-starved crew must have heavily frequented the bordello, infecting the working girls with the hitherto completely unknown disease. The same happened in Barcelona, whither Columbus traveled with his two ships by the water route, without touching upon the remainder of Spain.[29]

The word "touching" may here be interpreted quite literally. And incredibly quickly, the consequences were observable, as an eyewitness active at that time in Barcelona, the physician Ruy Díaz de Isla, would subsequently assert in document that appeared in 1539: "It pleased divine justice to send to us a previously unknown sickness which appeared in the city of Barcelona in 1493. This city was infected first, then all of Europe, and then the entire inhabited world."[30] Within a few years, affiliated Spanish task forces and administrations had indeed established a network of calamity between America, Asia, and Africa.[31]

The syphilis plague remains fascinating today, not only because historians can turn here to an epidemic of which, for the first time in history, its beginning and its subsequent course are well-documented.[32] The actual basis for this disease's enduring power to fascinate lies much more likely in the fact that—as Albrecht Dürer's illustration from 1496 shows (Fig. 1)—it is inseparably connected with an (n.b., occidentally) imagined notion of the global. In this first depiction of a person suffering from syphilis, the year 1494, which the great German artist clearly inscribed within the floating celestial orb over the mercenary's[33] head, together with a text in Latin that frames the early woodcut, shows how events

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29 Stefan Winkle: *Geisseln der Menschheit. Kulturgeschichte der Seuchen*. Düsseldorf–Zurich: Artemis & Winkler 1997, p. 541 f.

30 Quoted in ibid. p. 542. On the spread of the sickness, see pp. 541–575. A print of one of the first broadsheets from the year 1496 appears on p. 546.

31 See also Alfred W. Crosby Jr.: *The Columbian Exchange; Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press 1973, pp. 122–164.

32 Ibid. p. 123.

33 C.f. Colin Eisler: "Who is Dürer's 'Syphilitic Man'?" In: *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* (London) LII, 1 (Winter 2009), pp. 48–60.

on a global scale were occurring thick and fast, and how rapidly the contagion—with which Dürer himself may have been afflicted but a few years later[34]—spread throughout the Old World. Also, this work of art, in the tradition of the *Pestblatt* (“plague print”) as they were called, captures this fact: that the contemporary reactions to syphilis would decisively shape all later types of reaction to global epidemics, even up to our present day, which is again much influenced by accelerating globalization. The image of the physically suffering man, covered in pustules as he makes his way through the world, imparts to us in an artistically concentrated manner what the carrying of foreign plagues and epidemics, always “from outside,” means to the landscapes, with their church towers and houses, that lie so quietly there: nothing less than the forfeit of the isolation and the assumed tranquility of the local under the influence of the global. In globalization, fear always resonates before it.

34 Ibid. pp. 57–59.

Fig. 1: Albrecht Dürer: *Der Syphilitiker (Syphilitic Man)* (1496), colored woodcut. © Albertina, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung.

Two

A *second phase* of accelerated globalization extends from the middle of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th, and is modeled perhaps most clearly by the voyages of Bougainville, Cook, or Lapérouse. In the names of these great French and British seafarers, the voyages of discovery of earlier expansion are connected in an exemplary way with the forward-looking form of the exploratory voyage, precisely as it was epitomized by James Cook. By the end of this period, the largest of the "white patches" on the map of our planet have been eliminated. The contemporarily observable changing of utopias to uchronias—that is, the replacement of projections onto another place by projections into another time—provides important evidence, in a wide variety of literatures, that the upswing of that territorializing genre that accompanied the first phase of accelerated globalization (and for which Thomas More's 1516 text *Utopia* may be viewed as paradigmatic) now began to be replaced, in the last third of the 18th century, by new strategies of temporalization.

This second phase is no longer determined by the Iberian powers, whose colonial empires are being subjected to numerous reforms, but by France and England, as they, especially, are the ascending colonial powers. These two leading European powers, which, like their predecessors, arise from the western part of the European continent, face off outside of Europe on the various seas of the world in rancorous opposition as competitors. It may be said that the emblematic mode of transport for this phase of accelerated globalization, for both England and France, is the frigate.

The evolution of both the British and French trade systems in part reaches back to already existing regional and supra-regional trade connections to non-European powers and peoples, which are successively integrated into an ever more complex world-wide trade system that is increasingly controlled from London and Paris. Lisbon, Madrid and its Spanish foreign ports, and Amsterdam as well (whose ascent occurred during an intermediate period that shares many characteristics of the first phase, but at the same time, in the economic sector, predates the developments of the second), are noticeably curtailed in their range of operation. As in the first phase of accelerated globalization, the European capitals from which these world-wide processes of expansion are steered during the second phase lie in close geographical proximity to one another.

The reports of the voyages of discovery and research in the second half of the 18th century especially, with their forms of preparation and composition in line with the specific interests of European dominance and scientific progress, document in a manner that remains impressive even today an upsurge in

streams of knowledge that not only globally multiplied the Eurocentric paths of knowledge, but also led to profound epistemological changes in the universalistic thinking of the occidental sciences. The tremendous quantity of new knowledge that needed not only to be accrued but also to be newly configured forced this asymmetrically constructed system of circulating knowledge, based on the needs of Europe, to create those temporalization structures that have been impressively elucidated in the works of Michel Foucault[35] and Wolf Lepenies,[36] and which comprised the most diverse and differentiating disciplines and realms of both science and knowledge. The transfer of knowledge subsequently led to the transformation of all knowledge configuration. The end of natural history is characterized by this temporalization every bit as much as the end of a way of thinking in which—as Reinhart Koselleck effectively showed—the *Historia* could still be the *Magistra Vitae*.[37]

In front of this backdrop of an emerging historical understanding that is also open to the future, it appears to me to be necessary and unavoidable that I include among the highly significant phenomena in this second phase of accelerated globalization not only the *European* double-revolution of the 18th century—the Industrial Revolution[38] coming from England, and the political revolution that comes to its actual "universalistic" expression in France in 1789—but also the double-revolution *outside of Europe*—that for the independence of the United States of America, directed against British colonialism and achieved in 1776, and the Haitian Revolution, which rises up against French colonialism, and above all against the transatlantic slave-trade of the "Black Atlantic,"[39] and aims for the goal of independence in 1804. Indeed, the sometimes conscious and sometimes unconscious excision of this slave revolution of Saint-Domingue

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35 C.f. Michel Foucault: *Les mots et les choses*. Paris: Gallimard 1966; Ger. *Die Ordnung der Dinge. Eine Archäologie der Humanwissenschaften*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1974; Engl. *The Order of Things: an Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. NewYork: Random House 1970.

36 C.f. Wolf Lepenies: *Das Ende der Naturgeschichte. Wandel kultureller Selbstverständlichkeiten in den Wissenschaften des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1978.

37 C.f. Reinhart Koselleck: "Historia Magistra Vitae. Über die Auflösung des Topos im Horizont neuzeitlich bewegter Geschichte." In: *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*. Edited by Reinhart Koselleck. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1984, pp. 38–66.

38 A connection between a second globalization and the Industrial Revolution is drawn by Michael Zeuske: "Humboldt, Historismus, Humboldteanisierung. Der 'Geschichtsschreiber von Amerika,' die Massensklaverei und die Globalisierung der Welt." In: *HiN—Alexander von Humboldt im Netz* (Potsdam–Berlin) II, 3 (2001), www.hin-online.de.

39 C.f. Paul Gilroy: *The Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Consciousness*. London: Verso 1993.

(i.e., Haiti), the first ever to lead successfully to the founding of a state, from a "general" revolution theory[40] has contributed on one hand to "Europizing" revolution theory, and on the other hand to deliberately overlooking the fundamental relationship of the revolutions that do receive mention to the second phase of accelerated globalization.[41] To oppose this, it is necessary to keep the European and the American double-revolutions equally in view, and to render them to like degrees epistemologically useful.

Without enormous advances in nautical, transport, and communications technology, the great sea voyages of the second half of the 18th century, on those frigates whose names have been burned into the collective memory of the nations of Europe, would certainly not have been possible. These travels were not primarily aimed at the interiors of continents, but were interested in coastlines, straits, possible passages, and the structures of archipelagos, all of which might prove useful to faster and safer transatlantic or transpacific shipping lanes. Just looking at the Pacific, the largest ocean surface on our planet, archipelagic and transarchipelagic structures played (and play) a vital role. The strategic aspect of Island Worlds, so important both to military control and to trade, was of equally decisive relevance to the Pacific and Atlantic Island Worlds, and to the transport routes in the Indian Ocean as well. Thus, for example, did the islands of Saint-Domingue, Tahiti, or Mauritius play a role within the French colonial system that is difficult to overstate.

The fact that the acceleration and intensification of world-wide connections changed living conditions in places beyond the realms of French and English influence can be demonstrated by the fact that most German *Welt*-compounds in use even today—such as *Welthandel*, *Weltverkehr*, *Weltbürgertum*, or *Weltfrieden*

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40 C.f. Gesine Müller: *Die koloniale Karibik zwischen Bipolarität und Multirationalität. Transferprozesse in hispanophonen und francophonen Literaturen*, Berlin–Boston: Walter De Gruyter 2012, p. 128 f. The "case of Haiti" is, with a view to dominant western revolution theory, more than problematic: in her seminal work *On Revolution* (New York: The Viking Press 1963), Hannah Arendt does not even mention Haiti. Over long stretches of time, colonialism and slavery have been singly considered as marginal phenomena, or simply as disruptive factors, in modernist theory, and in revolution theory specifically (c.f. Sibylle Fischer: *Modernity Disavowed. Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution.* Durham–London: Duke University Press 2004, p. 8 f.). A scientific turn toward the Haitian Revolution has recently become unmistakable; c.f., among others, Chris Bongie: *Friends and Enemies. The Scribal Politics of Post / Colonial Literature*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2008.

41 C.f. Susan Buck-Morss: "Hegel and Haiti." In: *Critical Inquiry* (Chicago) 26 (Summer 2000), pp. 821–865; Susan Buck-Morss: *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press 2009.

(world trade, world traffic, world citizenship, or world peace), but also *Weltbewußtsein*, *Weltwirtschaft*, or *Weltliteratur* (world consciousness, world economy, or world literature)[42]—may be assigned to the second phase of accelerated globalization. These compounds and neologisms reveal a changed thought-horizon which—self-evident to Europe—in a virtually encyclopedic manner took possession of a world as it was delineated by the clearly most successful colonial encyclopedia, Guillaume-Thomas Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissemens et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes*, which was first published, anonymously, in 1770.[43]

In these volumes (which harken back substantially to the impulses of Raynal and Denis Diderot), and also in many works of other contemporary European forerunners of a global history, such as Cornelius de Pauw, William Robertson, Juan Bautista Muñoz, or Alexander von Humboldt, there are numerous references to plagues and epidemics, especially the dreaded yellow fever. This fact gives credence to the idea that in this phase too, the phenomena of globalization would be connected to the experience of catastrophic sickness. The yellow fever (*Gelbfieber*, *vômito negro*), which had already spread like plague during the first phase of accelerated globalization, especially in the Caribbean,[44] experienced a significantly accelerated proliferation, to such an extent that on board British warships there were soon measures implemented, about which a British naval officer in 1761 would report:

> The cannon ports are opened daily. In dry weather, the lower deck is swept and scrubbed, in wet conditions, however, it is dry-scraped, so that the timbers where the hammocks hang do not mold. Dry wood is burned there, and resin is thrown upon it, from which smoke not only are the insects killed, but the bad vapors too are driven out.[45]

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42 Regarding these *Weltbegriffe* (world concepts), see Ottmar Ette: "Unterwegs zu einer Weltwissenschaft? Alexander von Humboldts Weltbegriffe und die transarealen Studien." In: *HiN—Alexander von Humboldt im Netz. Internationale Zeitschrift für Humboldt-Studien* (Potsdam–Berlin) VII, 13 (2006), pp. 34–54, www.hin-online.de.

43 For investigation of these global dimensions, see the records of the Wolfenbüttel Colloquium on *Histoire des deux Indes*: Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink / Manfred Tietz (eds.): *Lectures de Raynal. L' "Histoire des deux Indes" en Europe et en Amérique au XVIIIe siècle. Actes du Colloque de Wolfenbüttel*. Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation 1991. See also the recent illuminating volume on the Raynal networks by Gilles Bancarel (ed.): *Raynal et ses réseaux*. Textes réunis et présentés par Gilles Bancarel. Paris: Honoré Champion Editeur 2011.

44 C.f. Stefan Winkle: *Geisseln der Menschheit*, pp. 972–986.

45 Ibid. p. 978 f.

All over the world, fear of the yellow fever was enormous, and even in provincial Berlin it excited a powerful public interest that Heinrich von Kleist himself—who for good reasons of his own dealt with the especially frightening sickness in another context[46]—sought to exploit for the distribution of his *Berliner Abendblätter* in 1810. This appears on the 5th of December, 1810:

> From Swiss news come reports that in Cuba, the yellow fever "is strongly raging." From Copenhagen, the strictest measures have been announced by the Royal Department of Quarantine "in response to the infectious sickness dominating in several areas around the globe… The decree that has been issued in response to this situation sets forth that the contagion that broke out in Otranto and Brindisi is a blister-like sickness, while the one dominating in the Spanish seaports of Malaga and Carthagena, on the other hand, appears to be yellow fever."[47]

The measures immediately following newsflashes of this sort, taken not only on board warships, but in both the colonies and in the mother countries as well, prove how great the degree of global networking and the world consciousness that it actuated had already become during this second phase of accelerated globalization. It is not by mere chance that, just at the time of the second surge in globalization, repeated waves of yellow fever would spread, leading finally to the first documented cases in Africa in 1768.[48]

Governmental authorities, however, did not always react quickly enough. Thus, the ramifications of the reports of Alexander von Humboldt, who had decisively shaped the concept of world consciousness, were recognized with insufficient decisiveness over the remaining course of the 19th century.[49] During his journey, Humboldt himself was affected by a yellow fever epidemic which, since the end of the 18th century, had demonstrably spread from the Caribbean all the way to the Mediterranean region. This experience, which necessitated a fundamental change in the course of his American research expedition, demonstrated to him with ample clarity how fragile those transoceanic connections with which he had first become familiar during his crossing from Spain to the Carib-

46 See Heinrich von Kleist: "Kurze Geschichte des gelben Fiebers in Europa." In: *Berliner Abendblätter* (Berlin) 19 and 20 (23 January and 24 January 1811), pp. 73–75 and 77–79.

47 As quoted in Stefan Winkle: *Geisseln der Menschheit*, p. 985. This work presents a comprehensive collocation of the notices from 1810 as collected by Kleist.

48 C.f. Juri Vainio / Felicity Cutts: *Yellow Fever. Division of Emerging and Other Communicable Diseases Surveillance and Control*. Geneva: World Health Organization 1998, pp. 16–18.

49 C.f. Stefan Winkle: *Geisseln der Menschheit*, p. 985; the chapter "Alexander von Humboldts unbeachtete Beobachtungen" ("Alexander von Humboldt's Unheeded Observations"), pp. 986–990.

bean on the frigate *Pizarro* still were. And time and again during his journey, he was able to perceive how much the Spanish ships, once so proud, now depended upon the ubiquity of British naval power. It was the British who had long since won out in the race of the European powers for the dominance of the world's oceans, thanks to the overwhelming power of their fleet.

Three

In the course of the *third phase* of accelerated globalization (during the period of the last third of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th centuries), for the first time, there appeared with the European powers a non-European power—though culturally, politically, and economically shaped by occidental influences—that had just rid itself during the previous phase of its colonial dependency: the United States of America. This third phase stands within the influence of globally enacted neocolonial distribution struggles and processes of dependent and unequal modernization that to differing degrees reshaped the most disparate regions of the planet. During this period, divergent concepts and processes of modernization that no longer allow speaking of *the* modern era in the singular arise on a global scale

It follows then, that this third phase is not the product of *one* unfinished project of *the* modern era,[50] nor of the unfinished project of a different modern era,[51] but rather, of a plenitude of realizations of various modern-era projects which sought to make themselves heard not only in the political and economic realms, but in the cultural as well—as perhaps in Latin America with the Hispanoamerican *Modernismo*, and later with the Brazilian *Modernismo* of the avant-gardists. But without question, the formative socioeconomic context for these developments of a self-multiplying modern era[52] is shaped by that clearly accelerating surge in globalization between 1870 and 1914, during which one may, in light of the world-wide trade network, speak with certainty of a multilaterally modeled "closed system."[53]

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50 C.f. Jürgen Habermas: "Die Moderne—ein unvollendetes Projekt" (1980). In: *Kleinere politische Schriften (I–IV)*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1981, pp. 444–466.

51 C.f. Ottmar Ette: *Weltbewußtsein*.

52 See Shmuel N. Eisenstadt (ed.): *Multiple Modernities*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transactions Publ. 2002.

53 Jürgen Osterhammel / Niels P. Petersson: *Geschichte der Globalisierung*, p. 66.

Even though modernists like the Cuban José Martí—who probably was the earliest to reflect the consequences of this third phase—or the Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó powerfully voiced the warning that it could happen, there quickly arose upon the American continent itself, within the context of the build-up of American sea power, the establishment of a continental dominance by the USA. This dominance, since the end of the 19th century, additionally led to an economic preponderance in favor of the US in the Caribbean and Latin America that has come to visible expression largely in the form of numerous military interventions.

The United States of America had not only freed themselves from the colonial sovereignty of Great Britain during the second phase, but had now made it possible, thanks to their technologically far-superior battle fleet, to assert their dominance over the leading power of the first phase. Thus, in 1898, the Spanish fleet with its squadrons outside of Santiago de Cuba and Manila was mercilessly and very quickly sunk by the armored cruisers of the USA, which had been but waiting for a propitious moment to intervene, under some pretense, in Cuba's war of independence from Spain. At the same time, the transatlantic cables, in place since 1857, transformed the military conflict between Spain and the United States in the Caribbean and the Philippines into the first actually global media-war in world history, as the coverage of military actions in the media of the countries involved exerted immediate influence upon their strategic direction and respective waging of the war on-site.

The new and rapid communication capabilities, the modernized and vastly improved nautical and military technologies, as well as the newly developing areas of interest during the run-up to World War I in which Germany, too—following the failed attempts of Brandenburg in the last years of the 17th century—began seriously to strut about as a colonial power, led to a situation in which the construction and installation of transarchipelagic naval bases and transport opportunities rose to great military and economic significance. The US naval bases within the realm of influence of the new American hegemonic power gave rise to an island-supported structure capable of adding military pressure to the political and economic interests not only all over the continent, but in the Pacific sphere of influence as well. The steamship had long since advanced, in both its civil and military applications, to the status of the emblematic, globalizing means of transport.

In this third phase of accelerated globalization, no further language may be discerned which might have stepped up to join those European languages that were already globalized. All attempts to establish German, for example, in the overseas regions of Africa or Oceania that were dependent upon the still young,

but highly militarized empire, were doomed to failure, based as they were upon a dream of colonialism that was soon to vanish. While a certain global power-shift in favor of the English (and with it the Anglo-Saxon) culture can certainly be confirmed, against which people began, under the flags of Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism, and above all, Pan-Latinism, to protest vehemently, the previously undisputed position of dominance of the languages descending from Latin, that is, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, was progressively crumbling. But Pan-Latinism, which with the "invention" of *Latin* America[54] around the middle of the 19th century sought to meet the encroachment of the Anglo-Saxon world with massive resistance, plunged, upon the defeats of the French leading power in the war with Prussia from 1870-1871 and of Spanish colonial power in 1898 at the hands of the USA, into a deep world-political crisis, the shadow of which would loom over the entire third phase.

With this phase of accelerated globalization, an increased incidence of pestilence and epidemics once more spread forth, in which above all should be mentioned the wave-like spread of smallpox. Lafcadio Hearn[55] was born on the island of Lefkada, the son of a Greek mother and a British military doctor, and was raised and educated in Ireland and England and spent many years in the USA and the Caribbean, then lived out the rest of his life in Japan (and thus knew much of transarchipelagic relations). Hearn depicted in moving scenes with what disastrous effect (with which nothing in Europe or the US could compare) the smallpox could arise in the Caribbean Island World.[56] These literarily challenging yet long-ignored scenes from the decade of the 1880s show just how fragile the dense net of shipping connections were, should the harbors, in response to rising pandemics, have to be closed for extended periods. These vario-

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54 C.f., regarding the various interests influencing the idea of Latin America and Pan-Latinism, among others, John Leddy Phelan: "Pan-Latinism, French Intervention in Mexico (1861–1867) and the Genesis of the Idea of Latin America." In: *Consciencia y autenticidad históricas*. Escrítos en homenaje a Edmundo O'Gorman. Mexico 1968, pp. 279–298; Joseph Jurt: "Entstehung und Entwicklung der LATEINamerika-Idee." In: *Lendemains* (Marburg) 27 (1982), pp. 17–26; and Miguel Rojas Mix: "Bilbao y el hallazgo de América latina: Unión continental, socialista y libertarian…" In: *Caravelle* (Toulouse) 46 (1986), pp. 35–47.

55 C.f., among others, Lafcadio Hearn: *Two Years in the French West Indies*. Oxford: Signal Books 2001; Lafcadio Hearn: *The Ghostly Japan*. London: Kegan Paul 1905; Lafcadio Hearn: *A Japanese Miscellany*. London: Kegan Paul 2005. This present work will refer primarily to his writings concerning the American island world.

56 C.f. Lafcadio Hearn: "Two Years in the French West Indies." In: *Lafcadio Hearn: American Writings*. New York: The Library of America 2009, p. 340.

las, (*petite vérole*, smallpox, or simply "pox,"[57]) were certainly known and feared during the first globalization phase; the "epidemiological storm"[58] of the United States' Civil War (1861-1865), however, once again elevated the complete destructive force of this sickness into (world-wide) consciousness.

Within the Spanish-speaking realm, authors like José Rizal—who grew up in the Philippines, then would later live in various countries in Europe, in the USA, Hong Kong, or Japan—or his equally well-traveled Nicaraguan fellow-writer Rubén Darío, answer the challenges of the surge in globalization, which they were able to observe first-hand, with original literary creations and with concepts of identity that connected differing cultures, facilitating their own way into the modern era. At the same time, correspondence activities such as, for example, the founding of journals by the Cuban José Martí give evidence of the aspiration to reverse the direction of the transfer of knowledge between the Old and New Worlds and to reshape upon a global level the paths of knowledge in the interest of a Latin America increasingly portrayed as "sick" and "rocked by crisis."

For these authors, it becomes apparent beyond doubt on the horizon of the acceleration processes that they experienced and depicted, that in the near future the meridian of political power, but also that of artistic energy and potency, would leap from Europe over to America. It thus became necessary to take measures to show the way (of a new knowledge from new perspectives) to a new world order, one less influenced by asymmetrical conditions of independence.

Four

The current and as yet not concluded *fourth phase* of accelerated globalization that comprises the last two decades of the 20th century as well as the first two of the 21st will be characterized especially by the rapidly increasing globalization of the financial markets, the building of communications systems that span the globe "in real-time," and the overcoming of a binary, ideologically motivated political bloc system. By no means does this indicate—as the once more intensifying and often religiously-clothed contrasts between the "Occident" and the "Orient" show in all clarity—that by virtue of this we might be standing directly before a breakthrough to a unified world society, or that the borders between

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57 C.f. Stefan Winkle: *Geisseln der Menschheit*, p. 853. Regarding this first phase, see pp. 853–860.

58 Ibid. p. 892. Statistical data on vaccination are also presented here.

states have become obsolete. For the number of states on our planet that have become independent is also consistently increasing.

Within the context of the new contrast (old there) between "The East" and "The West," to what extent military actions will be increasingly carried out alongside these developments, and to what extent these actions, for their part, will be turned to the function of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" of Huntington's famous thesis on the "Clash of Civilizations,"[59] for the moment remains to be seen. In every case, the rapid development of computer-supported electronic data exchange systems, combined with their world-wide networking, allows mass-media communication in nearly real-time, which leads to a changed perception of global, political, or economic, but above all, of cultural phenomena and of the phenomena of everyday life. The popular reference to the "global village" admittedly applies only on quite specific (and in each case politically desired) levels. And like the caravel, frigate, and steam ship before it, the airplane, the earliest development of which takes place during the third globalization phase, and which in a real sense has become the emblematic means of transport in the fourth phase of accelerated globalization, is far from being at the disposal of all of the planet's inhabitants.

The transformation in consciousness, which has been brought about by an explosion in the rapid circulation of people, goods, and ideas and accelerated by communications technology, and which one could fundamentally interpret in terms of a new world consciousness, is taking place within the framework of a virtual public view that is no longer held together only at select points, but is on a global scale, and within the aforementioned new concept of globalization, comes as the expression of a discursive "world socialization,"[60] in which, however, the structural asymmetries of the previous phases of accelerated globalization may be traced to the present day. The phenomena of the current phase will only be understandable to those who are capable of grasping the pathways and histories of the earlier globalization phases, such that the globalizations structurally emerge within the context of globalization. In the realm of literature, corresponding to these phenomena, there is a development that is gaining in intensity of literatures without a fixed abode, the expansion of which I have examined at length in another work.[61]

59 C.f. Samuel P. Huntington: *The Clash of Civilizations*.

60 See also Mathias Albert: *Zur Politik der Weltgesellschaft. Identität und Recht im Kontext internationaler Vergesellschaftung*.

61 C.f. Ottmar Ette: *Writing-between-Worlds. TransArea Studies and the Literatures-without-a-fixed-Abode*. Translated by Vera M. Kutzinski. Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter 2016. Ger.: Ottmar

The new communications and data storage technologies—as the development of the internet and GPS can easily show—are of course closely coupled to military necessities and strategies. Island technologies toward the military dominance of entire continents have been further improved to such an extent that mobile "islands" have been created in the form of missile-equipped submarines and aircraft carriers, from which enormous territories may be controlled, threatened, or "bombed back" several decades. In the image of the aircraft carrier, where the steam ship of the third phase of accelerated globalization and the airplane of the fourth intersect, the island strategy of the current state of technological development may be most impressively presented in stark historical clarity.

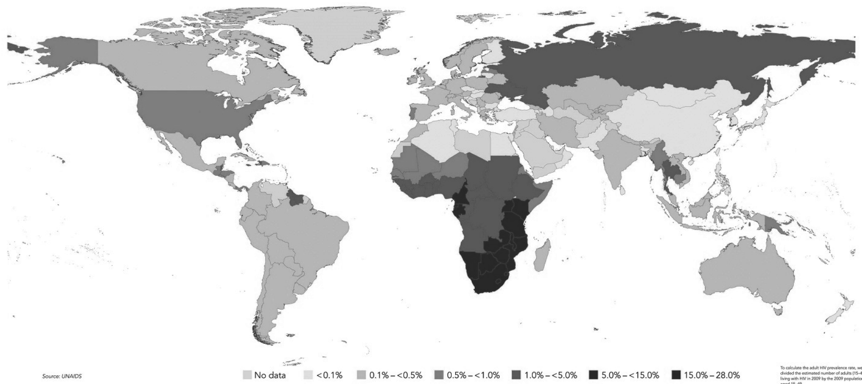

Fig. 2: WHO: *HIV Prevalence Map 2009*. UNAIDS Report on the Global Aids Epidemic. Source: www.unaids.org.

On the level of plagues and epidemics as well, threats analogous to the globalization fears of the earlier phases have arisen, manifested especially in the forms of AIDS, the Ebola virus, or a wide variety of pandemics. On June 5, 1981, in the

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Ette: *ZwischenWeltenSchreiben. Literaturen ohne festen Wohnsitz*. Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos 2005.

bulletin of the US Centers for Disease Control *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, there first appeared an article on the illness of five homosexual men in Los Angeles; there soon followed further reports from other regions.[62] By 1985 at the latest, the actual extent of the catastrophe could not be overlooked; the public appeal of a doctor in the US, for instance, put it this way: "Every time we learn something new about this virus or the course of the illness, it adds a new dimension to our worst fears."[63] The *Global Report* of 2010 also soberly states that as of the end of 2009, some 33.3 million people world-wide were infected with HIV—a rate of increase of 27%, compared to the number from 1999, when the working figure stood at 26.2 million infected.[64] The visualization of this development on the world map of the WHO (Fig. 2) clearly shows that AIDS—like syphilis, yellow fever, and smallpox before it—fosters an experience of global connections, the intensity of which in no way falls short of the perception of comfortable, "positive" aspects of globalization. Crucial to the matter is this: the substantially faster and "direct-to-destination" possibilities of transcontinental transport afforded by the airplane can spread the virus in question world-wide within a few hours, whereby the afflicted regions can now no longer be delimited to the outer boundaries (in the form of harbors or border towns), but from the very beginning can also include the central regions of the interior.

Decentralized, rhizomatically structured communications networks make it possible—as may be seen in the most recent developments in many Arab countries—to set autocratic ruling structures wobbling, but can, by sufficiently prepared mechanisms of suppression—as in the case of China—be impeded, paralyzed, and deactivated.

The protagonists of this fourth phase of accelerated globalization are undoubtedly the US and (with a currently weakening trend) the island-state of Japan, but also, once again, Europe. One may well be surprised, along with Jürgen Habermas, that Europe should again find itself among the leading powers of globalization, if indeed world history has always offered the great empires but a single chance, as is true "for the empires of the Old World as well as the modern

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62 C.f. Stefan Winkle: *Geisseln der Menschheit*, p. 605. On the development of AIDS in the '80s, see pp. 605–617.

63 Ibid. p. 612.

64 See also Ch.2 of *Global Report. UNAIDS Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic: 2010*. Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) 2010. In: http://www.unaids.org/globalreport-/documents/20101123_GlobalReport_full_en.pdf [7.9.2011]. The world map of the spread of AIDS for 2009 is found on p. 23.

states—for Portugal, Spain, England, France, and Russia."[65] But this second chance has now been extended to Europe *as a whole*, albeit under the condition that this chance be used "not in the style of its old power-politics" but only under the "premise of a non-imperialistic understanding" and toward "the learning of others."[66]

Amin Maalouf would undoubtedly agree with this analysis by Jürgen Habermas, if, for him, the history of the European Union avouches hope for the concrete and realistic possibility of being able in the long term to overcome centuries-old enmities and warlike contentions. Whether the European Union has consistently been in the position, during the current phase of globalization, to renounce old imperial power mechanisms on the level of world policy will certainly be judged in widely varying ways. At the same time, however, one can perceive in the EU the attempt to establish a new and stable framework of conditions for the development of a *ZusammenLebensWissen*, a "knowledge for living together," that by no means may be allowed to remain restricted to the territory of the states of the Union. To this end, Amin Maalouf has formulated, from the field of literature and, furthermore, from a position that at the same time combines an inner and an outer perspective, important guidelines for future, more far-sighted policies for coexistence.

After this initial outline (necessarily compact and to be considerably expanded in subsequent chapters) of four phases of accelerated globalization, the conviction becomes evident to me that, without knowledge of the first phase, one cannot understand those historical, political, economic, and cultural changes, nor the changes within the history of developing mentalities, which in the various traditions of historical science in Europe tend to be designated either as *Neuzeit*, "modern times," or *les temps modernes*. The second phase of accelerated globalization may, in turn, be viewed as one of the immediate prerequisites for the (occidental) modern era, the temporalization structures and altered epistemological foundations of which become manifest in the last quarter of the 18th century, especially in the wake of the US American, the French, and the Haitian revolutions—among which this last-mentioned was, admittedly, universally viewed by contemporaries as a paradigm quickly to be suppressed again. Phases of accelerated globalization are phases of historical and cultural compression in which long-term strands of tradition meet with trends in a direct interrelation,

65 Jürgen Habermas: "Staatsbürgerschaft und nationale Identität" (1990). In: *Jürgen Habermas: Faktizität und Geltung. Beiträge zur Diskurstheorie des Rechts und des demokratischen Rechtsstaats*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1992, p. 651.
66 Ibid.

whereby the questions of multi-, inter-, and transcultural relations take on a vital, if often underestimated, significance.

This also applies, of course, to other configurations between different surges in globalization. The opening of the occidental modern era onto a common space open to the future, a space with which the internet age became both technologically and culturally configured during the last two decades of the 20th century, is, here again, not to be comprehensively understood without consideration of those processes designated as the third phase of accelerated globalization, especially the process leading to the development of divergent modernities. Along with globalization "from above" (especially of financial markets and capital), there appear a globalization "from below" (on the level of mass migrations and their attendant fundamental globalization critique) and even a "transverse" globalization (on the level of an information and knowledge society that is interconnected on a world-wide scale, the centers of which—let us not deceive ourselves—lie nonetheless in the USA and, to some extent, in Europe). Within the parameters of this fourth phase, China, India, and perhaps Brazil have become global players that in the future will have an important say not only in political and social matters, but in the realms of economics and culture as well. Indeed, China might currently find itself in a position that could be compared in many respects to that of the USA within the time frame of the third phase. That the next surge in globalization, which might still be expected to occur in the 21st century, should necessarily benefit English alone is, in light of the growing importance of Asian markets and powers, hardly likely.

The characteristics of the current phase of accelerated globalization are undoubtedly quite specific; yet they are no more specific than those of the past phases, nor are they independent of them. Only when it is understood that the present globalization is not something completely new, a *creatio ex nihilo*, will we be able to draw forth the lessons of the preceding phases of this process. Only then is it possible for one to respond to the trailblazing and vectorizations observable since the expansion of Europe at the close of the 15th century with new paths and new forms of knowledge that take the place of the dissolution of world order currently being articulated, and which could develop such models and measures as are indispensable to a peaceful coexistence in diversity. In the search for these new paths, for this other knowledge, the literatures of the world—and it is from here that this work proceeds—are of inestimable value. For their knowledge is a knowledge that is not limited to particular regions of nations, but quite clearly strides beyond individual cultural areas and is constantly on the move.

Foundations for a Poetics of Movement

Thus more urgently than ever (and not only in the realm of literary studies, but far beyond) does the task of advancing a poetics of movement present itself today.[67] While the temporal, historically chronological foundations of our thought and of our processing of reality, so dominant in European modernism, have grown weaker in postmodern thought-configurations (which have already become historical), at the same time, spatial concepts and mindsets, and also patterns of perception and modes of experience were revalued and exponentially increased semantically. Most recently, in the second half of the eighties, spatial concepts were developed that are perhaps most convincingly reflected in the conceptual work of Edward W. Soja.[68] Before the backdrop of a relationship to space that, for traceable historical reasons, was problematic in Germany, the extraordinary German economic boom completed a turn to the spatial—as successfully publicized, for example, by the historian Karl Schlögel in his demand for "ein Spatial turn, endlich"[69] ("a spatial turn, finally")—merely an adjustment that, in the new millennium, in light of developments in the realm of the most widely varying "turns,"[70] can certainly no longer be designated in an international context as being new.

Certainly, the process only briefly sketched here is not one that, within a logosphere shaped by postmodernism, would be uniformly directed and would have proceeded without contradiction. Yet the discussions of the eighties and nineties of the 20th century—and this continues into the present—were marked quite substantially by geopolitical, geocultural, and geopoetic questions which in no way were limited to cyberspace, but instead generated territorializations,

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67 I draw attention to this necessity at the conclusion of Ottmar Ette: "Wege des Wissens. Fünf Thesen zum Weltbewusstsein und den Literaturen der Welt." In: Sabine Hofmann / Monika Wehrheim (eds.): *Lateinamerika. Orte und Ordnungen des Wissens. Festschrift für Birgit Scharlau*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag 2004, pp. 169–184.

68 Edward W. Soja: *Postmodern Geographies. The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso 1989.

69 Karl Schlögel: *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit. Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik*. Munich–Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag 2003, p. 60.

70 C.f. Doris Bachmann-Medick: *Cultural Turns. Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften*. Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt 2006.

mappings and remappings,[71] as influenced by the postcolonial or the clash of cultures.

With this background, even Samuel P. Huntington's vision of the *Clash of Civilizations* may be assigned to still another (geoculturally and geostrategically implemented) spatial turn that is distinctly of a continentally territorializing nature. Mapping and remapping of fronts and borderlines previously considered stable have been the order of the day for decades. In the sense of Amin Maalouf's considerations mentioned at the beginning, however, it would be imperative that these mappings—"set fast" in whatever database—be carried over into living mobile mappings, in order to be able to counter effectively the prevalent territorialization of any kind of alterity.[72] Additionally, there is need of a poetics of movement which, based upon the seismographic function of world literatures to indicate present and future tremors, would be in a position, viewing spatial structures from the perspective of movement, to understand them in a new way and depict them in the context of a history *of movement*.

Still missing from the field of philology is a sufficiently differentiated and precise terminological vocabulary for movement, dynamics, and mobility.[73] As a rule, we must deal with an often quite subtle colonization of movement by means of a flood of spatial concepts which "set fast" and conceptually reduce the dynamics and vectorizations under the influence of an obsessive spatialization, insofar as they deliberately omit the dimension of time.[74] This book proceeds from early-modern mappings that, with the help of various methods, avoid this trap in order to be able to depict adequately the dynamics of the historical European expansion process.

For upon the basis of a vectorial image of the world in the midst of rapid change, a view of the world arose that, in terms of its geopolitical and geocultural features continues to exist today, but which at the same time was spatialized and continentally territorialized. It is embarrassing to observe how far Samuel

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71 C.f. Wai Chee Dimock / Bruce Robbins (eds.): "Remapping Genre." In: *PMLA– Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (New York) CXXII, 5 (October, 2007), pp. 1377–1570.

72 See also Julia Kristeva: *Etrangers à Nous-mêmes*. Paris: Gallimard 1991.

73 I first presented this set of problems in Ottmar Ette: *Literatur in Bewegung. Raum und Dynamik grenzüberschreitenden Schreibens in Europa und Amerika*. Weilerswist: Velbrück Wissenschaft 2001.

74 This argumentation does not contain any sort of return to a dominant time-oriented concept of history, such as that which grew prevalent following the paradigms of development and progress at the close of the 18th century in Europe; c.f. Doris Bachmann-Medick: *Cultural Turns*, p. 286.

P. Huntington's world map from the end of the 20th century has fallen behind the map of Juan de la Cosa from the year 1500, although copious geopolitical power-claims may be found not only among the US-American political scientists and presidential advisers, but among the Spanish protagonists of the *Descubrimiento* as well. Have we really come much further in our late-modern-era views of the world?

The paucity of movement-concepts bespeaks at present a damaging and distorting reduction of space-time developmental processes and choreographies to spatial freeze-frames and mental maps which serve both to filter out the dynamic element and cause it to disappear. But spatialization has a high price, as long as it steals from movement. For it establishes what can only extract sense from movement—and *as* movement.

Spaces first arise—when they are used by people, and thus used culturally—through movements. To be sure, the cultural concept has been tied since the time of western antiquity to the ground,[75] but it has not been shackled: for even the most soil-rooted agricultural usage is unimaginable without movement, and it would come only to fruitless results. Culture presupposes movement: a cultural space is necessarily a migratory space.

Only movements, with their patterns and figures, their specific transits and intersections, put forth a space in the full (and not merely Euclidean) sense. Can we really comprehend the space of a city without registering it vectorially? Can we really understand a lecture hall and its function if we filter out of it the motions of the speaker and those who are listening and interacting? Can we grasp the quality of a concert hall without ever having experienced a performance there? Can we truly describe and investigate a geocultural area if we simply blank out from our depiction the movements and migrations that travel within and across it?

Whoever filters the movement out of their object of investigation hides life. The open structurings of literature show the hopelessness of such an endeavor—and by no means only in the category of travel literature. Walter Benjamin's passages, for instance, form not only spaces, but configurations—just as the title of the *Passagen-Werk* indicates: mobile, vectorized migratory spaces in which, among the places and movements, other places and other movements may always be recognized.

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75 See Hartmut Böhme: "Von Kultus zu Kultur(wissenschaft). Zur historischen Semantik des Kulturbegriffs." In: Renate Glaser / Matthias Luserke (eds.): *Literaturwissenschaft–Kulturwissenschaft. Positionen, Themen, Perspektiven.* Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 1996, pp. 51–53.

Thus a space is created through respectively specific patterns of movement and figures of movement, whereby the continuity of a given space depends upon the very choreographies and pathways that first generate it. Should certain patterns of movement be discontinued, the corresponding spaces and their limits collapse: the same holding true at the level of architectonic or urban as well as at the level of national or supranational spaces. The mobility of the notions of Europe,[76] but also the hemispheric constructions of the American continent, which have been constantly changing since the so-called "discovery" in 1492, present here over the course of centuries rich material for consideration.[77] For is not the Spanish-speaking realm that, moreover, steps forth in its mobility through the complex archipelagic connections between the Canaries, the Caribbean, and the Philippines, a global migratory space *par excellence*? These and many other comparable questions should be developed and answered from multiple perspectives in this book.

The retention of old (and even future) patterns of movement which appear in current movements and which one may *come* to know anew may be most accurately described as *vectorization*. It reaches far beyond that which is ever individually experienced and that which may be experienced in a lifeworldly sense: vectorization also comprises the realm of collective history, the movement-patterns of which it retains in the discontinuous, highly fragmented post-Euclidean vector field of future dynamics. Among movements of the present—and it is on this that the concept of vectorization at its epistemological core is targeted—the old movements again become recognizable and perceptible: as movements within the firm structure and within the mobile structuring of spaces, they are ubiquitous. Consequently, we can only adequately understand spaces if we investigate and comprehend the movements that configure them and their specific dynamics. Is not the movement-form of a transatlantic circuit, so firmly anchored in collective knowledge since 1492, even today of fundamental significance to a spatialized model, so to speak, for understanding the New World—starting, indeed, in Europe?

It would seem to be the obvious thing, from the perspective of the 20th century, the "century of migrations," expulsions, deportations, delocalizations, and movements of widely varying sorts, to shift the focus from territorialization to vectorization, from border demarcation to border crossing. The reasons be-

76 See Anne Kraume: *Das Europa der Literatur. Schriftsteller blicken auf den Kontinent (1815–1945)*. Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter 2010.

77 See Peter Birle / Marianne Braig et al. (eds.): *Hemisphärische Konstruktionen der Amerikas*. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert 2006.

hind the fact that this path, leading from an epistemology that thinks in terms of static entities to a highly dynamized movement-model, was hardly ever actually trod are undoubtedly many, and have something to do with the cohesive and persistent powers of academic institutionalization.

And yet, in the field of philologies there would have been voluminous material for consideration that only in very recent times has been brought to a more intense light. The development of literatures, as may be observed in the past century, which possess no fixed abode in the sense of being translingual or transcultural forms of writing[78] has now led us to the point that all production-, distribution-, and reception-aesthetic dimensions and aspects of the literatures of the world are far more radical than ever before, gone "off (national-philological) course," and, consequently, no longer to be tied down to purely national-literary frames of reference. The long-observed vectorization of all spatial referents must have consequences within literary and cultural theory which allow us to better and more precisely grasp and understand the different phases of accelerated globalization, but also the interspersed phases of global or regional deceleration.

The *literatures of the world*, as certainly the most complex retentive and generative medium for knowledge, comprising also the greatest variety of times and cultures, offer us here, in relation to that which is mobile, a multitude of life-forms and life-norms that should enable us, polyperspectively and polylogically, to reread, to rethink, and to re-experience our world. For ultimately, they avoid every attempt to systematize the world all-inclusively from *one* point, from one single place of writing. Differing from the concept of world literature formulated by Goethe, the literatures of the world are not centered in Europe, nor are they static; instead, they form a highly dynamic force field that is characterized by the constant interchanging of cultural logics, languages, and coordinates, and which can no longer be considered and "evaluated" from Europe alone. Thus do the translingual phenomena of literatures without a fixed abode form, without a doubt, new challenges for a theory of the translational, which

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78 See also Ursula Mathis-Moser / Birgit Mertz Baumgartner (eds.): *La Littérature "française" contemporaine. Contact de cultures et créativité*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag 2007; Ursula Mathis Moser / Julia Pröll (eds.): *Fremde(s) Schreiben*. Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press 2008; and Ottmar Ette: *Writing-between-Worlds. TransArea Studies and the Literatures-without-a-fixed-Abode.*

has incrementally arisen from the single demand for a linguistically conceived science of translation.[79]

Vectorization in literature harks back not only to (collective) history, but also to mythos: to that reservoir of myths, legends, and inherited notions of images and beliefs, the historically accumulated and only seemingly fixed movements of which are again "translated" and integrated into current sequences of movement by literature. In order to understand the European literature(s), we must likewise bring into our considerations a Europe *in* motion[80] as well as—from a transareal perspectivism—a Europe *as* motion,[81] and at the same time attempt, with an eye to the "New World," to advance the development of transarchipelagic modeling and models for understanding.

Only from a point of perspective of this sort do many previous patterns of movement become recognizable in literature as being vectorially retained in the movements of a protagonist. Thus, in Edouard Glissant's Caribbean sketch of Easter Island in the Pacific [82] for example, not only the Antilles, but islands on a world-wide scale become visible: islands that in their differing logics point to one another and, within this mobile, extensively fragmented network,[83] set in motion post-Euclidean processes of understanding movements and migratory spaces. In the most widely varied contexts, we perform thought- and travel-movements that we program, that program us, and yet which have come to us from very far away. Thus, for example, do the exodus from Egypt or the wandering of Odysseus, but also even the abduction and rape of Europa or the legend-enshrouded voyage of Columbus to the New World lend to the migration movements of the 20th and 21st centuries an additional potential for meaning that semantically charges and intensifies even the simplest choreographies. Move-

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79 See also Doris Bachmann-Medick: "Introduction: The Translational Turn." In: *Translational Studies* (London) II, 1 (2009), pp. 2–16; and Naoki Sakai: *Translation and Subjectivity. On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism*. Minneapolis–London: University of Minnesota Press 2009, p. 3 ff.

80 C.f. Klaus Bade: *Europa in Bewegung. Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck 2000.

81 C.f. Ottmar Ette: "Europäische Literatur(en) im globalen Kontext. Literaturen für Europa." In: Özkan Ezli / Dorothee Kimmich et al. (eds.): *Wider den Kulturenzwang. Migration, Kulturalisierung und Weltliteratur*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag 2009, pp. 257–296.

82 See Edouard Glissant: *La terre magnétique. Les errances de Rapa Nui, l'île de Pâques*. In collaboration with Sylvie Séma. Paris: Seuil 2007.

83 On the epistemology of the network in the social sciences, see also Bruno Latour: *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press 2005; see also Christian Stegbauer (ed.): *Netzwerkanalyse und Netzwerktheorie. Ein neues Paradigma in den Sozialwissenschaften*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften 2010.

ments are frequently connected to life-processes. Not only discovered movements, but invented ones as well shape our lives, our thoughts, our actions. Time and time again, the literatures of the world polyperspectively expose these motions (*Motionen*) and emotions (*Emotionen*) and highlight everything in our lives that lives, everything in our speech that speaks.

Not only the words among words[84] or the places among places, but indeed the movements among movements indicate the interwoven nature of literature and living mobility as well as the central significance of retained, vectorized patterns of movement to an understanding of both literary and cultural processes. The widespread absence of movement concepts, the explanation of which may be found in the tradition of national philologies, brings to the literary and cultural sciences the consequence that, today, they must first become aware again of the mobile mappings of literature in order to comprehend the challenges and, perhaps even more, the chances that the already long extant crisis of the regional sciences, of area studies, presents to them.

The goal should thus first be to create enduring sensitivity to the forms and functions of movement for a stronger development of scientific investigations devoted to cultural and literary phenomena, and to accomplish the transition from merely spatial history to mobile history. For this, a concept that was developed through the examination of highly vectorial processes and phenomena in the field of literature is necessary. I will thus return, in the following sections, to a terminology that I first tested and clarified within the context of my investigation of literatures without a fixed abode,[85] such that these conceptual tools, of course, also be designed for the realm of objects that extend far beyond both the analysis of literary texts and the treatment of fundamental aesthetic, semantic, or narrative questions of literature. In the following pages, a series of terminological differentiations shall also be undertaken which arise out of literary scientific analysis, but which by no means should be understood to be restricted to it.

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84 C.f. Jean Starobinski: *Les mots sous les mots*. Paris: Gallimard 1971.

85 See Ottmar Ette: *Writing-between-Worlds. TransArea Studies and the Literatures-without-a-fixed-Abode*, pp. 33–35.

Concepts

On the Disciplinary Level

In the field of area studies, regional research centers of the traditional stamp, that is, as institutions that reach beyond individual disciplines, are set up on one hand as *multidisciplinary*, and on the other as *interdisciplinary*. They are generally based, on the one hand, upon a multidisciplinary juxtaposition of differing and, in each case, disciplinarily anchored individual sciences, or on the other hand, upon an interdisciplinary dialog between the respective representatives of certain disciplines in the institutional framework of the given center. Eventually, this fairly static, equally "disciplined" configuration should be supplemented by *transdisciplinary* structurings that will aim not at the interdisciplinary exchange between conversational partners who are disciplinarily firmly anchored, but at a continual crossing of various disciplines.

It is self-evident here that the developments and outcomes of this "nomadic" and, in a true sense, transdisciplinary scientific praxis would have to be (mono-)disciplinarily and interdisciplinarily tested and ensured through continuous contacts. An "autonomically" self-setting level of transdisciplinary science could more likely yield counterproductive effects. In the context of a transdisciplinarily active but in all instances disciplinarily braced scientific praxis, the most widely varying realms of knowledge can be dynamized and can communicate with one another in a fashion that is at once substantially stronger and more flexible.

Analogous to this terminological delimitation, conceptual definitions should be successively introduced and translated into the logic of the respective fields of research, which would precisely render the newly suggested differentiations at the various levels of analysis with the aid of the four prefixes named here—"mono-," "multi-," "inter-," and "trans-." The goal of this procedural method is a high terminological transparency and coherency, to which further differentiations are obviously desirable and necessary.

An intensified transdisciplinary approach, incidentally, makes sense with a view to relations with the Romanic world, and not only on the level of analysis, but on the level of subject matter as well. The disciplinary place of philosophy in the Spanish-speaking realm—to give but one example—is unlike others, due to a differentiation process that, compared to the German-, French-, and English-speaking world, proceeded differently. Consequently, there emerged—as may be seen in the works of Miguel de Unamuno, José Ortega y Gasset, or José Enrique Rodó—crossover forms of philosophy and literature which have been

accorded in the transareal context of the Spanish-speaking world another functionality within a pan-societal circulation of knowledge: even though, and indeed specifically when, all three of the mentioned authors intensively refer to Friedrich Nietzsche (and thereby to a representative of philosophy in the German language). Traditional disciplinary delimitations become, as a rule, ill-suited for the dynamics of this sort of transareal referencing if they are based upon exclusionary mechanisms that can lay claim to no universal validity. It follows that on the disciplinary level, a multilogical approach is advisable and adequate to the subjects.

On the Cultural Level

In viewing the analysis of cultural phenomena, beyond *monocultural* monads, one must distinguish between, for instance, a *multicultural* "side-by-sideness" of different cultures which, in a spatial respect, settle in different quarters or zones of a city, and an *intercultural* communality, defined by all sorts of encounters between differing cultures' members, who indeed engage in exchanges with one another, but for whom their prevalent belonging to a particular culture or cultural group is never in question. The *transcultural* level separates itself then—in a critical continuation of the groundbreaking work of the Cuban ethnologist and cultural theoretician Fernando Ortiz on *transculturalidad*[86]in 1940—from the previous two levels insofar as it here concerns movements and practices that cross different cultures: a constant springing from culture to culture in such a fashion as not to allow the development of a stable and dominant membership in or connection to an individual culture, or any cultural group or configuration.

In the current phase of accelerated globalization, transcultural border-walkings and crossings are, without a doubt and throughout the world, of growing importance and increasing relevance. Their examination should not be focused upon the differentiation of more or less stable "in-between spaces," but on the exploration of labile arenas with oscillating patterns of movement and transitional figures. Simply by looking at the circulation processes and interdependencies between the Francophonic, Hispanophonic, Lusophonic, and Anglophonic, one may determine that an analysis of the four phases of accelerated glo-

86 C.f. Fernando Ortiz: *Contrapunteo cubano del tobaco y el azúcar*. Prólogo y Cronología Julio Le Reverend. Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho 1978. Eng.: Fernando Ortiz: *Cuban counterpoint. Tobacco and sugar*. Translated by Harriet de Onís. New York: Knopf 1947.

balization up to now would no longer allow the privileging of (apparently) *monadic* over *nomadic* conceptions. Between the Italian *isolarios* from the turn of the 16th century to the global icons in the art of Ai Weiwei at the turn of the 21st, from the travel literature design of al-Hassan al-Wazzan alias Leo Africanus in the first phase of accelerated globalization and of Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio in the fourth, this book will examine transcultural testing grounds that allow us, in variegated transareal perspectivations to understand the world of yesterday differently and the world of tomorrow more boldly and imaginatively.

On the Linguistic Level

In a linguistic respect, beyond a *monolingual* situation, whereby the logosphere is exclusively dominated by a certain language, one must differentiate principally between a *multilingual* juxtaposition of different languages and language-spaces, which display little or no overlapping, and an *interlingual* communality in which two or more languages exist and communicate in an intensive connection with one another. Different from an intralingual translation, which one might designate, in Roman Jakobson's sense, as a rewording in the same language,[87] an *interlingual* translation carries over from the one language into the other, while both languages are clearly distinct from one another, cannot be confused for one another, and seek to remain separate from one another. One may distinguish from the multilingual and the interlingual, however, a *translingual* situation, which here indicates an unending process of the constant intersection of languages.[88] Two or more languages are thus by implication no longer to be differentiated, but instead mutually permeate one another, such that new translingual formulations arise.

As regards literary writing, a translingual praxis would subsequently describe an author's jumping back and forth between different languages, within the context of his body of work as well as within a certain individual text. Just how broad the hopes connected in this respect to a concrete politics of language can be is shown by Amin Maalouf in a passage reflective of his own activities in language politics from his recent essay:

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87 See Roman Jakobson: "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation." In: Roman Jakobson: *Selected Writings. II. Word and Language*. The Hague–Paris: Mouton 1971, p. 260.

88 For an alternative definition of the concept, see Lydia H. Liu: *Translingual Practice. Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937*. Stanford: Stanford University Press 1995.

> Were it so that from early childhood on, and throughout an entire life, each person were encouraged to be enthusiastic for a culture and a language other than one's own, that could be freely chosen and fully in keeping with one's own preferences—and which would be studied even more intensively than the inevitable English—the result would be a dense cultural interweaving that would cover the entire planet, insofar as it would support the timid identities, weaken animosities, strengthen bit by bit the belief in the unity of the human adventure, and provide through all of this a beneficial jolt.[89]

The conspicuous significance of translational questioning to the development of the literary and cultural sciences[90] reveals itself on the level of translation on a planetary scale that Goethe implied within his concept of world literature, but certainly also in a continental dimension in the context of the hemispheric construction of the Americas. The translingual dynamic of the literatures of the world in general and of the literatures without a fixed abode in particular has also long since led to developments that confront us—think simply of the novels of authors like Daniel Alarcón or Junot Díaz—with a Hispanoamerican literature in the English language which cannot simply be "outsourced" to the US or delegated to the field of US American studies.

Translational processes pervade our contemporary literatures of the world—and in the German-speaking realm too. Herta Müller or Melinda Nadj Abonji (received at first with thorough astonishment), as winners of the Nobel Prize for literature and of the German Book Prize, have finally firmly anchored this problematic of words among words, places among places, and languages among languages in the public consciousness of a German-language-readership, including its literary critics. New migratory spaces have come into existence, to which static national literary concepts assuredly cannot reach. Also, literary science studies of the Hispanophonic and Lusophonic, but in still greater measure, of the Francophonic and Anglophonic, are faced here with new challenges that can only be rendered fruitful on a world-wide scale with the aid of a poetics of movement and a vectorially reflected concept for a better understanding of not only contemporary literature. The literatures gathered in this book, shaped by four phases of accelerated globalization, hold ready numerous examples for this.

89 Amin Maalouf: *Le dérèglement du monde*, p. 106 f.

90 C.f. Doris Bachmann-Medick: "Introduction: The Translational Turn," pp. 2–16.

On the Level of Media

With a view to the media configuration, one could (analogously to the already developed terminology) differentiate—beyond single-medium (*monomedial*) contexts—between a *multimedia* situation, in which a plurality of media exist side-by-side, but such that it does not come to a great deal of overlapping or areas of contact, and an *intermedia* situation, where the above-mentioned media correspond and dialog intensively with one another, but without losing their respective distinguishability and distinctness. In a *transmedia* situation, however, different media permeate and cross over one another in an unending process of overstepping boundaries, transiting, and "carry-overs," such as is the case, in an exemplary way, with iconotexts and phonotexts—that is, transmedia combinations wherein the text and pictures, or sounds, as the case may be, do not reciprocally "illustrate," but rather, mutually transform one another.

The respective visual beginnings of the four main chapters of this text should also be understood from a transfer- and transformation-process of this sort, should they be dealing not with "mere" illustration, but rather, with complex combinations of picture and writing, whereby neither the picture nor the writing is supposed to "illustrate" the other. Every transmedia incipit is aimed at making it possible to sensorially experience as a process the desired visualization of transformation in media, and to bring to light complex catenations which connect the literatures of the world to the widest variety of artistic forms.

It is of course also true here, as in the sets of definitions already discussed, that multi-, inter-, and transmedia phenomena cannot always be "cleanly" separated from one another, whether in a spatial or temporal sense. The definitional transparency and rigor strived for here, however, are aimed at pointing out, in a second step, just such overlap-zones and incidents of cross-over, in order then to be able to examine and differentiate them with higher resolution and accuracy. The goal is not the charting of static roots but as precise as possible an understanding of the unending, process-oriented nature of dynamic routes in literature and culture: a movement-historical dimension that should be communicated within the transmedia back-and-forth.

On the Temporal Level

Within the terminological raster presented here, the dimension of time in its processual nature may also be conceptually structured in a similar fashion. If *multitemporal* processes concern the juxtaposition of different time frames

which exist and "elapse" independently of one another, then *intertemporal* processes should describe a constant mutual correspondence and communication between different time frames that neither mix with one another nor coalesce into one. *Transtemporal* processes or structurings, then, refer to an incessant crossing of differing time frames whereby such an interweaving of times creates a highly particular temporality which, within its very transtemporality, brings transcultural or translingual phenomena strongly into the foreground, and is capable of actuating accordant processes of exchange. The intensification of transtemporal ultraconnectivity is a privilege of neither the present, nor of contemporary literatures.

At this point, regarding the dimension of time and its periodization, reference may be made to the above-mentioned four phases of accelerated globalization, which are of the greatest relevance to the temporal structuring of economic, political and social, and above all cultural processes as shaped by colonialism and postcolonialism. This division into phases forms the intertemporal and transtemporal foundational structuring of this book. These very different, yet closely interconnected acceleration phases—certainly in the New World (a temporal designation of America that is by no means accidental), but also, for instance, in Oceania—have taken the most widely differing conceptions of time, have pitted them against one another, and have interwoven them. It is essential to profile more sharply these temporal differentiations, especially in terms of their close connection within the colonial studies of the Spanish-speaking world. Transcultural processes produce in most cases transtemporal forms and norms of experience: experience that can be further sharpened and intensified through intellectual examination with new and precise concepts.

On the Spatial Level

It should hardly be surprising in this context that in looking at the spatial structures, a differentiation may be conducted between a *multispatial* juxtaposition of spaces with the greatest paucity of contact and an *interspatial* structure of intensively corresponding spaces that, however, do not coalesce. *Transspatial* structurings, however, are shaped by constant transiting and intersections of different sorts of spaces and also by a pattern of movement that, as a concept, should subsequently be much more strongly developed and more precisely delineated.

One might well also remember at this point that spaces are produced through movements and specific patterns of movement,[91] such that, as a consequence, one clearly may not proceed from the assumption of a static spatial concept. The *Periquillo Sarniento* of José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, so important in the development of the history of the Hispanoamerican novel, may well prove, with its diegetic coexistence of multispatial, interspatial, and transspatial spaces, how complex the spatial models that the literatures of Spanish-speaking America were producing have been, even from early on.[92] The sharp asymmetry of transatlantic relations, shaped as it is by the first two phases of accelerated globalization, generated spaces that—one need only think of the antagonism between city and country—were marked by a most discriminatory vectoricity. This is precipitated, however, on the level of specific figures of movement.

On the Choreographic/Literary Level

Starting from an analysis of writing methods of travel literature,[93] the results of which may often be understood to be texts that are *frictional* (and thus, texts that oscillate between fictional and dictional forms of writing), different *dimensions* of the travel report—the three dimensions of space, and with them, those of time, of social structure, of imagination, of literary space, of genre elements, and of cultural space—can now be distinguished from one another.

As a second step, different *places in travel literature*—especially departure, highpoint, arrival, or return—may be delineated and differentiated from one another as passages of particular semantic concentration. These places are, for their part, incorporated into basic *figures of movement* which—as perhaps a circle, pendulum, line, star, or spring—present and, so to speak, choreographically carry out before the eye the hermeneutical motions of understanding on the part of the reader. The literatures of the world continually hark back to all of these patterns of movement, retained over millennia in various cultural contexts.

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91 A progression of basic patterns of movement in literature is developed in *Ottmar Ette: Literatur in Bewegung.*

92 See also Ottmar Ette: "Fernández de Lizardi: 'El Periquillo Sarniento.' Dialogisches Schreiben im Spannungsfeld Europa–Latein Amerika." In: *Romanistische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte / Cahiers d'Histoire des Littératures Romanes* (Heidelberg) XXII, 1–2 (1998), pp. 205–237.

93 Compare extensively with Ottmar Ette: *Literatur in Bewegung*, pp. 21–84

These conceptual differentiations, first introduced some years ago, are highly relevant to the examination of the extremely complex scope of a globalization history of literature and, accordingly, to the examination of phases of accelerated globalization, so long as they allow a spatiotemporal delineation and substantiation of text analyses that is, as a rule, intersubjectively easy to test. The vectorial dimension of literature also configures migratory spaces which submit to no logic of fixed-position, no reductive two-dimensional territorialization, instead forming the mobile structurings of all literary knowledge in such a fashion as to be capable of being reconstructed and, indeed, trajectorially re-experienced.

The analysis of the movements amidst the movements of (and in) literature vividly evinces the fundamental degree to which spaces are formed only through movement, through motions and emotions. In this book, the conceptual model presented with all necessary brevity here shall be rendered fruitful for the development of a literary and cultural science which serves as the centerpiece for a poetics of movement.

On the Level of the History of Movement

In order to be able, especially in light of notions of spatial history, to develop movement-historical concepts terminologically with more precision and comprehensibility, a terminological delineation of the relationships between culture and language, space and time, medium and discipline is necessary to being able to grasp more precisely actual movements in space, with an eye to generating a poetics of movement. At the same time, it is important that, on the level of the history of movement, five different gradations should be distinguished from one another, in order to put more graphically into perspective the respective implications of the corresponding relationality.

Movements on a *translocal* niveau settle between urban or rural places and spaces of limited extent—in the sense of Bharati Mukherjee's landscapes and cityscapes[94]—whereupon it comes to an obvious discontinuity of movements that spans the sometimes broad territories that lie in-between, such that we often must consider connections insofar as they characterize islands that, while they lie far apart, are yet bound to one another.

94 C.f. Bharati Mukherjee: "Imagining Homelands." In: André Aciman (ed.): *Letters of Transit. Reflections on Exile, Identity, Language, and Loss.* New York: The New Press 1999, pp. 65–86.

In contrast, movements on a *transregional* niveau are situated between certain topographical or cultural spaces which are either located within the expanse of a country, or are clearly perceptible units divided among different national states. The concept of "region" is expressly not to be confused here with that of "world region," as is the case (in an often confusing manner) in the conventional term "regional science" and in all the compounds that stem from it.

Consistent with this concept, *transnational* describes movements between different national spaces or states, as the case may be, while *transareal* movements are situated between different *areas*—such as the Caribbean, the Maghreb, or Southeast Asia—wherein the concept of area, as in the current name of so-called "area studies," is used quite variably and can be equally applicable to a world region or to a specific cultural space. In taking recourse to the concept of the transnational, it is essential to consider that it—unlike the term "transareal"—presupposes the existence of the nation, such that a "transnational literature" or a "transnational literary science" can be conceived of in an actual sense only in the context of a highly advanced process of nation-building. *Transcontinental* movements, on the other hand, take place between different continents such as Asia, Australia, Africa, America, or even Oceania, where the geographical boundaries of Europe (which may be designated a continent only in a conferred sense) and its various regions are certainly the most indistinct.[95]

The fact that dynamics on the individual niveaus, each according to its type of movement, can be sub-divided into *multi*-, *inter*-, and *transnational* processes is easily comprehended in the context of the conceptual model proposed here. Analogously, further conceptual applications are correspondingly easy to form in terms of the chosen terminological coherency and transparency.

Movements (also in the sense of motions and emotions) decidedly contribute to the constitution and semantization of living-spaces, as long as the *internal relationality* within a given space is of significant relevance within its relationship to an *external relationality* that connects a certain space to others. Internal and external relationality are there to be examined separately, but always in reference to one another.

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95 C.f. Maria Todorova: "Wo liegt Europa? Von der Einteilung eines Kontinents und seinen historischen Regionen." In: *Jahrbuch des Wissenschaftskollegs zu Berlin* (Berlin) 2004–2005 (2006), pp. 294–316.

Why Transareal Studies?

On the basis of the movement-historical perspective change, the vectorized proliferation of logics and viewpoints, and the already-described instruments sketched above, it is quite easy to comprehend the enormous possibilities and range of transareal studies. Thus might one—to give an example that happens to be important to this work—only adequately understand the special nature of the Caribbean if one incorporates into a world-wide panorama not only its internal, archipelagic relationality of multiple communications between its islands and archipelagos, but the dynamics of external relationality as well. This should happen, within the viewpoint of the transarchipelagic, with the Canaries or the Philippines as the case may be, and likewise, with a view to the changing relations to different European (colonial) powers. For just as the example of the "Black Atlantic"[96] and the forced deportation of millions of slaves show, it is essential to incorporate, on the level of external relationality, the respective possessions of these colonial powers in Africa, Asia, or Oceania, in the Americas or in the Arab world, in order to be able to comprehend transareally, and with it movement-historically, the entire complexity of colonial and imperial biopolitics. Of just how much significance these connections are to history and cultural theory has been impressively demonstrated by the cultural theoretician and poet from Mauritius, Khal Torabully, in his reflections on Indian coolies and the concept that follows from it, "coolitude."[97]

If a space is thus substantially developed and molded by the movements related to it in the past, the present, and (prospectively) the future, then the combinatorics between the five gradations distinguished from one another here are extremely informative as regards political, cultural, or specific literary phenomena which, without these movements, could not be adequately considered or described. *TransArea* aims at perspectivizing world-wide relationality in both an internal and an external interweaving, such that in no way must Europe stand at the point of intersection nor even in the focus of the widely varying figures of movement. On the contrary: transareal studies are interested in a particular way for South-South relations as they have been the order of the day since the begin-

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96 See, along with the already-mentioned "classics" of Paul Gilroy, the volume *Der Black Atlantic*. Published by the House of World Cultures in collaboration with Tina Campt and Paul Gilroy. Berlin: Haus der Kulturen der Welt 2004.

97 See Khal Torabully: *Cale d'Etoile—Coolitude*. La Réunion: Editions Azalées 1992; also Marina Carter / Khal Torabully: *Coolitude. An Anthology of the Indian Labour Diaspora*. London: Anthem Press – Wimbledon Publishing Company 2002.

ning of the first phase of accelerated globalization and the first slave markets of the "New World." That these phenomena and processes of untrammeled plundering are also incidentally of enormous value to an understanding of the developments in the northern portion of the globe certainly need not be emphasized again at this point.

With the example of the *Istanbul-Berlin-Trilogie*[98] of the Turkish-born Emine Sevgi Özdamer, who now ranks among the most renowned of German-language authors, it was already possible to demonstrate in an earlier study[99] that, as translocal urban movements arrange themselves at the same time within a transnational and transareal space of migration, the pendular movements of the female protagonist between the European and Asian shores of Istanbul are already always pointing in advance to those movements that the young woman will make in divided Berlin between East and West. The degree to which, in an experimental fashion, new vectorial conceptions of big cities arise in the overlying figures of movement can also be demonstrated by means of the narrative texts of Assia Djebar, Yoko Tawada, or Cécile Wajsbrot,[100]to name but a few of the many possible examples. The transarchipelagic relations traced in this book by means of ever-changing examples and phases expand this transareal perspectivism into a globalized context.

Let us then draw briefly upon an additional transareal example. For hardly less complex than Emine Sevgi Özdamer's trilogy is the structure of the diegesis of the 1999 novel *The African Shore,*[101] by the Guatemalan author Rodrigo Rey Rosa. Here, in the form of the three central protagonists, Africa, Europe, and America, or accordingly, Morocco, France, and Colombia, are so interwoven with one another that the transcontinental and transnational dimension in Moroccan Tangier creates a translocal microcosm, so to speak, upon which is superimposed, in a concentrated form, the long history of Spanish and Portuguese, English and French colonialism. And worthy of note: this is by a Guatemalan author who, through the long years of his own very particular exile, is intimately familiar with many of the original locations of *La orilla africana*. The chance meeting of the three main characters brings together a highly variegated

98 Emine Sevgi Özdamer: *Sonne auf halbem Weg. Die Istanbul–Berlin–Trilogie*. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch 2006.

99 C.f. Ottmar Ette: *ZwischenWeltenSchreiben. Literaturen ohne festen Wohnsitz*, pp. 181–203.

100 See also Ottmar Ette: "Urbanity and Literature—Cities as Transareal Spaces of Movement in Assia Djebar, Emine Sevgi Özdamer, and Cécile Wajsbrot." In: *European Review* (Cambridge) XIX, 3 (2011), pp. 367–383:

101 C.f. Rodrigo Rey Rosa: *La orilla africana*. Prefacio de Pere Gimferrer. Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral 1999.

collective and individual knowledge for living that impressively presents to the eye the transareal dimension of this Central American novel not only on the level of the diegesis, but on that of the various forms and norms of physicality. The vectorial dimension is present in the foreground of all translation processes that take place between the languages, between the cultures, between the bodies in a profoundly translocalized place—in the fractal, insular world of Tangier.

The literatures of the world hold and unfold in their multilingual texts not only the most variegated life forms and life norms, but also generate a complex and transareal knowledge for living and knowledge for living together[102] that is experimentally tested in both the discovered and the invented landscapes of the theory of these texts. At what point may the discovered be distinguished from the invented? Are not both bound to an experience and to a "being-lived," which in their nomadic, transareal dimensions shape the environment of millions of people today?

In the constant pendular movements, and the circulation of knowledge and goods associated with them, between exiled Cubans in Miami and the families from which they came in the *Oriente* of Cuba, and between indigenous communities in Guatemala and urban *communidades* in greater Los Angeles, choreographic figures appear which, in a translocal manner, pose transnational and transareal questions as well as, of course, transdisciplinary ones. In the same way, if the boundaries of disciplinary divisions in the academic field are put in question here, then the 19th century[103] migrations of leased laborers from the Indian region could also generate connections of a translocal sort within a transcontinental framework, as had already been the case during the second as well as the first phase of accelerated globalization in another transatlantic power structure, that is, between villages in Spanish Extremadura and the high plains of New Spain or the Island World of the Philippines. Everything is connected to everything, and does not tolerate being hacked into little pieces: amidst the movements, we come upon earlier movements, amidst places, other places. *Une mondialisation peut en cacher une autre*.

As a perfect example of the deliberately vectorial construction of worldwide interconnectedness that, through the movements of the protagonist, time and again produces the old migrations in ever new ways, one could perhaps

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102 C.f. Ottmar Ette: *ZusammenLebensWissen*

103 See also Jürgen Osterhammel: The Transformation of the World. A Global History of the Nineteenth Century. Translated by Patric Camiller. Princeton–Oxford: Princeton UP 2014. Ger.: Jürgen Osterhammel: Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Munich: C.H. Beck 2010.

suggest Amin Maalouf's 2004 text *Origines*[104] no path that was not cleared by earlier paths, no village in Lebanon that might not stand in connection with villages and cities world-wide. Any sort of attempt to identify the "origins" of a movement thus opens itself again and again to other, earlier or later, movements, such that *the* sought-after origin loses itself, again and again, in countless plural origins. Movements always give evidence of how they were facilitated, and they, for their part, again and again facilitate, anew and from the beginning, that which, time and again, points to what came earlier and anticipates what is to come. For transareal studies, too, it is not about a *single* origin, but as many origins as possible, not about a *single* background, but as many backgrounds as possible, which try out, in the experimental space of the literatures of the world—and not a world literature centered upon Europe—futures that are new and perhaps not yet thought of.

Literary landscapes—the highly developed examination of the *paysage littéraire*[105] in France, too, could provide a great many examples—may be read in the occidental tradition as *landscapes of theory*.[106] They embody, vividly to the point of the picturesque, complex movements of understanding within a migratory space that they themselves expand, a space which so often, in the highly variegated literatures of the world (especially during the phases of accelerated globalization), undermines or oversteps the demarcations of national borders. To the same extent, whether it concerns deserts devoid of human life or densely populated archipelagos in this landscape of theory, lonely mountain regions or flooded river landscapes: they always embody and stage the movement-model of life forms and life norms in which historical trailblazing and contemporary turnings enter into a mobile network of coordinates in order to territorialize reproducibly the hermeneutic motions of understanding to which they aspire.

Landscapes of theory are *also* landscapes of politics—and vice versa. Characterized by transnational relations on a level that is at once transareal and transcontinental—to offer here again but one example—are the political efforts that, on the initiative of the Brazilian president at the time, led in May, 2005, to the calling of a summit in Brazil between the countries of Central America and

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104 Amin Maalouf: *Origines*. Paris: Editions Grasset & Fasquelle 2004.

105 From the secondary literature, which meanwhile has grown to be quite comprehensive, but which, admittedly, does not seldom depend on more static conceptions of landscape, here I will mention only Simon Schama: *Paysage et mémoire*. Paris: Seuil 1999; also Marc Desportes: *Paysages en movement—Transports et perception de l'espace, XVIIIe–XXe siècles*. Paris: Gallimard 2005.

106 On this concept, c.f. Ottmar Ette: *Literatur in Bewegung*, pp. 531–538.

the states of the Arab League. These efforts, too, stand in the long line of a tradition of political path-finding and initiatives whereby, in this case, the consequences of altered world-political configurations and trade possibilities led to forms of more intensive cultural cooperation. Brazil has long since become a powerful factor in the global South.

In the political realm, transcontinental and transnational South-South relations undoubtedly stand at the center of public debate and world political attention. Exerting an effect that is only visible in the long term, but is in no way less significant, are the strengthening Arab-American cultural connections on the transareal niveau.[107] They concern not only the Arab-Americas, but also throw a significant light upon new forms, practices, and methods for thinking of Latin America transareally within a world-wide context and understanding it in a new way. There are, meanwhile, numerous studies on hand that examine not only Arab-American, but also, to no small extent, American-African, American-European, or American-Asian relations, the mobile networks of which configure the hemispheric space of the Americas like single nations or nation-states.[108]

This intensification of transareal studies does not, of course, relate only to the current phase of accelerated globalization, but rather—just as this book, in connection with the aforementioned conference proceedings, should demonstrate—brings earlier phases of accelerated globalization to new light. How could we, without a poetics of movement, understand—to lift but a few examples from the third part of the present volume—such a fascinating translingual

107 See also Ottmar Ette / Friederike Pannewick (eds.): *ArabAmericas. Literary Entanglements of the American Hemisphere and the Arab World*. Frankfurt am Main–Madrid: Vervuert Verlag–Iberoamericana 2006.

108 See also, among others, Marianne Braig / Ottmar Ette, et.al. (eds.): *Grenzen der Macht—Macht der Grenzen*; Peter Birle / Marianne Braig, et.al. (eds.): *Hemisphärische Knostruktionen der Amerikas*; Ottmar Ette / Friederike Pannewick (eds.): *ArabAmerikas*; Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger / Tiago de Oliveira Pinto (eds.) *AfricAmericas. Itineraries, Dialogues, and Sounds*. Madrid–Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana–Vervuert 2008; Ottmar Ette (ed.): *Caribbean(s) on the move—Archipiélagos literarios del Caribe. A TransArea Symposium*. Frankfurt am Main–New York, et.al.: Peter Lang Verlag 2008; Ottmar Ette / Dieter Ingenschay, et.al. (eds.): *EuropAmerikas. Transatlantische Beziehungen*. Frankfurt am Main–Madrid: Vervuert Verlag–Iberoamericana 2008; Ottmar Ette / Horst Nitschak (eds.): *Trans*Chile. Cultura–Historia–Itinerarios–Literatura–Educación. Un acercamiento transareal*. Madrid–Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana/Vervuert 2010; Ottmar Ette/Gesine Müller (eds.): *Caleidoscopias colonials*; Ottmar Ette / Werner Mackenbach et.al. (eds.): *Trans(it)Areas. Convivencias en Centroamérica y el Caribe. Un simposio transareal*. Berlin: edition tranvía – Verlag Walter Frey 2011; Ottmar Ette / Gesine Müller (eds.): *Worldwide/weltweit. Archepiélagos como espacios de prueba de convivencia global*. Madrid–Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana 2012.

work as that of the Philippine-born author and freedom fighter José Rizal who, like the Cuban José Martí, drew from his own experiences on different continents his insights into the accelerated globalization of his time at the turn of the 20th century? And what challenges to our geocultural and geopolitical thinking lie within the multifaceted work of Lafcadio Hearn, that appeared during the third phase of accelerated globalization, if we analyze his connections (not solely biographically created) between the Aegean, the British Isles, the Island World of the Mississippi delta, the Caribbean, and the Japanese archipelago from a transareal perspective of movement? In this sense, TransArea studies attempt to formulate a creative answer to the challenges of the current phase of accelerated globalization, which, of course, will not remain restricted to investigation of the turn from the 20th to the 21st century. Transareally directed investigations are aimed, in an epistemologically grounded fashion, at the movements within the movements, at the globalizations within globalization.

Research and institutions of the traditional variety, oriented by regional studies, tend demonstrably either to overlook transareal patterns of movement completely or, at least, to minimize their significance, if such phenomena do not seem to fit into the loose territorial or even continental framework that constitutes and institutionally (perhaps as an interdisciplinary center) stabilizes their own field of investigation, be it Great Britain or Italy, Southeast Asia or Latin America. For patterns of movement that reach beyond each respectively familiar *area* appear not infrequently as being presumably far less relevant, as long as they do not pertain to centers within Europe or the USA.

For a long time, neither the specialists in Japanese nor in colonial Spanish or European art were interested in Namban art. And yet these works of art give fascinating witness, between the poles of Asian, American, and European pictorial tradition, to an artistic creativity that comes into existence in the crossing of greatly differing cultures.[109] The extensive masking of the cultural impact of Indian leased and migrant workers or the Arab-American connections in the tropical regions of the Americas offer for the problematic sketched here equally meaningful examples, like the distribution of Caribbean studies into the most widely differing disciplines and their disciplinary logics. It is in just these sorts of complexly constructed realms of cultural intersection that a transareally applied philology can achieve pioneering accomplishments which will contrib-

109 See, for example, the impressive volume by Rodrigo Rivero Lake: *Namban Art in Viceregal Mexico*. Mexico City: Estilo México Editores–Turner 2005.

ute to the critical scrutiny and clean-up of the national-literary and sometimes racist hazardous waste of the national philologies of the 19th century.[110]

Not infrequently, disciplinary "authorities" or "affiliations" assert that there are deficiencies in the perceptual models of entire branches of research or highly specialized focuses of regional research. Even though the Arab-American connections of the 19th and 20th centuries are still present in the literatures of Latin America, or the forms of expression of the Namban artists may still be found in the New-Spanish paintings of the 17th and 18th centuries, they appear either hardly or not at all on the radar of purely disciplinarily or, at best, interdisciplinarily anchored regional studies, which concentrate entirely upon their respective *area* and beyond that, at the most, take account of its connection to the (European) location of the institution. Transareal studies attempt to mobilize these mental mappings and to sensitize them to transversal movements. For over the course of the past decade, things have—and not simply through a 'spatial turn"—demonstrably begun to move.

Phenomena such as those briefly sketched here are, in the context of phases of accelerated globalization, of enormous interest to a science that is directed toward the research horizon of transareal studies. The literatures of the world—and not only those without a fixed abode—are working out this vectorial dimension of the transareal with all desirable clarity. And the knowledge accumulated in literature can serve very well as a corrective for disciplinarily restricted patterns of perception. Might one not express, with Roland Barthes, that literature is "toujours en avance sur tout,"[111] that is , ahead of everything—including the sciences—and thus contains a treasure trove of experiences, insights, and enrichments that must necessarily be discovered and elevated, scientifically and from the perspective of science for living? And would it not then accordingly be an important task of literary science to translate and transmit this knowledge, thus rendering it socially useful?

The future of area studies thus lies—and this is not only in the field of Hispanic or Latin American studies—in opening out into *TransArea studies*, which tie together *area*-connected competencies with transdisciplinary research practices. It is one of the loftiest and most urgent duties of philology not only to lift up this treasure in the awareness of the special relevance of literature as just de-

110 C.f. Markus Messling / Ottmar Ette (eds.): *Wort–Macht–Stamm. Rassismus und Determinismus in der Philologie des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink 2012.

111 Roland Barthes: *Comment vivre ensemble. Simulations romanesques de quelques espaces quotidiens*. Notes de cours et de seminaries au Collège de France, 1976–1977. Texte établi, annoté et présenté par Claude Coste. Paris: Seuil–IMEC 2002, p. 167.

scribed, but also—and herein, too, lies an ethical obligation—to make it democratically available to the broadest possible sections of the population.

For the future of literary and cultural sciences, a transareal and movement-oriented new direction is therefore a matter of greatest urgency. If one were to wish—strongly contouring, to be sure—to differentiate a transareal literary science in the assemblage of various disciplines of TransArea studies from traditional comparative approaches, one might state that the latter statically compare and contrast the politics, societies, economies, or symbolic productions of different countries, while a transareal science is more precisely directed toward the mobility, the exchange, and the mutually transformative processes. Transareal studies are less about spaces than paths, less about border demarcation than border shifting, less about territories than about relations and communications: they examine the traditions accessible to them from a transversal perspective that is interested in transfers, and above all, in the transformations that these bring about. For this networked age demands mobile and relational, transdisciplinary and transareal scientific concepts and a movement-oriented terminology which in the realm of philology, for instance, can no longer be developed and spelled out only on the basis of a few European national literatures.

It seems to me to be evident, in the midst of a world-historical situation of the dissolution of order, of the *dérive* and of the *dérèglement*, that it is also now essential to translate this knowledge into our societies and thereby render it socially productive. Literature as the laboratory of the multilogical has for millennia stockpiled knowledge that can be conducive to bridging the ever more threatening chasm that Amin Maalouf pointed out in his recent essay:

> It concerns the rift that yawns between our rapid material evolution, that day by day strips us of more of our shackles, and our exceedingly slow moral evolution, that does not allow us to confront the tragic consequences of this unshackling. Be it understood: the material evolution cannot, and may not, be slowed. Instead, our moral evolution must be considerably accelerated, must most urgently be lifted to the niveau of our technological evolution, which makes necessary a true revolution in patterns of behavior.[112]

But where has such a revolution in patterns of behavior, counter to the cultures, counter to the political systems, and counter to historical times, been more intensively tested than in the literatures of the world? Their fascinating, equally provocative and prospective experiments with the knowledge regarding norms of life and forms of life shall be followed in the coming chapters as they cut across four phases of accelerated globalization.

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112 Amin Maalouf: *Le déréglementdu monde*, p. 81.

Leaving this compass rose of concepts, *TransArea* can be clearly, prospectively outlined in the sense of a theory-horizon , as it was already tested and put into practice in the framework of various national and international projects.[113] This theory-horizon is committed in its vectorized conceptuality to the literatures of the world and to a poetics of movement.

Mission Statement

Beyond Area Studies,
TransArea Studies point out mobile conceptions of spaces and places.

Beyond spatial history,
TransArea Studies emphasize vectorial dynamisms and processes.

Beyond traditional comparative studies,
TransArea Studies intensify transdisciplinary approaches and perspectives.

Beyond international relationships,
TransArea Studies analyze translocal, transregional, transnational, and transcontinental phenomena.

Beyond continuous territorial conceptions,
TransArea Studies design innovative discontinuous and fractal forms of understanding: internal and external relations of archipelagic and transarchipelagic patterns.

For TransArea Studies, spaces and territories are made out of movements and vectorizations: frontiers are understood by their criss-crossings at a global scale: circulations of knowledge in specific historical periods of accelerated globalization: transcultural landscapes translated into new prospective horizons.

113 I placed the subsequent mission statement at the start of an internet portal that presents such projects, makes their mutually interwoven nature apparent, and seeks to encourage future projects in the transareal field of research. This portal, with the name *POINTS (Potsdam International Network for TransArea Studies)* can be found at *www.uni.potsdam.de/tapoints* and offers a variety of possibilities for concrete proposals, but also space for comments, tips, and critique.

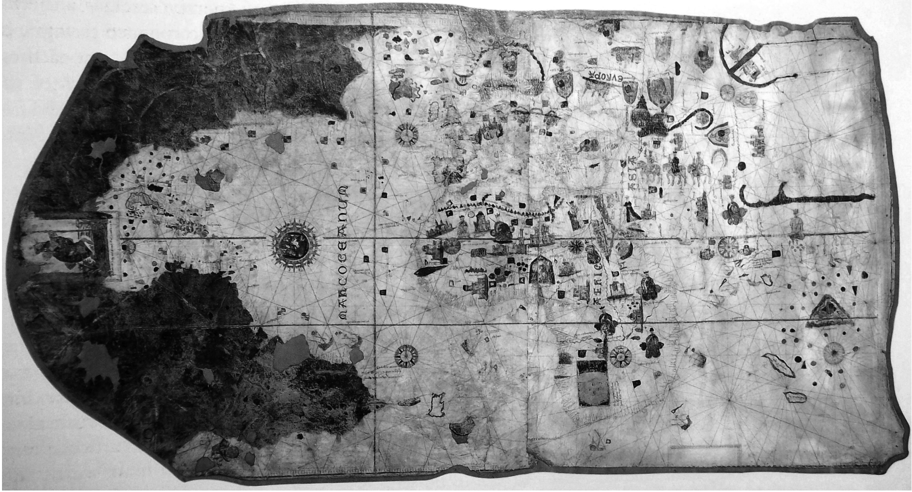

Fig. 3: Juan de la Cosa: *Map of the World* (1500), watercolor on parchment. Museo Naval, Madrid.

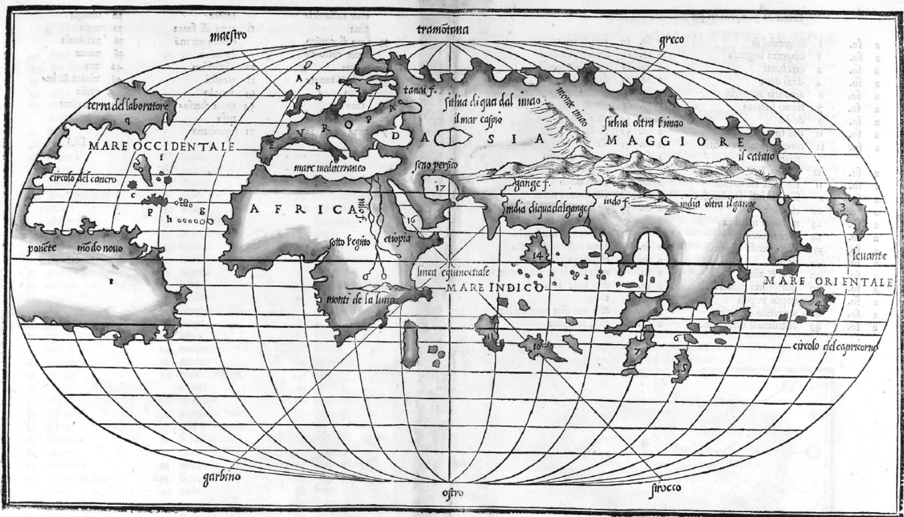

Fig. 4: *World map* (1528), engraving in Benedetto Bordone's *Libro di Benedetto Bordone nel qual si ragiona de tutto l'isole del mondo*. Digital edition: Harald Fischer Verlag (2006).

Globalization I

In the Grid Network of the Occident: Treasure and Trap, Plenty and Pitfall of the European Projection of World-Wide Migratory Spaces

Karte Macht Welt: A World Map of Accelerated Globalization

The Italian Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, who lived in Spain and was originally engaged in the world of trade and banking, would become the first historian and chronicler of the New World. In his great work accompanying the first decades of the so-called discovery and conquest of the New World, he grasped in a way like no other the attitude toward life of this new epoch, which we today call the early modern era. In his famous *Decades*, this man, who personally knew nearly every protagonist of the Iberian expansion, states in words that are themselves moving and, at the same time, concentrate on the movement of his age:

> Each day brings us marvels from that New World, from those antipodes of the West, discovered by a certain Genoese (Christophorus quidam, vir Ligur). Our friend Pomponius Laetus (the same who was persecuted in Rome for his religious views: renowned as one of the most excellent promoters of classical Roman literature) could hardly hold back his tears of joy when I first gave him the news of these unexpected events. [...] Which of us today might still be astonished at the discoveries which were attributed to Saturn, to Triptolemus, and to Ceres?[1]

The opening of new intellectual horizons brought about by the brilliant successes of the Iberian voyages of discovery[2] contributed to an atmosphere spreading through many parts of Europe in which exemplary antiquity, under the influ-

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1 Pietro Martire d'Anghiera: *Opus Epistolarum*, cap. CLII, cited here as according to Alexander von Humboldt: *Kritische Untersuchung zur historischen Entwicklung der geographischen Kenntnisse von der Neuen Welt und den Fortschritten der Nautischen Astronomie im 15. und 16 Jahrhundert. Mit Alexander von Humboldts Geographischer und Physischer Atlas der Äquinoctial-Gegenden des Neuen Kontinents, sowie dem Unsichtbarer Atlas der von ihm untersuchten Kartenwerke*. With a complete index of persons and objects; edited according to the translation from the French by Julius Ludwig Ideler, with an afterword by Ottmar Ette. Frankfurt am Main–Leipzig: Insel Verlag 2009, vol. I, p.84.

2 Pedro Mártir de Anglería: *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo*. Estudio y Apéndices por el Dr. Edmundo O'Gormon. Traducción del latin del Dr. Agustín Millares Carlo. 2 vols. Mexico City, D.F.: Editorial José Porrúa e hijos 1964, here vol. I, p. 201.

ence of the Renaissance—as the passage above indicates—was being "corrected" and outstripped by a fundamental expansion of knowledge. Living under the influence of classical antiquity would be happier if and when one knew oneself to be in many respects equal to it. For could not the new age become the longed-for *figural*[3] fulfillment of classical antiquity?

Since the elucidations of Samuel Y. Edgerton, it is hardly likely that anyone will again underestimate the enormous significance of the European "rediscovery" of Ptolemy, whose *Geographia* (in an edition that is lost today) was brought from Constantinople to the city on the Arno by a group of Florentines enflamed with enthusiasm for Greek antiquity.[4] For it was not only the three possibilities for the projection of the globe on a planar, two-dimensional surface, as presented by Ptolemy, that were of tremendous importance to the experiments and treatises, to the forms of construction and thought of the—as we might say today—"star architects" Leon Battista Alberti and Filippo Brunelleschi, in the context of an all-encompassing linear perspective. Even the very grid itself that the great Alexandrine geographer had cast over the world as he knew it, from the Isles of the Blessed to China, lent itself to being extended—as the Florentine Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli showed—not only toward the South, North, or East, but above all toward that unknown West, upon whose horizon men had for ages believed to discern the images or illusions of islands lying more or less nearby.

Although Hans Belting's recent study has brought to mind and highlighted the great complexity of intercultural and transcultural movements of knowledge that brought forth, within the interplay of Orient and Occident, of Baghdad and Florence, the discovery and invention of the central perspective in the 15th century,[5] the degree to which Ptolemy's perspectival/cartographical projection put its stamp upon an entire epoch remains beyond dispute, as does the fact, moreover, that, thanks to the structure of newly acquired knowledge, it also afforded a re-thinking of antiquity. If it is thus possible, indeed, if it is essentially unavoidable to think simultaneously of the "Birth of Geometric Perspective"[6] and the so-called discovery of the New World while forgetting neither Baghdad nor Flo-

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3 Regarding different traditions of the figural, and of figural interpretation of history, c.f. Erich Auerbach: "Figura." In: *Erich Auerbach: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur romanischen Philologie*. Edited by Fritz Schalk and Gustav Konrad. Bern–Munich: Francke Verlag 1967, pp. 55–92.

4 See Samuel Y. Edgerton: *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective*. New York: Basic Books 1975. (German language edition, *Die Entdeckung der Perspektive*. Translated by Heinz Jatho. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag 2002; see esp. pp. 85–112.)

5 See Hans Belting*: Florenz und Bagdad. Eine westöstliche Geschichte des Blicks*. Munich: C.H. Beck 2009.

6 Samuel Y. Edgerton: *Die Entdeckung der Perspektive*, p. 111.

rence, then one may certainly designate the associated grid system of Ptolemy, by which it became possible to assign to every point on the surface of the Earth precise, mathematically determinable coordinates, as the "*modus vivendi* of the 15th and 16th centuries."[7] For this grid system is far more than merely a mathematical or cartographical tool: rather, it engenders a way of life and with it an attendant knowledge for living that seeks to grasp the world in its totality and to determine anew the place of humanity in the universe. It stands for the new ways of building and thinking in the world—from and with the perspective, of course, of the Occident.

The ubiquity of Italy in the first phase of accelerated globalization as driven by the Iberian powers of Portugal and Spain is thus anything but an accident, not only in the realm of sailing and concrete navigation , but also in mathematics, cognitive science, the writing of history and, not least, in literature. The movement of the "emergence" of new outlines of lands and islands hitherto unknown to Europeans, as it was meticulously and daily annotated by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (known in the Spanish-speaking world as Pedro Mártir de Anglería), soon gave rise, cartographically–as shown in the world map of Martin Waldseemüller (who greco-romanized his name to "Hylacomylus")—to a new world that could no longer be considered in terms drawn from antiquity, that is, the spatial concepts of Ptolemy.

The name "America," first recorded in Waldseemüller's map, is therefore a cartographical invention that would not have been created but for the necessity of new horizons that reached beyond antiquity. Within this context, we need not also be interested in the details concerning which well-known errors and misunderstandings led the young geographer, cartographer, and former Freiburg student Martin Waldseemüller to suggest, in his *Cosmographiae universalis introductio* (1507), the first name of the Florentine traveler Amerigo Vespucci as the appellation for the "New Continent" (as the latter had discursively set it in the world), and to include it as such in his world map.[8] For his "discovery" of America was a result of that movement in which the occidentally north-directed map powerfully creates a world.

Even if this was not necessarily known in all its particulars to the protagonists of the first phase of accelerated globalization such as Columbus, the Pin-

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7 Ibid.

8 This history was impressively related, with great meticulousness and across hundreds of pages, by Alexander von Humboldt: Kritische Untersuchung zur historischen Entwicklung der geographischen Kenntnisse von der Neuen Welt und den Fortschritten der Nautischen Astronomie im 15. und 16 Jahrhundert.

zón brothers, or even Amerigo Vespucci himself, western antiquity's knowledge of the world was being corrected, adapted, and expanded at a tremendous pace, but at the same time being placed within the grid system of the great Alexandrian cartographer. In this fundamentally complex interplay between Orient and Occident, between antiquity and the early modern era, the dawning of European awareness of the existence of a *New* World while still in the course of the first phase of expansion had to lead to the conception of a *new* world that could only be envisioned within a tremendous spatial dilation, but also within a dynamic *vectorization* of all knowledge. For Europe, modern thought cannot be understood without modern consciousness. America was found and founded from many starting points, and within the grid systems and the networks that Europe from then on—and even until today—cast over the world, it obtained an ever-changing *figura*, an ever-changing shape. It makes us aware of the power, and also the violence, of these processes.

In his fascinating 1500 world map (Fig. 3), which is now kept in the *Museo Naval* in Madrid, Juan de la Cosa preserved cartographically, like a snapshot of the world, this impressive territorialization *and*, as awesome as it is violent, this vectorization of the knowledge of his time. The Spanish mariner and cartographer, as *piloto* and, later, as *piloto mayor*, played an active role in the Spanish expansion into the Caribbean and along the coast of South America, and distinguished himself as probably the most accomplished navigator in the Spanish fleet, not only in the voyages of Columbus, but in those of Amerigo Vespucci as well. With his cartographical masterpiece, he may well be considered one of the significant creators of an early modern-era view of the world, the conception of this view continuing to influence the map depictions of the planet Earth today. A new world and a new world order were emerging: the first of (as of today) four phases of accelerated globalization had a world-wide impact that one could describe—to employ the phrase coined by Goethe—as *velociferisch*, that is, devilishly fast.[9]

The particular relevance and significance of the cartographical accomplishment of the Spanish mariner becomes clear when we compare his world map with that of Hylacomylus (alias Martin Waldseemüller), which—appearing in 1507—indeed attaches for the first time the name "America" to the regions new-

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9 C.f. the frequently occurring mention in Goethe's writings, especially between 1825 and 1827, of a "velociferischer Zeitalter" in connection with Goethe's concept of a world literature in Anne Bohnenkamp: "Den Wechseltausch zu beförderm: Goethes Entwurf einer Weltliteratur." In: *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Ästhetische Schriften 1824–1832. Über Kunst und Altertum V–VI.* Anne Bohnenkamp, ed. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1999, pp. 937–964.

ly "discovered" across the Atlantic by Europeans, but which by no means represents the first cartographical depiction of the early modern-era world view.[10] Waldseemüller's indisputably epoch-making draft is influenced by a mode of depiction that strongly accentuates the continents and the continental, and which lends to his cartographical world view, despite all the historical acceleration of the exploratory voyages of his time, something very static, even though his "New World" first crystallizes at the outermost edge of the world previously known to Europeans.

By comparison, the world map of Juan de la Cosa is characterized by its high coefficients of motion, by its pronounced vectoricity. His map from the year 1500 not only contains the first cartographical image of America to have come down to us, nor does it merely draw up the most advanced map yet of the New World as part of a new world order under construction, integrating with tremendous precision the cartographical, nautical, and geographical knowledge of the time; rather, it interpolates this knowledge with the occidental mental images, handed down since antiquity, of the regions beyond Europe.[11] In the Spanish pilot's chart of the world one can still discern with impressive exactitude not only how a detailed mapping of the Antilles and some of the continental coasts surrounding the Caribbean were sketched, not only how the geostrategic significance of this region in the center of the looming American continent was clearly shown,[12] but also how all of those occidental projections again emerged that could now be directed toward a world as yet "unknown" to the Europeans.

Thus do we find in this world map not only an extraordinarily sharp snapshot of that network of maps that were thrown by Europe, from various "ground zeros," various "Greenwiches," out across the non-European world, nor do we encounter only the knowledge and the con*figura*tions of those Portolan charts that had made the shipping lanes of the Mediterranean so much safer since the end of the thirteenth century, we also encounter the lands of Gog and Magog, the monsters and the headless people who gaze upon us with the eyes upon

10 Compare to the account in the otherwise very useful volume by Ulfried Reichardt: *Globalisierung*, p. 117. The cartographical draft of Hylacomylus is by no means the "first world map" (p. 117); also, Martin Behaim's famous globe in the form of an "Erdapfel" (potato) appeared a half-century earlier than the 1540's, given here as the date of the "first globe" (p. 24).

11 On this imagery, see also, among others, the numerous illustrations in Miguel Rojas Mix: *América imaginaria*. Barcelona: Editorial Lumen – Quinto Centenario 1992.

12 See also Ricardo Cerezo Martínez: *La Cartografia Náutica Española de los Siglos XIV, XV, y XVI*. Madrid: Centro Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 1994, pp. 82–83 and the attendant commentary.

their chests, every bit as faithful as the coastlines of that which one would later call the "Greater Caribbean."

So do we navigate through a new and yet strangely familiar space that was measured by the fleets of the great sea powers of Europe. And at the same time, we move through the technological and mythological knowledge that had been gathered over the course of many centuries into great collections, had been time and again amended, and had then been brought together—from many regions of the world—in Europe. For the first time, on the basis of this knowledge, of this net thrown over the world, Map makes World. The reading of that which is collected in this fashion—and here a duplication is intended, in the etymological sense, insofar as "to read" (*lesen*) and "to collect" (*sammeln*) sip from the same stream[13] —creates, in Juan de la Cosa's historical snapshot, an almost dizzying depth of focus that impresses not only by means of its geographical-historiographical illumination, but even more by its mobile-historical dynamic.

How then do technological and mythological knowledge, geographical and literary information, navigational concepts and concepts of belief fit together? It would be completely unsatisfying and misleading should one wish to separate artificially the two lines of tradition in occidental thought, relegating one anachronistically to the realm of factuality, the other to that of fictionality. In the case of Juan de la Cosa, that which has been discovered is interwoven with that which has been invented in a manner that, for his time, is thoroughly self-evident, such that one could easily say that America was essentially invented by Europe before it could be discovered by these same Europeans and included in their own network of maps.[14] Very early on, and perhaps more than any other, Alexander von Humboldt, as the first globalization theorist, brought attention to the capacity of invention, of the myths, legends, and convictions of mariners and theoreticians, of travelers and stay-at-homes alike, to create fact.[15]

All of this strikes me as being especially clear, not in the example of the Island World of the Caribbean, but in that part of the Americas that we now refer to as Mexico. For before its geographical discovery and conquest, Mexico—as is

13 C.f. Yvette Sánchez: *Coleccionismo y literatura*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra 1999.

14 C.f. Edmundo O'Gorman's definitive work: *La invención de América*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica 1958.

15 See Alexander von Humboldt: *Kritische Untersuchung zur historischen Entwicklung der geographischen Kenntnisse von der Neuen Welt und den Fortschritten der Nautischen Astronomie im 15. und 16 Jahrhundert*. Regarding this dimension of Humboldt's work, c.f. Ottmar Ette: *Alexander von Humboldt und die Globalisierung. Das Mobile des Wissens*. Frankfurt am Main–Leipzig: Insel Verlag 2009.

revealed by a closer reading of the corresponding map segments—is already part of a world-wide historical process *de longue durée*.

For Mexico, or the vice-regal New Spain, does not yet exist on European maps at the turn of the 15th to the 16th century, yet it is already within the global network upon them. Decades before the appearance of Hernán Cortés in the high valley of Anáhuac, the Spanish world maps feature a first picture of that which has yet to become the future Mexico: a portion of that immense and violent *Empresa de Indias*,[16] of that first phase of accelerated globalization that determined for long centuries the division of power and influence over the surface of the Earth—in the *Capitulaciones de Santa Fe* between the Catholic Monarchs and Christopher Columbus, and in the treaty of Tordesillas between the Spaniards and Portuguese immediately before and after the initial landing of the three Spanish ships on those coasts that Amerigo Vespucci will first designate *Mundus Novus*. The first presentation of Mexico on European maps of which we are aware is therefore the visualization of that which does not yet exist, but which, in its not-yet-being or its not-yet-being-so, has long since begun to exist and has taken on concrete form. The invention thus precedes the discovery.

The simple separation of factuality and fictionality, as between truth and lies, seems to me to be far too glib to do justice to the complexity of the truth in lies—and of the lies in truth—which that millennia-old circulation of knowledge by what we today know as literature is capable of reporting within the field of tension between poetry and truth.[17] Beyond an impoverishment of vocabulary that has been escalating for some time now, and which, crossing into the English-speaking realm, increasingly employs the differentiation between “fiction” and “non-fiction,” what seems decisive to me, from today’s perspective, is that that which is discovered on-site and that which is invented join together into something that is being experienced and something that has been experienced, or—in other words—they stand within the context of an experiential knowledge that also shapes the processes of reception. For it is equally possible to live and to live through not only that which is “discovered” in America, but also that which is projected upon America and therefore “invented.” Discoveries and inventions, then, that have been lived, as literature has known since its beginnings.

16 On the timeliness of this topic, see the novel by Erik Orsenna, *L’Entreprise des Indes*. Paris: Stock–Fayard 2010.

17 I am, of course, not merely alluding to Goethe’s famous title, but also to Mario Vargas Llosa: *La verdad de las mentiras*. Barcelona: Seix Barral 1990.

The valuable manuscript map of Juan de la Cosa's *mappa mundi*, thus becomes a multiform medium of knowledge that transversally binds together picture-text and text-picture, which impressively makes visible the alternating restrictions of the discovered, the invented, and the experienced as held by the mariner, the helmsman, and the cartographer. Indeed, the acts of finding, inventing, and experiencing form therein no dimensions that would be sharply and precisely separable in this cartographical masterpiece, but indeed they form a context of mutual cross-referencing that in a fascinating way may still be lived and relived in its relationality today. Would Columbus ever have set out, had he not intensively lived his lies?[18]

But the "Indian Undertaking" is no mere intellectual exercise. Let us not forget: Juan de la Cosa's map not only *arranges* the world differently, it *subordinates* it into parts. In the discovery of the Island World of the Caribbean, the geostrategic invention of this space is registered, on a global scale, partly cryptographically, but also, to some extent, with all desirable clarity. In this way, the world map becomes a form of the classification of knowledge and power that, in the transmedia interweaving of picture and text, demonstrates in a powerful and globalizing fashion the fundamental configurations of the world's knowledge—and of world domination—at the transition from the 15th to the 16th century. Juan de la Cosa's map-and-text image of the world as it was then known and in part assumed does not only reflect the image of a present world that is aware of its past periods on the most widely varying levels: it also models, in a prospective sense, the future world-image that would, in fact, shape the countenance of our Earth from the early modern era on.

In the complex relationality between the discovered and the revealed, the invented and the imagined, as well as that which is experienced and that which is lived, the existence of the not-yet-existent, that is, the presence of Mexico, is prospectively registered, though it is not yet accessible to Europeans. It is a dark region on the outermost western edge of that immense section of the map, covering an area almost as great as that of the European possessions in the Caribbean, marked with their little flags. The map proudly demarcates this region with precise outlines, a *terra incognita* reflected in that Christopher who (in direct reference to the Genoese who carries within his name the Christ-bearer, the dove, and the colonists in equal measure) becomes a more-than-cartographical legitimation-figure of an expansion movement that fundamentally changes world hi-

18 In Orsenna's novel, the narrator's last question to the Genoese sounds similar: "had you not lied, and before all else, lied to yourself, would you have had the courage to sail so far west?" Erik Orsenna: *L'Entreprise des Indes*, p. 372.

story. We are dealing here with a visualization, a manifestation of New Spain / Mexico even before its "discovery" or its being found, but—just as Ernst Bloch asserts[19]—not before its actual *invention*. And on Juan de la Cosa's world map, does not the Christopher figure with the Christ child also hide the possible promise of a strait, a division of the looming landmasses that could afford Europeans a passage to that other ocean that spreads across the extreme eastern portion of the *mappa mundi*? To that ocean about which Europeans had first been extensively informed by Marco Polo, that ocean from which arise the outlines of the legend-shrouded Cipango that so captivated Columbus?

In what fundamental way this knowledge is tied to power certainly need not be specifically explicated: the flags of European powers planted on the islands of the Antilles, for instance, are all too clear. The signs, banners, and insignias of calculated geostrategic significance included on the world map of the *piloto mayor* make it abundantly clear: the Caribbean very quickly became for the Spaniards the military starting point for their successful campaigns of conquest in the north, the middle, and the south of that which, not until decades later, would come to be perceived—on a world map by Mercator[20] from 1538—as the American double-continent.

The American hemisphere developed consequent to its asymmetrical relationship to Europe. The vectoricity of this map by Juan de la Cosa illuminates the asymmetry of this power structure from a contemporaneous perspective and in a sharp and arresting light. And at the same time, it makes it clear that if there is an area on our planet that represents, in a highly concentrated form, not a history of space but rather, a history of motion, it is the area that first emerges here: the transoceanic yet intra-American, interlinked world of the Caribbean archipelago.

Thus emerges, upon this map of motion, a picture of the Earth within which the islands and archipelagos are imbued with a vital significance, taking on world-wide, transareal connective functions. With their outlines, they not only trace the military island-strategies of an Iberian world conquest, they transform the entire world into an *Island World*, connecting across the oceans and showing an emerging relationality, that is transcontinentally connected from Europe, from the Iberian peninsula. On no other map is the dynamic of the European ex-

19 C.f. Ernst Bloch: *Das Prinzip der Hoffnung*. 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1973, p. 874.

20 C.f. Stefan Zweig: "Amerigo. Die Geschichte eines historischen Irrtums." In: *Stefan Zweig: Zeiten und Schicksale. Aufsätze und Vorträge aus den Jahren 1902–1942*. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag 1990,p. 423.

pansion process, the celerity and historio-mythological depth of the first phase of accelerated globalization presented to the eye with such force as on this ambitious world outline, taking its shape from the most widely varying parts, and displaying not a spatial history, but a history of motion. It documents and imagines the power of an expansion that sought to draw to itself everything within the vortex that it had caused.

The indisputable military superiority of the Spanish conquerors, as may be viewed in light of the course of the *conquista*, was grounded not only in its, as it were, scientifically (or proto-scientifically) anchored association with things already discovered, but also in its projections and in the forms of living and experiencing that immediately assigned to the conquered individual a place within its own knowledge and experience—within the coordinates, so to speak, of preexistent grid systems. Moving outward from the Caribbean—that region of the world on the edge of which Christopher Columbus presumed was the place of earthly paradise, which he then believed he had definitely located at the mouth of the Orinoco—the mobile-historical transposition of the Spanish/European expansion occurred. Over the course of its development, not least among its concerns was that the orders, classifications, and subordinations, but also the interconnectedness of its knowledge be, if not enforced, at least positioned to be dominant world-wide.

In this sense, one may in fact speak of the grid network as though speaking of a *modus vivendi*: it puts in perspective both that which has been experienced, and that which has yet to be, in a manner that is at once designative and yet bound to a central meaning. It configures in this fashion a knowledge for living that programs into the classification of any chosen position a (nautical, technological, ideological or religious) knowledge for survival, but at the same time an experiential knowledge that takes everything newly experienced and spatially arranges and assigns it, and subordinates it to a centralizing, globalizing center of meaning—whether its nature be worldly or transcendent.

Juan de la Cosa's world map is thus—and at first glance this may be surprising—shaped by a double centralization. For on the one hand, in a west-eastern respect he quite understandably pushes that very Iberia, and with it Europe, into a central point; proceeding from there, not only the regions in both the East (*Indias Orientalis*) and the West (*Indias Occidentalis*) could be included in a nascent, world-wide traffic of colonization and trade under European leadership, but Africa as well, having long since been sailed around by the Portuguese and provided by them with fortifications of all sorts.

The 1500 map, probably completed in Puerto de Santa María in southern Spain, shows the degree to which a geographically small but highly dynamic

part of the Earth here, as the power center of globalization, stood before those portions of the planet that were many times larger: in an astonishingly short time, distant reaches of the globe are transformed by the globalizing powers into objects of their expansion. In cartography directed northward, Europe naturally lies "on top," it is spatially enthroned "above" the regions it puts within its crosshairs: the small, strongly divided western expansion of Asia distinguishes itself in its (in more ways than one) *superior* position. A knowledge of the world that is aligned with European interests begins to agglomerate ever more strongly in the rapidly growing European power center. How quickly this knowledge may be grasped and placed within the grid network is shown by Juan de la Cosa's masterwork, for it was completed barely seven years after Columbus' return from the "New World."

But added to this first, there is a second form (likewise not alone) of cartographical centering. For it might be difficult to over-estimate the significance of that fact, already mentioned with relation to both art and cartography, that the world map of Juan de la Cosa represents a development and a configuration in historical mentality that—simultaneously based on Arab and European impulses—in fifteenth-century Florence promoted in such a momentous way the introduction of central perspective in painting and the arts, and in architecture and city planning. In the creative intersection of all of these developments: Portugal, Spain, and the great cities of Italy.

One may well maintain, with good reason, that along with the invention of central perspective, so epoch-making in art history, another, equally artful invention (that incidentally also further promoted the Arab influence) came on the scene, thanks especially to Brunelleschi and Alberti [21]: the centering of the world along, and with the aid of, the equatorial line, flanked by the lines of the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. This invention strikes us just as "naturally" as the northward orientation of our maps, and opens that vectorized space of the *tropics*, the concept of which it consistently identifies as a *moving* space on a scale that spans the globe. The tropics thus form on this map both midpoint and passageway, both the center of the Earth-sphere (or, in Martin Behaim's case, the Earth-apple or potato) and the threshold to another world familiar to Europeans, *all at once*: a reversible ambiguous figure that, in the occidental pictorial tradition, was forever being newly formed and newly envisioned, both artistically and cartographically.

21 C.f., from an art history perspective, Hans Belting: *Florenz und Bagdad*, pp. 180–228.

This is how the western image of our earth, the image that remains in the present and dominates all other projections, came into being; it is an image of the world that in its tying together of knowledge and power, but also in its tying together those things which are discovered, invented, already experienced or yet to be experienced, forms the mobile-historical epistemology of any globalization (as shaped by Europe). In that respect it has changed little up to the present day. Whatever is *world-wide* and can be thought of as *world-wide*, it may be said, is even today, in a world culturally marked by Europe, directed by those principles of thought, understanding, and experience that in such an impressive manner were brought to light as epistemology in the double-centering of that map from the year 1500. We are dealing with a visualization of a transareal epistemology that can only think of the world in terms of centering.

Islands Sea Knowledge: an Island Atlas of Accelerated Globalization

Before this epistemological and power-political backdrop, a certain tradition in the representation of knowledge of the world increases in significance, reaching its actual heyday between the close of the 15th and the turn to the 17th century. As a genre, it is connected to the term *isolario*, or "island atlas," and is far less attached to Iberian space than to the sphere of influence of the maritime power, Venice,[22] despite the fact that the famed *Islario general de todas las islas del mundo* ("General Island Atlas of all of the Islands in the World") by Alonzo de Santa Cruz appeared in the 1640's in Spain.[23] In the Lagoon City lies the matrix, as it were, of this island atlas genre, which is so historically rich, and yet has only at first glance become historic.

The *isolario* form, which emerged in the history of genre more or less parallel to the map world of Juan de la Cosa and which at the beginning of the 16th century was expanded to world-wide proportions, should be understood in the following pages as a form of classification of knowledge which conveyed the knowledge of the world in a certainly complementary but at the same time alternative form *as an epistemology* of a different visualization. But what foundations of thought does the genre of the insularium show us?

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22 See also Silvana Serafin: "Immagini del mondo coloniale nella cultura veneziana dei secoli XVI e XVII." In *Rassegna Iberistica* (Venice) 57 (June 1996), pp. 39–42.

23 See also Tom Conley: "Virtual Reality and the 'Isolario.'" In *Annali d'Italianistica* (Chapel Hill) 14 (1996), p. 126 f.

A look at the development in the early modern era of this genre that artfully combines literary and cartographical, lyrical and geographical traditions should facilitate our answering this question. The series of great Venetian island atlases was kicked off by Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti, who in 1485 published an *isolario* of the islands of the Aegean that comprised 49 island maps and the same number of sonnets, each appropriate to its respective map. This *isolario* can be viewed as a complex iconotext.[24] In this work, published in Venice, it was no longer a matter of hand-drawn maps for practical use, but rather—as will become apparent—one of an artistically productive and successful combinatorial analysis of picture and text. The *iconotextual*, mutually referential nature of text-picture and pictures-text (that cannot be reduced to a reciprocal, merely illustrative function) brought the lyric form of the sonnet, as a form for compacting the composition of an insularity, into direct connection with that *isolation*, insofar as it characterizes the island itself as a self-contained structure surrounded by water. In this text, so important to the development of the genre, island maps corresponded in an aesthetically successful way with island-texts which, being lyric forms of expression, could avail themselves of compressed stylistic forms.

The lyric form of the sonnet creates a text-island that, as an island-text, demarcates a graphic "external border" in a manner every bit as clearly contoured as the cartographical drawing presents an initially self-contained sign system. That this affinity between poem and island may by no means be viewed as a historically and geographically limited phenomenon of the early modern era should be proved by the fact that on December 7, 1992, in his speech on the occasion of his receiving the Nobel prize for literature, the great poet of the English-speaking Caribbean, Derek Walcott, equated the art of writing to insularity and pointedly emphasized: "Poetry is an island that breaks away from the main."[25] Precisely in the context of archipelagos, it was essential to grasp the di-

24 C.f. Tom Conley: "Virtual reality and the 'Isolario,'" p. 121. This line of tradition remains essentially unacknowledged in the general view of Volkmar Billig in *Inseln. Geschichte einer Faszination*. Berlin: Mathes & Seitz 2010. The statement made in this work, that "it seems…not to have come into anyone's mind before the end of the 18th century to speak of an *Island of Poetry* or *Fantasy*, such as may be found in an abundance of text passages since the time of Goethe and Romanticism" (p.13) is undoubtedly insupportable.

25 Derek Walcott: *The Antilles, Fragments of Epic Memory*. The 1992 Nobel Lecture. In: *World Literature Today* (Oklahoma) LXVII, 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 261–267; excerpted here from Derek Walcott: "The Antilles, Fragments of Epic Memory." In: *Derek Walcott: What the Twilight Says. Essays*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux 1998, p. 70. In the context of insular epistemology, c.f. Ottmar Ette: "Von Inseln, Grenzen und Vektoren. Versuch über die fraktale Inselwelt

stinctive character of each individual island, and not to take them all together and render them—like the islands of the Caribbean, for instance—mistakable and interchangeable for one another in homogenizing advertising discourses.[26] The great poet of the Caribbean had already commented on this complex relationship between island and continent in an allegory:

> Break a vase, and the love that reassembles the fragments is stronger than that love which took its symmetry for granted when it was whole. The glue that fits the pieces is the sealing of its original shape. It is such a love that reassembles our African and Asiatic fragments, the cracked heirlooms whose restoration shows its white scars. This gathering of broken pieces is the care and pain of the Antilles, and if the pieces are disparate, ill-fitting, they contain more pain than their original sculpture, those icons and sacred vessels taken for granted in their ancestral places. Antillean art is this restoration of our shattered histories, our shards of vocabulary, our archipelago becoming a synonym for pieces broken off from the original continent.[27]

At this point, the topic cannot and should not be those manifold connections that one might draw between Derek Walcott's image of the broken vessel and the considerations of Walter Benjamin regarding the task of translation, where the "shards of a vessel"[28] are ingeniously discussed with a view to the multiplicity of languages. The notion of the archipelago of the Antilles as a collection of shards that stem from the "original" continents—and thus as much from America as from Africa, Asia, or Europe—seems to me more relevant to our context here. With Walcott, the island-fragment is perceived, parallel to the text-island of the poem, as part of a totality, indeed advancing into the presence of this totality in the actual (and concentrated) sense; at the same time, however, in the pathos of a brokenness, becoming present in its cicatrization, which breathes life into the vessel, the vase, even in this shattered state. The Island World of the Caribbean takes the stage, in Walcott's words, as a totality in fragments; it shows itself to be a world in which the not-original dramatically exaggerates the origins, it reveals its identity as a microcosm, wherein all the continents find one another, yet without ever wishing to deny the violence that has been done to them. In the shards of the words may still be heard the words of the henchmen.

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der Karibik." In: Marianne Braig / Ottmar Ette et al. (eds.): *Grenzen der Macht / Macht der Grenzen*, pp. 135–180.

26 Derek Walcott: "The Antilles, Fragments of Epic Memory. The 1992 Nobel Lecture," p. 81 f.

27 Ibid. p. 69.

28 Walter Benjamin: "Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers." In: *Walter Benjamin: Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. IV, 1. Published by Tillman Rexroth. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1980, p. 18.

At this point, however, let us turn from the fourth back to the first phase of accelerated globalization: to those shattered histories out of which the Antilles have been made since the first surge in globalization.

The fact that island atlases are by no means limited to combining only with the forms and language of poetry was shown more than forty years after Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti's *Isolario* by Benedetto Bordone, originally of Padua, who first published *his* island atlas in Venice in 1528. With this book, that appears during a period of markedly intensifying literary island-production for which Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) may serve as representative,[29] a somewhat more extensive examination is necessary—and not only because it happens that in the English language at that same time, in the year 1528, the first recorded evidence of discussion of "the whole world" has been found.[30] For the date of its appearance lies not only *after* the so-called "discovery" of America, but also *after* the conquest of the capital city of the Aztec empire by the Spanish under Hernán Cortés—and thus *after* the first enduring confrontation with advanced American civilizations.

Before the backdrop of these truly cultural challenges to the self-concept of the Europeans, this eminently successful work, unlike Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti's *Isolario*, can claim not only to have mapped a portion of the Mediterranean, but a whole world of islands in a world-wide projection. In the island atlas by Bordone, we encounter an early answer not only to the first phase of accelerated globalization, but also to all of the problematic areas that arose with the question of coexistence amidst an indisputable profusion of religious, societal, and communal forms.

The "intellectual of Padua,"[31] was probably born around 1460 and died in Venice on April 10, 1539. His illegitimate son, Scaliger, would later become one of the most famous figures in European humanism.[32] In 1528, Bordone published the first edition of his island atlas, under the detailed title *Libro di Benedetto Bordone nel qual si ragiona de tutto l'isole del mondo, con li lor nomi antichi & moderni, historie, favole, & modi del loro vivere & in qual parte del mare stano, &*

29 C.f. Volkmar Billig: *Inseln. Geschichte einer Faszination*, pp.81–88.

30 C.f. Steven Connor: "I Believe That the World." In: Vera Nünning / Ansgar Nünning et.al. (eds.): *Cultural Ways of Worldmaking. Media and Narratives*. Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter 2010, p. 30.

31 Silvana Serafin: *Immagini del mondo colonial*, p. 39.

32 See also Robert W. Karrow: "Benedetto Bordone." In: ibid: *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps*. Chicago: Speculum Orbis Press 1993, p. 89.

in qual parallelo & clima giacciano.[33] Subsequent editions, which were also published in Venice during the author's lifetime, bore from 1534 on the more succinct title, *Isolario*, which would also become widely accepted in the research associated with this work. Bordone's *Libro* will therefore be referred to as *Isolario* in the following pages, thereby clearly associating it with the delineated Venetian genre-tradition of the insularium.

Bordone's island atlas consists of three parts, quite unequal to one another in scope, the first having a total of twenty-nine maps containing the Atlantic Island World including the Baltic Sea; the second illustrating the islands of the Mediterranean with forty-three maps, while the third, with only ten maps, highlights the islands of the Far East. He endeavors in this work to present, in a sequence with a repeating structure, information on geographical position, climate, history, population, flora and fauna, and many other aspects of general interest to his European readership.

Bordone's *Isolario* is rounded off with schematic drawings of the globe in graduated degrees (which without the contemporary discussion of Ptolemy's cartographical projections would certainly not have produced such comprehensive results), with data on the tropical lines, the inclination of the Earth's ecliptic, and on the segmenting of the compass rose in ancient and present times, but there are also general maps of Europe, the eastern Mediterranean, and of the entire known world at the time, all of this conveying to the contemporary reader—and therein may have lain a good part of the work's attraction—a vivid and colorful depiction of our planet. It is this "scientific" framework that signals the task of the *Isolario* to disseminate among its viewers and readers dependable, fact-based information and thus a "true" knowledge of the most diverse regions of the world. Translocal references to the various islands within the same Archipelago complete the respective sections of the text.

33 Benedetto Bordone: *Libro di Benedetto Bordone nel qual si ragiona de tutto l'isole del mondo, con li lor nomi antichi & moderni, historie, favole, & modi del loro vivere & in qual parte del mare stano, & in qual parallelo & clima giacciano. Con il breve di papa Leone. Et gratia & privelegio della Illustrissima Signoria com' in quelli appare*. Vinegi [Venezia]: per Nicolo d'Aristotile, detto Zoppino 1528. I refer in the following to this edition that also appeared in 2006 in an electronic version from Harald Fischer Verlag in Erlangen. The translation of the title in English would be "Book of Benedetto Bordone, in which an account is given on all the islands of the world, with their ancient and modern names, their histories, tales & ways of life & in which part of the sea they are found & under which latitude & climate they lie."

If one compares Benedetto Bordone's world map[34] of 1528 (Fig. 4) with that of Juan de la Cosa from 1500, the first thing that becomes quite apparent is just how much the European map networks now encompass the entire planet and integrate (or force) it into the same spatiality and temporality. Bordone proves himself here to be a cartographer who is conscious of the discussions on perspective emanating essentially from Florence and understands how to integrate them into his map. Secondly, it becomes apparent that the substantially lower level of precision in the Venetian *Isolario* when compared to Juan de la Cosa is indicative of this island atlas having a different orientation and objective. It is certain: the Spanish map from 1500 was not intended for a larger audience, but for very exclusive political and military elite in the Spanish colonial system. It represents the classified intelligence of a world power with command over detailed but secret information, without which the subsequent conquest of further parts of the world would not have been possible.

Juan de la Cosa's map, then, is directly incorporated into a pragmatics wherein that which is discovered on-site, that which has been invented in another time and space, and that which one has experienced oneself are all integrated into a nautical-military objective that one must justifiably describe as the expansionist world policy of the Spanish crown in competition with other world powers (especially the naval power of Portugal).

This is to a much lesser degree the case in Benedetto Bordone's *Isolario*, despite the fact that the interests of the commercial power, Venice, are discernible in all parts of this depiction of the world. In Bordone's insularium, unlike the Spanish map of 1500, one encounters not only numerous inaccuracies, but also a great number of contradictions that are quickly visible to the attentive reader.

Comparing, for instance, the individual map of the island of Cuba[35] from the book's first section with those islands of the Caribbean that are drawn on the world map in the same volume, one easily recognizes that the drawing of the outline of Cuba—which has not the least bit of the accuracy of Juan de la Cosa 28 years earlier—can no longer be found. On Bordone's separate map of Cuba there appears an island, the basically schematized and interchangeably jagged

34 A print of this map can be found in the "Unsichtbarer Atlas" in the aforementioned edition by Alexander von Humboldt: *Kritische Untersuchung*, vol. 2, fig. 28.

35 In the exhibit "Fazination Kuba," which she curated, and which was first shown in the Württemberg Regional Library in Stuttgart from March 7 through May 19, 2007, then reopened on April 23, 2009 at the University of the Saarland in Saarbrücken, Birgit Oberhausen rightly emphasized the significance of this map. C.f. the exhibition catalog by Birgit Oberhausen: *Faszination Kuba in der Landesbibliothek: Literatur und Kultur 1492/2006*. Stuttgart: Württembergische Landesbibliothek 2007.

and embayed coastline of which *invent* the map of an island, in the interior of which one may see mountains and hills, forests and fields, and even Italian-style farmyards. The first cartographical depiction specifically of Cuba offers the picture of an invented island.

It would be too simple to accuse Bordone of lying here, and dispute that his work has any sort of credibility. For here the insularium turns out to be, *at the same time*, an imaginarium. In a completely different way, comparable only to a limited extent to Juan de la Cosa, discovery and invention go hand-in-hand with Bordone, and yet at the same time sketch out a world in which, in accompanying texts, the most diverse human forms of life and norms of life are co-present. For in the *Isolario*, in regards to the question of coexistence, it is the difference that is time after time placed in the foreground.

Although the integrated world map in Benedetto Bordone's *Isolario* attempts to make possible a general view of the world that is at the same time a "total impression" at a glance, the numerous deviations between the individual island maps and the "complete" general map indicate that the emphasis of this work from 1528 was placed not upon studying the dimension of the world-wide from a homogenizing perspective, but rather to present graphically to the eye natural-historical, climatic, historical, and cultural diversity. Therein, it seems to me, lies the distinctive feature of the inscribed line of tradition in this transmedial genre. For it insists upon *polyperspectivity*.

This may be seen with great clarity in the first, transatlantic section. The maps of Iceland, Ireland, and Southern England, of Brittany, Northwest Spain, and Scandinavia, in each case attended by detailed text passages, are accompanied by the no less textually embedded maps of North America and the North Atlantic, the city of Temistitan (i.e. Tenochitlán, later to become Mexico City), of Central and South America, Hispaniola, Jamaica, Cuba and still more Caribbean islands before we come around in a great circle, via Porto Santo, Madeira, the Canary Islands, the Cape Verdes, and the Azores, into the Bay of Cádiz in Southern Spain, thus reaching the Old World. Merely mentioning the names of the stations of this transatlantic "round trip" demonstrates that we are not only dealing with islands in the traditional sense of being completely surrounded by water, but that portions of the continents are included, even if not all of these last mentioned could yet be recognized and known to be continents by the people of that time. Due to the approach being not planar but punctiform, there arises a translocal connective network of difference that is applied on a global scale.

It is obvious that the indisputably over-broad use of the term "island" in regard not only to Labrador, Central America, Mexico, or South America, but also to Scandinavia, Spanish Galicia, or continental-European Brittany fashions a

world made up of islands of the greatest possible variety of situations and sizes, forms and outlines. Consequently, it is not a continental, that is, a cohesive, continuous perception of the world that dominates—as is suggested by the contiguous Old World continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa—but instead, a highly discontinuous and fragmented view of the world that presents a shattered world, burst, as it were, into separate shards. It is—to use a phrase from Clifford Geertz[36]—a world in pieces: a highly complicated world carved into islands, a world that only with great difficulty could be subjected to a single power or brought to a historical continuity, whether human or salvific. For though every island is indeed part of a cohesive world, each opens only a particular perspective on this definitively spherical Planet Earth.

It is certainly not mere coincidence that the insularia developed in the Venetian world and became an actual specialty of the Lagoon City.[37] In Bordone's *Libro* or *Isolario* too, the special position of Venice on a world-wide standard may be recognized even at first glance. Dedicated to this city erected on piles is—along with individual maps of the islands of Murano or Mazorbo—an especially lovingly executed city map that, at 230 x 326 mm, is hardly smaller than the map of the world and presents the island city with its Lido and mainland as the center of an archipelago.[38] *Urbi et orbi*: we have here a city as microcosm for an entire world. City and world are here viewed from a particular perspective and placed into the scene as islands.

From this perspective, it becomes clear why Tenochtitlán (*La gran citta di Temistitan*), as the capital city of the Aztecs, was accorded in the first section an especially elevated position. To be sure, the map of the later Mexico City was, with dimensions of 164 x 163mm, noticeably smaller than the map of Venice; the pages dedicated to Moctezuma's capital, however, which relied heavily on contemporary depictions, especially those prepared by Nicolò Liburnio,[39] and in which the *Cartas de relación* and, accordingly, its creator, Hernán Cortés are explicitly mentioned, are exceedingly comprehensive.[40] Without a doubt: Tenochtitlán was more to Benedetto Bordone than a Little Venice, or "Venezuela." In

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36 See Clifford Geertz: "The World in Pieces: Culture and Politics at the End of the Century." In: *Available Light: anthropological reflections on philosophical topics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 2000, pp. 218–263.

37 Robert W. Karrow: "Benedetto Bordone," p. 93.

38 Benedetto Bordone: *Libro*, f. XXX.

39 See Nicolò Liburnio: *La preclara narratione di Fernando Cortese della nuove Hispagna del mare Oceano*. Venetia: Bernardino de Viano 1524. C.f. Silvana Serafin: "Immagini del mondo coloniale," p. 40.

40 Benedetto Bordone: *Libro*, f. X.

Bordone's eyes, what Venice was to the Old World, the capital city of the Aztecs was to the New.

In the *Isolario*, it is with the greatest elaboration and admiration that the praises of the "wondrous possessions"[41] of the city, at that time already the largest city on the American continent, are virtually sung. And along with all of the likewise designated differences—in their position, for instance, whether in a salt ocean or a freshwater mountain lake, in the climates of the Old and New Worlds, etc.—the phenomenon is emphasized that Tenochtitlán, like Venice, rests upon countless small islands, making both of them, in a specific way, island cities that are built upon, and from, a multitude of islands and islets. In this sense, they are *island-islands*[42] and are thus accorded, in a transarchipelagic world, a special position of power with special claims to power, yet forming fractals of a world as an archipelago. One could very easily speak here of a transareal worldview in the early modern era.

Benedetto Bordone's *Isolario* develops in this sense a multiform world, in which the breaking up into a tremendous number of islands represents each one of these respectively *isolated* units as an *I(s)land-world*, each with its own specific characteristics. No single one of these islands may be reduced to another: in terms of their coordinates, climate, or history, and with regard to their languages, customs, and habits, all of them possess within the global grid network an autonomy—one might speak today in current bureaucratic German of an *Alleinstellungsmerkmal*, a "unique selling point"—that sets it apart from all other islands. Even though not a few of these islands are part of a larger archipelago, their connections to one another are presented as being very limited, such that the innate logic of these I(s)land-worlds with their separate isles again and again unmistakably stands out.

But if each island represents not only a self-contained world, and thus an I(s)land-world, but at the same time an *Island World*, distinguished by copious relations, then it very quickly becomes apparent in his *Isolario* that Benedetto Bordone markedly privileged the autonomy at the expense of the relationality or relatability. Behind this, one might well assume, there also lies hidden a claim to power: the ability, namely, to establish from out of Europe that very relationality and multi-leveled connectivity that in previous history had not yet existed

41 C.f. also Stephen Greenblatt: *Marvelous Possessions: the wonder of the New World*.

42 See also my article Ottmar Ette: "Insulare ZwischenWelten der Literatur. Inseln, Archipele und Atolle aus transarealer Perspektive." In: Anna E. Wilkens / Patrick Ramponi et al. (eds.): *Inseln und Archipele. Kulturelle Figuren des Insularen zwischen Isolation und Entgrenzung*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag 2011, pp. 13–56.

between these islands. Venice appears to be, in an actual sense, the translocal and, even more, the translocalizing power whose politics and economic strength are capable of changing the world during this first phase of accelerated globalization.

For which power would be better-suited to the establishment of world-wide relationality than a sea power whose very capital consists of countless islands, and whose economic might allows it to depend upon one of the greatest fleets in the world, a sea power that at any time would be in a position to sail quickly and efficiently between the important ports of this far-flung archipelago? For Benedetto Bordone, Venice must have seemed predestined to construct, starting in Europe, a world-wide network of connections that would have the capacity to transform its own Island World into a global Island World stretching world-wide. A propaganda piece for the Republic of the Serenissima, which had fallen behind in the global race? Beyond a doubt, such an interpretation cannot be dismissed out of hand.

Reflected then, in the water of this mighty lake from which the capital city of the Aztec empire rises, are the outlines of Venice—in such a way that one could describe the map of Temistitan as indisputably venetianized. In the description, or better, the staging of the beauty of this city, which can hardly be expressed in human language,[43] we accordingly do not come upon a tropicalization encompassing the entire landscape of a *locus amoenus*,[44] but upon an homage to the Lagoon City that, parallel to its economic and political power, had become one of the centers for the circulation of knowledge across the non-European world. For beyond all of the errors that the works of the "antichi"[45]—and one feels here all the pride of a man of the Renaissance—had handed down, a new knowledge of the entire body of the planet and its inhabitants had come into being, that Benedetto Bordone sought to bring together in the tested form of the island atlas, a form that no longer refers only to a portion of the Mediterranean, but to the entire world—and so the title—*tutte l'isole del mondo*.

This knowledge of the world came together in Europe, and from this perspective it seemed to be Europe's prerogative to put the so widely differing islands of the world translocally into connection with one another. Noted: from out of Europe, and in the interests of the Old World. Only the Europeans, and to an especially high degree, the Venetians—who as a trade empire threatened to cut off the Portuguese and the Spanish from the Spice Islands and the luxury goods of

43 Benedetto Bordone: *Libro*, ff. 9 and 12.
44 Ibid. p. 12.
45 Ibid. unpaginated prelude, p. 3.

the Far East—had access to the infrastructural means and the knowledge and capital necessary to accomplishing this. The *Isolario* of this artist and cartographer who had come from Padua to Venice consciously integrated island and ocean with knowledge, and it substantiated the Lagoon City's continuing claim to the rank of a Great Power on a global scale.

West-Eastern Island Abundance

Yet Bordone's insularium is without a doubt far more than merely a pro-venetian plea. For in Bordone's work, unlike the cohesive, continentally-directed graphic and written representations of the world, a different world-view is expressed that is attached to the diversity of all phenomena and forms of expression. If we consider, for instance, the depiction of the archipelago of the Caribbean, which in many respects reflects the state of information regarding this space and the myths of antiquity that were projected upon it, we quickly notice how much the individual, smaller islands differ from one another, not only in terms of natural setting or natural history, but above all, functionally and culturally. In what would later be called the Greater Antilles, which represent a larger landmass, there is again a strong internal differentiation, which in turn comprises many realms of nature and culture. The islands are "individualized" to a great degree, even if, in Benedetto Bordone's case—unlike the widely-traveled pilot, Juan de la Cosa—things discovered in other sources and things that have been invented dominate, yet cannot be anchored in personal experience. Nevertheless, Bordone presents his island atlas in the sense of three different journeys that are distinctly reminiscent of the paths of a traveler, not those of a scholar at his desk at home.

Perhaps the best example of the internal differentiation of the Greater Antilles is given by the island of Cuba, the map of which (probably the first separate depiction of the island in the world) is accompanied in the *Isolario* by a written text that is, in comparison to other islands, quite comprehensive. This island, which Christopher Columbus not only thought to be "the most beautiful that eye has ever beheld"[46] but, because of its length, mistook for a continent, also appears in Bordone's work as a "very large island" (*isola molto grande*).[47] It is supposedly shaped like a crocodile with more than seven hundred other islands

46 Cristobál Colón: *Los cuatro viajes. Testamento*. Edición de Consuelo Barela. Madrid: Alianza Editorial 1986, p. 82.
47 Benedetto Bordone: *Libro*, f. XIII.

and islets flocked around it, all of which are inhabited.[48] Cuba itself thus appears—just as it is even today represented in Cuban schoolbooks—as an archipelago in itself.

Benedetto Bordone, who clearly learned of the (alleged, but still handed down today) crocodile shape of the island only from written and not from cartographical sources, and who made an honest effort, though from his own imagination, to let such a form appear in his map, emphasized the "great diversity in the languages and customs of the people,"[49] that distinguishes the large island. This applies not only to the linguistic forms and ways of life practiced on the island, but to the natural landscape and environment, to the flora and fauna of the island, in the interior of which stretched dense jungles.

Bordone's *Isolario* evokes a world of islands in which large and small areas of land, islands and continents, all behave like islands to one another and are in each case characterized by a very distinct logic of their own. We are dealing here in a comprehensive sense with a landscape of theory. The abundance of particular logics leads to a multilogic, to a polylogic that accompanies polyperspectivity.

The world appears thereby in its entirety not only as an island, as it was configured in a late flowering of the genre from 1697 in the *isolario* of Vincenzo Maria Coronelli—"a world atlas in the form of an island book"[50]—but as a world made up of islands that, for their part (like Cuba), are made up of islands, or whose power centers (like Venice) are fashioned from islands. In Bordone's *Isolario*, the entire world is, in the sense of fractals, an island made of islands made of islands—a perception that carries with it not only the vectorization, but also the venetianization of the artistic-cartographical projections of our planet. The island-fractal virtually becomes the world-formula.

An island, then, can always hold (or hide) another island, as well as relationally indicating other islands. Not for nothing did Christopher Columbus, as an attentive reader of Marco Polo, identify the island of Cuba with the island Cipango or Cipangu, of whose riches there is so much detailed discussion in *Il Milione*. In Marco Polo's report, originally issued in the years 1298 and 1299, the beginning of the discussion of Cipango read:

> Let us now move on to the description of the regions of India; we shall begin with the island of Ciampagu, an island in the East, out in the open sea, fourteen hundred miles from

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid. f. XIIII: "molta diversità di parlare, di costume di huomini."

50 Robert W. Karrow: "Benedetto Bordone," p. 93.

> the coast of Mangi. It is exceedingly large, and its inhabitants, who are white and possess an attractive appearance, are idol worshippers and have a king, apart from whom they must pay no one tribute. Here there is gold in great abundance (*abundancia*), but the monarch does not readily permit it to be carried off of the island, so that few merchants travel there and ships from foreign regions seldom arrive in their harbors. The king of the island possesses a great palace with roofs of very fine gold, much as our churches have roofs of lead. The windows of this palace are all richly adorned with gold, and the floors of the halls and many apartments are covered with gold tiles two fingers thick. Here there are pearls of the greatest plenitude, round and thick and of a reddish hue, that surpass the white seed pearls in value and price. There are also many precious stones, so that the island of Ciampagu is marvelously rich.[51]

Without a doubt: with Marco Polo's *Il Milione* at the latest, that colonial kaleidoscope began to turn, in the motions of which the actions of finding, inventing, and experiencing, the concepts of "facts," "fiction," and life, and at the same time, Island Worlds of Asia and Island Worlds of the Americas would all transareally combine with one another in ever changing ways. Considering Christopher Columbus, one may thus say with good reason: the first journey of a European through the Caribbean was a journey of reading. And *Le livre de Marco Polo citoyen de Venise, dit Milione, où l'on conte les merveilles du monde* played a role in this that can hardly be overstated.

Even though Christopher Columbus created "his" Marco Polo years after his first voyage and only from several indirect sources, and is supposed at first to have projected these onto the Antillean Island World without knowledge of an immediate source-text,[52] the annotations in the Admiral's hand, in the copy that has come down to us and that was available to him from 1497 at the latest, still convey with all clarity the manuscript of a reading that urges direct, pragmatic transmittal followed by concrete action. The direct annotations of the Genoese to the passage of *Il Milione* included above read simply: "Gold in great abundance" (*oro in grandísima abundancia*)—"red pearls."[53] The colonial kaleidoscope applied by Columbus projected his gleaming images bounteously: entrancing tropic tropes, transarchipelagic.

In this way, the Island World of Asia with all its Old Worldly nymphs and mermaids is incarnated in the archipelagic world of the Caribbean, without the

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51 Marco Polo: *El libro de Marco Polo anotado por Cristobál Colón. El libro de Marco Polo versión de Rodrigo de Santaella*. Edición, introducción y notas de Juan Gil. Madrid: Alianza Editorial 1987, p. 132.

52 C.f. Juan Gil: "Libros, descubridores y sabios en la Sevilla del Quinientos." In: Marco Polo: *El libro de Marco Polo anotado por Cristobál Colón*, p. vi f.

53 Marco Polo: *El libro de Marco Polo anotado por Cristobál Colón*, p. 132.

abrupt—though falsely expected—emergence of which Columbus and his ships would have sunk in the ocean, for due to the immense distance, he and his caravels would never, ever have reached the coasts and islands of Asia. The archipelagic structure of the Greater and Lesser Antilles however, allowed him to be certain, with recourse to Toscanelli's map, that he had reached the Asiatic Island World around Cipango, as described by the Venetian. And so for the rest of his life he never let himself be dissuaded of his firm belief that in those islands and partial islands that we today call Cuba and Jamaica, Santo Domingo or Martinique, he had reached the archipelagic Asia of Marco Polo. *AsiAméricas*: the I(s)land-worlds and Island Worlds of Asia and the Antilles overlap in a transarchipelagic network of world-wide dimensions since the first voyage of Columbus.

With this background, it seems especially significant that the Admiral, in the service of the Catholic Monarchs in the year 1498, placed in the lower left field of his quartered coat of arms that world of islands whose emergence from the sea literally saved his life—and the discovery of which would make him famous for all time.[54] In a way, one could behold in this schematized depiction the first (European) map of the Caribbean. But was this not at the same time an illustration of the Asiatic Island World laid out in *Il Milione*?

For the conviction already becomes apparent in Marco Polo, in the eighth chapter of the third book, that it is not an island, but a multifaceted Island World that lies off the coast of the Asiatic continent:

> The sea in which the island of Ciampagu lies is an ocean, and is called the Sea of Cim; which is "the Sea of Mangi," as the province of Mangi forms the coast. In this sea, in which Ciampagu lies, there are other, greatly numerous islands, which after careful counting by the mariners and pilots of that region have a number of seven thousand ccclxxviii, of which the greater portion is inhabited by people. On all of these aforementioned islands the trees bear spices, for here grows no shrub that would not be very aromatic and useful. Here there is an endless number of spices; there is pepper, that is white as snow; also, there is an abundance of black pepper. Despite this, the merchants of other lands seldom land here, for they would spend a whole year upon the sea, sailing forth in winter and back in summer. Only two winds rule this sea, one in winter and one in summer.[55]

In Benedetto Bordone's island atlas, Marco Polo's Cipango, or Japan, also acquires a great significance; to Europeans, this group of islands—by the Asiatic con-

54 A picture of this coat of arms appears in the *Unsichtbarer Atlas* of the newly-edited work by Alexander von Humboldt on the discovery of the New World. Alexander von Humboldt: *Kritische Untersuchung*, vol. 2, p. 219.
55 Marco Polo: *El libro de Marco Polo anotado por Cristobál Colón*, p. 136.

tinent, off the coast of the Great Khan—was certainly seen as the richest island group in the world. How could Bordone ever have resisted the powerful temptation to make use of the archipelago of texts in the work of his countryman Marco Polo, who was born in Venice in 1254 and died there in 1324, who traveled through the empire of the Great Khan?

The island of Cipango is therefore also the first to be described after the somewhat abrupt end of the second section of the *Isolario*, serving as the prelude to the third section, which is devoted to distant Asia.[56] From the beginning, it is described as a large island, "very well-settled, with the most beautiful palaces & there are people of good stature who worship various idols, which appear in various forms."[57] Bordone points out other peculiarities of this island: "These do not engage in commerce with any other language, and there is incredible wealth to be found here & the reason for this being that to take any amount of gold (however small it may be) to any place away from the island is not allowed, notwithstanding the fact that many other wares are traded."[58]

Japan is thus presented as a highly isolated language-island that knows no sort of exchange in a historical-linguistic sense and, moreover, so monitors the level of its wealth that no gold or other riches may be brought to foreign lands and thus lost. No wonder then, that the European colonial powers of the first phase of accelerated globalization (like the USA in later times) saw it in their own best interests, upon encountering the seclusiveness of this wealthy island (whose royal palace, after all, was covered in purest gold, according to the model with which we are familiar[59]), to break it open by force. As an island, Cipango, its inconceivable wealth allowing no doubt, would by all rights be correctly considered "la più riccha del mondo":[60] the richest island in the world.

Though Bordone's attached map outlines are every bit as invented as the very occidental-looking buildings, fortifications, and streets that adorn both harbors and interior on his map, the Japan drawn by the Venetian cartographer on the basis of the texts that he discovered and to which he refers is, nevertheless, a Far Eastern power that, time and time again, is greedily attacked by still

56 Benedetto Bordone: *Libro*, f. LXVII.

57 Ibid.: "benissimo habitat, con bellissimi palazzi & ha huomini di bona statura, li quali adorano diversi idolii, che diverse forme tengono."

58 Ibid. f. LXVII fol.: "Questi non hanno comersio con alcuna altra lingua, Qui una richezza incredibile vi si trova, & questo adviene per cio che, alcuna quantita (per piccola che se sia) di oro, fora de lisola ad alcuno non vi è conceduto portarnela, nondimeno de molte diverse mercatantie se traficano."

59 Ibid. f. LXVIII.

60 Ibid.

greater powers such as Cathay (China). The cruelty of such foreign invasions and plundering is carefully depicted in detail by Bordone, though it remained the task of Europeans to dominate trade with Japan and ever more strictly to control it. But Cipango—and here Bordone's text leaves no doubt—has long been a defensively prepared island that, owing to historical experiences of its own, commits sufficient atrocities to resist foreigners, wherever they may come from.

Insofar as Bordone's *Isolario* of 1528 attempted to cover, along with the geographical position and the natural environment, the history and the stories, the languages and the customs of the respective islands and archipelagos under consideration, there arose a world-wide panorama of possible forms of living and norms of living that—though certainly from a European and Venetian perspectivation—that lets the world be recognized as a migratory space that is profoundly *polylogical* and thus infused with many different logics. The format of the island atlas offered the possibility of developing world-wide, at least *in nuce*, such notions of the Poly-Logical, and to run through them in a motion spanning the entire globe. To this extent, the dimension of the experienced and the yet-to-be experienced enters its triangular relationship with the discovered and the invented in a different way in Bordone's work than in the map of Juan de la Cosa.

The Spanish and the Venetian cartographers, in their charts of the contemporary and future migratory space of European expansion, do indeed agree to a great extent in putting the world of the tropics in the center. And for both, this concerns specifically transarchipelagic connections. For if Bordone placed the relationality of the I(s)land-worlds and the Island Worlds that he mapped into a world-wide context, to such an extent that in his work, relatedness between islands from different parts of the world—such as Cuba and Cipango—could also be established, then the strong cartographical accentuation of the archipelagos of the Canaries, the Cape Verdes, or the Caribbean brought attention to the enormous relevance of all of those transarchipelagic connections that allowed the Spanish and the Portuguese, in their island-supported strategy off the coasts of Africa, America, or Asia, to successfully cast their world-wide grid network across the world. Toward the center of this expanding world, however, as we have already been shown upon our first glance at Juan de la Cosa's *mappa mundi*, the tropics moved more and more. But beneath this concept, what may be understood from a perspective of literary and cultural science?

Tropes of the Tropics: Turnings and Transformations

If one consults the relevant reference works of literary science, one will find that the term "tropes" derives from the gr. *trópos* (turn; change of direction) and indicates "any form of speech" that does not directly express that which is meant, but "in the striving for adornment and enlivening of that which is said" communicates through a different, nonactual expression.[61] As an important element of "rhetorical stylistics," tropes are "single words or phrases that are used in the nonactual (transferal, figurative) sense."[62] From this one could say that it traces a constant movement between the actual and the nonactual, between the *proprium* and the *improprium*. Tropes are, above all, figures of movement.

For Heinrich Lausberg, these motions and turnings of tropes can be differentiated, according to the degree of distance between the actual and the nonactual expression, into "limit-changing tropes"[63] (such as metonymy), "leaping tropes," for which the metaphor may be seen as an example,[64] and "combined tropes"[65] that tie the two basic forms together. This does not only imply, however, the declaration of a specific distance within the broad scale of separations, but also three different ways of moving that one could separate from one another and designate as continuous or discontinuous, or as a hybrid combination of both kinds of movement.

As is widely known, the historical and cultural theorist Hayden White pointed out in his influential writings not only the importance of form and especially of narrative in and for the writing of history,[66] but also, in a very general sense, brought attention to the oscillation of historiography between the (mis-)analysis of documents and reconstruction with the demand to work out the "true history."[67] Historiography, however, has to a large extent locked its insight on the

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61 Gero von Wilpert: *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur*. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag 1969, p. 807.

62 Ansgar Nünning (ed.): *Metzler Lexikon Literatur- und Kulturtheorie. Ansätze—Personen—Grundbegriffe*. Fourth updated and expanded edition. Stuttgart–Weimar: Metzler 2008, p. 732.

63 See Heinrich Lausberg: *Elemente der literarischen Rhetorik*. Munich: Hueber 1967, p. 66.

64 Ibid. p. 78.

65 Ibid. p. 79.

66 See for instance the collection of essays by Hayden White: *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore–London: Johns Hopkins University Press 1987. German translation by Margit Smuda: *Die Bedeutung der Form. Erzählstrukturen in der Geschichtsschreibung*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer 1990.

67 Hayden White: "The Real, the Truth, and the Figurative in the Human Sciences." In: *Profession* (New York) (1992), p. 15.

fact that these reconstructions do not represent defigurations so much as refigurations[68]—an accurate observation, the correctness of which has most probably not changed in any fundamental way, even after White's groundbreaking efforts. In what is certainly the most influential of his works, *Tropics of Discourse*, the historical theorist develops his central thesis on the impression made on all historiographical narrative by earlier patterns of thought and depiction that are, in an essential way, literarily prefabricated, which is of decisive significance to the interpretation of (empirically) compiled facts. In the introduction to his widely discussed major work, White already significantly states:

> It is here that discourse itself must establish the adequacy of the language used in analyzing the field to the objects that appear to occupy it. And discourse effects this adequation by a *pre*figurative move that is more tropical than logical.[69]

The concept of movement ("a… move"), as was certainly known to Hayden White, undoubtedly refers to the etymological dimension of turning (*trópos*), whereby, in front of the backdrop of the question selected here, we are less interested in the four types of *emplotment* distinguished by White (comedy, tragedy, romance, and satire) or the four central tropes, as he perceives them, of the historiography of specifically the 19th century (metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony). For no less fascinating and enlightening than these classifications is the fact that from such a perspective, it is especially the movements themselves that time and again move into the focus of the analysis.

The end of White's analysis of the forms of wildness, for instance, which is less in line with the *logical* than the *tropical move*, and which, not without reason, was projected from the European perspective time and again over the course of long centuries onto the planetary area of the tropics, states very tellingly of wildness:

> Sometimes this oppressed or repressed humanity appeared as a threat and a nightmare, at other times as a goal and a dream; sometimes as an abyss into which mankind might fall, and again as a summit to be scaled; but always as a criticism of whatever security and peace of mind one group of men in society had purchased at the cost of the suffering of another.[70]

68 Ibid.
69 Hayden White: *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore–London: The Johns Hopkins University Press 1978, p. 1.
70 Ibid. p. 180.

Wildness thus appears—according to White in this study "The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea"—as a sort of reversible ambiguous figure that is forever in motion, appearing now as a dream, now as a nightmare. And it reveals itself—so we might add—embedded in a complex, multi-referentiality of tropes of discourse that are at the same time of decisive significance to the discourse of the tropics and about the tropics. Proceeding from this mobile intersection, a new understanding of the tropics may be gained within the influence of that which, in the context analyzed here, should be understood and developed as a history of *movement*.

It is, then, virtually self-evident that the tropics, in a geographical-planetary sense, and the tropes, in the understanding discussed from the beginning, share a common etymological derivation and with it, the same connection back to the semantics of "turning" and "movement." For each mathematically determinable zone of our planet in which the sun can stand at the zenith, stretches (at least in a historical sense) between the tropical lines, or more exactly, between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn. This zone of movement can in turn be described from a climatological perspective as the zone of circulation of humid and labile air around the equator (with strong daily and annual temperature variations)—obviously in association with the phenomena of those tropical cyclones or violent tropical downpours for which the tropics are, and not just for European travelers, equally famous and notorious.

Without entering at this point into a discussion of phenomena such as the "Intertropical Convergence Zone," the differentiation of "inner tropics" and "subtropics," or the difficulties of a geographical determination of the tropics, it is still decisive for the perspective chosen here that both the astronomical-mathematical and the climatological-landscape configurations show the tropics to be a *migratory space* that quite early on appeared as a sort of world of its own between the tropical lines and served as a projection surface for a great variety of culturally determined and culturally encoded constructions (such as that of "wildness"). The western discourses on the tropics, at least, are consistently shaped by turning and changing, and therefore by movements that may be simultaneously understood—if I may both turn to and turn Lausberg's formulations —in the sense of changing limits, in the sense of leaping, and in the sense of combinations between continuous and discontinuous types of movement. The tropics configure a world in circumplanetary movement.

It is thus not surprising, since the crossing of the tropical lines or the equator is tantamount to the entrance into a new world in many occidental travel reports—as in the writings of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, Georg Forster, or Antoine-Joseph Pernety—or is associated with a turning point in the plot lines of

many European novels, such as those of Jules Verne, Lafcadio Hearn, or Blaise Cendrars. Examples can be easily gathered from all phases of accelerated globalization. The enormous surface of land and water between the tropical lines on both sides of the equator seemed, according to a long tradition that began in antiquity and continued to be influential into the modern era, to be uninhabitable by man due to the intense radiation of the sun. It was thus assigned to the *anoekumene*, and marks in western visual memory the crossing into a world that represented the Other to one's own world—the antipodes.

The tropics consequently form *both* midpoint and crossing zone, the center of the earthly sphere and the threshold to a world that is Other to the one famiiar to Europeans: a reversible ambiguous figure that in the western visual tradition was continually being newly formed and depicted in a fashion that was equally artistic and cartographical.[71] Juan de la Cosa thus drafted in his world map not only a cartographically precise picture of the Island-Caribbean, which, in the center of the American double-continent, would become the logistical point of origin for all military operations and conquests on the continent,[72] but also drew for the first time the astonishingly correctly-plotted courses of the equinoctial line and of the Tropic of Cancer, without meanwhile forgetting to project a multitude of European imaginary images and legends into this picture (created using the scientific methods of the time) of the regions beyond the seas that were already being called "the Indias."

Thus do cartographical picture worlds and world pictures at the beginning of the early modern era inextricably intertwine. Their interface is formed by the tropics that first encompass the radius between the India of the East and the India of the West—the English-language designation "West Indies" now indicates only a final, conceptual vestige.

The drawing of a human being without a head, which on this map from 1500 was accompanied by the caption "sin cabeza,"[73] is found in the Land of Gog and Magog in the extreme East of the map. Similar depictions, based on ancient notions, may again be found on other cartographical sketches, placed to the extreme West. The world between the lines of the tropics is, from the occidental point of view, a world of turnings and transformations, a world wherein

71 See the numerous examples in the previously mentioned volume by Miguel Rojas Mix: *América imaginaria*.

72 C.f. Ricardo Cerezo Martínez: *La Cartografía Náutica Españolade los Siglos XIV, XV, y XVI*, pp. 82–83.

73 On the history and various categories of such "acéfalos," see Miguel Rojas Mix: *América imaginaria*, pp. 67–70.

things that have been discovered may be re-invented and re-discovered, but above all, intensively experienced and lived. The tropics thus made, and not only for the swift caravels of the "discoverers" and conquerors, the planetary migratory space *par excellence*. Even up to today, world maps are projection surfaces of the Other in the Self, and not only in a cartographical sense: they document, in a transmedial fashion that continuously crosses picture and text, the interaction between a finding, an inventing, and an experiencing, the component parts of which simply can no longer be freed or in any way separated from one another without some loss of perception.

The often quite critically depicted history of the projection of these picture worlds, especially on the zones between the tropical lines, should by all means be of less concern to us here than the long-abiding influence of notions that make the tropics out to be a place not only of constant turnings, but also of astonishing transformations and metamorphoses of the Other into the Self (and the Self into the Other). But how does the change from transfer to transformation take place? Or is this all really just about "the other side" of the planet, "the other side" of humanity, "the other side" of life, human or not human?

One of perhaps the most impressive depictions of transformations of this sort may be found—from a viewpoint critical of colonialism—in that bestseller of the European Enlightenment that literally accompanied the second phase of accelerated globalization and assigned itself completely to that notion that Europe must lie in the exact midpoint of the world, between "the two Indias." In the ninth book of Guillaume-Thomas Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissemens et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes*, which, as the encyclopedia of the colonial expansion of Europe, had reached far beyond the borders of the Old World to an educated public even overseas, it says (hardly flatteringly) of Europeans:

> Once he has crossed the equator, a man is neither Englishman nor Dutchman, Frenchman nor Spaniard nor Portuguese. He retains from his fatherland only those principles & prejudices that authorize or excuse his conduct. Crawling when he is weak; violent when he is strong; he hurries on to acquire, hurries on to enjoy; & he is capable of committing every transgression, so long as it leads most quickly to his goal. He is a domesticated tiger that has returned to the jungle. The thirst for blood grips him once more. Thus did all Europe-

> ans reveal themselves without exception in the regions of the New World, into which they dragged a shared fury, the thirst for gold.[74]

It is a picture of the Other, of the wildness in the Self. The members of all of the leading European nations precisely listed here, the nations that drove the first and second phases of accelerated globalization, reveal themselves in this passage (probably from the pen of Denis Diderot) to be predators that are "domesticated" only in the short term by the civilizing process, and which—as soon as they cross the line of the equator—immediately turn once more into bloodthirsty tigers that strive only toward the satisfaction of their needs and their unbounded appetite for gold, having in every instance no regard for the indigenous population. The thin veneer of civilization seems to peel away from these representatives from countries all over the world, should the border to this "other" world of the tropics—here symbolically demarcated by the line of the equator—be crossed.

The civilized person of European provenance quickly transforms himself in this manner back into the barbaric predatory animal that slumbers within him, such that the crossing into the tropics signals not only another world, but also drives forward the Other in the Self, allowing him to become visible in his unmistakable cruelty. The thirst for blood attaches itself to the thirst for gold, which was seen—and this notion lasted far into the 19th century—as a product of the sun; thus great quantities must be stored and available in the realm of the tropics, the realm where the sun climbs to the zenith.

Thus from the beginning, cultural ingredients and stimulants have been ascribed to the mathematically calculable grid network of dividing and allocating the world. It is not only calculated from Europe outward, it is also culturally laden by the occident. These cultural encryptions form the coordinates of a history whose stories are not to be explained in longitudinal and latitudinal degrees, a history that designs and renders accessible to us the literatures of the world in such a compressed manner within the triangle of finding, inventing, and experiencing.

If literature, from the very beginning, is writing toward paradise,[75] then it is not surprising that even in this place of the brutal and bloodthirsty metamor-

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74 Guillaume-Thomas Raynal: *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissemens et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes*. Vol. 5. Geneva: Chez Jean-Léonard Pellet 1781, ninth book, p. 2.

75 See Ottmar Ette: *Konvivenz. Literatur und Leben nach dem Paradies*. Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos 2012.

phosis of the “civilized” to the “wild,”[76] the old paradisiacal notion that in the Christian world of images was also projected into this equinoctial zone remains ubiquitous. Consequently, in the very next passage, Denis Diderot deliberately juxtaposes the expressional forms of murder and massacre with the picture of all human beings in a peaceful coexistence, which he wraps in images of a non-violent, sexual unification of men and women:

> Would it not have been more human, more useful, and less costly to have brought hundreds of young men and hundreds of young women into each one of these distant regions? The men would have married the women of the region, and the women the men of the region. The blood-relationship, which forms the fastest & strongest bond, would soon have made of the strangers and the natives one single family. In this intimate connection, the wild inhabitant would have required no great amount of time to realize that the arts & knowledge that had been brought to him would have had a greatly advantageous effect upon the improvement of his fate.[77]

The image of the bloody massacres committed by Europeans upon the indigenous population is contrasted with the image of a harmonious coexistence; that of the “wildness” of the inhabitants of the tropics as well as the “wildness” of the Europeans from across the sea set in contrast to the (utopian) concept of the unification of all human beings into a single, happy family. Here, in the place of a warlike politics of conquest, a more peaceful and at the same time (it is at least hoped) a more efficient bio-politics is put forth, which, admittedly, would be to no lesser degree conceived in, and controlled by, Europe. It is the portrait of a dreamt-of coexistence, a *Konvivenz* that, *toward* paradise,—in the presumed place of worldly paradise, the American tropics— desperately reproduces the paradisiacal image of a society as a community.

If there is, embodied in this vision, confidence in an ultimately self-asserting (and thus presumedly superior) European model of civilization, the expectation of an increasing expunction of all cultural and ethnic differences, and the by no means harmless projection of a “big family of humanity,”[78] this still reveals to what a great extent the world of the tropics represents in the occidental Imaginary an Other World, a *Gegenwelt* that plays out, between the tropical lines of latitude, the turnings and transformations of a world of massacre and a

76 See also Urs Bitterli: *Die “Wilden” und die “Zivilisierten.”*

77 Guillaume-Thomas Raynal: *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes*. Vol. 5, p. 2f.

78 C.f. the text by Roland Barthes: “La grande famille des hommes” (that was also included in the 1977 collection of *Mythologies*). In: *Roland Barthes: Œuvres completes*. Vol. I: 1942–1965. Edition établie et présentée par Eric Marty. Paris: Editions du Seuil 1993, pp. 669–671.

world of love, of an infernal or paradisiacal situation. Earthly hell or earthly paradise: all of these culturally inherited images are in equal measure forms for the expression of human coexistence, in tropes that move about as much between the lines of the tropics as between the lines of rhetorical phrases.

Regardless of whether it is a matter of limit-changing, leaping, or combined tropes: the European discourses on tropics develop from the beginning an abundance of tropes, the movement-patterns of which—though in ever-changing ways—profoundly connect, indeed, firmly lash the tropic circles to the Old World of Europe. But just this finding, by itself, suggests (for any activity concerning the zone between the tropical lines) an epistemologically relevant conclusion: the tropics as an area may only be adequately examined and understood from a transareal perspective. They form a space of traversal, a migratory space on a global scale, in which the tropics may be dismal or delightful, delectable or deadly: always, they form the TransArea *par excellence*, wherein a tremendous variety of figures of movement intersect.

Plenty and Pitfall: Heaven and Hell

In the beginning of his 1524 work, *Seventh Decade*, which he dedicated to his countryman Francesco Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, the Italian chronicler Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (who is mentioned above, in the introduction) gives a short historical assessment of the past decades of European, and especially Iberian, expansion.[79] He stressed therein, above all, the extraordinary fruitfulness and richness of the regions of the world that had risen from the ocean, for year after year, people were discovering "Novas quippe novis terras et novas nations et ingentes opes quoto anno patefacit"[80]:

> After the short look back over the past, we would like now to turn to that which has newly been born of the promising ocean. For this sea is more fertile than the white sow which is supposed to have produced 30 piglets in a single litter and endows us with more than the most generous prince. Every year, the ocean reveals to us new lands, unfamiliar peoples, and enormous treasures. Regarding Española, the dominant power of that distant region, where the state council meets and which provides the border for the other lands there, regarding Jamaica and Cuba, which now bears the new name of Ferdinandina, and regard-

79 *De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris Anglerii e regio rerum Indicarum senatu Decades Octo quas scripsit ab anno 1493 ad 1526, praemissis quaecomque ex ipsius de re eadem epistolis excerpere licuit.* Editio, paucorum quidem exemplarum, innumeris expurgata mendis cura et studio D. Joachim Torres Asensio. 2 vols. Madrid: Typis viduae et filiae Gómez Fuentenebro 1892.
80 Ibid. vol. 2, pp. 274 ff.

> ing the remaining truly Elysian islands which extend from the Tropic of Cancer to the equator, I have already related enough. There, over the course of a year, no native knows any difference in the length of day and night, there one finds no oppressive summer and no hard winter, there the trees blossom year round, and are simultaneously laden with blossoms and fruit; vegetables, gourds, melons, cucumbers, and other garden plants are constantly being harvested; livestock introduced from Europe—there were no native domesticated animals on the islands—propagate in greater numbers and attain greater size than in their land of origin.[81]

What the first historian of the New World sums up here in compressed form is the *European* vision of a historical process, in the course of which, from the perspective of the occident, new islands and continents with their strange inhabitants seemed continually to be rising and accruing from the womb of the ocean in the West. The new world of the tropics seemed to be the land of plenty, so much so that the outline of the southern portion of America would later be "recognized" as having the shape of a cornucopia pouring out its riches. Stefan Zweig would still astutely remark that "Mercatur, the king of cartographers" was, in 1538, the first to refer to the entirety of the New World as *America*, and not only its southern portion.[82] In so doing, he perceived "the entire continent as a unit," writing in his world map "the name America across both parts, A M E over the northern, and R I C A over the southern."[83] This arrangement easily leads to the conclusion that richness and plenty very early on—and for a long time—were ascribed to the southern portion of the double-continent. It was the riches of the South, of the tropics, that lured the globalizers of the first phase of accelerated globalization.

The new sensibility of the time, the pride in discovery, and perhaps even more, the impression of a tremendous acceleration can be noticed in every line of the Italian chronicler, who took care to communicate all of his information directly to the Pope in Rome or to other trusted persons in Italy. The cornucopia of the tropics seemed immeasurable: for the Europeans—and above all, for the Iberian powers—new riches continually came within reach. And they were snapped up without hesitation.

Though he was a faithful historian who (since 1493 and the return of Cristóbal Colón from his first voyage) recorded from the beginning all that came to his

81 Peter Martyr d'Anghiera: *Acht Dekaden über die Neue Welt* ([*Eight*] *Decades of the New World*). Translated and with an introduction and annotations by Hans Klingelhöfer. 2 vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1973, vol. 2, p. 172.

82 Stefan Zweig: *Amerigo*, p. 423.

83 Ibid.

ear, whether at the Spanish court or in the *consejo de Indias* (the highest authority in the government of the Indies), whether in the banking institutions of his time or in personal conversations, it was not only for Pietro Martire d'Anghiera that the newly "discovered" lands of the tropics represented an immeasurable fruitfulness and astonishing wealth[84] that seemed as though it would never run out. All of this remained embedded in the collective long-term memory of Europe: even into the 19th century, it was believed that not only gold, but also diamonds and other precious stones could only be found in great number in tropically hot regions, such that people in Europe rubbed their eyes in wonderment when, based upon a scientifically-grounded "prediction" by Alexander von Humboldt, diamonds were found in the Urals in 1829.[85] And even in the 20th century, among agricultural scientists and geographers, there were many who remained steadfastly convinced of the inexhaustible fertility of tropical agriculture and tropical soils.[86] These tropes of the tropics spread out world-wide from Europe, and with long-lasting effect: even in our time, to remove the horn-of-plenty and the plenty of the tropical world from the discourse regarding the tropics remains unthinkable.

It was not only after Magellan's circumnavigation of the world (or Elcano's, as the case may be), but instead from the very beginning of that which we recognize today as the first phase of accelerated globalization, that it became clear to Martire d'Anghiera that the news of the existence between the lines of the tropics of peoples previously unknown to the occident had once and for all demolished the horizons of the (not only geographical) knowledge of the ancients—and this nearly two centuries before the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*. The world maps of the various European cartographers drafted a picture that by no means could continue to be reconciled to the world pictures of the ancients. In this field, antiquity had been distinctly and definitely left behind. But even so, the Ptolemaic grid network still offered the security of being able to inscribe the parameters of the new into the raster of the old, and thus to gain and maintain continuity for one's own thoughts and actions.

84 C.f. Steven Greenblatt: *Marvelous Possessions: the Wonder of the New World.*
85 On the context of this discovery, see Ottmar Ette: "Amerika in Asien. Alexander von Humboldts 'Asie centrale' und die russisch-siberische Forschungsreise im transarealen Kontext." In: *HiN—Alexander von Humboldt im Netz. Internationale Zeitschrift für Humboldt-Studien* (Potsdam–Berlin) VIII, 14 (2007) http://www.hin-online.de.
86 C.f. the currently necessary counter-argument on the rapid depletion of tropical soils in Wolfgang Weischet: *Die ökologische Benachteiligung der Tropen*. Stuttgart: Teubner 1977.

If one compares the map of a Juan de la Cosa, a Waldseemüller, a Mercatur, or an Ortelius with the map completed in 1474 by Toscanelli that extended the grid network of Ptolemy into the West[87] and served Christopher Columbus as an important, indeed, decisive point of reference for his own undertaking, it becomes clear with what tremendously "velociferous" speed the picture of the world between the tropical circles had changed within a few decades. Even if this—as we have already seen—in no way meant that the central concepts and picture worlds of antiquity had been abandoned, the rapid changes sketched out here which created ever-changing combinatorics of the discovered, the invented, and the experienced did not, in many respects, take place without consequences for the tropics themselves.

Certainly, the notion of the uninhabitability of the hot regions of the Earth would repeatedly pop up for some time in European discourse, but in the new cartographical image of the Earth it quickly lost ground to the aforementioned tropes of the tropics. These were accompanied since Christopher Columbus' *Log-Book* (1492-1493) by images of earthly paradise, and since Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) by projections of different systems of societal life: concepts of human coexistence that arose in different ways within the conditions of writing toward paradise and within the forms and norms of living together on a global scale.

The tropics long affected the outside world—at first, indeed, in the thoroughly remarkable sense that the ancient *locus amoenus* in a way became, through the literary efforts of Cristóbal Colón, *tropicalized*. On the 24th of October, 1492, having arrived off the coast of Cuba, which he—as discussed earlier—took for the island Cipango, as described by Marco Polo, "of which wonderful things are reported; and which, upon the spheres that I saw, and on the paintings of world maps, lies in this region,"[88] then later believed it to be a continent in itself, the Genoese would, by the 28th of October (in the transcription by Las Casas) depict the wonderful world of his tropics as a land of pleasure projecting to the West:

> The Admiral says that he never saw anything so beautiful, full of trees that line the river, beautiful and green and different from ours, every tree with its blossoms and its respective fruits, each of its own variety. Many large and small birds that sang in the sweetest way;

87 See its reconstruction in Miguel Rojas Mix: *América imaginaria*, p. 31.

88 Cristóbal Colón: *Diario de a bordo*. Edición de Luis Arranz. Madrid: Historia 16 1985, p. 106: "de que se cuentan cosas maravillosas; y en las esferas que yo vi y en las pinturas de mapamundos es ella es estacomarca."

> and there were a great many palms, and they were of a type different from those in Guinea or from ours [...][89]

Occidental continuity and tropical deviation balance one another in this passage. What is enlightening about this first European description of a *locus amoenus* in the American tropics, along with the fact that, as it progresses, he seeks to unify and continually to tropicalize all of the ingredients of the ancient models, is above all the phenomenon that the tropical world of the Antilles is tied together by Columbus in a double-relationality that places the observed land into connection not only with the regions of Southern Europe, but also with tropical Africa. This is, to my mind, of great significance and has far-reaching consequences.

So from the beginning, an external relationality that compares the American tropics with the temperate or subtropical zones of Europe is informed and, still more, completed by an internal relationality that creates a transtropical space, which in turn makes of the tropics a self-contained, transcontinental migratory space on the globe. Maintained for a long time on *Spanish* maps, the designation *Indias*—over which the term "America" would only much later prevail—points, from the imperial Iberian perspective, to the complex relationality of the different zones between the tropic circles. That the Antilles should be tied in the words of Columbus to Guinea anticipates, from today's perspective, of course, that migratory space that, not many years later at the beginning of the 16th century, would come into being in the context of the slavery-based "Black Atlantic" between Europe, Africa, and America.[90] The imagination, thought, and action of the protagonists of the European expansion settle from the beginning into a relationality that is not bipolar, but rather, one that incorporates different areas and binds them to one another.

Slavery and the abduction of entire African ethnicities to the Antilles, from whence the slaves were sold off to other places, were not necessary to the development of the other, darkly tinted tropes of the tropics. In the case of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, who, like many who followed him, never set foot in the New World, one can precisely observe how the picture of the tropics quite early on began to exhibit negative, even threatening characteristics. The conditions and necessities of living that were, to a certain extent, so unfamiliar were certainly responsible for the many tropical diseases from which Europeans suffered; a

89 Ibid. p. 108.
90 See Paul Gilroy: *The Black Atlantic*; also the exhibition catalog *Der Black Atlantic*, mentioned above.

crucial factor above all, however, was the climate that, due to their position on the planet, was clearly evident on the various islands discovered by Columbus:

> For Hispaniola and Jamaica are situated many degrees beyond the Tropic of Cancer toward the equinoctial line, and Cuba itself directly upon the aforementioned tropical circle, which nearly all philosophers held to be uninhabitable due to the intensity of the sun; and my visitors say that those who have only in recent times betaken themselves hither are generally stricken with various diseases.[91]

Yet the thesis (that flies in the face of all empiricism) on the uninhabitability of the *trópicos*, about which Pietro Martire questioned all of the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians who had returned from that region of the world to Spain, was but one thing. It is unmistakable in his formulations that the *treasure* of the tropics themselves could unexpectedly turn into a *trap*. For yet another thing befell all those who, for the sake of riches, strove to reach the tropics, lured in part by those hopes and reflections that the images of the earthly paradise, the land of milk and honey, or the spring of eternal youth projected to the West. Above all, the tale of legendary *El Dorado*, of the golden king and the city of Manoa, for which the Spanish indefatigably searched, proved what a trap the dreams of golden treasure could stand for. For there was truly no shortage of instances that could substantiate the characteristic tipping of treasure into trap—neither in the work of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, nor in other chronicles and reports.

The world of the tropics seemed not only to be the land of spices, but also the land of gold, of which many sought to take possession as quickly as possible:

> Those among us who are carried to such strange and distant worlds, across an ocean that seems to imitate the turning course of the stars, allow themselves, far from all authority, to be carried away by the blind desire for gold, and all of those, who depart from here tamer than lambs, transform upon their arrival there into wild wolves, forgetting all royal commands.[92]

This passage shows that the discourse on Europeans transforming into wild animals is no invention of a European Enlightenment critical of colonialism, but instead implies a realm of imagination that, from the beginning, accompanies the first phase of accelerated globalization that proceeded from the Iberian Peninsula. At the latest, since Bartolomé de las Casas and his *Brevísima relación de la*

91 Peter Mártir d'Anglería: *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 2, p. 633.
92 Ibid. vol. 2, p. 607.

destrucción de las Indias[93] (his very successful "Summary Report on the Destruction of Overseas Territories"), it has been possible to appraise, starting from Europe, the full extent of the destruction and the barbaric massacres that the inhabitants of the Old World perpetrated in the New.

The tropics not only brought forth the Other in the Self, but beyond that, led to the transformation of the salvific expectations of Las Casas, which had been connected to the notions of earthly paradise projected westward and into the tropics, into calamitous experiences which only with difficulty could be included in a *historia providencial*, a salvational history. Not least among the victims of this calamitous experience were many of the Europeans themselves: Heaven and Hell lay side by side.

The flaw in the system of European expansion had become undeniable:[94] the great deal of knowledge that the Europeans were gathering was related primarily to the amassing of marvelous riches, but not to the chances of peaceful coexistence, such as a Las Casas, a Montaigne, or a Diderot had hoped for from ever-changing perspectives. This was not about *Konvivenz* but concupiscence.

Let us not forget at this point that the tropics, by the end of the first phase of accelerated globalization, had long since completed its expansion into a consistently connected, planetary migratory space. In his study on globalization in the 16th century, Serge Gruzinski correctly brought attention to the fact that Spain, with the conquest of the Philippines, had accomplished the creation of a truly globe-spanning empire, the individual parts of which were not only tied with high priority back to Spain, but were also enmeshed in the framework of possibilities granted and monitored by the colonial power.

Consequently, New Spain especially would, while still in the 16th century,[95] grow to play a geostrategically and economically significant role insofar as the capital city of the viceroyship could link the transatlantic and transpacific connecting routes via the harbors of Veracruz and Acapulco. By 1566, in the course of the expedition of Miguel de Legazpi, a route was found that led from the Philippines back to New Spain, so that from that point on, the shipping of people or goods via Asiatic harbors was no longer necessary; instead—as Gruzinski put

93 Bartolomé de las Casas: *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*. Edición de André Saint-Lu. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra 1984.

94 See also Ottmar Ette: "Naufragio con superviventias. Acerca del fracaso en/de la globalización y de la globilización del fracaso." In: Yvette Sánchez / Roland Spiller (eds.): *Poéticas del fracaso*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag 2009, pp. 15–46.

95 C.f. Serge Gruzinski: *Les Quatre parties du monde. Histoire d'une mondialisation*, p. 131.

it—Asia arrived in America.[96] Since the founding of the future Philippine capital city of Manila in 1571 and the institution of regular shipping traffic between Acapulco and the Philippines in 1573—a route that remained in use for 250 years—it became possible, *starting in New Spain* (and thus following, as it were, the dreamt-of "passage" of Juan de la Cosa), to enter into a connection and continuous trade with China and even with Japan, the Cipango of Marco Polo.

So it was, less than a half-century after the first circumnavigation of the world by Magellan (or Elcano) under the sponsorship of Spain, that the nautical and infrastructural foundations were laid for an economy that, with its transport routes protected equally by fixed and floating bastions, would span the entire globe. And at the same time, the Caribbean Island World had become an exceedingly important part of a system of ports and emporia, of wharves and weaponsmiths, of forts and financial transfers, in the further development of which the Caribbean space, including a portion of its opposite continental shoreline, advanced to a space of highly concentrated globalization. For the first time, there emerged an economy that was globe-spanning, in the actual sense of the word.

But let us return to the marvelous metamorphoses of the tropics. They substantiate just how early the tropics became a reversible ambiguous figure in the European image archive: the abundant riches and fertility correspond to the abundance of illnesses and dangers that befall both the bodies and the souls of those who remove themselves to the tropics. Even in Alexander von Humboldt's so literarily effective depiction of entering into the harbor of Havana, it is clear that, in the midst of the abundance of impressions, the trap of the European traveler's own corruption still lies in wait for him:

> In a mixture of such sweet impressions, the European forgets the danger that threatens him in the embrace of the densely populated cities of the Antilles; he tries to grasp the different elements of a broad landscape, to examine the fortifications […], these palms that draw themselves up to tremendous heights, and the city, half-hidden by a forest of the masts and sails of the ships.[97]

The European gazes—as though in a land of milk and honey, a land full of exotic impressions—drinking it in and forgetting the danger that lies waiting to way-

96 Ibid.

97 C.f. Alexander von Humboldt: *Relation historique du Voyage aux Régions équinoxiales du Nouveau Continent*… Reprint of the complete original that appeared in Paris from 1814–1825, edited, with an introduction and index, by Hanno Beck, vol. III. Stuttgart: Brockhaus 1970, p. 348.

lay him. Unexpectedly—as in the discourse on "wildness" analyzed by Hayden White—the treasure can become a trap that snaps shut: the tropics are "dream" and "abyss," Heaven and Hell, paradise and inferno at once. In the circumplanetary migratory space between the tropical circles, the forces that move the world converge.

Treasure and Trap of African In-between Worlds

Within European space, these powers that move the world for a long time converged in Italy. In Alexander von Humboldt's *Examen Critique*, his *Critical Examination of the Historical Development of the Geographical Knowledge of the New World*, he traced these power-fields and located here, in the circles of Toscanelli, Alberti, and Brunelleschi, the fundamental intellectual motive forces behind the bold undertaking of Columbus, alias Colombo, to reach the East by taking the western route across the Atlantic. It would have been trade connections combined with intellectual movements that would have continually and vehemently spurred on all such efforts:

> Italy was at that time the center of the great trade connections that the Pisans, the Venetians, and the Genoese maintained with Southern Asia* by the route via Alexandria, the Red Sea, and Bassora, and with the Caspian Sea and Sogdiana via Azov (Tanais). Toscanelli did not occupy himself only with the improvement of the sun and moon charts through observations with the gnomon and the astrolabe […], he also directed his attention to the comparison of the old geography with the data from newer discoveries, and to the practical use to European trade that could arise from this manner of investigation, through the opening of a direct connection *to the Land of Spices* by the westward ocean route. We find the proof of this linking of ideas, this intellectual movement, from the second half of the fifteenth century on, in the letters of Toscanelli and in the work of all distinguished writers of his age.[98]

In a foot note to the term "Asia," denoted here with an asterisk, Alexander von Humboldt, whose great work on the first phase of accelerated globalization still holds many treasures and richly detailed insights today, did indeed include the quotation from a "writer of the sixteenth century,"[99] according to whom the Tartaric peoples then at war with India were the primary hindrance to continuous trade between India and Italy via Inner Asia.[100] The author goes on to say that

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98 Alexander von Humboldt: *Kritische Untersuchung*, vol. 1, p. 79 f.
99 Ibid. p. 79.
100 Ibid.

"poor Italy has become the prize of the Germans, the French, and the Spanish."[101] In point of fact: with the first phase of accelerated globalization, there took place simultaneously a European power-shift the consequences of which were far-reaching, finding their symbolic expression in the infamous *Sacco di Roma* of 1527.

Humboldt quotes here the famous anthology *Navigationi et Viaggi* of Giovanni Battista Ramusio, first published in 1550, wherein, along with the *Navigazioni* of the "gentiluomo veneziano" Alvise da Cadamosto, with the report of Vasco da Gama's voyage around the world, and with other texts from the European travel literature concerning the New World, there appeared for the first time a work by an Arabian author on the subject of Africa, a text to which we will return shortly.[102] Ramusio's anthology, which had a significance that must not be understated, not only among contemporaries but for posterity for centuries afterward,[103] did not simply separate—which later seemed "natural"—the journeys to the New World from other journeys to Asia or Africa, but instead allowed a truly transtropical panorama to take shape, which substantially more faithfully corresponded to the extensions of the world map of Juan de la Cosa and the world consciousness of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera. In this prescient collection by the Venetian around the middle of the 16th century, the tropics were impressively indicated to be a planetary migratory space of European expansion.

If Humboldt, in the passage above, consequently referred implicitly from the perspective of the 19th century to that *Descrittioni dell'Africa*, which a certain Giovan Leone L'Africano put to paper in the 1520's, it becomes clear upon looking at the now so famous *Historia de las Indias* of Bartolomé de las Casas—a contemporary of Columbus to whom we are indebted, as is well-known, for the only extant copy of Columbus' log-book—that contemporary Iberian witnesses also saw the European expansion process during the first phase of accelerated globalization as a unified and, as it were, world-spanning advance at the borders of the world familiar to Europe. It should surprise no one that many of the

101 Ibid.

102 See the accessible third edition of the print version of *La Descrittione dell'Africa*. In: Giovanni Battista Ramusio (ed.): *Navigationi et Viaggi*. Terza edizione, primo volume. Venice: Giunti 1563, pp. 11–95v.

103 On the impressive history of the influence of the numerous editions and translations of Ramusio with special consideration of the influence of the aforementioned Arabian traveler, see Dietrich Rauchenberger: *Johannes Leo der Afrikaner. Seine Beschreibung des Raumes zwischen Nil und Niger nach dem Urtext*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1999, p. 1 and esp. pp. 152 ff.

Christian Europeans, like the Dominican friar Las Casas, perceived this to be a process of salvific-history directed by destiny, according to God's plan.

Las Casas, too, thought on a world-wide scale. For this Dominican, made famous by his vehement criticism of the unbridled plunder, destruction, and massacres committed by the Spaniards in America, also included in his history of the conquest of the New World, of course, the attempts of the Spanish, and still earlier the Portuguese, to take possession of North Africa and moreover, to use the momentum of their own *reconquista* for the conquest of the African "opposite coast." Las Casas follows the Portuguese historians of his time very closely when he speaks of the successful inquiries of the Portuguese (especially of Henry the Navigator) who, after the taking of Ceuta—the African Pillar of Hercules, if you will—had been so interested in any sort of information from the African world so unknown to them:

> The Infante began to develop a tendency toward the investigation and interviewing of Moors with whom he came in contact, regarding the inner mysteries of the country within Africa, the people who lived there and their customs, and he received reports of the new information gathered from these, according to which this land spread out very wide, and extended very far beyond the far side of the Kingdom of Fez, beyond which the deserts of Africa begin, where the Alárabes lived; next to the Alárabes are the peoples of those who call themselves the Acenegues, and these border on the blacks of Jolof, where the region of Guinea begins, which the Moors call Guinauha, from whom the Portuguese took the name and began to refer to the land of the blacks as Guinea[...][104]

Concerning all of these unknown regions (N.B.: to Europeans) however, especially in the interior of Africa, extensive information was provided by the *Description of Africa*, published (and revised) by Ramusio in 1550—a text that was seen in Europe as the actual standard work on the African continent, even until the time of Mungo Park. Its author was none other than Al-Hassan ben Mohammed ben Ahmed al-Wazzan al-Gharnati al-Fassi, who was born in Moorish Granada probably between December, 1494 and August, 1495, that is, shortly after[105] the successful conquest of the capital city of the Nasrid dynasty in 1492, and who entered into the history books and encyclopedias of the world under the name

104 Fray Bartolomé de las Casas: *Historia de las Indias*. Edición de Agustín Millares Carlo y estudio prelininar de Lewis Hanke. 3 vols. Mexico City: Fondo de CulturaEconómica 1986, vol. 1, p. 119.

105 Of course, al-Wazzan's French editor and translator Alexis Epaulard proceeds from a birthdate of 1489. C.F. Dietrich Rauchenberger: *Johannes Leo der Afrikaner*, pp. 11 and 35; also Najib Redouane: "Histoire et fiction dans 'Léon l'Africain' d'Amin Maalouf." In: *Présence francophone* (Sherbrooke, Québec) 53 (1999), p. 78.

Giovan Leone Affricano or Leo Africanus. His full Arabic name contains not only the recognizable references to different places where the Granadian lived, but is also completed by the Christian baptismal name conferred upon the later author of the *Descrittione dell'Africa* by Pope Leo X on the 6th of January, 1520, that is, on the anniversary of the takeover of Granada by the Catholic Monarchs. No wonder then, that the man with many names would be designated early on as a wanderer between worlds or a nomad between cultures,[106] counting as one of the fascinating figures of the early 16th century. Rightly so did Ramusio include in his anthology the manuscript that had become accessible to him in Venice, by the Arab traveler who had been baptized in the name of the art-loving Medici Pope.

Al-Hassan al-Wazzan's description of the city of Cairo, which he knew from long stays there, is simultaneously tailored to at least a double readership, the occidental and the oriental. It begins, as is so often the case with this author, with demonstrations of the linguistic origins of the name, and it describes the glory of its construction and the abundance of goods and luxury items within its walls in eloquent words:

> Regarding Cairo, which is rumored everywhere to be one of the greatest and most admirable cities in the world, I wish to describe first its design and then its construction, and to ignore the untruths that are spoken of it here and there[...] I maintain that Cairo, that is, the part encircled by walls, contains some 8,000 hearths. Around these live the people of higher standing, and the valuable items brought hither from all sides are sold here. [...] The city is richly endowed with craftsmen and merchants of all sorts. This is especially true of the entire length of the street that leads from the Victory Gate to the Gate of Zuweila, where the most and the finest stay. On this same street there are some colleges which are admirable for their size and beauty, for their construction and ornamentation, much like the many large mosques. [...] After these come the textile markets, each containing countless shops. At the first, foreign fabrics of exceptional quality are sold, for example the Baalbekish, fine cotton fabrics of unbelievable fineness, and others named for Mossul (= muslin). They are admirably fine and strong; all of the proper gentlemen and distinguished persons have their shirts and turban-cloths made from this fabric. Further down are the markets where the best Italian fabrics are sold, for example, satin, damask, velvet, taffeta, brocade. Further along are the markets that carry woolen cloth that comes from Europe, for example, from Venice, Florence, Flanders, and all other lands.
>
> Near this main street is a market where the Persian merchants lodge. It looks like the palace of a great lord; it is tall and sturdy and has eight stories; below are rooms where the merchants receive visitors and trade their wares in bulk. Only the very richest merchants

106 Harking back to long tradition, this formulation can be seen recently in the title by Natalie Zemon Davis: *Trickster Travels. A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds*. New York: Hill and Wang 2006.

> trade here, and their goods are spices, jewels, Indian fabrics, for example, gauze and the like. On the other side of the street is the place for those who deal in perfumes, for example, civet, musk, ambergris, and benzoin. [...] The goldsmiths are Jews, and sell many treasures.[107]

Joannes Leo Africanus, alias al-Hassan al-Wazzan, saw the wealth of Cairo with his own eyes, but he also saw firsthand the fall of the city on the Nile in its conquest by the Turkish troops of Sultan Selim. In his report, taken from his memories, the entire abundance (only fragmentarily reproducible here) of a world of transcontinental trade is resurrected, whose trade routes, some thousands of years old, intersect in knots such as Cairo, Fez, or Constantinople. Highly systematically and with an impressive amount of detail, the Granadian writer sketches the world consciousness of an old world at a point in time when the new sea routes and sea powers in the West had for some time been in the process of creating new rules of play and new poles of power. It is not only because of the increasingly overwhelming Turkish hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean that the world described by Giovan Leone is one that will soon no longer exist in this form.

With this highly familiar portrait of Cairo, in light of the goods and their places of origin in the intersecting region of the Orient and Occident, of Africa, Asia, and Europe, a space is evoked in which the different peoples and cultures seem to interact peacefully beside one another and with one another, that is, multi- and interculturally. Within this Old World diegesis formed in the manner of travel literature, a world is evoked, the violence of which this man who had been driven with his family out of Granada certainly knew very well, but which he still had traversed many times, and not only in the transmediterranean realm of the tension-field between Orient and Occident, but also in the far-distant regions of the African interior. Like no other Arab traveler, he knew the inner-space of the African continent of which the Portuguese and Spanish, like the rest of Christian Europe, possessed only shadowy notions. Setting aside all the mariners, monks, bureaucrats, bishops, soldiers, and merchants who during this period reached the New World, there are but few travelers of the early 16th century who can have attained the level of experience and knowledge of the widely-traveled Joannes Leo Africanus. But what do we know of this man and the genesis of his writings?

107 Johannes Leo Africanus: *Description of Africa*. Account by Karl Schubarth-Engelschall. Leipzig: VEB F.A. Brockhaus Verlag 1984, pp. 218–221.

The research on Giovan Leone L'Africano was for a long time dominated by French scholars and authors, and not only because the first French translation was already available in 1553, only three years after the first printing of the *Description of Africa* by Ramusio.[108] Studies like the doctoral dissertation of Louis Massignon,[109] produced in the context of French colonial policy, or the editorial works and translations of Alexis Epaulard[110] had contributed to an improved state of the knowledge surrounding the figure of the traveling Granadian so shrouded in numerous legends. A new edition of the translation provided by Epaulard of the learned man's *Description de l'Afrique* appeared in 1980, almost, as it happens, simultaneously with a translation into Arabic that same year.[111]

If one traces back the history of the *Descrittione dell'Africa*, one may become convinced, in light of the current state of research, that the text made famous by Giovanni Battista Ramusio was written by al-Wazzan in Italian and completed between 1524 and 1526. Not only its having been published in Ramusio's notable collection from the fifties, but the context of the origin of the *Description of Africa* some quarter-century earlier puts the immediate context of the travels and writings of Joannes Leo Africanus, from the transareal perspective chosen for the present work, in the first phase of accelerated globalization. Moreover, his report is also a component of the wave of occidental expansion, to the power and dispersal of which he directly or indirectly gives witness.

Since 1986 and the appearance of the truly accomplished and successful debut novel *Léon l'Africain* by the Lebanese-born writer Amin Maalouf,[112] a far more comprehensive and penetrating examination of the Moorish Andalusian may be discerned. Possibly the best examples to mention might be the 1991 work of the Moroccan Oumelbanine Zhiri,[113] which investigated the centuries-long effect of the printed works of al-Wazzan on the image of Africa in Europe,

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108 C.f. Dietrich Rauchenberger: *Johannes Leo der Afrikaner*, p. 153.

109 See Louis Massignon: *Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVIe siècle. Tableau géographique d'après Léon l'Africain*. Alger: Typographie Adolphe Jourdan 1906.

110 See Jean-Léon l'Africain: *Description de l'Afrique*. Translated from the Italian by Alexis Epaulard and annotated by Alexis Epaulard, Théodore Monod, Henri Lhote, and Raymond Mauny. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient 1956.

111 See Dietrich Rauchenberger: *Johannes Leo der Afrikaner*, p. 155.

112 See also the third chapter, "Positionen," in Ottmar Ette: *ZusammenLebensWissen. List, Last und Lust literarischer Konvivenz im globalen Maßstab*.

113 Oumelbanine Zhiri: *L'Afrique au miroir de l'Europe: Fortunes de Jean Léon l'Africain à la Renaissance*. Geneva: Librairie Droz 1991; see also Oumelbanine Zhiri: *Les sillages de Jean Léon l'Africain: XVIe au XXe siècle*. Casablanca: Wallada 1995.

the 2006 book by the Princeton researcher Natalie Zemon Davis,[114]which, though impaired by some technical errors, is interesting in terms of cultural theory, and above all, the comprehensive biographical and editorial examination from 1999 by the career officer and diplomat, Dietrich Rauchenberger.[115]

Even just the research of Rauchenberger has given us a much more precise knowledge of the travels of al-Hassan al-Wazzan into the African interior. The way that Joannes Leo Africanus imagined the African continent and its outlines at the time that he wrote his *Description* is thereby not merely graphically presented in an imaginary map;[116] in an itinerary overview, the courses of the long journeys in the Sahara that have long been known or can be directly deduced are arranged such that it becomes clear what immense surfaces of the continent the multilingual writer covered, whether on foot or on the backs of camels.

Al-Hassan made the first of his extended journeys in the years 1507 and 1508, but to Constantinople, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Persia, and Tartary.[117] He then undertook his second trip in the company of his uncle around 1510, across the Sahara to Timbuktu, where his relative had been sent on a diplomatic mission by the Moroccan sultan. The third journey, probably between 1512 and 1514, first brought him once more trans-Sahara to Timbuktu, but then ran through the Haussa States and the region around Lake Chad, then farther eastward to Egypt. The fourth and last of his great journeys took al-Hassan al-Wazzan, at most only 25 years old, once again into North Africa and that region to which we today, from a Eurocentric perspective, like to refer as the Near East.

From Egypt, the faithful Muslim made a pilgrimage to Mecca, then started home. But he would never reach Fez. Presumedly during a detour on the Mediterranean island of Djerba, he was taken captive by Christian corsairs under the command of Pedro de Bobadilla and carried away to Italy as a slave in 1518. There he was handed over as a sort of living present—a practice not uncommon for the time—to Pope Leo X, who is known for his courtly extravagance and support of the arts. This was the decisive event that turned the Granadian into an African.

It was this same Leo X who came forth both as a friend and supporter of the arts and sciences, and who, as the great Pope of the Renaissance, declared Mar-

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114 C.f. Natalie Zemon Davis: *Trickster Travels. A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds.*

115 C.f. Dietrich Rauchenberger: *Johannes Leo der Afrikaner. Seine Beschreibung des Raumes zwischen Nil und Niger nach dem Urtext.*

116 Ibid. p. 195.

117 Karl Schubarth-Engelschall: "Leo Africanus und seine 'Beschreibung Afrikas.'" In: Johannes Leo Africanus: *Beschreibung Afrikas*, pp. 7–18.

tin Luther anathema and instituted the famous heresy trial. But this Medici Pope met very openly with the Muslim al-Hassan al-Wazzan: he recognized in him a young scholar educated in matters worldly and religious, to whom he gladly provided all possibilities for further education in his noble prison, the Castel Sant'Angelo, in order, if possible, to secure his knowledge and to convert him into a Christian. The interests involved were clear. From many statements, diplomatic and otherwise, we know that the "conversion" of al-Hassan al-Wazzan, follower of the prophet Mohammed, and his baptism as Giovan Leone at the Holy See was an international event, discussed in many parts of Christendom, that stood very much at the heart of the tense power struggle between Orient and Occident.

In this variation of the East-West conflict, there definitely existed a sustained interest in (the knowledge of) the Other. Thus did the young man from Granada, who once again found himself on the northern side of the Mediterranean, very quickly move into a position as a broker and translator between the occidental and oriental worlds. In 1524, Joannes Leo Africanus, under the personal protection of "his" Pope, authored, among other things, an Arabic-Hebrew-Latin-Spanish word-list (as a collaborator), and his *Description of Africa*, which won him, as the source of knowledge of the continent that lay so near and yet was so unknown, the by-name "Africanus." For good reason, he wrote and dictated his *Descrizione dell'Affrica e delle cose notabili che quivi sono* not in his native tongue, but in that idiom in which he had been instructed in Rome from the beginning: the transcultural dimension of his life's path connects in a very natural way to the translingual composition of his chief work. And this chief work is still alive for the reading public of today.

As a Muslim born in Granada, al-Hassan al-Wazzan had undoubtedly grown up in variously close contact with Arabic and its variants, with Berber, Spanish, and with manifold hybrids of all these languages. On his extended travels, he became familiar with a multitude of African languages before he came to be instructed in Latin and Italian in the Castel Sant'Angelo in papal Rome, and began to read books and manuscripts in these "occidental" languages. As a polyglot scholar and reader he was thus highly sensitized to all forms of inter-and translingual linguistic phenomena, as much for asymmetric language contact as for the various problems of translation. It seems to have quickly become clear to him that his opportunity lay just here.

Constant reflections on language consequently pervade all of his work. His *Descrizione* is therefore not only about the geographical and topographical frontiers of Africa, about its climate and soil, vegetation and crops, about the great rivers, the animals characteristic of the continent, about the different peoples

and their trade goods, but also about the differentiating cultural attributes which are primarily noted and examined with respect to language. So it is that in "all the African countryside that stretches from the Mediterranean to the Atlas Mountains,[...] "a corrupted Arabic is spoken," where only "in the kingdom of Morocco and in Numidia...the Berber tongue is more widespread."[118] "The Arab historians" Giovan Leone continues, maintain "emphatically that the Africans have had no other writing than that with Latin letters;" that they indeed have spoken other languages, but that they "made use of Latin letters, as do the Germans in Europe."[119] And in a thoroughly critical appraisal of the sources, he remarks that without exception all "history books on the Africans that the Arabs possess" are translations from the Latin, "old works, written in the time of the Aryans, some still earlier."[120]

Although the Africa that Joannes Leo Africanus presents to his contemporary reading public is shaped by the notion of plenty that includes landscapes and rivers, flora and fauna, but also peoples, cultures, and languages, it is not without the element of the pitfall, for in the northern part of the continent the symptoms of syphilis, which had been unknown in these regions before, have long since emerged.

In considering this epidemic characteristic of the first phase of accelerated globalization, which in other European sources is consistently ascribed to "the Others," we move from a transareal perspective such as we can find throughout Ramusio's anthology *in nuce* to the contemporary discussion of this world-wide spreading contagion which, outside of France, was designated as *morbo gallico*, the French disease, though the Portuguese liked to call it the Castillean disease, while the Scots were more likely to call it the Norwegian disease. For his part however, Giovan Leone L'Africano tended to align himself with the rumors circulating through the Arab world:

> The French disease is widespread in the Berber regions. Only a few inhabitants escape it. It causes boils and ulcers. Out in the country and in the Atlas Mountains, hardly anyone suffers from it. Also among the Arabs, in Numidia, in Libya, and in the land of the blacks, this evil is unknown. Yes, the afflicted are brought even to Numidia and Nigritia, because the local air makes them well. I myself have seen some hundreds of persons healed merely through the change of air and no other means. Originally, the epidemic was not known by name in Africa itself. It was carried there by the Jews who had been driven out of Spain by King Ferdinand. Many of them were sick, and the lustful Moors infected themselves with

118 Johannes Leo Africanus: *Beschreibung Africas*, p. 72.

119 Ibid.

120 Ibid.

> the Jewesses who had come to Africa, such that soon no family in the Berber regions was spared from the evil. In the beginning, those who were afflicted with the French disease were viewed as victims of leprosy, and were driven from their homes and forced to live among the Lepers. But as the number of sick grew daily and a great many people fell ill, the sick began again to lead their normal lives, and the outcasts returned to their homes.
> It is believed without a doubt that the disease came from Spain, and it is thus called the Spanish disease. In Tunis, where it raged for some time, in Egypt and Syria, as in Italy, it is called the French disease.[121]

Many aspects of both the forms of reporting and the (mostly transitory) norms of coexistence that came about from the spread of this contagion may be brought into connection with those forms and norms in the second, third, and fourth phases of accelerated globalization that, like those of the first, were reactions to epidemics and pandemics as being fundamental symptoms and fears of globalization. In this respect, the *Description of Africa* provides us not only with an exciting contemporary insight into the problems of a globalization that in the "Old World"—just think of the bio-politics that rapidly set in upon the importation of black men and women as slaves to the "New World"—certainly did not stop before reaching the African continent. At the same time, this work from the mid-twenties of the 16th century illustrates for us through literary means the great variety of areas in which norms of life and forms of life began to change under the influence of the first phase of accelerated globalization. While on one end of the world the advancing Turks sought to control all land-based trade connections between Asia and Europe, on the other end of the world, the Iberian powers also established their dominance, indeed, over the lands of spices. Within a few decades, the Earth had become a different world.

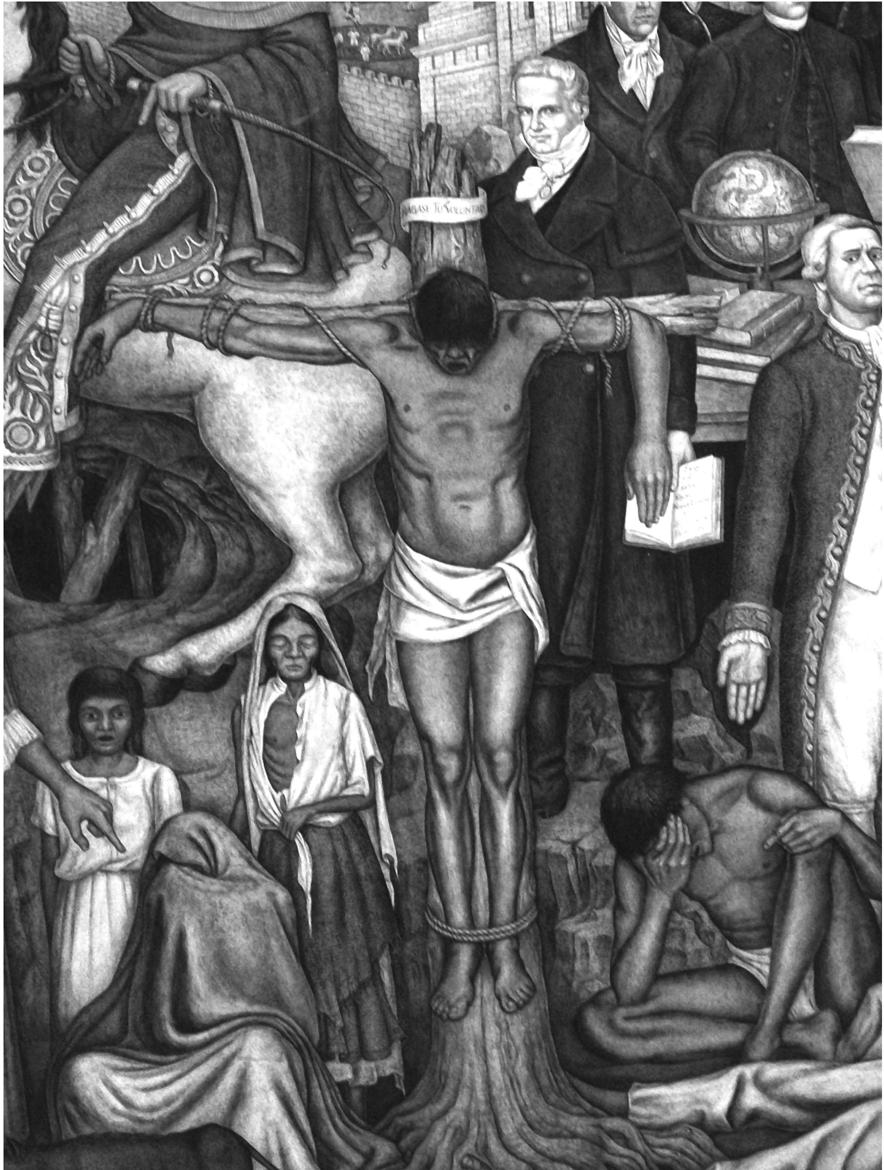
Al-Hassan al-Wazzan is, beyond any doubt, an extraordinary author and personality. One should not however draw from this the erroneous conclusion that his life itself, and with it his knowledge for living, are completely separate from the framework of the circumstances of his time. For in *his* time of wars and banishments, of pogroms and migrations, of slave-hunts and exoduses, of famines and forced conscriptions, such life-paths are not really singular. From today's perspective, would not the paths of thousands upon thousands of simple sailors or mercenaries, galley slaves or merchants, sutlery women, prostitutes, or nuns seem no less "adventurous"?

But far beyond his time in the first phase of accelerated globalization, what still fascinates about the figure of Leo Africanus is the fact that, in his translingual function as a writer between Europe, Africa, and Asia, he knew how to de-

121 Ibid. p. 75.

velop a form of Writing-between-Worlds that we, from the viewpoint of the current fourth phase of accelerated globalization, can probably more precisely and sensitively grasp, thanks to the reconstruction of the specific historical contexts, than those of other, less "moving," less "velociferous" times. From the necessity of having to change continents and languages, cultures and religions, in order to survive, al-Hassan al-Wazzan, alias Joannes Leo Africanus developed the transcultural virtue of generating, between South and North, between East and West, a work of translation that crosses cultures and modes of expression and makes of him one of the most dazzling seminal figures of the first phase of accelerated globalization. For his *Descrizione dell'Affrica* is far more than a mere description of Africa: it models through the means of literature, from a transareal perspective *avant la lettre*, the complexity of the old in the light of an emerging new world.

Fig. 6: *'Spiritual Authors' (autores intelectuales) of the Mexican War of Independence*. Excerpts from Juan O'Gorman's *Retablo de la Independencia* (1960-1961). Museo Nacional de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec, México City.



Globalization II

Dispute over the World: Discourses of the Tropics and the Tropes of the Discourses on World-wide Expansion

Worlds on This Side and That Side of the Tropic Circles

Over the course of the first phase of accelerated globalization, a new world had emerged between the tropic circles over the span of a few decades. In just a few years, the tropes of the early modern era had overgrown those notions from antiquity, (which certainly still exerted their influence in many myths) of tropical *anoekumene*. The "new" tropes of the early modern era are figures of movement that—closely tied to the cartographical registration of the globe—interweave climatological and geological, economic and agricultural, epidemiological and epistemological, sociological and mythological, philosophical and literary aspects in a dynamic way. The irreversibility of this process, that at this point in time was accelerating tremendously, is every bit as clear to us today as the double character of treasure and trap was to the people of that time.

Antoine-Joseph Pernety dealt with many aspects of this early-modern-era view of the tropics in his 1769 *Journal historique*, published in French in Berlin, and in which, as the title page proudly states, the "Membre de l'Académie Royale des Sciences & Belles-Lettres de Prusse" and "Bibliothécaire de Sa Majesté le Roy de Prusse" reports on his voyage as ship's chaplain under the leadership of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville to the tropical coasts of what is today Brazil, the Falkland Islands, and to the southern point of the American continent.[1] In his *Journal*, Pernety describes over the course of almost twenty pages the crossing of the equator on November 10, 1763, and the scene that was observed in an identical or comparable form on all French, and indeed, all European vessels that passed over the equatorial line, the central region of the tropical belt. In these detailed passages from the *Journal historique*, the discourses of the tropics overlap with the tropes of discourses in a travel-literary place which, in European travel literature, demarcates the entrance into a "New World."

1 C.f. Antoine-Joseph Pernety: Journal historique d'un Voyage aux Iles Malouïnes en 1763 & 1764, pour le reconnoiter & y former un établissement; et de deux Voyages au Détroit de Magellan, avec une Relation sur les Patagons. 2 vols. Berlin: Etienne de Bourdeaux 1769.

Pernety's detailed depiction of the equatorial baptism, the "Baptême de la ligne,"[2] preserves in rich detail the ceremonial and ritualistic character of this scene. It began, the midday heat still blazing on the deck of the French ship, with the placing of a basin of seawater, a throne for the "Lord Governor of the Line" as well as seating for his "chancellor" and his "vicar," and a general muster of the entire crew and all passengers.[3] The carnivalesque elements of the ceremony are obvious; the first to take to the stage—with the approval of Captain Bougainville, of course—is a painted sailor, seconded by six cabin boys and wrapped in a sheepskin. His costume and the transformation it completes are described in precise detail[4] before the *Bon-homme de la Ligne* his gracious self, likewise clad in sheep skin and surrounded by his garish royal retinue, takes command of the vessel. The crossing of the equatorial line turns the hierarchy on its head; it produces, or stages, a *monde à l'envers* that seeks to connect, and seems to connect, the carnivalesque element to the idea of the antipodes—a world whose inhabitants stand on their heads, so to speak, and where the trees grow downward.

Though the intriguingly structured scene cannot be reproduced here in all detail, it still underscores that the staging of an opposite order that goes into effect for one day between the tropic circles introduces those turns and transformations which represent the tropics, as opposed to Europe, as an *other* world within the influence of the equatorial line. To what extent this other order is projected from a (for it) unavoidable patriarchal perspective on the "other" race may be proved by the following quotation of the captain's copious "promises":

> Things being thus arranged, the vicar said to M. de Bougainville "In order to be accepted into the noble & mighty society of the Lord Governor of the Line, it is first necessary to commit to certain duties which you must promise to take upon yourself. The aims of these duties are in all cases reasonable." "Very well," responded M. de Bougainville. "Do you then promise," asked the vicar, "to be a good citizen, & that to this end you will work for the sake of population & thus not leave the girls alone, should a felicitous opportunity toward this work present itself?" "I do promise it."[5]

The series of promises, concluded with an oath and a ritualized scene of baptism in which there is always, from the Christian perspective, the symbolism of another life, opens a succession of further festivities, a vital part of which are

2 Ibid. vol. I, p. 95.
3 Ibid. p. 96
4 Ibid. p. 98 f.
5 Ibid. p. 107 f.

two paradisiacal *Demoiselles Acadiennes*[6] and all manner of whimsical games, which are played out one after another on Bougainville's frigate, under the command of the *Bon-homme de la Ligne*. They are such scenes as are still played out, in either the same or comparable form, on European ships today—even on those British warships that took part in the absurd war for the Malvinas, or Falkland Islands, in 1982.

On *her* way to the Malouines (as they are named in French for St. Malo), between the Cape Verdes and the Brazilian coast, the frigate thus not only crossed the equator, but symbolically entered with her passengers and crew into a different world, into a new life. Granted, in the context to be discussed here, the fact that the forms of the baptism differ from nation to nation and even from ship to ship is not of decisive importance; much more crucial is the fact that this *baptême* is always carried out on board and represents a certified right of the crew.[7] At this beginning of a *Vita Nova*, the baptism is not tied above all to the crossing of the equator but to the entrance into the zone of the tropics, as Pernety conclusively explains in the account of his travels:

> If the ship in its course does not cross the equator, but only the tropic circle (*tropique*), then those crewmembers who have crossed it and do not wish to lose their right to receive the payment of tribute have devised the means of designating the line of the tropic as the *eldest son of the Bon-homme de la Ligne and the presumptive heir of the rights he possesses*. And so, upon crossing the tropical line, they stage the same farce as do the others at the equator.[8]

The fact that this scene was indeed subsequently carried over to other "borderlines" and—as the ritual "polar baptism" on board the German research vessel *Polarstern* can show us even now—is also celebrated in our day on board many research vessels in no way diminishes the symbolic meaning of the movement figure of the tropics, which becomes recognizable by means of these *rites de passage*. Indeed, this illustrates even more that the *tropiques* are still configured as a migratory space that can be formed either through tropisms (*tropismes*), through small, virtually unnoticeable movements of border-shifting, or through actual leaps. At least from the European perspective, the tropics cannot really be imagined without the tropes of transformation, of metamorphosis, of the entrance into the laws of a different world—regardless of whether these are in the guise of metonymy or metaphor, of synecdoche or of irony.

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6 Ibid. p. 109.

7 Ibid. p. 111.

8 Ibid. p. 112.

However much the historical contexts may have changed in the last half of the 18th century, in the second phase of accelerated globalization, with France and England at last taking the place of the Iberian powers as the leading nations in globalization, those tropes, which in the European view signify the tropics, again find themselves—as the example of Raynal and Diderot shows—for the most part unchanged, even in the writings of the European *philosophes*.[9] American Enlightenment figures like Francisco Javier Clavijero[10] struggled, with good reasons but in vain, against being labeled by European science in the wake of Buffon as an inferior Other Europe. In the above-mentioned encyclopedia of the colonial expansion of Europe, which had grown famous since the publication of its first edition in 1770, it is to no small degree that the abundance and fertility of the tropics and, in equal measure, their dangerousness and fundamental inferiority appear together in Guillaume-Thomas Raynal's *Histoire des deux Indes*.

It is this very thesis of the fundamental weakness and inferiority of the New World that gave rise to images in European Enlightenment literature, embedding them in the collective memory of Europe; images that just a few years before, in the wake of the degeneration thesis, had taken on a thoroughly apocalyptic dimension in Cornelius de Pauw's *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains*,[11] which appeared in Berlin in 1768-1769. For in the magnifying mirror of the highly successful volumes of this philosopher, who was born in Amsterdam in 1739, diseases such as syphilis spread forth from the tropics to cover the entire globe. Cornelius de Pauw recognized early on the great significance of the experience of epidemics to a world-consciousness that he wanted to change with his highly influential writings in the midst of the epochal experience of the second phase of accelerated globalization.

The subject here is not merely "some voice or other" of the 18th century. For de Pauw may be viewed in the midst of his contemporaries as one of the most famous representatives of the European Enlightenment world-wide. Yet the multitude of globally-conducted disputes and polemics that Cornelius de Pauw provoked with his *Recherches philosophiques*, his *Philosophical Investigations on the Americans*, seem to have long since been forgotten, despite his name still oc-

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9 See also Ottmar Ette: "Réflexions européennes sur deux phases de mondialisation accélérée chez Cornelius de Pauw, Georg Forster, Guillaume-Thomas Raynal et Alexandre de Humboldt." In: Gilles Bancarel (ed.): *Raynal et ses réseaux*, pp. 183–225.

10 C.f. the work that first appeared in Italian, having been written during the Italian exile of Francisco Javier Clavijero: *Storia Antica del Messico*. 4 vols., Cesena: Gregorio Biasani 1780.

11 See Cornelius de Pauw: *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains, ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Espèce humaine*. 2 vols. Berlin: Chez Georges Jacques Decker, Imp. du Roi 1768–1769.

casionally appearing in brief footnotes and incidental subordinate clauses. A look at the landscape of international research shows that there are hardly any recent publications on the work of this philosopher, who died in Xanten in 1799, let alone any longer monographs that would examine his collected oeuvre. Things have grown quiet, indeed suspiciously quiet, around the man who once inflamed moods and incited beyond a doubt one of the decisive disputes of the century of the Enlightenment.

Despite Antoine-Joseph Pernety's desire to develop an opinion decidedly opposing Cornelius de Pauw in his speech before the Berlin *Académie des Sciences & Belles-Lettres*, of which he was a member, on September 7, 1769, it turned out that in this "Berlin Debate" on the New World,[12] which was received worldwide, de Pauw's position prevailed, that is, a position in which the tropics of the New World, which were also said to be geologically younger than the Old, and therefore to have risen much later from the waters, were clearly stigmatized as a place characterized by a perpetual inferiority that had been present from the very beginning. In the second volume of his *Recherches philosophiques*, de Pauw already presumed, in the context of the "Berlin Debate," to make statements in which Europeans appeared as the crowning glory of the human race, while the tropics and their inhabitants were presented as completely inferior, the latter, indeed, being quite nearly excluded from the human race completely:

> The true land in which this species consistently succeeded & prospered is the temperate zone in the North of our hemisphere: this is the seat of its power, its greatness, and its renown. Should one move farther to the North, their minds grow more rigid and dull: however much their fibers and nerves gain in robustness and strength due to the effects of the contracting cold, their organs lose in terms of acuity; the flame of genius seems to go out within their bodies, which are too robust, and in which all vital spirits (*esprits vitaux*) are occupied with moving all of the driving forces of structure & animal economy. [...] Near the equator their complexion darkens, grows blacker; the features of a disfigured physiognomy are repellent in their roughness: the fire of the climate hastens the end of their days, and as the drive of their passions increases, so diminishes the sphere of their souls: it loses the capacity to control itself, and never ascends from out of its childhood. In a word, it becomes a Negro, and this Negro becomes the slave of slaves.
>
> Consequently, if one excepts the inhabitants of Europe, four or five of the peoples of Asia, and those of a few small cantons of Africa, then the overwhelming majority of humanity consists of individuals who are less similar to human beings than to wild animals: still, they take up seven to eight times more space on our globe than all civilized nations (*nations policées*) combined, & and they leave their place of origin almost never. Had Afri-

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12 On the "Berlin Debate," see Ottmar Ette: *Alexander von Humboldt und die Globalisierung. Das Mobile des Wissens*, pp. 45–50 and 54–68.

> cans not been transported to America against their will, they would never have gone there themselves: the Hottentots travel every bit as infrequently as the Orangutans [...][13]

One could indeed sum up the entire passage in a word: *tropicalization* here means, unmistakably, *designation as inferior*. These assertions, which point to Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* and are thus scientifically legitimized, made by the Dutch *philosophe* who twice stayed for some months at the Prussian court in Berlin and Potsdam, present a contrast between the temperate zones, especially of Europe, on the one side, and the tropics of Africa, Asia, and America on the other that to designate as evidence of eurocentrism would be at best a euphemism. Cornelius de Pauw asserted his views remorselessly, views that were by no means in the minority in the educated circles of Europe, and which ignited a debate that, among the societies of the long-since transcontinental *République des Lettres*, quickly leapt from Berlin to the rest of Europe, and from the Old to the New World.

At the same time, it becomes clear in this work (which also, incidentally, denounced the destructive power of European science, especially in the second phase of accelerated globalization) that the climatological argumentation devalues a world between the tropic circles that, unlike Europe, is transareally structured. De Pauw did this at a point in time when the economic plundering of the tropics that originated especially in England and France had reached a new high and was being organized in a manner both transcontinental and transareal, connecting to one another the widely varying cultural spaces of the tropics. For a long time the tropics formed an internally networked but colonialist transareal structure controlled from the outside, a structure that was functionalized from out of Europe as a complementary supplementation space, globalized in such a fashion as to make possible a transareally profit-oriented plundering[14] that was both biopolitical (based on slavery or, later, on coolies) and oriented to raw materials. The transformation of the tropics into globally widespread dependent regions that, admittedly, still participated in the tropes of transformation was still being advanced and augmented to an even greater degree in the second phase of accelerated globalization.

In the first phase, according to de Pauw's analysis of the Iberian expansion at the turn from the 15th to the 16th century, Europe had descended upon the non-European world and could henceforth no longer be considered without it. This

13 Cornelius de Pauw: *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains*, vol. II, p. 68 f.
14 See Mariana Carter / Khal Torabully: *Coolitude. An Anthology of the Indian Labour Diaspora*.

is the starting point from which the Dutch abbé leads his readers into his New World. For in de Pauw's eyes, the consequences of the admittedly quite successful, though bloodthirsty, *conquista* were for all time irreversible. There is thus, for him, no path back to a time that existed before the first phase of accelerated globalization, before the brutal burgeoning of the power of those bands of bandits and murderers who, according to his view, were commanded by Cortés or Pizarro.[15] The discourse of the *leyenda negra*, or "black legend" that was brought out, especially in France and England (the leading powers of the second phase of accelerated globalization) against the dominant powers of the first phase, Spain and Portugal, is unmistakable in the writings of the Amsterdam-born de Pauw. Europe is not simply Europe.

Cornelius de Pauw did not, from his own experience or from personal familiarity, know the world about which he wrote. His *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains* form a work made up of words that refer not to any empirically investigated, natural-historical or anthropological object, but instead refer exclusively to other works and words, to other writings and writers. In a small way, it represents a primitive form of textual science. The method of Cornelius de Pauw, it may be said, was purely text-based and perceived itself as text-critical: in just this sense, it was philological.

In the movements between the texts there arose not only a certain autonomy to the text-universes that he traversed, but perhaps more, a textually generated autonomy and particular logic of a *philosophe* who passed his judgments from an elevated philosophical observer's position and purported to speak in the name of a universal rationality. This undoubtedly accounts for the fascination with his work, and with it, its influence.

Above all, de Pauw's text-critical work was directed explicitly against those "blind adherents of the wondrous"[16] who had supposedly circulated thoroughly false notions of America in Europe. Against this, he aimed his own text-founded understanding of American history that—as he maintained in his influential article for the supplemental volume of the *Encyclopédie*—rested upon a critical (though anchored only in the critic himself) association with the historical source-texts, and thereby, on a specific quality of his own reading:

> Should one wish to gain a conception of that condition in which the New World found itself at the moment of its discovery, one must study the circumstances while consistently allowing to prevail a rigorous & sensible critical discernment, so as to remove all of the er-

15 Cornelius de Pauw: *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains*, vol. I, pp. 58 and 75.
16 Ibid. vol. I, p. 326.

> rors & marvels with which they so abound: The compilers, lacking any sort of intellect, collect everything they can find in the reports of travelers and from this, construct vulgar novels that in our times have proliferated to numbers all too great; for it is easier to write without thinking than to write and think at the same time.[17]

It is the critical reading of what had been written before that makes possible any writing reflective of said reading: reading and writing are the fundamental actions that stand at the center of de Pauw's textual universe. The norms for the evaluation of that which qualifies as believable or must be excluded as fallacious in this world of texts can only be defined from out of an enlightened Europe, specifically by Prussia. The Americans are objects, but not subjects, of a discourse that is not based upon reciprocity or interactive exchange, and which with philological (but never multilogical) power literally cuts the word away from them. De Pauw's image of *the* Indian—the singular speaks for itself—shows this power of the word:

> He is, in the actual sense, neither virtuous nor iniquitous: what would thus motivate him? The timidity of his soul, the weakness of his intellect, the necessity of ensuring his own survival in the midst of want, the dominance of his superstitions & the influences of the climate lead him into madness; yet he is not aware of this. His happiness lies in not thinking, in remaining in a state of absolute inactivity, in sleeping a great deal, in worrying about nothing, once his hunger is sated, & in giving thought only to the means by which he will secure nourishment, when appetite so drives him. He would build no huts, if the cold & the inclemency of the weather did not force him to do so: Then he would never leave his hut, if need did not drive him forth: His rationality does not mature: Until his death, he remains a child, does not look forward, brings nothing to perfection, & allows nature to degenerate everything his eyes can see or his hands can touch, never enlivening them, nor lifting them from their torpor. Fundamentally lazy by nature, weakness makes him vindictive and cruel in his acts of revenge, for he is himself without feeling: Since he has nothing to lose but his life, he sees in all of his enemies his murderers.[18]

The reduction of the broadly various American cultures to the static image of *the* Indian is consistent with the diminishment of said person to a quasi-animalistic existence distinguished by no sort of development, no sort of dynamic, nor any sort of perfectibility. It is a matter of subsistence, of sheer survival. Culture is recoded as nature, and thus is implemented that process of a deliberate confusion that, according to Claude Lévi-Strauss, characterizes the original sin of any sort

17 Cornelius de Pauw: *Amérique*. In: *Supplément à L'Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaires raissonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers. Par une Société de Gens de Lettres. Mis en ordre et publié par M****, vol. 1. Amsterdam: Chez M. M. Rey, libraire 1776, p. 353.

18 Cornelius de Pauw: *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains*, vol. I, p. 123.

of racism, though "the downfall of Anthropology" may lie in "the confounding of the purely biological concept of race (first assuming that this concept itself possesses in such a limited range any objectivity, as is contested by modern genetics) and the sociological and psychological creations of human cultures."[19]

In this sense, however, "the" Indian—and with the indigenous peoples ultimately the entire population of America—seems to be trapped in inescapable immaturity: he is excluded *de facto* from the history of humanity, to which he has contributed nothing, as his life is dissipated in a perpetual childhood. The inclusion of "the" Indian in a human history (in the sense of Buffon's natural history) resulted directly from his exclusion from the history that is the history of progress. Was the population of an entire continent thus expatriated and excluded once and for all from this history, this conception of history?

This could seem at first glance to be the case. But there were soon dissenting voices against such seemingly universalistic legitimization of colonial dependency, indeed, widespread dissenting movements that reached their most coherent and efficient political, military, and even philosophical and anthropological forms of expression on the American continent itself.

The Art of Independence

Before the newly-named viceroys of New Spain moved into their capital city and took possession of their *Virreinato* in the name of the Spanish crown, they were taken to the Castillo de Chapultepec, from which they could enjoy a magnificent view of the city, lying at their feet in the midst of the lake country, with the famous volcanoes in the background. It is that view that was so masterfully depicted in the center-perspective cityscapes of the New Spanish capital, as in the *Biombo de la Conquista*,[20] as it was called—the aesthetic highpoint of that transareally-oriented Namban art that unified artistic traditions of Asia, America, and Europe (fig. 5)—or in the screens of Diego Correa, some of which can be found in Chapultepec to this day.

19 See Claude Lévi-Strauss: *Race et histoire*. Suivi de L'œuvre de Claude Lévi-Strauss par Jean Pouillon. Paris: Denoël 1984, p. 10.

20 Compare here on numerous points Ottmar Ette: *ZusammenLebensWissen. List, Last und Lust literarischer Konvivenz im Globalen Maßstab*, pp. 9–18.

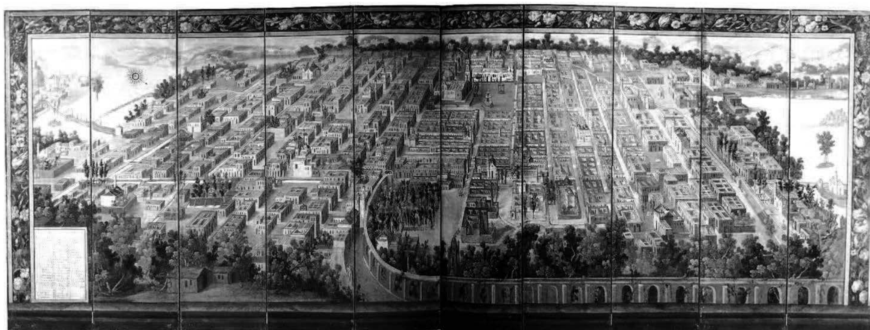

Fig. 5a: *View of Mexico City*. Obverse of the *Biombo de la Conquista y de la muy noble y leal Ciudad de México* (ca. 1690), wall screen, painted on a both sides, oil on canvas, wood and metal. © Museo Franz Meyer, Mexico City.

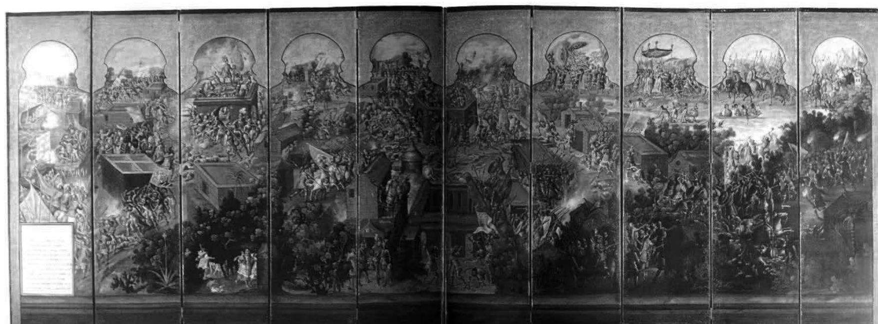

Fig. 5b: *History of the conquest of Tinochtitlan*. Reverse of the *Biombo de la Conquista y de la muy noble y leal Ciudad de México* (ca. 1690).

In this same place, in the modern *Museo Nacional de Historia* of Chapultepec, there is also a tremendous mural that was completed by the Mexican artist and architect Juan O'Gorman, the brother of the aforementioned Edmundo O'Gorman, upon the invitation in 1960 of the then-director of the museum, Antonio Arriaga Ochoa: the famous *Retablo de la Independencia*[21] (Fig. 6). In this powerful work, which was originally to have been done by Diego Rivera, who died in

21 My thanks to Sergio Ugalde and Rosa María Sauter de Maihold for their help in the investigation of this important Mexican mural.

1957,[22] Juan O'Gorman unfolds from left to right a chronologically progressing history of Mexican independence, divided into four stations over the years from 1795 to 1815 and granting special significance to the founders of the Hispano-american independence movement.

This group, to whom one might refer as the "intellectual initiators" (*autores intelectuales*) of the revolution for the independence of New Spain is placed directly to the right and above the figure of a crucified Indian, and can be immediately identified by their dark, at once academic and clerical clothing. To this dark-garbed group belong—viewed this time from right to left—Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (with his novel, *El Periquillo Sarniento*), José Juan Eguiara (who holds in his hands a list of the names of these intellectuals *avant la lettre*), José Mariano Michelana, Juan Ignacio Castorena, José Antonio Alzate, Francisco Javier Alegre, Benito Díaz de Gamarra, Francisco Javier Clavijero (with his *Historia antigua de México*, distinguished especially by its love for the Mexican homeland), Fausto de Elhuyar, Andrés del Río, and, having cultivated a years-long friendship with these last two, Alexander von Humboldt. He stands immediately behind the aforementioned Indian on the cross, and next to a globe, and he holds in his hand his *Ensayo político sobre el Reino del Nueva España*, or *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*. An illustrious group, to be sure, for which the globe, in a sense that looks beyond the Prussian scientist and author, is emblematic not only of the world-knowledge of these intellectuals *avant la lettre*, but also of their power to create worlds, for it is they who sought to give to the New World an independent visage.

The connective position accorded to these thinkers, scientists and writers between the subjugated, tortured, and desperate Indians and the rebellious players of the revolution for independence, resolutely clutching their weapons, underscores the direct connection between inhumane oppression and an anti-colonial independence movement that defends human dignity as perceived and depicted by Juan O'Gorman in his vision of the *Independencia*. This numerous group with its homogenous clothing creates an enclosed, even conspiratorial collective that, from a historical perspective, doubtless never existed in such form.

Juan O'Gorman's *Mural of Independence* appeared around the same time as the volume *The Invention of America* by his brother, Edmundo O'Gorman. One might call this mural the artistic "Invention of Mexico," which on the basis of its wealth of historical references and allusions combines elements before and af-

22 See also Maria Eugenia de Lara (ed.): *Tesoros del Museo Nacional de Historia en el Castillo de Chapultepec*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Anthropología e Historia 1994, p. 93.

ter discovery in such a way that, in keeping with the tradition of Mexican muralists, it is able to evoke an intensive experiencing of Mexican history in a not necessarily educated audience. This is illustrated, incidentally, in the anecdote proudly circulated by Juan O'Gorman himself, that tells of how the French writer and, at that time, cultural minister André Malraux, upon viewing the figures that the Mexican painter had just begun to outline on the wall, hurriedly left the hall in Chapultepec in response to their realism, which at the time had supposedly grown so completely unfashionable. Shortly afterward, a Mexican couple "of humble station" (*de clase humilde*) attentively occupied themselves for a long period with deciphering this "lesson in homeland history."[23] The mission shared and conveyed by many Mexican muralists to seek to create with their works a "Biblia pauporum," a "Bible of the poor" is certainly not difficult to decode. Such an art of independence, however, also needs an independence of art which—certainly to an always relative extent—expresses itself in its very difference from European forms and, especially, norms.

I would like to take the *Retablo de la Independencia* as a starting point for pursuing by means of selected examples this interlocking of art and painting, science and religion, philosophy and literature, in order thereby to demonstrate on a world-wide scale, specifically before the backdrop of an invention of Mexico, the complexity of these picture-text relationships. In so doing, the fruitfulness, but also the inconsistency of the respective approaches of some of the authors named here will be shown, in order to bring specifically to light in this manner the social, cultural, and philosophical problematics that arise from them, problem areas that may be specifically related to coexistence, to the *Konvivenz* of differing cultures and ethnicities, communities and classes, philosophies and ideologies in New Spain. That the attendant tensions and conflicts can be viewed, neither at the time of Juan O'Gorman's invention of Mexican independence nor in our present day, as having been solved—despite the euphoria accompanying the recent celebration of the bicentennial of Mexican independence—is obvious.

One of those authors who do not appear as "intellectual initiators" of Mexico's independence on Juan O'Gorman's *Retablo de la Independencia*, but whose writings and publications contributed substantially to the movement that led to the political independence of New Spain, is the central figure of the first coloni-

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23 Quoted according to Ida Rodríguez Prampolini: *Juan O'Gorman, arquitecto y pintor*. Mexico City, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México 1982, p. 57.

al encyclopedia[24] that conquered a world-wide audience under the title *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissemens et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes*. In the final section of the sixth book, in which consideration of North America is completed in a geographically correct fashion, such that attention may then be turned in the subsequent portions of the work to the southern part of the continent, it says:

> To all appearances, the court at Madrid will never reduce the number of troops it keeps stationed in New Spain: but the portion of public income that these fortifications swallowwed should soon add to its coffers, assuming this portion is not used for the creation of new construction in the colony itself. On the Alvarado River, where a wide variety of lumber is available, large building projects are already in place. This news counts as a good omen. For further projects will surely follow. After three centuries of oppression and lethargy, perhaps Mexico will achieve the high expectations that the nature of this land has for so long justified.[25]

This striking passage (wherein the figure of the narrator, whom so many happily and easily confuse with the Abbé Raynal, surrenders himself to “a sweet hope,”[26]) deserves our attention not only because of its transitional character, but above all because a discrete territorial space is construed here, for which the designation *le Mexique* takes the place of the colonial Spanish *Nouvelle-Espagne*. With this adjustment, in opposition to a historical space of three centuries where the colonial period is characterized as a time of standstill, inactivity, and oppression, there occurs the migratory space of a development that is to come, in which—whether in colonial dependency or political autonomy remains open at this point—natural resources and infrastructure can finally, under the impetus of a growing industry, be used and dedicated to the welfare of the future Mexico. For Mexico, it seems possible that history can again be set in motion: by all indications, a new future is opening for this North American country, still dominated though it may be by Spanish colonialism and its troops.

24 C.f. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink / Manfred Tietz (eds.): *Lectures de Raynal*; also, in the realm of influence of recent theories on globalization, Gilles Bancarel: “L’Histoire des deux Indes ou la découverte de la mondialisation” (unpubl. Typescript, 2010). For a first approach to the set of problems explored in the present text, see Ottmar Ette: “Tres fines de siglo (part I). Kulturelle Räume Hispanoamerikas zwischen Homogenität und Heterogenität.” In: *Iberoromania* (Tübingen) 49 (1999) pp. 97–122.

25 Guillaume-Thomas Raynal: *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes*, vol. III, p. 344.

26 Ibid.

If the term "New Spain" paradoxically represents that which is old and must yet be surmounted, then "Mexico" stands as an old term in the service of a future development, a term that harks back to the pre-Cortez times before the Spanish conquest and thus creates a historical space in which *conquista* and *colonia* exist essentially as an interruption or even as foreign bodies within a separate historical existence that can be traced back to pre-Columbian times.[27] The targeted course is clearly outlined: disengagement from the impeding inability of Spain (the "enemy of the human race" as defined by the *Encyclopédie méthodique*[28]) to begin, in partnership with other interested parties, a new page in the book of the history of this region of the world. For Mexico not only holds a central geostrategic position within the American continent, but also has the potential, in an east-west direction, to transform into a global player between Europe and Asia. Were not the pieces for this already in place in Spanish colonial times, in the transarchipelagic connections between the Caribbean and the Philippines via the harbors of Veracruz and Acapulco?

If it is the case that conscious and unconscious recourse to the time before the conquest can be found everywhere in the political symbolism of the revolution for independence that broke out a few decades later, and if the respective political leaders and Creole elites are also successful in retooling the Indian myths for their own interests, and—as, for example, with Fray Servando Teresa de Mier—sparking an actual fashion of "Aztecification,"[29] by which the colonial period was supposed to be made to disappear and in which the new nationality within the old "Imperio Mexicano" is to be anchored, such a temporal structure is not to be found in the content of Raynal's *Histoire des deux Indes*, which first appeared in 1770. For it is oriented on paradigms of exclusively European provenance, in order, as it were, to force the world beyond Europe discursively into their grid network and to be able thereby, seemingly precisely, to position it

27 In a great number of writings—not the least of which is the introductory chapter of *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz o las trampas de la fe* with his interpretation of the viceroyship—Octavio Paz diagnosed and offered harsh criticism of such a vision of history that, in his eyes, remains up to the present day.

28 Vividly characteristic of this hostile groundswell against Spain within the French Enlightenment is—along with many more examples—the article "Espagne" by Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers in the *Encyclopédie méhodique*. Géographie, vol. I. Paris–Liège: Panckoucke–Plomteux 1783, pp. 554–568.

29 Cf. Edmundo O'Gorman: *Prólogo*. In: Fray Servando Teresa de Mier: *Ideario politico*. Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho1978, pp. xxv f. Also justifiably present there from a political standpoint is the discussion of an "Imperio azteca liberal y parlamentario" that was then being pursued (p. xxvi).

there. The independence in this context is at best an independence within clearly laid out European norms.

While the central narrative instance for the historical account of the *History of the two Indies* (in the transition to the examination of historical and then-current New Spain at the end of the seventh chapter of the sixth book) had sharply condemned the barbaric cruelties of the Spanish conquerors in the Caribbean and shed hot tears over the long-lost indigenous population,[30] just a few pages later, the whole past of the Indian peoples and their differentiated cultural forms were obliterated and erased by this same narrative instance with a stroke of the pen. For with the gesture of the enlightened philosopher and the experienced historian who is used to not taking his sources at face value, subjecting them instead to a thorough-going, essentially philologically directed scrutiny, all reports of the Spaniards regarding that world so wondrous to the Europeans are consigned to the realm of fantasy and deliberate exaggeration. What remains, then, of the civilizing accomplishments of the continent's indigenous population, of their architecture, political system, and trade network, of the cultural achievements of the Indian high cultures?

The answer to this question is conceivably simple and mechanical, grounded in the self-assurance of those universalistic categories that were developed in Europe, especially in France, and swept over the world:

> Without the science of mechanics and the invention of its machines, there are no architectural monuments. Without quadrants & without telescopes there are no wondrous advances in astronomy, no precision to observations. Without iron, there are no hammers, no tongs, no anvils, no blacksmiths, no saws, no axes, no hatchets, no metal wares of any sort worth considering, no kind of masonry, no sort of carpentry, no joinery, no architecture, no engraving, no sort of sculpture. [...]
>
> Strip Mexico of all that has been imputed to it in fabulous accounts & we will find that this land, that was esteemed above all the wild regions of the New World that the Spa-

30 Guillaume-Thomas Raynal: *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissemens et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes*, vol. III, p. 223: "Their race is no more. I must pause here for a moment. My eyes fill with tears & I can no longer see what I m writing." On the epistemological meaning of the eyes, which in this passage, too, do not serve to gather external information (from outside to inside) but reverse the flow of information (from inside to outside) and give to the reader indications about the explicit author figure thus created, c.f. Ottmar Ette: "Diderot et Raynal: l'œil, l'oreille et le lieu de l'écriture dans l' *Histoire des deux Indes*." In: Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink / Anthony Strugnell (eds.): *L' "Histoire des deux Indes": réécriture et polygraphie*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation 1996, pp. 385–407.

> nish had traversed up to that point, was nothing in comparison to the civilized peoples of the Old Continent.[31]

This passage, from the pen of none less than Denis Diderot[32] himself, shows with all desirable clarity how a Eurocentric viewpoint (here materialistically based) not only sets that culture or cultural history, especially its technologies, as the measure of all things, but even more, negates the “other culture” as such, and only characterizes it negatively, by the paucity or absence of certain elements considered to be essential. We have here a truly instructive example of a European Enlightenment discourse whose powerful logic, which ultimately rests on syllogisms, has even today not yet been defeated and which, time and again, produces that hermeneutical circle which is capable of finding only that which was long ago invented, wishing only to experience that which was lived long beforehand. This European discourse on the tropics allows only tropes, that is, only figures of speech and thought which ensure the discourse on the tropics. Here, tropic becomes the topic of a mysticism, which presents itself as logic, and yet is only proud gesturing.

It may well be that it was such positions, as can often be found in the *Histoire des deux Indes* in places other than the above quotation, that moved O’Gorman not to include the pugnacious Abbé Raynal in his monumental painting on Mexican independence. For those authors of the Novohispanic Enlightenment, who stand out as a cohesive, homogenous group in his *Retablo de la Independencia*, were in fact up in arms over dispatches of this sort, that indiscriminately condemned the diverse indigenous cultures as irrelevant to human history, and in so doing, sought to make them disappear for a second time behind their grid network. Its always effective, occasionally even revolutionary rhetoric notwithstanding, the *History of the two Indies*, on the basis of its position within the dispute over the New World, did not make it into the pantheon of American states that were freeing themselves from the yoke of colonialism—and also not into the images depicted in O’Gorman’s artistic-didactic work.

Others, however, were successful in making this leap. Directly paradigmatic for the American or, as the case may be, proto-Mexican opposing position that arises in reaction to such a European philosophy seem to me to be the complete works of Francisco Javier Clavijero, whose first three volumes of the *Historia An-*

31 Guillaume-Thomas Raynal: *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes*, vol. III, p. 248 f.

32 See also the groundbreaking work of Michèle Duchet: *Diderot et l’Histoire des deux Indes. L’Ecriture Fragmentaire*. Paris: Nizet 1978, p. 73.

tigua de México first appeared in Italy, the refuge of the Jesuit clerics, in an Italian translation in 1780. This learned Jesuit was born in New Spain in 1731, but left the country upon the expulsion of the order from the Spanish colony in 1767 and, like many of his brethren, had to live out his days in Italy. In his "Noticias de los escritores de la historia antigua de México," which he placed at the beginning of his history, he did not exactly list—as a European reader might well have expected—the authorities familiar to Europe. In so doing, he not only expanded the foundation of written sources, to which he added a great number of hitherto largely unknown texts originating in Mexico, but also expanded the very concepts of writing and written works. The New Spanish Enlightenment quite successfully sought to transform the present through the changing of history, in order thereby to create the path for an autonomous political system oriented toward the future.

Clavijero thus did not simply disparage William Robertson's influential history,[33] for example, for having omitted a large number of extant texts in alphabetic writing and then, in ignorance, having denied their existence. More than that, he emphatically stressed that the Indian pictographic manuscripts could no longer be dismissed as incomprehensible or "of uncertain meaning," a view valid only "to Robertson and all those who do not understand the Mexicans' printed characters and figures, and ignore the methods by which application they represent things, just as our writings are of unclear meaning to those who cannot read."[34]

This groundbreaking change to this library, so necessarily to be consulted by all who wished to write adequately and competently about America and the American cultures, can hardly be overstated, and not only in terms of its epistemological significance. The assault on a European epistemology that presents itself as universalistic was indeed based upon the transareal transfer of Enlightenment concepts from the Old World to the New, but radicalized this transfer in the sense of a transformation that questioned in a fundamental way the validity of a single logic, of a single set of coordinates that is alone in setting norms. It would be unfair for one to reduce the non-European Enlightenment to a mere "transfer of ideas" from Europe: within the second phase of accelerated globalization, the world-wide system for the circulation of knowledge had long since

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33 C.f. William Robertson: *The History of America*. 2 vols. London: W. Strahan 1777.

34 Francisco Javier Clavijero: *Historia Antigua de México. Prólogo de Mariano Cuevas*. Edición del original escrito en castellano por el autor. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa 1982, p. xxxiv.

begun, critically and self-critically, to re-think the asymmetry of its relationships.[35]

For we are confronted here with both a decided reevaluation and upgrading of indigenous systems of writing:[36] remaining true to the principles of the Enlightenment, but at the same time, consistently arguing against both the Eurocentric and alphabet-centered interpretive models of the European Enlightenment figures. In the passage above, the learned Jesuit Clavijero explicitly places the cultural technique of the pictographic manuscripts of Aztec, Tlaxcaltec, or other origin with which he was familiar beside the cultural technique of alphabetic writing which, incidentally, Indian authors likewise could certainly have put to use. The New Spanish historian thus significantly broadens the body of sources insofar as he underscores the no less distinct readability of such *pinturas* or pictographic manuscripts and assigns them to the realm of writing (and thus, to the realm of writings to be consulted). What is *readable* and what is not, what may or may not be excluded as *unreadable* or *illegible*, can henceforth, in Clavijero's view, no longer be determined from out of Europe, as though from a prime meridian from which all is to be reckoned world-wide. This touches upon fundamental questions of an epistemology of knowledge (and what is knowable).

The explicit literary space spanned in this "noticia" of the *Storia*, which is created through the express mention and citation of literary or natural historical writings and documents, is unmistakably devised as an antipodal space to that of the European *philosophes*—even if the educated Jesuit, oriented to the conventions of his time and in light of his authority over a reading public traditionally oriented toward Europe, could not refrain from pointing out to his readership that he had, over a long span of time and despite the great costs incurred in procuring the literature from Europe, read everything ever published on the topic. The European Enlightenment—and here there can be no doubt—is and remains an important point of reference for Clavijero. But the Jesuit transareally links this reference to other knowledge-islands that clearly do not lie within the horizon of the European scholarly world.

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35 See also Ottmar Ette: "Asymmetrie der Beziehungen. Zehn Thesen zum Dialog der Literaturen Lateinamerikas und Europas." In: Birgit Scharlau (ed.): *Lateinamerika denken. Kulturtheoretische Grenzgänge zwischen Moderne und Postmoderne*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag 1994, pp. 297–326.

36 On the political virulence of this term, see Friedrich A. Kittler: *Aufschreibesysteme 1800–1900*. Munich: Fink 1985.

Francisco Javier Clavijero thus thoroughly underscores—quite like Raynal, and in adherence to the discursive norms of his time—his consistently source-critical, philological stance. But this stance refers to knowledge-islands beyond those of the European libraries:

> With great care, I have read and investigated everything that has been published to date regarding this material; I have taken the reports of these authors and weighed their authority on the scales of criticism; I have studied countless historical paintings (*pinturas*) of the Mexicans; all the while, I have supported myself with their manuscripts, having read everything there was to be found in Mexico, and consulted with many men in this area of study in those lands.[37]

This is, to be sure, a discourse of justification, but one that is unmistakably informed by the pride of the American Creole in the body of knowledge that he has compiled and is here offering to the thinkers of Europe. Though we cannot here more exhaustively examine the epistemologically important fact that the New Spanish philosopher subsequently invokes in equal measure both the investigation of informants and written texts and the 36-year period of his life spent in various districts (*provincias*) of Mexico, it still remains to be grasped anew that the literary space that he freed up is archipelagically structured, being at once substantially more widespread, and constructed in a manner that is more strongly polylogical and polyperspectival than the horizon of reference of contemporary European Enlightenment thinkers. For the American author, in contrast to that of the European authors, one's own space is *another*, but more importantly, it is *more*, indeed, for it also encompasses as a deliberately transareally conceived migratory space the European-occidental, which Clavijero obviously represented to no lesser degree in the area of religion, having been a Jesuit. Francisco Javier Clavijero's construction of a history, of an antiquity, belonging to New Spain did not initiate the foundational error of sharply separating that which is American from that which is European: much more, he placed differing thought-traditions and histories together in a multilogical relation.

Before the expulsion of the Jesuits, Clavijero made use of the privilege of consulting the best libraries in the country as well as the learned representatives of the University of Mexico; consequently, he made his *History of Old Mexico*, his *Storia Antica del Messico*[38] well suited to them.[39] Buffon, Robertson, de

37 Francisco Javier Clavijero: *Historia Antigua de Méxco*, p. xxii.

38 Francisco Javier Clavijero: *Storia Antica del Messico*, 4 vols.

39 See also Irena Buche: "Mexicos Dialektik der Aufklärung in den Diskursen von Fray Francisco Javier Clavijero und Fray Servando Teresa de Mier y Guerra." In: Axel Schönberger / Klaus

Pauw, Raynal, Montesquieu, and Rousseau were of course (but by no means exclusively) dialog partners during his writing. Their writings, which were not to be ignored but were also not beyond dispute, are confronted, interrelated, and relativized not only by representatives of the Spanish and New Spanish Enlightenment, but by indigenous textual sources, and by personal experiences and local occurrences. From the distance of exile, which Clavijero never fails to mention, these non-European texts being referred to clearly could often not be newly reviewed. But they could nonetheless be incorporated in the constitution of a separate cultural space with like regard to the object and the subject (and subjects) of this historiography of America.

A cultural and literary migratory space was thus established that allowed not only for alphabetic writing, but also for the picture-texts of the pictographic manuscripts, and which from a cultural aspect was of a far more complex construction than the speculative delineations derived purely from readings by the European *philosophes*, whose political-appellative function indeed resonated widely in the Spanish colonies, but whose monocultural-Eurocentric conception gave rise to sustained resistance among the Creole elites. It is critically worthy of note that Juan O'Gorman's *Retablo de la Independencia* still showed indebtedness to this last-mentioned Creole perspective and position.

A culture-philosophical outline, which at best, within an evolutionary process of the *histoire universelle,* understood the Creoles as marginalia whose impulses came from Europe, was obviously incapable of doing justice to the claims and requirements of these Creoles in accordance to a legitimization of that protagonist role that they were prepared to play in just those decades of the last third of the century. Their differentness, which had been connoted as almost exclusively negative and construed as degeneration by the French philosophers of the 18th century, should not disappear, but rather, should be turned to a positive. After all, the dispute over the New World was, more than anything else, a dispute over a new world order.

Especially well-suited for a legitimization of a new ordering of the world, however, was a distinct and no longer New Spanish but, rather, Old Mexican antiquity. The efficiency of discursive settlements and occupancies that traced their legitimacy to "their own" antiquity had been demonstrated in and by Europe often enough. The pressing into service and functionalization of the indigenous people by the educated Creoles traces back to this fact, and must not be

Zimmermann (eds.): *De Orbis Hispani linguis et litteris historia moribus*. Festschrift for the 60th Birthday of Dietrich Briesemeister, vol. 2. Frankfurt am Main: Domus Editoria Europaea 1997, p. 1,300.

forgotten, despite all admiration for the comprehensive, indeed epoch-making studies and considerations of Clavijero, even if it was a "polemical history of an answer to the views of the Europeans."[40]

The construction of a fundamentally *other* (given that it is transculturally and transareally oriented) space is, from the very beginning of the *Historia Antigua de México*, quite deliberately pursued not only in the paratext, but also in the main body of this "History of Old (or perhaps still better, Ancient) Mexico." If we look beyond other paratextual elements like illustrations and the addition of a map, which presented to the reader the "Anáhuac or Mexican Empire with the kingdoms of Acolhuacán and Michuacán, etc.," this is still reflected in the first sentence of the first chapter of the *Storia Antica del Messico*:

> The name Anáhuac, which according to its etymology was originally given only to the Valley of Mexico, since its primary settlements are to be found on the shores of two lakes, would later spread out over almost the entire space of that land which is known today by the name of New Spain.[41]

Here Clavijero first fixes that geographical space in which he will situate the historical and cultural events and phenomena that he deals with in his *History of Old Mexico*. It is the space of a *longue durée* within which the indigenous history is of decisive significance, but it is at the same time a concealed *proto-national* space in which the past can become the projection surface for the future. Clavijero systematically spells out for his reader the different appellations of this *espacio de tierra* in order to expose, under the colonial Spanish designation "Nueva España" and in a quasi-archaeological fashion, the deep-lying historical layers which might open up not only a different past, but also a different future.

A space is thus created which, on the one hand—as the dissimilitude of how it is named suggests—is heterogeneous, but which on the other hand seems to have transtemporally remained a historio-political unity. Within this political continuity, proceeding crosswise as it does toward cultural heterogeneity, an expansive process is in turn discernible, which moves forth from the shores of two lakes, from the high Valley of Mexico, creating from this central point a power-political unity. The core or nucleus of this migratory space, traversed by countless migrations, is Anáhuac, it is Tenochtitlán-México, that city that never lost its imperial bearing: crossing the ages, crossing cultures.

40 Salvador Gallardo Cabrera: "La disputa por la diferencia: acerca de Clavijero, Buffon y la historia natural." In: *Cuadernos Americanos* (Mexico City) XI, 61 (January–February 1997), p. 153.
41 Francisco Javier Clavijero: *Historia Antigua de México*, p. 1.

It is thus not coincidental that the stress of this first sentence, this *incipit*, lies less upon the heterogeneity than upon a continuity that is based in a fundamental way on a difference, insofar as that which is its own is unthinkable without that which is other, because a clear separation between them can neither be established nor maintained. The designation New Spain is set down only upon the already existing unity that is the result of a historical process of expansion of a particular indigenous community. That very fault-line that the previous European historiography located in the *conquista* and which took pains to banish all that had existed before from the realm of civilization, and indeed from the realm of history, is hereby undermined. It is apparent here how the transatlantic transfer of Enlightenment thought changes to the transformation of only seemingly adopted traditions. The historical point of origin of the space of Anáhuac is shifted centuries backward to the pre-Cortez times, which become a point of orientation for a current history that can now be increasingly experienced (and lived) as transitory and ephemeral. Without the indigenous history, the community and society of both the present and the future are unthinkable.

The designation "New Spain" consequently strikes the Jesuit as a usurpation; it has merely been imposed upon the already existing space to bring it into a direct dependence upon Spain and Spain's governance logic. The result of this momentous balance shift is not heterogeneity, but cultural difference and, connected to this, a legitimation of an intellectual and, ultimately, political self-reliance that just a few decades later, in the form of a powerful revolution for independence, will in fact definitively reject and eliminate ("*hoy* es conocida con el nombre de Nueva España") the aforementioned designation. Thus Francisco Javier Clavijero chose for his book not this colonial Spanish, but the autochthonous designation "Mexico," or rather, "Messico."[42] It is the birth of a country from the spirit of a newly understood history, now made to be its own.

The extensive gap, the indeed radical exclusion of the American cultures to which we can attest not only in Raynal, but in many other European authors of the 18th century, such as (to an especially strong degree) in Cornelius de Pauw, is hereby overcome in a manner advantageous to a conception that allows that which is specifically American to become an element of the establishment and motivation of something that is "its own." This can be carried over analogously to the literary space, which is set up not so much as the space of the heterogeneous, but much more, as the transareal difference in scene. No path "back" to its

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42 One often finds in his *Historia*, after the introduction of an indigenous apellation, an indication of the Spanish place-name, usually preceded by the formula "que los españoles dicen…".

particular antiquity opens up here, but rather, the horizon of a future coexistence of people who can refer to strands of tradition from diverse cultural areas. It is for Clavijero to devote himself not to exclusion but to the highest possible number of inclusive mechanisms, a concept that would become important to the nation-building process that was soon to follow for the former Spanish colony.

On this level as well, this ensures a unity that, together with differences, above all creates the foundation for a particular (proto-national) identity concept. But the indisputable center of this space is the *Valle de México*, which is frequently highlighted, as in the second chapter of the first book: "The best part of this country, with respect to its advantageous position as well as in reference to its settlements, was the Valley of Mexico itself, which is known far and wide for its green and beautiful mountains."[43]

This privileged position of the high valley of Anáhuac had cultural and political implications from the start, even if, on the first two pages, other Indian peoples are dismissed as "barbaric."[44] This may well substantiate the accuracy of the statement by Salvador Gallardo, who pointed out that not only the Europeans, but all of the authors who participated in the *Disputa del Nuovo Mondo*[45] regarding the significance of the New World invoked this same reasoning, and that even a Clavijero was still far from the insight that this western reasoning, in fact, has totalitarian traits.[46] While Clavijero also bitterly criticizes the attitude of Europeans who see all the American peoples as being cut from the same cloth,[47] he himself only uses the differentiation that this makes possible as a means of constructing hierarchies amidst the American peoples (for instance, between *cultos* and *bárbaros*). It is not easy to escape the net cast out from Europe over the whole world when this culture has become a sort of second nature.

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43 Francisco Javier Clavijero: *Historia Antigua de México*, p. 2.

44 Such, for example, is the discussion of the "chichimeca barabarians" (ibid. p. 2) or of a region far from the high valley that was "occupied by barbarians who neither possessed a permanent home nor recognized any ruler" (p.1). A cultural hierarchy is hereby introduced among the American peoples, wherein the differentiation between "civilized" and "barbaric" tribes remains oriented toward criteria which—like enduring settlement, firm political structure, literacy, or the writing of history—were indeed not invented by the European authors of the 18th century, but which they firmly tied to the neologism *civilization*.

45 C.f. the standard work by Antonello Gerbi: *La Disputa del Nuovo Mondo. Storia di una Polemica: 1750–1900*. New Edition by Sandro Gerbi. Milan–Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore 1983.

46 Salvador Gallardo Cabrera: "La disputa por la diferencia," p. 155.

47 Francisco Javier Clavijero: *Historia Antigua de México*, p. 50. "...los críticos de Europa, acostumbrados a medir por un rasero a todas los naciones americanas."

It is no coincidence that the New Spanish cleric succumbs time and again to the temptation to take a heterogeneity (in contrast to the Spaniards) that he himself has asserted, and to reinterpret it, at least tendentially, as homogeneity. Characteristic of this is the beginning of the 17th chapter of his natural history of the Land of Anáhuac, that forms the first book of his *Historia*:

> The nations that took this stretch of land before the Spanish were in fact, in their languages and to some extent in their customs, very different from one another, yet they possessed quite nearly one and the same character. The physical and moral constitution of the Mexicans, their genius and their proclivities, whether Acolhua, Tlaxcaltec, Tepanec, or one of the other nations, were the same apart from the differences created by a variegated education.[48]

What becomes apparent here is the perfectibility, the—hardly surprising with a Jesuit—malleability of the human mind through education and upbringing, on the horizon of an evolutionistic thinking that perceives heterogeneity not as chance, but as a danger to unity, and battles against it. In the polemical dispute with Raynal, Robertson, and above all, de Pauw—wherein the last-named, as the preferred target (being easiest to hit), drew the sharpest criticism—without the context of which the *Historia antigua de México* cannot be adequately understood, the Creole Jesuit's recourse to the "America's own" particular antiquity does not exactly contribute to the organization of a multitude of cultures of American and European provenance. Francisco Javier Clavijero's ultimately successful and decisively conducted battle against the exclusion, expulsion, and denial of the American high cultures by Raynal—which he polemically denounces as "the outspokenness of an eighteenth-century philosopher"[49]—does much more in the pursuit of the goal of establishing the cultural difference and political legitimacy of the inhabitants of New Spain, especially the Creoles.

This did not imply the cultural and political inclusion of the present (and not historical) indigenous peoples, but created rather a position of differentiation from Europe, to the rationale of which Clavijero, as an inhabitant of the *ciudad letrada*,[50] nevertheless felt himself obligated. Thus, beyond any polemics, a common European and Creole discursive (and cultural) space was not abandoned: the re-emergence of the indigenous cultures did not prevent the fact that under the new Mexico, the old New Spain—and with it, the centrally-devised

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48 Ibid. p. 44 f.

49 Ibid. p. xxxiii.

50 See also the long-since canonical study by Angel Rama: *La ciudad letrada*. Hanover: Ediciones del Norte 1984.

Iberian archipelagic colonial logic—still came dominantly to the fore. But Clavijero's *History of Old Mexico* not only changed the historical and cultural depth of field of novohispanic self-assurance, but introduced in dialog with various American cultures the basic models for a way of thinking that was transareal in pattern and which vehemently challenged and transformed the previously dominant position of European literature. His art of the historiography of a transtemporal past was ultimately an art of independence in support of a future that was already becoming distinct and approaching at full power.

On the Emergence of a Future History

The writings of Fray Servando Teresa de Mier y Guerra, certainly one of the most dazzling figures of the Enlightenment world-wide, also reside within the space that was inherited from the colonial Spanish but increasingly challenged, and they too are—apart from their autobiographical dimension, their novel-like, picaresque basic structure, and the durable self-presentation of their protagonist—witnesses to that transatlantic America-debate which, toward the end of the century, grew considerably more acrimonious in the foreground of the revolution for independence. The Dominican Teresa de Mier—as much engaged in the *Disputa del Nuovo Mondo* as was the Jesuit Clavijero—did more than simply declare himself against "all the absurdities and inconsistencies of Paw [sic!] and his followers Raynal, Robertson and Laharpe, as though they had not long since been dismantled by Valverde, Carli, Clavijero, Molina, Iturri, Madison, etc."[51] He too, in his famous and, for him, so very consequential sermon of December 12, 1794, in the cathedral of the viceregal capital, had in a fundamental way transtemporally expanded the historical space of his homeland, which he preferred to call México" or "Anáhuac," through falling back on existing and widespread traditions. He did this, of course, not on the level of *conquista* and *colonia*, but on that of the Christian salvific history which, in the official discourse of the colonial power, motivated and legitimized the conquest. But "his" own was a different salvific history.

For by means of the restoration, as conducted by himself, of the Christian proselytization of Mexico in the pre-Cortez times of the Apostle story, he withdrew from the Spanish conquest any sort of salvific foundation, a fact which—first proclaimed from the pulpit—subverted the official discourse. This inevita-

51 Fray Servando Teresa de Mier: *Memorias*. Vol. II. Edición y prológo de Antonio Castro Leal. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa 1946, p. 187.

bly created — abetted substantially by the heated reactions of the high clergy—a sizable scandal. Teresa de Mier paid for this scandal by suffering ostracism, prison, and decades of persecution, and yet never deviated from the position he surely knew to be politically at odds with the Spanish colonial power. His writing aimed at a break-out from the previous asymmetries and hierarchies of power, just as he was forced in his life to concentrate again and again on successful break-out attempts from both American and Spanish prisons: on both levels, one can indeed describe him as a break-out artist who was fully aware of the characteristic acceleration of the globalization of his time.

Servando Teresa de Mier and Francisco Javier Clavijero both emphasized—if from differing perspectives—the indubitable identity-creating significance of the Virgin of Guadalupe, so deeply adored by the population of New Spain, to what was at first only a symbolic formation of an independent, even national space for the future Mexico. In the foreground for each stood not only political, but also spiritual liberation from the Spanish colonial yoke. The immense ideological, indeed, propagandistic significance of such recourses to myths and legends could go on, twenty years after Teresa de Mier's sermon, to be quite soberly estimated in terms of their usefulness by none other than the *Libertador* Simón Bolívar in his famous *Carta de Jamaica*:

> Fortunately, the leaders of Mexico's independence served fanaticism with the greatest accuracy, insofar as they proclaimed the Lady of Guadalupe to be the Queen of the Patriots, invoked her in all difficult crises, and bore her on their flags. Moreover, political enthusiasm mingled with religion in a mixture that led to a powerful fervency for the holy cause of liberty. The admiration for this figure is greater in Mexico than even the greatest excitement that could be instilled by the cleverest prophet.[52]

Beyond the effectiveness, quite clearly seen by the protagonists of the independence movement themselves, of the symbolic appropriation of new cultural and historical migratory spaces, as it is presented, for example, by the writings of Teresa de Mier, the question arises as to how and in what manner the spaces, anchored in a differently constructed past (that is, one contrary to the official colonial Spanish discourse) would be able to provide new and original designs and projects for the present and future.

The learned Dominican was present as a delegate at both the first and second Constitutional Conventions (*Congreso Constituyente Mexicano*) as the representative of Nuevo León in 1822 and 1823, no longer as a supporter of a monar-

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52 Simón Bolívar: *Carta de Jamaica. The Jamaica Letter. Lettre á un Habitant de la Jamaïque*. Caracas: Ediciones de Ministerio de Educación 1965, p. 41.

chy, in the manner of the British, nor as the representative of a federal system, after the US American model. Far more, he was attempting—if ultimately in vain—as a politician to comprehend the specific postcolonial situation of his now independent country in such a fashion that the danger of new dependencies on modernized colonial powers should remain as small as possible. For Teresa de Mier had quickly realized that political dependence upon Spain amid the circumstances of an increasingly accelerating globalization was thoroughly incompatible with independence. Mexico was too geostrategically important for other global powers not to have attempted to exert massive influence upon the country's postcolonial development.

Fray Servando Teresa de Mier's political vision was not merely remarkable, but extraordinary. In his case meanwhile, the cultural space in all its multipolarity naturally receded in the characteristic way behind the political space, given the immediate (post-) colonial problematic. In his writings, Teresa de Mier had to wrestle increasingly with those questions that clearly dominated the political agenda of the first third of the 19th century: what would a political reorganization of the Spanish colonies in America, indeed, in the American hemisphere, even look like? What would be the nature of the governmental structure that must take the place of the old system in New Spain? And how should a future world, at least from an American perspective, be formed?

In looking at the first question, Fray Servando Teresa de Mier time and again visibly expanded his horizon beyond the situation in New Spain, to which it had at first been restricted. For only through a continental expansion had success for the independence movement become possible, and only a solution that included all Spanish possessions in America, so it seemed to him and many of his contemporaries, could be a sustainably enduring solution. In this context, it is possible to see with him a distinct conceptual broadening from *Nueva España* (New Spain) to "Our America," *nuestra América*.[53] In his *History of the Revolution of New Spain, formerly Anáhuac, or the True Origin and Cause of it, with the Report of its Progress up to the Present Year of 1813*, which he composed in British exile long before the victory of the revolution for independence, and which was strongly influenced by this situation, he writes:

> Much is said regarding the organization of the government that might well be implemented in our America, should it ever come into its absolute independence. A common federal government seems impossible and would in the end be weak and miserable. The smallest

53 For the pre-history of the term in New Spain, see Sara Almarza, "La frase 'Nuestra América': historia y significado." In: *Caravelle* (Toulouse) 43 (1984), pp. 5–22.

> republics would fall prey to Europe or to the strongest in their immediate region, and we would finally end up in mutual wars. The geographical situation of America shows the necessity of three governments, each of which would be very respectable. The first over all of that which was the viceroyalty of Santa Fe, to which Venezuela would have to be added. The second over Buenos Aires, Chile, and Peru. And the third from the Isthmus of Panama up to California: all three in confederation with the others through the closest of bonds.[54]

The fundamental restructuring of America's formerly Spanish world should consider not only the geographical disposition, but also the threat of foreign powers, among which the Mexican Dominican, in this prospective hemispheric construction,[55] is already counting the United States, the ever more quickly strengthening neighbor to the immediate north. The goal is to create a hemisphere that is not mired in countless wars—such as those that were, in fact, to pervade the Hispanoamerican 19th century—but rather one that has to have been shaped by both a high degree of political autonomy and an elevated understanding of coexistence. For this future *nuestra América*, it was necessary to create the foundation: *Independencia*, political independence alone, was not enough.

A collapse of the former Spanish colonies therefore had to be prevented in the awareness of new global power structures. Though a subdividing of the former colonies into different political regions was necessary, under no circumstances should this endanger the inner cohesiveness and unity of this enormous entity that stretched from California in the north to Tierra del Fuego in the south. But how could the solidarity of this America, "our" America, be preserved?

A strategy aimed at unity can be observed with great continuity and insistence in the political writings and activities of the contentious Dominican, despite any changes in regard to other questions. It is thus not surprising that he imposes similarly clear requirements when looking toward the future Mexico, the structure of which remained to be developed. In his *Letter to the City Council of Monterrey* of August 20, 1823, and thus after his experiences with the debates at the Constitutional Convention, he writes almost conspiratorially:

> Let us unite, let us unite, and let us lay ridiculous sovereignties aside, for if we do not unite with the government and give it strength, then our entire independence will disappear

54 Quoted here from Fray Servando Teresa de Mier: *Ideario politico*, p. xlvii. It discusses the Historia de la Revolución de Nueva España, o verdadero origen y causa de ella, con la relación de sus progresos hasta el presente año de 1813.

55 C.f. Peter Birle / Marianne Braig et al. (eds.): *Hemisphärische Konstruktionen der Amerikas*.

> like a theater set, and we will suffer beneath the Spanish yoke, which will be more haughty than ever, for the insatiable vengeance of the Spaniards will rain down upon us.[56]

Within this image of a future Mexico, the old Spanish threat is still present. In these statements of the New Spanish Creole, the question of the Indian past and its consequences for the foundation of a fundamentally different cultural and political space unmistakably recedes behind current political exigencies that would threaten the survival of independence. The indigenous past certainly does not disappear as a mark of the differentness of a Creole who, himself, sought to trace his lineage not only from the Spanish nobility, but from Cuauhtémoc and the rulers of the Aztecs,[57] but it remains just that: past and accessory Aztecification, without that dimension of *futuridad* which Lezama Lima with thoroughly good reason recognized in the thought of Teresa de Mier.[58]

Everything that could endanger or delay the intended creation of a unified, homogeneous state was eliminated from Fray Servando Teresa de Mier's projection, from his project of a future national and independent space. Despite the openness of historical meaning-horizons, which feed on the epochal experience of successful revolutions, the cultural concepts of Teresa de Mier prove to be relatively closed constructs within which the indigenous peoples are relegated to a role that is ultimately subordinate. For in the foreground of his efforts and fears are continental and world-political questions.

A thoroughly different set of perspectives on the forms and norms of coexistence within the proto-national space of Mexico, perspectives even more strongly oriented to the knowledge for living and for surviving to be found within literature, were opened up by the New Spanish writer José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi. In his novel *El Periquillo Sarniento*, first published in 1816 in a censored and thus still incomplete form, he brought forth a narrative text that is generally acknowledged as the first novel ever written in Hispanoamerica by a Hispanoamerican. A literary declaration of independence, perhaps?

Independent of the fact that, because of the simultaneity of the book's publication and the formation of the Mexican nation, this prototypical example of the Hispanoamerican novel in Hispanoamerica was continually described as

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56 Fray Servando Teresa de Mier: *Ideario politico*, p. xlviii, in the discussion of his *Carta al Ayuntamiento de Monterrey*.

57 C.f. Edmundo O'Gorman: "Prólogo," pp. x and xxiv.

58 C.f. José Lezama Lima: "El romanticismo y el hecho Americano." In: *La expressión Americana*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial 1969, p. 92.

"the novel of Mexican independence,"[59] we should direct our attention above all to the fact that this narrative text, which follows the tradition of the Spanish picaresque novel, represents a resemanticized literary category of Spanish provenance within new cultural, social, and political contexts. The transfer to America not only opened up new effectiveness and new functions for the genre of *novela picaresca* in reference to New Spain, but also aesthetically set in motion on very different levels a creative transformation process of European norms of writing and forms of writing—a transformation process that casts new light on a literary history of globalization that for so long remained unnoticed in Europe. Fernández de Lizardi's text is paradigmatic, though he experiments on the transareal level with the genre-specific, stored knowledge for living together, as it is held ready by the literatures of the world in their transfers and their transformations.

As a narrative text that is not only dialogical but polylogical, *El Periquillo Sarniento* supplements Clavijero's *Historia Antigua de México* and the autobiographical and historiographical writings of Teresa de Mier insofar as it advances, in the transition from New Spain to Mexico, to a narrative proving ground for the possibilities and limitations of peaceful coexistence in the midst of differences. For how can there be peaceful coexistence in a territory that is politically, societally, economically, ethnically, and, by no means least, culturally fragmented, a territory in which the capital city, as the *ciudad letrada* of Spanish colonial stamp, chose an island-site that is at once elevated and isolated?

It would no doubt be enlightening to establish a connection between the proliferation of paratextual elements (such as the various forewords, dedications, notes to the reader, titles, inserted texts, and much more) and the paratextual complexity of Clavijero's *Historia Antigua de México*. While this presentation in *El Periquillo Sarniento* may be substantially more artful, one can observe in both texts the sometimes obsessively reoccurring attempt to situate themselves within distinct discursive traditions of Europe and at the same time—something deeply transformative—to insert themselves into the American-European dialog. It is not without reason that Juan O'Gorman included all three authors in his *Retablo* of independence, though they represent from different perspectives the great complexity of that progression that was as much concerned with the

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59 According, for instance, to Noël Salomon: "La crítica del sistema colonial de la Nueva España en 'El Periquillo Sarniento.'" In: *Cuadernos americanos* (Mexico City) XXI, 138 (1965), p. 176. C.f. Luis Iñigo Madrigal: "José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi." In: Luis Iñigo Madrigal (ed.): *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana*, vol. 2: *Del neoclasicismo al modernism*. Madrid: Cátedra 1987, p. 143, in the discussion of the "primera novella propiamente hispanoamericano."

re-shaping of the cultural past as with that of the political present, and as much with the finding as with the inventing of a nation-building process that would be newly experienced through literature.

Here, transfer and transformation go hand in hand. And yet the reception histories played out quite differently. While Clavijero, thanks to the publication of his book in Italy with an attendant English translation, was at least noticed in the Old World, the Enlightenment thinker and moralist Fernández de Lizardi, who published his works in New Spain in the face of great difficulties (a theme that he addressed ironically, sometimes even self-ironically, in his forewords), has remained thoroughly unknown in Europe even until today. For the asymmetries of literary and cultural circumstances largely persisted in the transatlantic realm over the course of the second phase of accelerated globalization, even if they did—and the great novel of the New Spanish-Mexican author Fernández de Lizardi is an eloquent example of this—begin to be thematically addressed in an increasingly critical and to some extent refreshingly offensive manner.

Reading and being read are the pillars of Lizardi's understanding of any sort of community focused on the future—equally so in proto-national or world-literary context and scale. Already, in the paratext of *El Periquillo Sarniento* (certainly his most famous novel), the creation of a national-literary space is propagated from out of the colonial situation, an action which, in addition to the deliberately pursued education of a particular readership within a society in the midst of the transition to a postcolonial situation, also makes necessary the development of all instruments and components of a national literature industry oriented toward the center of Mexico City. It is no surprise that José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, who maneuvered so very cleverly in the nascent literary field of New Spain, was able to become the first career writer of Hispanoamerican literature—despite the fact that, while he could certainly invent a reading public in the old world, he could not yet materially find nor have access to one.

In the view of the author, who was, in a certain sense, writing historically in between New Spain and Mexico, it seemed necessary for survival to invent *and* to find a larger audience on a proto-national scale, *outside* of the traditional city of bureaucrats and scholars, the *ciudad letrada*.[60] For only in this way could the

60 C.f. the sense of the term in Angel Rama: *La ciudad letrada*. The great number of languages used in the novel already makes apparent, beyond a traditional audience, the outlines of a nation. That which is left to create is characterized, as opposed to a traditional audience, by a fundamental heterogeneity which is thematically addressed in the text itself; see José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi: *El Periquillo Sarniento. Prólogo de Jefferson Rea Spell*. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa 1970, for example on pp. 3f and 187.

“American talents” succeed in ensuring within the “literary theater”[61] not only their own survival, but the impact of their own writings as well. His clever strategies as a publicist and his adroitness in laying the groundwork in a not yet truly functional literary field helped the New Spanish author to exploit the chances available and, in fact (though always precariously) to live by his pen as a career writer.[62] But in what way was this to be aligned with the archipelago of literature, which, though asymmetrically networked world-wide, was only weakly institutionalized in New Spain?

El Periquillo Sarniento—and herein lies what from today’s point of view is probably the crucial significance of the novel—presented a whole series of innovative impulses with a view to the insular situation of Mexico and to the opportunities and risks of societally organizing a coexistence of the so widely differing islands. And it does this on the level of literary expression, a level shaped by transfer and transformation. The architextual expansion of the genre of the Spanish picaresque novel by means of hagiographic forms of depiction, poems anchored diegetically in the novel that quasi-hermeneutically point to the protagonist’s process of consciousness, and even through utopia—which probably for the first time finds entrance here as a literary genre into Hispanoamerican literature—as well as through non-fictional and non-narrative forms of writing (such as the essay or tract), gives rise to a complex text structure which is fundamentally identified by frictionality and, consequently, a pendulum-like swinging between fiction and diction. The Spanish picaresque novel becomes the New Spanish laboratory of a literature that, under the influence of the globalization of its time, must re-invent itself.

The deeply frictional and thus highly dynamic texture of the *Periquillo Sarniento* may be connected, it seems to me, to the specifics of a kind of writing that is set explicitly in America and which attempts from there to delineate its own cultural and literary migratory space—however constantly threatened it might be—in the hopes of a future community. The literature of José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi explored this migratory space with a peculiar intuition for the so widely differing forms and norms of living that distinguished the various population groups in proto-national Mexico. The readers of this novel are watching—live, as it were—a society in the midst of the difficulties of its nation-building.

61 José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi: *El Periquillo Sarniento*, p. 2.

62 See also Jean Franco: La heterogeneidad peligrosa: “Escritura y control social en visperas de la independencia Mexicana.” In: *Hispamérica* (Gaithersburg) XII, 34–35 (1983), pp. 12ff.

And the genre of the picaresque novel, the *novella picaresca* or "rogue's novel," performed conspicuous services in bringing to life this complex societal and communal process. For the colonial Spanish/feudal society of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, traversed by the *Pícaro* in genre-conforming fashion, appears in the novel not only in its hierarchical stratification, but also in its ethnic and biopolitical complexity and inconsistency. Periquillo interacts with Indians and Mestizos, with Creoles and Blacks, with *gachupines* from the Motherland or immigrants of non-Hispanic provenance such as French, Anglo-Saxons, or even Chinese, all of whom, in this second phase of accelerated globalization, are being brought into mutual contact more than ever before. In New Spain, routes intersect that run not only north and south, but east and west too, connecting to the to the high valley of Anáhuac, via the harbors of Veracruz and Acupulco, the Caribbean and Europe as well as the Philippines and Asia.

The New Spanish society depicted by Fernández de Lizardi is at the same time extremely diverse and enclosed, migratory and static: dynamic elements move forth within it almost exclusively from members of non-Spanish groups pursuing trade, who are networked world-wide. The question of a Living Together in the (proto-)national space of Mexico, but also the question of coexistence on a world-wide scale accompanies the reader of this novel at every step of the way. But from the beginning of the novel, standing at the geographical center of this space and in all of the protagonist's movements is "México," a term that is understood here not as the future space of a nation-state, but as the capital city of the Viceroyalty (and the home town of Periquillo): "I entered this world in Mexico, the capital city of North America (*América Septentrional*), in New Spain. No words of praise from my mouth would be sufficient to offer up to my dear fatherland; it being my mouth, the words would be suspect in any case."[63]

Admittedly, this Mexico City even now remains, or so it seems at first glance, the viceregal *urbs nova* that was already lifting itself up like an island from the surrounding countryside in the cityscapes of the *Biombos*, the paravents of the departing 17th century. Fernández de Lizardi's *El Periquillo Sarniento*, however, fills the unpopulated cityscapes of the viceregal capital, by means of his narrative technique, with an exuberant life and a knowledge for living that places vividly before our eyes the forms and norms of living together in that past transitional period from Spanish colony to national independence. The forms of non-violent cultural or linguistic coexistence will, within a so-constructed literary testing space, quite necessarily prove to be precarious: only the movements

63 José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi: *El Periquillo Sarniento*, p. 12.

of the *pícaro* connect the individual islands within the city (or those within a proto-national territory) to one another. Mexico must first find itself, must first invent itself: yet it is already lived, the novel demonstrates, and highly intensively—with all its contradictions.

For within the "capital city of North America" itself, as well as between it on one side and the provinces on the other, spaces populated by differing social, ethnic, and cultural groups stand alongside one another in near-enmity. How, from this, was the not merely imagined but actually realized community of a nation to arise? The novel shows it experimentally. It is certain: there is no continuous migratory space; everything is fragmented into islands, each with its own respective logic. They are placed in connection with one another solely by the paths and journeys of the *pícaro,* and tied together, as it were, into a paradoxical archipelago without an ocean. How, then, could a state be made from this?

The literary genre-requirements of the picaresque protagonist are cleverly used to travel through the components of the future nation state in their isolate-on, which barely communicate with each other in the colonial system, to depict them vividly, and to relate them to one another. The broad districts of the Viceroyalty do appear as autonomous regions, but are not, as opposed to the urban space of the capital city, bearers of culture(s), and therefore, not cultural spaces in the actual sense. But the isolated stretches of land disconnected from Mexico City, in contrast to Sarmiento's later model of a conflict between "civilization" and "barbarism," present no claims to power over the urban cultural spaces, and are, rather, completely separate from these in *El Periquillo Sarniento*. These structures, created in and inherited from colonialism, will certainly continue to exist within an independent state—on this point, the novel of 1816 leaves no doubt.

The rurally structured spaces, with their inhabitants, ways of life, and everyday cultural practices, also do not form an opposing cultural counterpart to colonial Spanish urbanity. For Periquillo Sarniento from Mexico City, they form little more than intra-colonial replenishment spaces that primarily serve to be used (and plundered) by the colonial city and metropolis. The travels of the *pícaro* are comparable to travels through spaces that should best be tied—in any respect, but most of all in the cultural—to the capital city, and modernized in the occidental-enlightenment sense. Where there is "barbarism," "civilization" must arise—but which one?

The outlines of a future, centralized national state become visible, in that the semantic broadening of the name of the capital stands for the trend toward homogenization within an introductory political modernization and a wave of socioeconomic modernization. The indigenous population, as the literary test-

ing ground of societal coexistence relentlessly reveals, functions therein like a foreign body. What is to be done?

Thus, by means of a literature that bases the discovered and the invented within a specific body of experience, that of the *pícaro*, as well as in its reliving on the part of the reader, it is above all made clear what would certainly impede living and living together, even in a Mexico that would one day become independent. In the transfer of the genre that may be considered to be characteristic of Spanish literature, the limits of the design for the *Independencia* of New Spain are made apparent and clearly show how substantial the transformations yet to be performed would have to be to convert the colonial New Spain into a modern, cosmopolitan, and (perhaps already in the sense of the neighboring USA) democratic state. The political blueprints for this were on the table.

It is also illuminating, in reference to the other texts from the departing 18th and beginning 19th centuries that have already been discussed, to relate *El Periquillo Sarniento* to at least five of the poles of an inter-and transcultural network of relationships that were at that point distinguishable, and that may be read as a product of the respectively traversed phase of accelerated globalization. Regarding this aspect, which differentiates the transareality of Mexican society as it is caught in the grips of its nascence, the novel unmistakably ascribes itself to a first pole of the model-providing Iberian culture in the context of its western strands of tradition. The various Indian cultures, and also the Black population of the tropical lowland regions of the Viceroyalty do receive frequent mention (in footnotes, for instance), but do not appear as culture-possessing systems, let alone as cultural counter-concepts or alternatives. Forms of expression for cultural “mestizification” and hybridization are assimilated in the diegesis of the novel every bit as much as the folk culture of Iberian origin, yet they are marginalized as they were in the colonial Spanish system. The potential Island Worlds of cultural diversity often remain self-enclosed I(s)land-worlds that put up resistance against any sort of approach or connection. That the space of Utopia is thus no longer projected to be in the Island World of the Caribbean but farther westward to that of Asia seems in this context to be highly remarkable. Here, the shipping connection with the Philippines, which persisted in the colonial period virtually without change for a quarter-millennium, makes itself undeniably noticeable.

Thus there emerges in the novel a cultural network of relationships that, compared to the two New Spanish authors discussed earlier, is more complex and—despite all movements of the *pícaro*—more centered. Fernández de Lizardi’s literary text unflinchingly etches into relief the disperse structuring of disconnected spaces existing side by side, and lifts the disconnected, the unrelat-

ed, into sharper profile. The depiction of societal totality turns into the representation of a national space in which cultural diversity remains marginalized and stands isolated in fragments, one next to another. It is difficult, in these *I(s)land-worlds*, isolated and separate from one another, to catch a glimpse of those future *Island Worlds* that could transarchipelagically develop themselves into a dynamic network of cultural relationalities. The colonial burden of New Spain is a weight that calls for considerable political wit, should it be converted into the wonders of a future Mexico.

The literary space of Fernández de Lizardi's novel—as the conditions of the genre suggest—is shaped by explicit intertextual relations to Spanish models (of the *Siglo de Oro* and especially to the filiation that leads from *Lazarillo de Tormes* to *Guzmán de Alfarache* and on into the century of the Enlightenment).[64] But on a more implicit level, a great number of references to French literature[65] can be discerned in this text from 1816, indicating that geocultural change in dominance that is already denoting, within the transareal circumstances of literature, the shift of the intellectual and cultural meridian from Madrid to Paris.

One may already observe it in the New Spanish literature, philosophy, and historiography, but it comes to complete clarity of expression above all in the novel of Hispanoamerican Romanticism: in the place of Spanish dominance, there then came the ascendancy of a "library" that was composed primarily of the works of French and English authors. The many libraries that come up with their numerous intertextual cross references in Clavijero's writings hardly enter into the Hispanoamerican literatures of the 19th century, the century of the *Independencia*. For over broad stretches of the first century of political independence in Latin America there again reigns—even if a geocultural change in dominance from Spain to France did occur—but a single library: that of Europe. In

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64 See also (among others) John Skirius: "Fernández de Lizardi y Cervantes." In: *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* (Mexico City) XXXI, 2 (1982), pp. 257–272; Sonia Marta Mora Escalante: "Le picaresque dans la construction du roman hispano-américain." In: *Etudes littéraires* (Quebec) XXVI, 3 (1993–94), pp. 81–95; or Luis F. González Cruz: "El Quijote y Fernández de Lizardi: revision de una influencia." In: Manuel Criado de Val (ed.): *Cervantes: su obra y su mundo*. Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Cervantes. Madrid: EDI 1981, pp. 927–932.

65 See also (among others) Christoph Strosetzki: "Fénelon at Fernández de Lizardi: De l'absolutisme au liberalisme." In: *Œvres et Critiques* (Tübingen) XIV, 2, (1989), pp. 117–130; or Dieter Janik: "'El Periquillo Sarniento' de J. J. Fernández de Lizardi: una normative vacilante (sociedad—naturaleza y religion—razón)." In: Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv (Berlin) XIII, 1, (1987), pp. 49–60. The literary relationship of this novel to Raynal would be worthy of a separate investigation.

the emergence of that which is to come, that which is past lives on in changed and changing form.

The Pitfalls of the Tropics and The Plenty of Transareal Movement

One could easy assign Alexander von Humboldt's American work, which appeared and was circulated for the most part in the French language, to the geocultural shift in dominance described above, which accompanied the process he so carefully observed of the revolution for independence in the Spanish colonies. For the Prussian scholar is an *homme de lettres française*, a French writer, whose gigantic work came into being for the most part in the capital city of the 19th century. Given that from such a point of view (and in light of the fact that the developing Mexico stands among those new states of the Hispanoamerican world that seem to have been most profoundly influenced by Alexander von Humboldt's new discourse on the New World) good reasons may be found that the author of *Ansichten der Natur* and *Tableaux de la nature*—as in O'Gorman's *Retablo*—should be added to the Pantheon of those great authors who substantially contributed to the creation of the *Independencia*. Whether as Alexandre or Alejandro de Humboldt: the cosmopolitics of Humboldtian science was of the greatest significance to the developing new elites of the now-independent Mexico. The *Retablo de la Independencia* adheres to this very specifically transareal authorship and history of reception and impact.

For indeed, Humboldt's *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne*,[66] his essay on the Viceroyalty of New Spain, may be understood to be the actual birth certificate of that state that took the place of New Spain and at the same time understood itself to be of that long tradition that perceived the high valley of Anáhuac to be the world-historical point of intersection of the great routes of trade and power that ran north-south and east-west. It is as though all of the routes that Humboldt so painstakingly investigated at the beginning of the 19th century intersected at the "X" in Mexico.

At this point, it is undoubtedly better that one resist the temptation to see in Alexander von Humboldt's thought and writings the culmination of that process that began here with the world map of Juan de la Cosa—that magnificent map

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66 Alexander von Humboldt: *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne. Avec un Atlas physique et géographique, fondé sur des observations astronomiques, des mesures trigonométriques et des nivellemens barométriques*. 2 vols. Paris: Chez F. Schoell 1808–1811.

that Humboldt, by the way, together with his friend the Baron von Walckenaer, re-discovered and first analyzed in the Baron's private library, more than three centuries after the creation of this jewel of early-modern cartography. Within the globe-spanning understanding that the writer of *Kosmos* would develop on the basis of his concept of world-consciousness,[67] the question of the sustained effects and consequences of the process of an accelerated globalization (which was fascinating to Humboldt and the theory of which he was probably the first to delineate) surely took on a decisive role. Could one not view Humboldt's work as a single answer, made over the course of several decades, to the challenges of the second phase of accelerated globalization?

These challenges contained for this world-traveler not only the gains, but also the costs of these tremendous changes. Not without reason did he maintain, in the second volume of his scientific summa which appeared some half-century after his travels through the Americas: "The advances of cosmic knowledge were purchased at the cost of all manner of atrocities and acts of violence spread over the planet by the so-called *civilizing conquerors*."[68] Alexander von Humboldt was far removed from the notion of contrasting an American barbarism with European civilization in the manner of Cornelius de Pauw, the Abbé Raynal, Denis Diderot, or other European *philosophes*. As an attentive reader of Clavijero, he was aware of those other libraries to which he knowledgeably referred in his *Vues des Cordillères te Monumens des Peuples Indigènes de l'Amérique*. And he was successful in integrating these other libraries into his thought and into his writing.

It may be that Juan O'Gorman considered a background of the insights gained from a long life's work spanning seven decades when he surprisingly chose to portray the mature Humboldt in his great mural of independence in the Castillo de Chapultepec, rather than the young Humboldt, as he appeared during his American journey. But it was not without reason that the Mexican painter placed the "foreigner" and resolute opponent of slavery, who is quite visibly presenting his political essay on New Spain to the viewer, in the immediate vicinity of the oppressed and enslaved, indeed, crucified Indian. For in his *Essai po-*

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67 C.f. Ottmar Ette: *Weltbewußtsein: Alexander von Humboldt und das unvollendete Projekt einer anderen Moderne.*

68 Alexander von Humboldt: *Kosmos. Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung.* 5 vols. Stuttgart–Tübingen: Cotta 1845–1862, here, vol. II, p. 337. More easily accessible is the edition with a provided concordance, Alexander von Humboldt: *Kosmos. Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung. Ediert und mit einem Nachwort versehen von Ottmar Ette und Oliver Lubrich.* Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn Verlag 2004.

litique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne, Alexander von Humboldt had already written down those sentences that have lost little of their relevancy and which still—despite all festivities for the *Bicentenario*—await their fulfillment and are thus offered up to future history:

> Mexico is the land of inequality. Nowhere else does there exist a more shocking inequality in terms of the distribution of wealth, of civilization, of improvement to the land as well as the people. [...] If one considers the Mexican Indians on the whole, they present a portrait of great misery. Forced onto the least fertile areas of land, of indolent character but even more so as a result of their political situation, the original inhabitants live but from one day to the next.[69]

This disturbing "portrait of great misery" comes again and again to the fore within the powerful panorama of the American tropics that Alexander von Humboldt draws up in his thirty-volume *Reisen in den Äquinoktial-Gegenden des Neuen Kontinents*—though his ability to recreate grand and gloriously-colored scenes of the tropical world is already apparent in his earliest letters from America. But for the Prussian, the tropical world is also consistently a world of extremes—including extreme contrasts.

In one of his first letters, dated "Cumaná in South America, 16 July, 1799,"[70] Alexander von Humboldt quite euphorically describes to his brother Wilhelm his first impressions of this world of the tropics:

> What trees! Coconut palms, 50 to 60 feet high! Poinciana pulcherrima with foot-tall bunches of the most glorious, bright red blossoms; pisangs and a stand of trees with enormous leaves and fragrant, hand-sized blossoms, of which we know nothing. Just think, this land is so unknown that a new genus, published by Mutis (his *Cavanilles iconus, tom.* 4) just two years ago is a 60-foot tall, spreading shade tree. We were so fortunate as to have already found this terrific plant yesterday (it had inch-long filaments). How great then the number of smaller plants that have yet to be observed? And what colors there are to the birds, the fish, even the crabs (sky-blue and yellow)! Up to now we have been running about like fools; for the first three days we have been able to determine nothing, for one is always tossing down one object to grasp at another. Bonpland assures me that he will lose his senses if the wonders do not soon cease. More beautiful still than these individual wonders though, is the impression made by the entirety of this powerful, luxuriant,

69 Alexander von Humboldt: *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, vol. I. Paris: Schoell 1811, book II, p. 428.

70 Alexander von Humboldt: *To Wilhelm von Humboldt*. In: Alexander von Humboldt: *Briefe aus Amerika 1799–1804*. Edited by Ulrike Moheit. Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1993, p. 41.

> yet at the same time, light, exhilarating, and mild world of plants. I can feel that I will be very happy here, and that these impressions will continue to lift my spirits in the future.[71]

This letter from the tropics is like a letter from paradise: the semantics of happiness that permeate the entire message make clear the way that the American tropics very quickly became for Alexander von Humboldt at once Eden and Eldorado. It is the plenitude of nature that intoxicates the scientist, expressed positively choreographically in disjointed figure movements through the German-French exploration team's running about foolishly, pointlessly, and yet constantly finding new points to consider. If one goes back to the etymologically preserved original meaning of the Greek *trópos* as "turning" and "change in direction,"[72] then the choreography sketched here, with its constant movement, could be described as completely tropic.

For Alexander von Humboldt, the world between the tropic lines, so the letter hints, holds in store a promise of both personal and scientific happiness, insofar as it seems that a new life, a *Vita Nova* in a New World is emerging, the treasures of which shall never become a trap for the explorer. Later, in a letter of 21 February, 1801 to his friend, the botanist Carl Ludwig Willdenow, he was able to report:

> My health and cheerfulness, despite constant changes in humidity, heat, and mountain cold, have visibly improved since I left Spain. The tropical world is my element, and I have never been so uninterruptedly healthy as in the last 2 years.[73]

In Humboldt's scientific work, too, the tropics stand time and again at the center, having become for Humboldt himself not the realm of weakness, but of power. In these writings, the learned scientist and writer does certainly (as in the passage cited above from the letter to his brother) resort to the paradisiacal tropes of the tropics with which we are already familiar, but beyond the luxuriance of the tropical plant-world, he brings to light another dimension, indeed, a deficiency that he strongly accentuates. In his influential *Ideen zu einer Geographie der Pflanzen nebst einem Naturgemälde der Tropenländer*, published in 1807 in French and German, he writes:

> The physiognomy of vegetation below the equator in general has greater size, majesty, and multifariousness than in the temperate zone. The waxy gloss of the leaves is prettier there, the weave of the parenchyma is looser, more tender, and more succulent. Colossal

71 Ibid. p. 42.

72 C.f. Jochen Hörisch: *Das Wissen der Literatur*, p. 48.

73 Alexander von Humboldt: *Briefe aus Amerika*, p. 126.

> trees there are always bedecked with larger, more multicolored and aromatic blossoms than are our low, herbaceous bushes. Old trunks carbonized by light are crowned with the fresh foliage of the Paullinias, with Pothos and orchids, whose blossoms often imitate the shape and plumage of the hummingbirds to whom they offer their honey.
>
> On the other hand, the tropics are nearly devoid of the tender green of the broad grasslands and meadows. Their inhabitants do not know the therapeutic feeling of the reawakening, quickly developing plant-life of spring. Careful Nature has endowed each region of earth with its own merits.[74]

It is revealing that in this passage, and equally so in others, Humboldt not only underscores the majesty and multifariousness of tropical nature, which is undoubtedly directed against the adherents to Buffon's thesis on the weaknesses of the New World plant and animal kingdoms, but at the same time emphasizes that which is absent from the tropical world. He notes it in the lack of a yearly rhythm of cyclical change. Even if he did insistently admonish painters like Rugendas or Bellermann to restrict their travels to the tropical world and to direct their landscape painting completely to its physiognomy; even if his own accomplishments were marked by fascination with that "Nature-painting of the tropical lands," as it presented itself, during his traversal of South America, from the heights of Chimborazo where, thanks to the height of the cordilleras, the widest variety of climatic and vegetation zones are pushed together in the narrowest of spaces; still, he was convinced of the fact that there was no point on Earth where one could have the entirety of the riches of nature at their disposal.

If the capacity to grasp a totality from but a single point on the Earth's surface is impossible, then—and we may certainly point to Humboldt here—movement is a necessity. That the writer and researcher was also, incidentally, convinced that the world could not be wholly grasped in but one language, the movement between languages could be the analogous consequence to this—that reliance on other languages that we first find not in his *Kosmos*, but already in his early works. Multilingualism best does justice to the many perspectives, the many logics of the world.

It may be said, then, that the tropics certainly represent for Humboldt the plenitude of plant life and other life forms quite well, but indicate, through the absence of certain important elements such as yearly variations in temperature and climate, that there can only be a true plenitude by virtue of the emphasis on a world-wide relationality. Consequently, Humboldt delineates in his writings a dually transareal relationality which, on the one hand, internally connects the

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74 Alexander von Humboldt: *Ideen zu einer Geographie der Pflanzen*. Edited by Mauritz Dittrich. Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Geest & Portig 1960, p. 48 f.

tropical worlds of different continents to one another, but on the other hand, externally places the tropics in connection with especially the temperate zones, to be able at this point to outline and understand global connections—including the migratory movements of plant forms, in which Humboldt's mobile science was especially interested. Humboldt's thought and writing in different languages seeks to meet this challenge.

In Humboldtian science, everything thus stands in world-wide interdependdency. At the same time in his writings, the contours of a history become readable, that presents, beyond a static understanding of the territorial, the spaces and advances in insight of a transareal, multifaceted *movement*-history that traverses all continents. Alexander von Humboldt's thought draws the conclusions from both the first and second phases of accelerated globalization: it is a world-consciousness that is completely aware of the necessity of a polyperspectival understanding.

To this extent, the tropics (and the investigation of them) are always ascribed, in Alexander von Humboldt's work, a double, internally and externally relating movement, such that the world between the tropical meridians forever constitutes for the author of *Ansichten der Natur* the planetary migration space *par excellence*. For him, nowhere more than in the tropics can the planetary and the global be so palpably experienced.

Humboldt's new discourse on the New World is an answer to the second phase of accelerated globalization *and* to the centuries-long dispute over the New World[75] that had reached something of a polemical highpoint during the "Berlin Debate," that occurred precisely in the year of Humboldt's birth, 1769. The Humboldtian tropical experience may have been euphoric at the beginning, perhaps even intoxicating. And the tropical world does, in fact, take a central position within Humboldtian science; but its fullness does not precede a fall, the treasures do not become a trap, for it consistently blends in that which is absent through its world-wide connectivity.

The scenery sketched out in the letter to Wilhelm von Humboldt strikingly brings attention to the euphoria and the demeanor of the discoverer shown by the scientists that are its subject: for Alexander von Humboldt, the scientific "discovery" of the New World was not only possible, but in a real sense, still stood at its very beginning. But at the same time, he knew better than virtually any of his contemporaries how dearly bought all "discoveries and all "advances" were, as is shown by his reference to all of the acts of violence "spread over the planet

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75 See Antonello Gerbi: La Disputa del Nuovo Mondo. Storia di una Polemica: 1750–1900 (1983).

by the so-called *civilizing conquerors*."[76] In his writings, the abundance of transareal movements should not hide how much the tropics had essentially become a trap for their original inhabitants, in the chains of colonial inequality.

The tropics, Humboldt knew, could no longer be thought of without the barbaric and destructive power of European civilization. That which we today call globalization, appeared to him to be a process that was irreversible, yet one that was worthy of improvement, one that could be optimized. In light of this transareal aspect and insight, the world between the tropical lines was for Alexander von Humboldt a paradigmatic space that is always newly constituting itself, not so much through its territoriality as through the abundance of movements of both man and nature transiting across it. The tropical world was thus not only Humboldt's element, but his actual scientific paradigm as well.

The Tropics as Trap, the Tropics as Paradigm

Guillaume Thomas Raynal had already, within the second phase of accelerated globalization, established the world-spanning relationality of a transareal migratory space of the tropics, as controlled by Europe. His undoubtedly most convincing example for this was the slave trade, which—as he very precisely explicated, on the basis of his familiarity with such dealings—connected the Caribbean, and with it the Americas, not only with Africa and Europe, but with Asia as well. So it appears, exceedingly knowledgeably and rich in detail, in his influential *Histoire des deux Indes*, which was read world-wide:

> Thus would the trade in black slaves already have collapsed, had the inhabitants of the coasts not passed on their need for luxury to the people living in the interior, from which they today receive the greater portion of those slaves that they deliver to us. In this fashion, the trade of the Europeans has nearly exhausted the marketable riches of this nation.
>
> This exhaustion has, over the course of the last twenty years, nearly quadrupled the price of slaves & has done so in the following way: they are paid for, for the most part, with trade goods from East India (*Indes Orientalis*) which have doubled their value in Europe. In Africa, then, one must again pay double for these goods. Thus the colonies in America, where the trade in the slaves is finally completed, are forced to bear these various increases, & consequently, they must pay four times what they did before.
>
> Similarly, the far-distant owner who sells his slaves receives fewer goods than did the one who sold his slaves near the coast fifty years ago. The profits of middlemen, travel expenses, and the duties, sometimes at a level of three percent, which must be paid to rulers

76 Alexander von Humboldt: *Kosmos. Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung*, vol. II, p. 337.

> wherever one passes through, all absorb the difference between the sum that the first owner receives and that which the European tradesman takes in.[77]

Even if Raynal thought that, in the constant increase in the price of slaves who had to be procured from ever more distant regions of Africa, he recognized the illusory—as we now know it to be—possibility that the slave trade might ultimately abolish itself for economic reasons, it nevertheless becomes clear that the Abbé from the French Rouergat developed an understanding of the slave trade that extended far beyond the space of the "Black Atlantic."[78] For Raynal succeeded here in a thoroughly realistic fashion to take the abduction, steered by Europe, of millions of Black slaves from Africa to the *Indes Occidentales* (i.e., America) and dovetail it in the closest way with the *Indes Orientalis* (i.e., Asia) and the rising prices of Asiatic luxury goods, in order to cast light upon the resultant transtropical trade relationships and how they were interwoven with and dependent upon one of the most brutal instances of human trafficking and the exploitation of humans by humans ever to occur.

The second phase of accelerated globalization had even more substantially intensified and dynamized the structure of the Caribbean into a complex network of world-wide trade routes. During this time frame, the slave trade too had long since burst the dimensions of the "classic" triangle trade between Europe, Africa, and America. Consistent with the title of his large-scale colonial encyclopedia, Raynal succeeded in demonstrating the slave trade, the *traite des noirs*, to be in the truest sense a global, world-spanning commercial phenomenon and thus a world-economical factor of the first order. Whoever wished to understand the history of Europe had to recognize, in the same sense as this indefatigable French Enlightenment philosopher, the history of both Indies and their trans-areal reciprocal relationships, and to have understood their global ramifications. The tropics of both Indies offer the actual model for understanding this.

But European narrative literature, too, gradually took possession of this paradigm. The first and second phases of accelerated globalization form the historical and sociopolitical as well as the cultural and anthropological background for one of the most famous novellas of Heinrich von Kleist, *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*, which first appeared as a serial story in the Berlin periodical *Der Freimüthige* in the issues from March 25th through April 5th, 1811 under the title "Die

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77 Guillaume Thomas Raynal: *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissemens et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes*, book 11, p. 67.

78 On this topic, see Paul Gilroy: *The Black Atlantic* as well as *Der Black Atlantic*.

Verlobung." But why would Kleist undertake to write a story that (unusual for him) takes place so temporally near and so spatially far away?

Not being able at this point to illuminate fully the complex play in the definitive addition to the title of "in St. Domingo," let it be emphasized that the island, which was christened late in 1492 by Christopher Columbus in a European act that coupled the giving of a name with the taking of possession, as "Española" and entered the nomenclature of works of geographical scholarship and atlases under the designation "Hispaniola,"[79] constitutes in the 18th century a "double island" divided between Spain and France, the respective leading powers of the first and second phases of accelerated globalization. The French portion rose under the name of Saint-Domingue to be the unquestionably most profitable colony in the world. Kleist's title, *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* ("The Betrothal in St. Domingo"), cleverly takes the linguistic, political and cultural bisection of Hispaniola and with this duality sets in motion a semantic oscillation that first of all draws attention to a third, absent element: tracing back to indigenous roots to the pre-Columbian name Haiti, that with the Haitian Revolution and its contested independence had once again appeared on the political map in the year 1804. Here, the slaves deported by France to the Caribbean harked back to that name that the indigenous population wiped out by the Spanish had once given their island. And within Kleist's choice of title, as ever: it constitutes a *mise en abyme* of the entire narrative text.[80]

The essentially trilingual title, that combines German with Spanish and French, not only blends the first and second phases of accelerated globalization, but also draws attention to the privileged position of the Caribbean in general and Saint-Domingue especially as a space of global aggregation. For Kleist, and for many of his contemporaries, Haiti had become a paradigm insofar as here, in the first slave revolt in world history that had successfully led to the foundation of a state, there arose in a fundamental way the questions regarding the possibilities and the risks of coexistence in this geostrategically central regi-

79 On the history of the discovery and colonization of the island of Hispaniola, see Walter L. Bernecker: *Kleine Geschichte Haitis*. In collaboration with Sören Brinckmann and Patrick Ernst. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1994, pp. 11–22.

80 C.f. Ottmar Ette: "Kleist–Karibik—Konvivenz. 'Die Verlobung in St. Domingo' als Erprobungsraum künftigen Zusammenlebens." In: Reinard Blänkner (ed.): *Heinrich von Kleists Novelle "Die Verlobung in St. Domingo". Literatur und Politik im globalen Kontext um 1800*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 2013, pp. 187–224.

on of the American hemisphere. The not merely subliminal presence of Haiti as a challenge has also been long since evident for the German-speaking realm.[81]

Already in the close meshing of title (fractal) and incipit of Kleist's narrative text, attention is drawn to this paradigmatic dimension, as becomes apparent in what may be called the nothing-less-than-spectacular opening sentences:

> Zu Port au Prince, auf dem französischen Anteil der Insel St. Domingo, lebte, zu Anfange dieses Jahrhunderts, als die Schwarzen die Weißen ermordeten, auf der Pflanzung des Herrn Guillaume von Villeneuve, ein fürchterlicher alter Neger, namens Congo Hoango. Dieser von der Goldküste von Afrika herstammende Mensch, der in seiner Jugend von treuer und rechtschaffener Gemütsart schien, war von seinem Herrn, weil er ihm einst auf einer Überfahrt nach Cuba das Leben gerettet hatte, mit unendlichen Wohltaten überhäuft worden. Nicht nur, daß Herr Guillaume ihm auf der Stelle seine Freiheit schenkte, und ihm, bei seiner Rückkehr nach St. Domingo, Haus und Hof anwies; er machte ihn sogar, einige Jahre darauf, gegen die Gewohnheit des Landes, zum Aufseher seiner beträchtlichen Besitzung, und legte ihm, weil er nicht wieder heiraten wollte, an Weibes Statt eine alte Mulattin, namens Babekan, aus seiner Pflanzung bei, mit welcher er durch seine erste verstorbene Frau weitläuftig verwandt war. Ja, als der Neger sein sechzigstes Jahr erreicht hatte, setzte er ihn mit einem ansehnlichen Gehalt in den Ruhestand und krönte seine Wohltaten noch damit, daß er ihm in seinem Vermächtnis sogar ein Legat auswarf; und doch konnten alle diese Beweise von Dankbarkeit Herrn Villeneuve vor der Wut dieses grimmigen Menschen nicht schützen.[82]
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> (In Port-au-Prince, in the French portion of the Isle of St. Domingo, at the beginning of this century when the Blacks murdered the Whites, there lived upon the plantation of Mr. Guillaume de Villeneuve a terrible old Negro named Congo Huango. This personage, who hailed from the Gold Coast of Africa and who seemed in his youth to have been of a loyal and well-meaning disposition, had been showered by his master, because he had once saved his life during a crossing to Cuba, with endless benefactions. Not only did Mr. Guillaume grant him his freedom on the spot, and sign over to him a house and land upon his return to St. Domingo; some years later he even made him, in defiance of local tradition, the overseer of his considerable estate and sent for him from the plantation, in place of a wife, as he did not wish to marry again, an old Mulattress named Babekin, with whom he was distantly related through his late first wife. Yes, and when the Negro had reached his sixtieth year, he sent him into retirement with a considerable income, and even crowned his kindnesses by including for him a bequest in his will; yet all of these acts of gratitude could not protect Mr. Villenueve from the fury of this ferocious person.)

81 C.f., most recently, Susan Buck-Morss: *Hegel and Haiti. Für eine neue Universalgeschichte*. Berlin: Suhrkamp 2011.

82 Heinrich von Kleist: *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*. Edited by Roland Reuβ in collaboration with Peter Staengle. In: Heinrich von Kleist: *Sämtliche Werke. Berliner Ausgabe*. Edited by Roland Reuβ and Peter Staengle. Vol. II/4. Base–lFrankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld–Roter Stern 1988, pp. 7f.

The narrative voice, which we must not—as may always be observed—confuse with the real, text-external author, takes in this incipit an unmistakably partisan, yet nonetheless well-calculated position, to the extent that uprising and revolution against the slavery-based plantation system are set as the scene for a time setting and conflict space wherein "the Blacks murdered the Whites."[83] This clearly labeled introductory black and white snapshot thus presents the complex historical situation as one of race war, in which the Whites have become the victims of the Blacks. Kleist new better, and the particular perspectives he depicts also yield, in fact, a substantially more complex and contradictory picture. *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* creates a literary experimental space for forms and norms of living together, in which the tropics of this transarchipelagic text, in the sense of the present chapter, are less representative of plenty than of pitfall.

Without a doubt, the historical background with the continual insertion of the events of the end-phase of the Haitian Revolution may be called the greatest assumable breakdown of coexistence, from whence it is obvious to infer that the previously reigning state of coexistence was based upon extreme colonial exploitation and brutal oppression, just as the European systems of rule had established overseas since the beginning of the first phase of globalization. The revolutionary France reacted to the no less revolutionary developments in its colony—and Kleist's narrator does not forget to point this out repeatedly—with continuously new course changes and decrees. But when Napoleon, who had now come to power, attempted through the application of the most brutal force to win back the rich sugar-colony for France and re-introduce slavery by means of his army that had landed on the first of February, 1802, under the command of General Leclerc, the Black revolutionaries defended themselves ferociously against the White invaders, who would also not refrain from committing massacre. The "Negro slaves of Haiti" had, as one could formulate along with Hans Christoph Buch, taken "Robespierre at his word"[84] and fought for their own independence in the spirit of a hoped-for *Liberté*, *Egalité*, and *Fraternité*. Obviously, Heinrich von Kleist, like many of his contemporaries, was very well acquain-

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83 On the question of Kleist's racism, see Gudrun Loster-Schneider: "Toni, Babekan, und Homi Bhabha? Zu Problemen kultureller und ästhetischer Hybridisierung in Heinrich von Kleists 'Die Verlobung in St. Domingo'." In: Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (ed.): *Das Europa der Aufklärung und die außereuropäische koloniale Welt*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag 2006, p. 231; this also includes substantial further bibliographical information.

84 Hans Christoph Buch: *Die Scheidung von San Domingo. Wie die Negersklaven von Haiti Robespierre beim Wort nahmen*. Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenback 1976.

ted with the dramatic events on the island of Hispaniola, at which the 19th century world held its breath.

Even though the Haitian Revolution, in the long run and even up to our present, barely made its way into the development of western revolution theories,[85] the events on Hispaniola, often diminishingly qualified as an "insurrection," rapidly became a paradigm[86] and an exceptional case of a catastrophe that gave rise to fear and terror among Whites, not only in the Caribbean realm, but in the colonial mother countries in Europe as well. The "Birth of Haiti"[87] was a decidedly complex, and at the same time, necessarily violent process that was depicted in blood-red colors in Europe, and even in the neighboring colonies in the Caribbean, where the ruling White elites had to fear being swept away and, at best, driven into exile by a population of Black slaves in superior numbers, as had happened in Saint-Domingue.

With this background, then, it appears consistent when Kleist's narrator establishes such a point of view as being in keeping with widespread opinion in order to portray therewith the frightful image of an abruptly imploding, disintegrating coexistence. *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* depicts from close temporal proximity the collapse of coexistence in the colonial context, a coexistence that—as has been emphasized—is based upon the rules of a mercilessly functioning caste system. The life, experience, and hoped-for survival of a small group of Whites trying to win their way to Port-au-Prince stand in the foreground of the literary plot threads.

Let us not forget at this point the outrage Heinrich von Kleist had expressed in a letter to Rühle von Lilienstern in December of 1805, as "from the entire cultivated portion of Europe, a single great system of empires"[88] had been in the process of emergence, but under the leadership of Napoleon—who in 1804 had

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85 C.f. Gesine Müller: Die koloniale Karibik zwischen Bipolarität und Multirelationalität, pp. 128f.

86 See, among others, Thomas Bremer: "Haiti como paradigma. La emancipación de los esclavos en el Caribe y la literatura europea." In: J.M. López de Abiada / J. Peñate Rivero (eds.): *Perspectivas de compresión y explicación de la narrativa latinoamericano. Grandes Seminarios de Travers*. Bellinzona: Ed. Casagrande 1982, pp. 43–66. Exhaustive examination of the extraordinary presence of the events on Saint-Domingue and of the independence of Haiti specifically in the German-speaking realm in connection with the periodical *Minerva* can be found in Susan Buck-Morss: *Hegel und Haiti*.

87 Walter L. Bernecker: *Kleine Geschichte Haitis*, p. 37.

88 Heinrich von Kleist: *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe in vier Bänden*. Edited by Ilse-Marie Barth, Klaus Müller-Salget, Stefan Ormanus, and Hinrich C. Seeba. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag 1987 ff, vol. IV, p. 352.

put on the Emperor's crown with his own hands—was now in a state of complete dependence. And not without reason did this letter end with hope of a tyrannicide, in phrases that closely approach the language used in *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* regarding the tyranny of the slave trade: "just why someone does not come along who will put a bullet through the heads of these wicked spirits in the world."[89] Thus, in and beneath the voice of the narrator in *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*, during the speeches on tyranny for instance, and within the first few pages, other voices become audible, that report not only on the murder of the Whites by the Blacks, but also on the sugar plantations' globally active economic system based on slavery.

The degree to which the events in the French colony of Saint-Domingue occupied not only the fearful imaginations of White planters and colonists but also the analyses of historians and philosophers might well be indicated by those geostrategic considerations that Alexander von Humboldt, from a certain degree of temporal distance, delineated in his *Politischer Versuch über die Insel Cuba* (1826) that originated in the context of his *Reise in die Äquinoktial-Gegenden des neuen Kontinents*:

> If the laws of the Antilles and the conditions of the Colored population do not soon experience helpful changes, if discussion continues without action, then the political ascendancy will fall into the hands of those who possess the strength of labor, the will to be free, and the courage to endure long privations. This bloody catastrophe will occur as a necessary result of the conditions there, and without the free Blacks of Haiti becoming involved to the least degree, without their giving up the system of isolation that they have adhered to thus far. Who would dare to predict the influence that an *African Confederation of the Free States of the Antilles*, situated between Colombia, North America, and Guatemala, would exert upon the politics of the New World?[90]

Having brought the possibility of an "African Confederation" at the center of the American hemisphere into play, Alexander von Humboldt outlined the radical openness of a history that would follow no predetermined model over the course of its development. For the former slaves of Haiti had long since proved that they could develop an *agency* of major dimensions, a capability that Humboldt—unlike his contemporary, Hegel—immediately included in his analytical approach. Upon the experience of the French revolution, *Historia* had ceased, at the "horizon of history moving onward in the modern-era" to be the *Magistra Vi-*

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89 Ibid.

90 Alexander von Humboldt: *Relation historique du Voyage aux Régions équinoxials du Nouveau Continent*..., vol. III, p. 389.

tae:[91] the objects of European colonial policy had begun to be the subjects of their own history.

Even in the case that Saint-Domingue—contrary to the fears expressed by the colonial masters and the sugarcane planters throughout the Caribbean—being, after all, only a small political power, would not insert itself into the affairs of the colonial powers[92] or the USA, the question was now posed in a radical fashion: how might a future coexistence on a national and regional, and just as much, on a hemispherical and transareal scale be structured and organized? And situated within this transareal discursive field is the novella by Heinrich von Kleist that is being examined here.

Just how masterfully Kleist was able to translate macrohistorical developments into microhistorical and, even more, micronarrative movements is exemplified by *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*. The archipelagic multiconnectivity of the colonial Caribbean can already be seen in all clarity on the personal level of Kleist's story: the Mulatto woman Babekan is fathered by a White man in Santiago de Cuba;[93] her daughter Toni gets a glimpse of the light of the world in Europe; Congo Huango was abducted from Africa; Villanueve comes from France; Gustav and Strömli come from Switzerland—and the list goes on. But this multiconnectivity is interrupted in the Haitian Revolution not only by far-reaching economical consequences: the transarchipelagic *Island World* trends toward becoming a self-enclosed *I(s)land-world*, a state of upheaval that is developed in the novella to full dramatic effect. Kleist's narrator presents his "St. Domingo" to us as a literally isolated microcosm that is closing itself off and no longer counting on any possibility of inclusion.

All of the threads of the story crisscross and become knotted from the very beginning in the fractal structure of the house that stands lonely and shut-off on an important thoroughfare. This house, that until recently had belonged to the slaveholder Guillaume de Villenueve, first appears as a trap, as Congo Huango and Babekan had already beforehand successfully attempted to lure Whites seeking help into the house—not only French, but Portuguese or Dutch as well—with the active assistance of the beautiful Toni, "who, with her complexion that tended toward yellow, was especially useful for this dreadful deception."[94]

91 C.f. Reinhart Koselleck: *Historia Magistra Vitae*, pp. 38–66.

92 Kleist's tale is analyzed from an admittedly very specific set of perspectives in Susanne Zantop: *Colonial Fantasies. Conquest, Family and Nation in Pre-colonial Germany, 1770–1870*. Durham–London: Duke University Press 1997, p. 155.

93 See Heinrich von Kleist: *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*, p. 20.

94 Ibid. p. 10.

The question that Gustav, the young Swiss officer in French service, directs to "her lovely young form"[95] he will never be able answer, not even up to her death, nor even his own: "Who are you?"[96] The beautiful Toni is thus able "to pull him away with her"[97] and lead him by the hand into the interior of the house. The two young people, erotically and irresistibly attracted to one another, have fallen into a trap that now snaps shut. The *unerhörte Begebenheit* ("unheard-of event") of the novella takes its course.

Repeatedly in Kleist's text, the landscape of an island (or even an islet) are evoked, part used by the plantations, part undeveloped and wild, whereby the insular quality appears here as isolation, as a prison where one can only be saved from death through flight. Within this closed off I(s)land-world, the house, from which Gustav hopes to gain salvation for himself and his companions, stands as an island of refuge in a country hostile to Whites, while from a vectorial view, the house appears from the very beginning to be multidimensional. It forms the hub of an island rocked by revolutionary movements, it is itself a witness to that upheaval of circumstances that peaked in the murder of the slaveholder and his family, but at the same time lies on the great thoroughfare that is alone in still offering the possibility of passage to the very last island of refuge for the Whites: the harbor city of Port-au-Prince, secured by the remnants of the French troops. Consequently, the space of the house is not static, but a highly vectorized migratory space in the insularity of which all historical, political, and interpersonal movements transareally intersect. It forms a TransitArea, in the compression chamber of which the literary experiment is carried out with the Transareal, which reaches beyond cultures, nations, and languages.

Coexistence and Catastrophe

Surprisingly quickly, this house also becomes a vector field of love, which blossoms between Gustav and Toni in moments of the greatest peril. Love is the literary labor of an intimate coexistence that goes under the skin and below the surface. Kleist knew: the danger of death eroticizes life. With the "lovely young Mestiza, who opened the house to me,"[98] a yearning also opens up for Gustav that just a few hours later, in the house, is consummated in the fulfillment of de-

95 Ibid. p. 19.
96 Ibid. p. 15
97 Ibid.
98 Ibid. p. 20.

sire. If Gustav already put "his arm softly around her body" at the point when she prepares his supper, and "pressed her firmly to his breast,"[99] she will, for her part, quickly—too quickly, as Gustav considers it later—return his desire. And yet she had only wished to draw him like a decoy, like a *femme fatale* of the tropics, into the dark destruction within the house.

But inserted between the night of meeting and the night of love is the story that Gustav tells the beautiful Toni about the "girl" of the "Negro tribe" who, at the time of the uprising, lay sick "with the yellow fever" which "had broken out to double the misery of the city." [100] The story of this Black slave woman, from a narratological standpoint, forms for its part a dualizing structure, insofar as the color yellow, in relationship to the primary narrative strand, immediately creates a connection between this slave woman, who had been abused by her former master, and the beautiful Toni with her yellowish skin color. It is not without reason that in the French Caribbean, yellow (*jaune*) stands for the Mulatto, a racist color theory as may be found in Médéric Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry,[101] whose 1802 work on Saint-Domingue may be counted among the most important intertexts for Heinrich von Kleist.[102] The Black slave (affected to be yellow) becomes a tropical *femme fatale* too: for revenge, the slave lures her former master into the house, seemingly gives herself over to his caresses, then filled with rage, hurled at him as they lay in bed: "The one you have kissed is sick with plague, carrying death in her breast: go and give the yellow fever to all those who are like you!"[103]

The figural[104] composition of this inserted micronarrative as a dualizing structure is emphasized not only through the element of the house or the color yellow, but by the breast as the place of death—not coincidentally will Gustav later shoot Toni in the breast, in her loving heart. Beyond this, the yellow fever, which is the defining epidemic of the second phase of accelerated globalization (much as the AIDS sickness is paradigmatic for the fourth phase), continues on

99 Ibid. p. 26.
100 Ibid. p. 31.
101 Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry: *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique, et historique de la partie française de l'ile de Saint-Domingue*, 2 vols. Philadelphie 1797. P. 75. It is possible that Kleist, in choosing his title, may have been playing with the title of this important work. My thanks to Gesine Müller for the tip on this connection.
102 C.f. Gudrun Loster-Schneider: "Toni, Babekan, und Homi Bhaba? Zu Problemen kultureller und ästhetischer Hybridisierung in Heinrich von Kleists 'Die Verlobung in St. Domingo'," pp. 229 and 238.
103 Heinrich von Kleist: *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*, pp. 32f.
104 Regarding the concept of *figura*, see Erich Auerbach: "Figura," pp. 55–93.

with those imaginings that were connected to the defining epidemic of the first phase of accelerated globalization. For at the turn of the 16th century, the Europeans—according to many later depictions—had contracted syphilis from Indian women, as revenge for the genocide Europe had perpetrated against the indigenous population. The disease was a plague that quickly—as emphasized, for example, by Cornelius de Pauw in his *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains*—spread over the Old World. The correlation between the atrocities committed by Whites, the revenge of Nature, and the lustful union with doubly-colonized dependent women proves itself to be a clear tradition of interpretation in the Amsterdam philosopher's text, first published in Berlin in 1768, for which we will find further examples in the present analysis:

> After the rapid massacre of several million savages, the cruel victor found himself in the grips of an epidemic evil that simultaneously attacks the principles of life and the sources of procreation, and which soon became the most terrible scourge in the inhabitable world. The human being, already groaning under the burden of his existence, found, to make his unhappiness complete, the kernel of death in the arms of desire and on the bosom of lust: he believed himself totally lost: he believed that wrathful Nature had vowed to effect his downfall.[105]

In the arms of desire and on the breasts of lust lurks the danger of deadly contagion: the highly ambivalent masculine semantization of a woman's body[106] has a long colonial prehistory[107] to which Heinrich von Kleist also clearly referred. The body of the sensuously depicted woman of the tropics represents the abundance, but also the trap that confronts the man with passion. The nameless Black slave woman, whose story is narrated by Gustav, configures in this dualization the masculine fears that, for the Swiss man, connect themselves to the feminine enticement to come into the house and to the Mulatto woman, so very efficient as a decoy.

It is no accident that this is coupled in the cleverly constructed sequence of the plot with the danger of being infected with yellow fever. Kleist had, after all, described this spreading disease of the *fièvre jaune* as an "occidental plague" in his article, "A Short History of the Yellow Fever in Europe," published in Janu-

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105 Cornelius de Pauw: *Recherches philosophiques sur les Améri*cains, vol. I, p. a3v.
106 C.f. Sigrid Weigel: "Der Körper als Kreuzpunkt von Liebesgeschichte und Rassendiskurs in Heinrich von Kleists Erzählung 'Die Verlobung in St. Domingo'." In: *Kleist Jahrbuch* (Stuttgart–Weimar) (1991), pp. 202–217.
107 C.f. Karl Hölz: *Das Fremde, das Eigene, das Andere. Die Inszenierung kultureller und geschlechtlicher Identität in Lateinamerika*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag 1998.

ary, 1811 in the *Berliner Abendblätter*.[108] His short medical/historical study, which appeared only a few weeks before the first publication of the story examined here, had shed light especially upon the yellow fever epidemics of 1793 and 1804, which both occurred, not coincidentally, around the time of the Haitian Revolution and therefore within the diegesis of *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*.

Kleist's considerations document his awareness of the degree to which the illness and epidemic of the yellow fever had become interesting to the writer, not only due to the symptoms of this "occidental plague," but also to its worldwide propagation. Time and again, Kleist's story plays with phenomena of global, transareal significance, which are of direct concern to the action of his novella: for the outbreak of yellow fever among the French troops under General Leclerc—who himself succumbed to this disease on November 1, 1802—may unquestionably be considered, on the level of historical background, as an important event, perhaps even as one that was decisive in the outcome of the war.

The bond that arose from the short but intense night of love between Gustav and Toni is—at least at first glance—a pact of equality in which the Antillean woman, who brings together America, Africa, and Europe, will soon, however, prove to be not only of equal birth to her partner, but to be markedly superior.[109] For it is only thanks to her wits that the chance again arises, in the midst of the revolutionary situation of upheaval in Haiti, to oppose the weight of colonialism with wondrous delights for the future. Hope blossoms as Gustav offers his loyal bride-to-be a vision of their living together in the future, a vision that—as so often with Kleist—is of course filled with significance:

> He described to her a small property he possessed, free and clear, situated on the banks of the Aar; living quarters, comfortable and spacious enough to accommodate her and her mother as well, should her age allow the journey; fields, gardens, pastures and vineyards; and an old and worthy father who would gratefully and lovingly receive her there, for she had rescued his son.[110]

108 See Heinrich von Kleist: "Kurze Geschichte des gelben Fiebers in Europa". In: *Berliner Abendblätter* (Berlin) 19 and 20 (23 January and 24 January 1811), pp. 73–75 and 77–79, here p. 78. C.f. Gudrun Loster-Schneider: "Toni, Babekan, und Homi Bhaba? Zu Problemen kultureller und ästhetischer Hybridisierung in Heinrich von Kleists 'Die Verlobung in St. Domingo'," p. 239.

109 C.f. Ray Fleming: "Race and the Difference it Makes in Kleist's 'Die Verlobung in St. Domingo'." In: *The German Quarterly* (Riverside, California) LXV, 3–4 (summer–fall 1992), pp. 306–317.

110 Heinrich von Kleist: *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*, p. 44.

This vision gives rise to an alternative place, an idyllic Heterotopia with all the characteristics of a delightful place, a *locus amoenus*. It is the idyll of a world ordered by modest possessions and patriarchal benevolence that stands in opposition to the furor and bloodlust of a colonial world of large land holdings that is coming apart at the seams. While Gustav also swears to Toni that it was only "in the delirium of wondrously confused senses, a mixture of desire and fear that she sent coursing through him,"[111] and not from masculine calculations that he took advantage of her, his alternative proposal of a lasting marital connection is still a well-calculated confirmation of a rationally designed world that represents for them a small, self-contained island of bourgeois bliss that could hardly stand in sharper contrast to the situation in Saint-Domingue. Yet the fear, which is always a fear *of* something, opens upon something to come, opens up the future that seeks its chance in shared flight: a flight that desires to save itself from the dependence upon revenge, murder, and manslaughter, that it might give itself over to the delights of a happy coexistence.

And yet, in a highly ambivalent manner, a not unsubstantial bit of Saint-Domingue creeps into this idyll of a Swiss alternative place. For is not the Mulatto girl honored with acceptance into the family by Gustav's father in gratitude for having saved his son's life? Is not the sign of great gratitude, in a further dualizing structure, celebrated as patriarchal beneficence in the same manner that Congo Huango was rewarded for rescuing his master with emancipation, financial means, the Mulatto life-partner Babekan, and inclusion in the circle of those who can exercise authority over slaves? It thus does not seem exaggerated to maintain that in Gustav's happy vision of a future living together, there is a colonial birth defect that even in Switzerland will still confront the Mulatto Toni with those colonial asymmetries that she would most like to have left completely behind her.

Nonetheless, Gustav's Swiss Idyll is the antithesis of a colonial society, the collapse of which had already been translated beforehand into the image of a body[112] that is violent, but cannot be brought to a stop because it is in the act of disintegrating: "Is it not" so Babekan had said, "as though the hands of one body or the teeth of one mouth were raging against one another, because one part

111 Ibid.

112 On the disintegrating body in Kleist, see the discussion in Hans Robert Jauβ: "Befragung des Mythos und Behauptung der Identität in der Geschichte des 'Amphitryon'." In: Hans Robert Jauβ: *Ästhetische Erfahrung und literarische Hermeneutik*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1982, pp. 534–584.

is not formed like the other?"[113] In the society of the merciless European slave-holders, as in the anti-society of a Haitian revolution that merely reverses the polarity of a community shaped by racial hierarchies, there stand in Kleist's tale, in symmetrically mirrored exclusivity and in bloodthirsty opposition to one another, mechanisms of exclusion that do not even spare themselves in this image of a body biting and tearing itself apart. In Haiti's revolution of the slaves, many are slaves to a Revolution that, more than any other, is the result of accelerated globalization.

Against all the images of terror, Gustav von der Ried—who, not coincidentally, shares with Mr. de Villenueve (and also with Kleist) the title of nobility—places the Swiss vision of an inclusion that in a special way commits to the inclusion of the beautiful Mulatto in the circle of the immediate family. A connection between the White officer and the light-skinned Mulatto that transgresses racial restrictions thus becomes concretely imaginable, such that at this point in the story, after the sexual union of Toni and Gustav, an alternative model for a coexistence between differing ethnic groups begins to become apparent.

Of course, this model is far removed in a distant Switzerland, in which the fields, gardens, pastures, and vineyards sketch a landscape of theory, in which, in a general atmosphere of fruitfulness, the opposing forces no longer abruptly collide into one another, but instead are sweetly balanced. The coexistence of differing races and ethnicities, of various cultures and classes, becomes conceivable, even if Kleist's story does demonstrate, through the example of the Haitian Revolution, how far away the realization of such a notion of peacefully living together—however patriarchally colored it may be—still remains. Surely love creates here an ever-precarious means of movement, but in the case of misunderstandings it can also turn to hate, the effects of which—as Kleist impressively demonstrates in his story—are equally capable of being destructive or self-destructive. And yet: between the two lovers, a betrothal is formed that promises for the future not only happiness, but a lived coexistence, or at least one that approached the realm of the Livable, of that which has become historically possible.

It is meanwhile quite impressive, how Heinrich von Kleist does not simply sharpen and historically charge the modernity of his viewpoint—like most of his German contemporaries—with a critical review of the European double revolution. He does not restrict himself to involvement with the responses to the political revolution proceeding from France or the industrial revolution proceeding

113 Heinrich von Kleist: *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*, p. 19f.

from England; he instead offers his readers a world-historical dimension by choosing the Haitian Revolution, at the intersection of widely varying discourses, to be the place of reflection for his desperate love story.

Kleist's *polylogical* narrative structure, indebted to many different logics at the same time, presents the perspectives that collide within the concave mirror of the Haitian Revolution. Not only for Humboldt, but for Kleist as well, Haiti becomes a challenge, even a paradigm, in which the future in a global context may be not only evaluated, but also narratively tested. A betrothal is a trial in coexistence—an experiment that seeks to imbue present with future.

Still fascinating today, Heinrich von Kleist's narrative text *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* develops, starting with its title fractal, a many-voiced and polyperspectival knowledge for living that appears to us, thanks to a refined narrative artistry, as an experiential knowledge that presents both the knowledge for survival and the knowledge for living together of a period that was characterized, during the second phase of accelerated globalization, by the collapse of a besieged coexistence based on slavery, and thus on extreme inequality. In the collapse of a no longer supportable, racist coexistence, the story develops the diegesis of a New World in which, beside the signs of destruction, the first indications of a future peaceful coexistence begin to appear.

Had not Simón Bolívar (who himself had been forced to seek refuge in Haiti at the beginning of the year 1816, while making an escape during the struggle for freedom) complained of how this intermediary "Living-Between-Worlds" played a decisive role in the New World? In his above-mentioned *Carta de Jamaica,* sent from that neighboring Caribbean island in 1815, the *Libertador* emphasized, directing himself to the inhabitants of his America—who constituted a "small humanity" in and of themselves—that "we are neither Indians nor Europeans, but a middle species between the rightful owners of the land and the Spanish usurpers: we are consequently Americans by birth and yet our rights come from Europe."[114]An entire continent as an intermediate world?

In the figures in his story, especially the Mulatto Toni, who is also identified as a Mestiza, Heinrich von Kleist portrayed that oscillation between different worlds that has been especially characteristic of the Caribbean, that zone of the most condensed globalization, since the beginning of European colonization. Is Gustav not destroyed by the fact that he wished to assign the beautiful Mulatto either to the Blacks *or* the Whites, but not to an interminable movement within the space in between? And are not the tropics, beyond their etymological se-

114 Simón Bolívar: Carta de Jamaica. *The Jamaica Letter. Lettre à un Habitant de la Jamaïque*, p. 69.

mantics, that planetary migratory space in which widely differing logics are transareally superimposed such that they cannot fall subject to any either/or, to any reduction to a single, hegemonic logic without running the risk of being completely destroyed, completely devastated?

In tremendous aesthetic concentration, Heinrich von Kleist literarily modeled in *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* the collision of a great variety of logics and differing perspectives, and illustrated what destructive forces are unleashed when questions of power are addressed within the influence of European claims to dominance. For Kleist, Saint-Domingue not only leads into the complete catastrophe for coexistence, but at the same time illustrates how destructive the logics of radical mutual exclusion are.

It is sufficiently well-known that the tropics became the playing field for an enduring process of destruction that by no means found its end during the second accelerated phase of globalization, but instead grew more intense. There had been warnings from early on about the consequences of indiscriminate plundering over the course of European expansion, especially in the tropics—and with a view to forms of conquest that are not of the military or economical sort, but of the spiritual or scientific variety as well. For at the beginning of the first volume of his *Philosophische Untersuchungen über die Amerikaner*, publicshed in Berlin in 1768, Cornelius de Pauw had already pointed out that among the driving forces behind the destructive effects of Europe's expansion over the world, European science also and especially belonged. It is unmistakably stated in a passage that even up to the present has been all too happily skimmed over:

> If the spirit of devastation & streams of blood forever precede our conquerors, then we should not purchase the explanation of a few points of geography with the destruction of a portion of our globe, we should not massacre the Papuas in order to learn, with the help of the Reaumur thermometer, about the climate of New Guinea.[115]

De Pauw was thus calling for moderation, hoping to restrain "the rage to attack everything, in order to examine it"[116]and to restrict future destruction and devastation of entire regions in the tropics. However, to what monstrous degree this process of—as one could say along with Humboldt—the Barbaric element of civilization was to last or even to grow stronger, the further course of globalization, especially during the attendant phases of acceleration, would show in all clarity.

115 Cornelius de Pauw: *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains*, vol. I, p. a4r.
116 Ibid.

Globalization III

Influence of a New World Power: From the Abundance of Absence to the Pitfall of Power

Fig. 7: *Burning Spanish warship off Cavite (Philippines)*.

Fig. 8: *Sunken Spanish warship off Santiago de Cuba*. Photo: Fernando López Ortiz.

Images of a double downfall

The two black and white photographs from July, 1898, show (and illuminate) something that actually cannot be seen within them. In their manner of revealing and concealing, they are picture puzzles of an occurrence that to the greatest extent possible remains hidden beneath the surface of the ocean, but by the very fact of its invisibility is made visible. The first of the two selected photographs here presents us with a burning warship sinking in the waters off Cavite in Manila Bay,[1] the second shows the stern of the armored cruiser *Vizcaya* going down in the ocean off the Cuban coast near Santiago de Cuba[2] (figs. 7 and 8). Both shots document the smoking or already charred remains of the two sea battles in which the superior firepower of the highly-equipped US American

1 This picture can be found in Jim Leeke: *Manila and Santiago. The New Steel Navy in the Spanish-American War*. Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2009, pp. 148–149 (fig. 2).
2 This photograph by Fernando López Ortiz is from *1898: Las fotografias cubanas*. Exhibition catalog of the Sala Parpalló, Valencia, 22 September, 1998. Valencia: Centre Cultural La Beneficència 1998, p. 159.

fleet prevailed with little effort over the militarily far inferior Spanish naval power in both the Atlantic and the Pacific. They are photographs of high symbolic value, pictures of a double downfall. And at the same time, signs of the ascent, at that time seemingly unstoppable, of a new world power.

The light-*script* of these photo-*graphs* leaves no doubt: we are dealing with impressive pictures of a downfall in an immediately manifold sense. The water surfaces dominant in both pictures form that sea of history upon which both battleships are forever captured in the act of sinking. With a sharp incision, the silhouette in the Bay of Manila demarcates the separation of the visible from the invisible, shows the leftover superstructures and the Spanish warship's two partially fallen smokestacks that, together with the burning forward sections, fill the sky with black smoke. What offering, what sacrifice is announced by the dark smoke rising skyward? And: who was sacrificed here, by whom, and why?

The scene of the second photograph observed here is different. Here the stern of the *Vizcaya*, lifted high above the Cuban coast, no longer smolders: the sea, in any case, has long since swallowed the greater part of the ship. But the sea has now become the *Mare Nostrum* of another power. The superstructures of both Spanish ships appear as wooden toys, and like wooden toys, they were sunk with all hands by the battle toys of the "New Steel Navy" of the USA in the Caribbean and Pacific.

Implausibly justified by the explosion of another ship, the *Maine*, which was blown up in the harbor at Havana in a detonation originating onboard, the intervention of the United States of America in the Cuban-Spanish war of independence that had broken out in 1895 marks what is probably the decisive phase of the US expansion into Caribbean and Central and South American space and, at the same time, marks the actual acceleration period at the center of the third phase of accelerated globalization. Over the course of many years, after unsuccessfully attempting to purchase the rich sugar-island of Cuba from Spain, the USA had prepared for this moment and pursued a policy of armament, very deliberately aimed at the buildup and development of that which was designated "American Sea Power" in the contemporary propaganda of Alfred Thayer Mahan.[3] Since the 80's of the 19th century, the United States had begun to aim their spatial-historical policy, which had previously been directed toward continental territoriality and an advancing "frontier," toward a praxis that was vectorial and unmistakably mobile-historical, and which was rapidly to be-

3 On the history of US American expansion, see the definitive work by Hans-Ulrich Wehler: *Der Aufstieg des Amerikanischen Imperialismus. Studien zur Entwicklung des Imperium Americanum 1865–1900*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1974.

come the essential foundation and premise of their imperialistic expansion. In 1898, this expansion was carried out as intervention and invasion. The ascent of the *Imperium Americanum* to a continental hegemonic power was well-planned and obtained with the invasion of the Philippines its undeniably transcontinental components. In this way, US interests in the Pacific were decidedly strengthened: the former British colony in the northern part of the American double continent rose to the status of world power. And Spain's once-proud Armada was left in the wake of this ascent as mere smokestacks and wrecks.

The two photographs unsparingly document how successful US armament policy was, and how little the leading power of the first phase of accelerated globalization was able to measure up on a military, technological, or economic level against those United States, which were the first non-European power to become a "global player" and defy the European colonial powers. For the third time, the Caribbean had become the decisive playing field of a globalization, for whose acceleration the Island World at the center of America served as the perfect experimentation space.

Thus do the two photographs symbolically denote the final downfall of Spain as a world, sea, and colonial power. In the Philippines, as in Cuba and Puerto Rico, the USA, in the respective guises of various political "solutions," takes possession of the colonial legacy of the Spanish. At the same time, the photographs designate that deeply philosophical configuration of the "shipwreck with spectator," to which Hans Blumenberg dedicated so subtle a study.[4] The metaphorical image of the shipwreck that people observe and comment upon may, as Blumenberg showed, traces back to Lucretius, who "shaped this configuration" and began the second book of his world-poem with the *imago* "to watch from the secure shore the distress of others upon the storm-tossed sea."[5] At the center of this examination of metaphor from the beginning is the "relationship of the philosopher to reality"[6]—and the paradox "that the human being as a creature of dry land nonetheless prefers to present to himself the entirety of his condition in the world in the imagined images of the sea voyage."[7] But what if no strong wind should drive the ship onto rocks, no bolt of lightning destroy the superstructure, but instead other, human destructive forces reign?

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4 See Hans Blumenberg: *Schiffbruch mit Zuschauer. Paradigma einer Daseinsmetapher*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1979.

5 Ibid. p. 31.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid. p. 10.

This very problem arises in observing these photographs which, more urgently than many, pose to their viewers a fundamental philosophical question: what storm loosed this catastrophe? And which force pushed these ships—and with them the remains of an old empire—under the water?

Without going at this point into all facets of that which Spanish historiography even up to today refers to as the *desastre* of 1898, for which an entire generation of prominent Spanish authors and intellectuals called themselves the *Generacion del 98*,[8] let us briefly consider one of the literary reactions that, in an aesthetically concentrated manner, gave expression to that abundance of absence which, while unmistakably clear in the contemporary photographs that were then traveling around the world at speeds never before seen, still remained unspoken.

The following example comes from one no less than the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío, the great voice of Hispanoamerican *Modernismo* who, like millions of other Latin Americans, witnessed by means of the contemporary media the events of 1898 which, though separated by thousands of kilometers, occurred almost synchronously. The degree to which the destruction of the Spanish fleet—the descendents, as it were, of the caravels of Columbus and the silver fleets of Philipp II—was traumatically branded into the collective image-memory, not only in Spain but throughout Hispanoamerica, is depicted in a short story by Darío that first appeared in 1899 in Buenos Aires under the somewhat enigmatic title "D.Q."[9] Rubén Darío, the Nicaraguan writer who was ever suspicious of aestheticism, here has his narrator bring to life the entire drama of the downfall of the Spanish army and fleet, from the perspective of a Spanish soldier:

> There followed a period of the most terrible disconsolation. It was *the News*. We were lost, irretrievably lost. We would not even fight any more. We were supposed to surrender like prisoners, like defeated failures. Cervera was already in the hands of the Yankees. The sea

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8 C.f., among others, the still–worthwhile study by Werner Krauss: "Eine Generation der Niederlage." In: Werner Krauss: *Spanien 1900–1965. Beitrag zu einer modernen Dieologiegeschichte*. Munich–Salzburg: Fink 1972, p. 49; Leopoldo Zea / María Teresa Miaja (eds.): *98: Derrota Píricca*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica–Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia 2000; also, on other, literary images of war, see Ottmar Ette: "Visiones de la guerra / guerra de las visiones. El desastre, la función de los intelectuales y la Generación del 98." In: *Iberoamericana* (Frankfurt am Main) XXII, 71–72 (1998), pp. 44–76.

9 The text appeared again in the same year, likewise in Buenos Aires, in the periodical *Fray Mocho*; c.f. the critical footnotes in the edition by Rubén Darío: "D.Q." In: Rubén Darío: *Don Quijote no debe ni puede morir (Páginas cervantinas)*. Prológo de Jorge Eduardo Arellano. Annotacion de Günther Schmigalle. Managua: Academia Nicaragüense de la Lengua , 2002, p. 21.

> had swallowed his fleet, torn to pieces by the cannons of North America. There was nothing left of Spain in the world that Spain had discovered. We were supposed to hand over our weapons and everything else to our victorious enemy; and the enemy appeared in the form of a tall, blond devil with lank hair and a goat's beard, an officer of the United States, followed by an escort of blue-eyed rangers. And the terrible scene began.[10]

The defeat suffered on July 3rd, 1898 by Pascual Cervera y Topete, the Spanish admiral mentioned in this passage, clearly presents to us the compelling question of whether "the founding gesture of modern geopolitics"[11] can truly be observed in the events of 1898. From a vectorially directed viewpoint in a context of globalization history, one admittedly might be likely to perceive in these developments a specific phase of domination by the USA within a long-running process that had previously been controlled exclusively by European powers. The fact that, in this new phase, the decisive role of islands and archipelagos once again cannot be ignored is especially notable: it is not without reason that the United States of America, depicted in the passage above with all of the clichéd characteristics that continue even today substantially to shape the image of the US in Latin America, will from now on control the hemisphere through power-politics from their naval bases. The military island-strategy of the first phase of accelerated globalization can still be discerned here, if in a form that is characterized by modernized military and communications technology.

In Rubén Darío's story, the destruction of the war fleet, evoked countless times in the Spanish-speaking world, configures that symbolic shipwreck in which the world of Don Quixote, the world of a Spanish *Siglo de Oro* went under, the gold for which came for the most part from America. No wonder then, that Darío had "his" Don Quixote, who was quickly recognizable to readers as he hid behind the title initials "D.Q.," go plunging, along with his antiquated armor, into a deep abyss.[12] The new hemispheric construction of the Modernists divided America into two unequal, asymmetrically opposed blocks. In so doing, the further ascent of the USA to a militarily, though certainly not culturally, hegemonic power was virtually taken for granted: it seemed that all of the struggles in which the Hispanoamerican countries had been embroiled over the long decades after their political independence had simply been too debilitating.

10 Ibid. p. 24.

11 Peter Hulme: "Beyond the Straits: Postcolonial Allegories of the Globe." In: Ania Loomba / Suvir Kaul et al. (eds.): *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*. Durham–London: Duke University Press 2005, p. 47.

12 Rubén Darío: "D.Q.," p. 24.

A thoroughly uncritical orientation toward the big, strong neighbor to the north, a *nordomanía*[13] —as it was called by the great Uruguayan Modernist José Enrique Rodó—seemed, after the collectively witnessed experience of 1898, further to shake (or at least threaten) not only the political and economical, but also the cultural foundations of the Latin American countries. This fear, widespread at the time, was expressed by Darío in the famous poem "A Roosevelt," from his *Cantos de vida y esperanza* (*Songs of Life and Hope*), in which he directly addresses the President of the United States, who with his "Rough Riders" had taken part in the 1898 war just a few years before:

> You are the United States,
> You are the future invasion
> of the naïve America that possesses indigenous blood,
> that still worships Jesus Christ and still speaks Spanish.[14]

Literally written across the white body of the Spanish-speaking, modernist swan—the heraldic animal of all of those writers and story-tellers surrounding Rubén Darío who considered themselves Modernists—was the fearful question mark:

> Will we be delivered from the haughty barbarians?
> Will we, so many millions, speak in English?[15]

That such fears were not wholly unfounded and plucked from thin air is shown by the fact that, with Spain's abdication in the Philippines, Spanish too disappeared with astonishing rapidity from a wide variety of areas of life, not least in the realm of literature. In this poem, as in many other writings of the Hispanoamerican Modernists, one may observe the attempt to assume new geocultural battle stations in response to the "toppling" of their own cultural richness into a lamentable (with a view to the Anglo-Saxon world) absence of values and points of reference in the face of the altered geopolitical, economic, and social distributions of power in the third phase of accelerated globalization. For the modern world of the USA seemed to most of them to be an enticement and, at the same

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13 José Enrique Rodó: "Ariel." In: José Enrique Rodó: *Obras Completas*. Editadas, con introducción, prológos y notas, por Emir Rodríguez Monegal. Madrid: Aguilar 1967, p. 232; c.f. the German edition of José Enrique Rodó: *Ariel*. Translated, edited, and annotated by Ottmar Ette. Mainz: Dietrich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1994, p. 137.

14 Rubén Darío: "A Roosevelt." In: Rubén Darío: *Obras Completas*, vol. V. Madrid: Afrodisio Aguado 1953, p. 878.

15 Rubén Darío: "Qué signo haces." In: Rubén Darío: *Obras Completas*, vol. V., p. 890.

time, a trap: a different world that was not merely suspect, but was long since well on the way to taking possession of their own.

Without a doubt, the Hispanoamerican intellectual who was essential to this concept was the Cuban José Martí, who through his unceasing activity while in US American exile first unleashed that war in 1895 in which the US, fully conscious of its power, would then intervene so successfully. From today's point of view, one may consider it given that the earliest theorist of the third phase of accelerated globalization was undoubtedly José Martí, yet the greater portion of his work responds to the challenges of this exceedingly turbulent phase of history with an answer that is equally decisive and determined. But who was this thinker, revered even today in Latin America, yet still generally unknown in Europe?

The Abundance of Absence

Perhaps the best, if not the simplest answer to this question was given to us by a writer who is certainly one of the greatest of the 20th century. At the end of the third of five lectures that he held between the 16th and 26th of January, 1957, in the *Centro de Altos Estudios* at the *Instituto Nacional de Cultura* in Havana, José Lezama Lima attempted to place the figure of José Martí into the light of a tradition of absence:

> But this great romantic tradition of the 19th century, that of the dungeon, of absence, of the picture, and of death, succeeds in creating the American fact, the fate of which consists more of possible absences than of impossible presences. The tradition of possible absences has been the great American tradition in which resides the historical fact that has been attained. José Martí represents, in a great verbal Christmas, the abundance of possible absence. In him are culminated the dungeon of Fray Servando, the frustration of Simón Rodríguez, the death of Francisco Miranda, but also the lightning of the seven intuitions of Chinese culture, which allow him through the metaphor of knowledge to quiet and create that vortex that destroys him; that mystery that freezes neither the flight of the great losers nor the oscillation between two great destinies, and which he solves by uniting himself with the house that has been set afire. We must emplace his death within the Incan Pachacán of the invisible god.[16]

With these considerations, which he developed just a few days before the 104th birthday of José Martí and published under the title "Romanticism and the American Fact" as the central essay of *La expresión americana*, José Lezama Lima,

16 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión americana*, p. 115 f.

undoubtedly the leading figure of 20th century Cuban literature, did more than just insert the author of the *Simple Verses* and founder of the Cuban Revolutionary Party (PRC) into an "American" tradition. For in this passage it becomes apparent—at least from the perspective of Lezama Lima—that that which is American in José Martí cannot be nourished only on the Hispanoamerican tradition of the 19th century, but also, in a fundamental way, must on the one hand be linked to the American cultures of pre-Columbian lineage, and on the other, must be projected into the global dimensions of a comprehensive world culture. For José Lezama Lima, to wish to understand Cuba without its globe-spanning, transareal dimensions would have been from the beginning an absurd undertaking, doomed to lamentable failure. Like no other writer, like no other thinker, José Martí represents this dimension of the transareal, the transcultural, in his writings and in his actions.

Beyond the three great representatives of Spanish America's struggle for independence, and beyond the Incan tradition likewise invoked here, José Lezama Lima, the founder and head of the magazine *Orígenes*, consequently enrolls the founding figure of Hispanoamerican *Modernismo*, José Martí, into a dimension that is in the truest sense universal and which, with the introduction of Chinese culture, for instance, can represent the envisioned "abundance of possible absence." But what is to be understood from this expression, so characteristic of Lezama Lima's writing? And what constitutes this great American tradition of "possible absences," of *ausencias posibles*, with respect to Martí, the indisputably dominant figure of both Cuban literature and Cuban history of the 19th century?

It is not only highly significant in terms of reception history that Lezama Lima, in the concluding passage of his lecture, puts Martí's journals, the *Diarios* of the last weeks and days of the *autor intelectual* of the 1895 war against the Spanish colonial power, into the center of both his argument and his very personal search for José Martí. For indeed, the 50's of the 20th century are years of bitter political struggle for the claim to the ideological legacy of José Martí in Cuba: without exception, all political parties and movements invoke the figure, the icon, of the long-since sacralized "Apostle" of Cuban history. The impressive Martí cult culminates in a gigantic Martí monument that since 1959 has served Fidel Castro as the setting for the great speeches of the Cuban Revolution at Revolution Plaza, but which—and this circumstance preferably remains hidden—was erected toward the end of the previous dictatorship of Fulgencio Ba-

tista.[17] Before a backdrop not only of sharp contentions and heated debates, but of military repression and guerilla attacks, Lezama's evidence initiates with respect to the poeticity of Martí's journals a completely new point of view that does not attempt to hitch Martí's thought and writings to any ideological wagons. He is concerned with winning back Martí's thought and writing, and not with functionalizing it for the power-instincts of past or future dictators. Lezama's speech on the abundance of absence draws attention to the pitfall of forced presence to which the figure of José Martí had been instrumentally delivered since the beginning of the 20th century.

While the fighters against the Batista dictatorship, in association with the acclaimed 1953 centenary celebration of José Martí's birth, invoke Martí as the "intellectual author" of their revolutionary thought and actions, and the great Cuban intellectuals are soon to transform him into the icon of a revolution that will functionalize Martí in the following decades in various ways for the changing goals and objectives of Cuban power politics, Lezama Lima harks back to those modes of expression in Martí's writing in which forms the vortex, the hurricane that was created to take everything and sweep it away. Lezama points out with care the creative force of this *remolino*, the crucial significance of "poetic awareness" (*conocimiento poético*),[18] and the relevance of "poetry as a prelude to a siege of the city",[19] with which the author of *Enemigo rumor* undoubtedly knew himself to be very closely connected. Poetic awareness thus generates, through the power and tradition of literature, a knowledge that is everlasting and, at the same time, in constant oscillating motion. This knowledge of literature may be understood, but may not be reduced to a *single* understanding. For Lezama Lima, José Martí still speaks in his last writings, in his war journals, for this awareness, for this cognition.

Thus, at the end of the centerpiece of *La expresión americana*, the abundance of Martí's writings appears, and with it, the abundance of that which is American, just in that complexly interwoven moment when José Martí, as a fighter against Spanish colonialism in 1895, ends his decades-long absence from Cuba and at the same time, finds his end—and the end of his writing—in the Cuban *Oriente*, struck by a Spanish bullet. In the midst of the bloody fighting between Fulgencio Batista's dictatorship, which was still invoking Martí, and the variously-oriented revolutionary forces, José Lezama Lima focuses on just these last

17 On reception history, see Ottmar Ette: *José Martí. Teil I: Apostel—Dichter—Revolutionär. Eine Geschichte seiner Rezeption*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag 1991.

18 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión americana*, p. 116.

19 Ibid.

pages of the journals (*Diarios*) seemingly rooted in the sensory experience of Cuba, so as to construct from Martí's last Cuban experience immediately before his death the abundance of a fearful, yet fruitful absence. He examines here the last notes that the poet and revolutionary Martí committed to his journal just a few hours before his death:

> The closing words of his two journals remind us of the arrangements which, according to the *Book of the Dead*, must be made with a view to the subterranean place of residence. He asks for books, he asks for pots of fig leaves. He offers provisions "with a stone in the drinks of the newcomers." The valley seems to adorn its ravines for the newcomer, who begins again to recognize things and call them by name, to orient himself in irreality, in accordance with the Orphic cult, to the heaviness of bread, the equilibrium of the milk bowl, the barking of the dog. His *Journals* are the tactile discovery of one who has walked the land, of the newcomer, the semi-conscious one, the emergent one. He presides over two great moments of the American expression. Over the one that creates a fact through the mirror of the image. And over the one that, in the Mexican romance, in the wide guitar of Martín Fierro, in the theological whale, and in the Whitman Body creates the altar for the star that announces the nascent act.[20]

Here there is no room for the short-term and short-sighted political instrumentalization of Martí. Seldom in so few lines, in "a dense weave of allusions and connections,"[21] has such an abundance of varying cultural filiations and traditions been connected to one another as on this closing page of "El romanticismo y el hecho americano." In the carefully selected quotes and motifs from the journals there appears in the Cuban *Oriente* not only the Spanish literature of the *Siglo de Oro* or the American popular culture around the Río de la Plata, nor only the Cuban lyric poetry of Romanticism or the carnality of the anglo-American poetic art of a Walt Whitman, but above all the presence of the Egyptian Book of the Dead and the Orphic cult, which in their pendulum motion, in their *oscilación*, mediate between the Realm of the Dead and the Realm of the Living and project into the death of the living the life of the dead—and with it, the omnipresence of absence—in the form of *poetic knowing*, of poetic awareness (*conocimiento poético*).[22] José Martí is stylized here into a human and, at the same time, superhuman figure of the transculturally American, in the gestures and motions of

20 Ibid. p. 116 f.

21 Sergio Ugalde Quintana: *La biblioteca en la isla: para una lectura de "La expresión americana" de José Lezama Lima*. Doctoral dissertation defended at the Colegio de México, Mexico City D.F. 2006, p. 249.

22 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión americana*, p. 116.

which the paths of the world's cultures intersect, transhistorically as it were, and are connected to something new and unprecedented.

The figure of José Martí, in its oscillation, in its Orphic-creative pendulum swing between the Realm of the Living and the Realm of the Dead, between preparation for death and transfiguration in life, is transformed by the vortex of this poetic awareness, set in motion by José Lezama Lima, into a (very Cuban) culmination point of that which is American, and of the *expresión americana*. But it is not exactly because of its restriction to the Cuban and thus to the (proto) national of the *patria chica* that Martí's work is American, nor to the Hispanoamerican and thus to the supranational of the *patria grande*, nor to the continental and thus to the hemispherical of a topographical-geographical spatial construction.[23] What then is that American expression that would come to provide the title for this volume of essays by Lezama Lima?

Poetic knowledge, poetic awareness in Lezama's sense, does not aim toward an essentializing of that which is American, but at the relationality that connects its different *Areas* to one another, and thereby toward a poetics of movement: what counts is not the space, but the crossing of it, not the static presence, but the continuous dynamic creation of new possible paths. Only then is it possible to release the abundance of the possible from out of the absences, in continually new ways, while avoiding the trap of a reduction to the present.

This interplay of plenty and pitfall however means this: the future is not connected back to a single affiliation, a single lineage, a single identity marker. It results, should one escape the breathless cycles of political discourse, from the visions of a transareal network, from the multilogic of connections that cannot be regimented by a single set of standards. The abundance of the imaginable, the thinkable, the livable, is not to be restricted to what is materially at hand. This knowledge of literature is also a knowledge that is capable of transforming the comprehension of a country and its territory or territories. Such an understanding of Martí and Cuba, developing from transfer to transformation, is however the goal of Lezama Lima, surely the greatest Cuban writer of the 20th century.

The following considerations therefore agree completely with the assessment that one may recognize in Martí "the key to Cuba, the key to our America

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23 On this fundamental problem of Hispanoamerican literature, see Adalbert Dessau: "Das Internationale, das Kontinentale und das Nationale in der lateinamerikanischen Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts." In: *Lateinamerika* (Rostock) (Spring Semester 1978), pp. 43–87; and also Ottmar Ette: "Asymmetrie der Beziehungen. Zehn Thesen zum Dialog der Literaturen Lateinamerikas und Europas." In: Scharlau, Birgit (ed.): *Lateinamerika denken*, pp. 297–326.

(*nuestra América*)."[24] But any sort of attempt at identifying the humanism apparent in the thought and deeds of José Martí with the goals of Marxism and a Cuban "revolución socialista"[25] which up to the present day *exclusively* lays claim to the figure of the great revolutionary must confront the texts, the writings of the author of *Nuestra América*. Beyond the ideological graveside squabbling still being carried on over the legacy of José Martí, a careful analysis of his various writings and of his ideas will not allow themselves "to be appropriated as the current circumstances of the great Bolivarian fatherland, of which Martí dreamed."[26]

The considerations to follow are clearly much more committed to the goal of articulating, from a transareal perspective, the topicality of Martí's thought and writings, beyond all political-ideological updating, from the polysemous praxis of the poetic knowledge that Martí developed in his writings, which are still fascinating today. This is not a matter of a detached, esoteric knowledge: it is not without reason that the great Cuban writer may well be considered the most profound thinker contemporary to the third phase of accelerated globalization. This power to fascinate is also discernible in the specifically American dimension of that which we may call Martí's humanism. For he focuses on the forms and norms of living together—on the national, continental, and global scales equally.

It is no surprise that all of Martí's accomplishments, all his unresting activities, appear as incessant motion, as a vortex (*remolino*) and a pendulum swing (*oscilación*). It is clear that the author of *La expresión americana* in his open delineation of what is American is registering himself as part of that line of tradition that may later be traced onward from Alfonso Reyes to Jorge Luis Borges,[27] but which before this features substantial reference points in the Hispanoamerican *Modernismo* of such figures as Rubén Darío, José Enrique Rodó, and, of course, José Martí—and thus in the intermediate realm between literature and

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24 Enrique Ubieta Gómez: "Prológo." In: Pablo Guadarrama González: *José Martí y el humanismo en América Latina*. Bogotá: Convenio Andrés Bello 2003, p. 12.

25 Ibid.

26 Pablo Guadarrama González: *José Martí y el humanismo en América Latina*, p. 9. The museum dedicated to Martí in the heart of Caracas impressively illustrates the claim of a direct ideological line that extends from Simón Bolívar, through José Martí (devised in the iconography of Lenin), to Fidel Castro and Hugo Chávez. There appears to be no end in sight to the ideological functionalizing and updating of Martí.

27 C.f. Sergio Ugalde Quintana: *La biblioteca en la isla*, p. 280 f.; also, Amelia Barili: *Jorge Luis Borges y Alfonso Reyes: la cuestión de la identidad del escritor latinoamericano*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica 1999, pp. 144–166.

philosophy that is so characteristic of Latin America. For the history of philosophy in Latin America is unthinkable without literature.

In his still widely discussed essay from1942, “The Argentine Writer and Tradition,” Jorge Luis Borges had introduced in a most convincing way the seemingly paradoxical (at first glance) programmatic insight that the actual tradition of the Argentine writer cannot be restricted just to what is Argentine:

> Which is the Argentine tradition? I believe we can easily answer this question, and that it offers no sort of problem. I believe that our tradition is the entirety of Western culture, and I also believe that we have a right to this tradition that is greater than the right held by the inhabitants of one nation or another in the West.[28]

And after the Argentine writer had substantiated the specific creativity of Jewish writers within the Western culture and Irish writers in the English culture through pointing out the specific feeling of their own otherness, he self-assuredly and world-consciously added:

> I believe that we Argentines, we South Americans in general, find ourselves in an analogous situation; we successfully deal with all European topics, and we deal with them without superstition and with an irreverence that can and indeed already does yield happy results.[29]

To be Argentine, then, one must not allow himself to be reduced to that which is stereotypically and in a clichéd manner considered as Argentine, or to that which generally counts as “typically Argentine.” And subtly, Borges pointed out that even in the Arabic book *par excellence*, the Koran, there are of course no camels: this absence of camels illustrates more than any other thing that this is, in fact, and Arabic work. An Arabic forger, a tourist or a nationalist on the other hand, would have taken care first and foremost that the book would be swarming with camels: “caravans of camels on every page.”[30] Therefore, one can be Argentine specifically by not—or at least not primarily or exclusively—worrying about local color, but instead by placing the presence of absences—as we, with Lezama, might put it—at the center. Here lies that abundance that that feeds upon “possible absences,” the *ausencias posibles*.[31]

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28 Jorge Luis Borges: “El escritor argentino y la tradición.” In: Jorge Luis Borges: *Obras completas: 1923–1972*, vol. I. Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores 1987, p. 272.
29 Ibid. p. 273
30 Ibid. p. 270.
31 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión americana*, p. 115.

While Borges, in 1942, establishes from the perspective of the Argentine writer a connection to western culture that is shaped by a creative interplay between intrinsicality and extrinsicality, by internal and external relationality, and which is clearly superior to an understanding of the occidental that is based only upon an interior viewpoint, Lezama Lima, in 1957, develops the question of that which is American, of the *expresión americana*, in such a manner that in the writings of the Cuban José Martí a cultural space becomes apparent that is American specifically because it does not restrict itself to the American in its national, supranational, or continental form. Rather, it establishes a specifically *transareal* multiplicity of connections to the cultures of the world: not in a comparative and correlative sense, but in one that is insistent and penetrative.

In Lezama as well, a specific interplay of intrinsicality and extrinsicality appears, the fate of which is clearly influenced more by possible absences than by impossible presences (*presencias imposibles*[32]). In this oscillating motion of the American writer between intrinsicality and extrinsicality, between internal and external relationality, between presence and absence, the extent to which there opens up the possibility of developing (from the criticism of a modernity that is European or shaped by Europe) a new humanism, the abundance of which is characterized by a presence of absence, will be illuminated more closely in the following pages, with an eye to what is certainly José Martí's most famous essay, *Nuestra América*.

The Plenty and Pitfall of Globalization

The José Martí text that remains even today his most influential first appeared in *La Revista Illustrada de Nueva York* on the first of January, 1891. It is characterized, given the selected point in time for publication, by the same gesture of being placed at the beginning of a new cycle with which one of the other great Hispanoamerican Modernists put forth his equally brief and no less influential text. For it was quite consciously that the Uruguayan essayist José Enrique Rodó, a short decade later, arranged for his cultural-philosophical text *Ariel* to appear at the beginning of the year 1900, and thus not only at the start of a new year, but of a new century.[33]

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32 Ibid. p. 115.

33 C.f. the German language edition of José Enrique Rodó: *Ariel*. Translated, edited, and annotated by Ottmar Ette. Mainz: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuch-handlung 1994.

If one glances over the intellectual biography of the Latin American 20th century, one clearly must attest to nothing less than the fact that Martí's *Nuestra América* opened up a new century of reflection on the specific situation of Latin America in the American as well as the global context. Martí's compact yet poetic text is a highly creative answer to the challenges of the third phase of accelerated globalization and its consequences on a world-wide scale.

This essay, which will be cited in the following pages according to the critical edition that was published in Havana in 1991—that is, on the occasion of the centennial of its first appearance—begins with the following passage:

> The vain villager believes that the whole world is his village, and he finds the universal order good, should he become mayor, humble the rival who stole away his bride, or see the savings in his cashbox grow; yet he knows nothing of the giants who wear seven-league boots, boots that can crush him, nor of the battle in the heavens of the comets that pass through the sleepy air and swallow worlds. Whatever remains in America that is like a village must awaken. These are not the times to lie down with a kerchief about one's head, but with weapons for a pillow, like the men of Juan de Castellanos, the weapons of reason, that defeat other weapons. Battlements of ideas are superior to battlements of stones.[34]

Martí's carefully crafted incipit creates from the first line on a global, indeed, cosmic migratory space that is dynamically structured by means of seeming opposition and by the movements between village, world, and universe. For any village that so gladly thinks itself in its particular sensibilities to be autarkic can, for some time now, no longer be conceived of without comparing it to developments on a world-wide scale: that which is local, as Martí already wisely noted in 1891, must be thought of globally. A purely local, territorialized perception, in light of comprehensive acceleration, is no longer sensible, no longer possible.

For the belief of the villager (*aldeano vanidoso*) encapsulated in his "own" world, that he can equate this world with *el orden universal* and confound the one for the other, proves to be not only deceptive, but highly dangerous, even life-threatening.[35] Martí's harking back to the stock images of the European fairy tale world and to Adalbert von Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl's wundersame Geschichte* transposes the giant with the seven-league boots—in a move counter to

34 José Martí: *Nuestra América*. Investigación, presentación y notas Cintio Vitier. Havana: Centro de Estudios Martianos – Casa de las Américas 1991, p. 13. My translation of this fundamental text can be found in the respected anthology by Angel Rama (ed.): *Der lange Kampf Lateinamerikas. Texte und Dokumente von José Martí bis Salvador Allende*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1982, pp. 56–67.

35 José Martí: *Nuestra América*, p. 13.

rustic "realism"—from a past world of fiction to a concrete present that is understood from the beginning to be the space-time of an enormous acceleration. It is this tremendous—and in the Goethean sense, *velociferische*[36]—acceleration that overshadows everything in the further progression of this well-calculated text. For world history at this time is in the process of multiplying the speed, as with seven-league boots, of its developments and processes, and pulling everything along with it. The America that is not used to such speed and therefore still sleeping would thus have to wake up (*despertar*); Martí here, incidentally, again takes up one of the catchphrases of the Spanish-American Revolution of the first half of the 19th century.

It is no coincidence, but rather, evidence of careful construction that in the same opening sentence, beside the recourse to the fairy tales and legends of Europe, is placed a reference to indigenous worlds of imagination, the talk of the battle of the comets in the heavens adding Indian myths to the mix, upon which Martí had reflected a few years before in a series of articles from the year 1884, for example, in his text "El hombre antiguo de América y sus artes primitivas."[37] In this manner, Martí has already created in the incipit of his essay a cultural (and at the same time, literary) space that to an equal extent comprises the European-occidental world and the American world, complete with its pre-Columbian cultures. Then, within this transspatial and transtemporal tension field, Martí, in a third step, situates the lyric creations of Juan de Castellanos (1522-1607), whose *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias* (1589) originated in Nueva Granada and presented writing that is aware of its place within the tradition of the Spanish *Siglo de Oro*, but which at the same time is situated, thematically and in terms of the history of its origin, in the *Indias*, that is, in the space outside of Europe. The comprehensive and equally complex ideas (and intellectual battlements) of the Cuban José Martí build upon this.

With an impressive density that is quite comparable to that of Lezama's *La expresión americana*, the Modernist poet, essayist, and revolutionary, born in 1853 in Havana, brings about an enormously complex cultural and literary correlation of references that—as is signaled from the beginning—mixes in equal measure occidental and American antiquity and prepares a specific transareal

36 See the subsection "Karte Macht Welt" above.

37 "El hombre antiguo de América y sus artes primitivas" first appeared in April, 1884, likewise in New York, in the magazine *La América*. Reprinted in José Martí: *Obras Completas*. Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales 1975, 28 vols.; here, vol. 8, pp. 332–335. Cintio Vitier points out this connection in his critical edition of *Nuestra América* (p. 27).

place for writing in America, which Martí's essay itself constructs, embodies, and performatively sets the scene for: *Nuestra América*, our America.

The epochal awareness that Martí's text, from its first paragraph on, seeks to delineate and think through is that of a rapidly and inexorably accelerating time. The seven-league boots from Adalbert von Chamisso's fiction can unexpectedly transform into combat boots that seek to impose a new—and, for those they trample, not at all good—world order. Martí's intriguing play with the lexeme *bota* (boot) suggests a constriction between an occupation and remote domination based on military superiority on one side, and a global acceleration on the other which, from the present-day perspective of a fourth phase of accelerated globalization, is thoroughly comprehensible. As *the* American thinker of globality per se, Martí knew what he was talking about.

The description of the giant with the seven-league boots indicates for Martí the current phase, that is, the third phase of accelerated globalization that developed during the last third of the 19th century and was especially characterized by the fact that for the first time, a non-European power, the United States of America, stepped up beside the European states as the impulse generator for globalization.[38] Even though this fact was late in coming to the consciousness of the world public, José Martí, thanks to his long stay in US American exile, had become aware very early on, at the latest during the second half of the 1880's, of this changed world-historical and world-political situation. His concept of *Nuestra America* took account of this fundamental, world-political change.

With the year 1891 begins the last phase in Martí's intense, ever-accelerating, unrestrainedly depleting life. It is associated with the preparations for the *Guerra de Martí*, as it would later be named for him, the war in 1895 through which the Cuban revolutionary aspired to connect the question of independence for Cuba with his analysis of the inequitable development of the American hemisphere. The war against Spain, substantially planned and promoted by him, sought in some way to use the Cuban *independencia* to impede US encroachment, but in the end, and counter to its objectives, it created—one may purely critically note—an excellent opportunity for the new power on the globalization stage to intervene in the struggle at a point of military stalemate between Cuban and Spanish forces and under false pretenses, and to pit the technological supe-

38 On the ascent of this new world power, see Hans-Ulrich Wehler: *Der Aufstieg des amerikanischen Imperialismus*; and also Hans-Ulrich Wehler: *Grundzüge der amerikanischen Außenpolitik*, vol. I, *1750–1900. Von den englischen Küstenkolonien zur amerikanischen Weltmacht*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1974.

riority of its own naval power against the hopelessly inferior Spanish fleet off Santiago de Cuba and the Philippines.

Thus did the newest addition to the giants with the seven-league boots,[39] about whom Martí had often and urgently enough given warning in his party newspaper, unleash in 1898 the first transcontinental media war in history, and consequently made military strikes so as to put the remainder of the former Spanish world empire under its boots and absorb it into its own sphere of power. One of the hopes expressed right at the beginning of *Nuestra América*, that of inhibiting this expansion in a timely fashion, was thus brought to nothing just a few years later:

> The trees must assemble in rank and file so that the giant with the seven-league boots cannot get through! This is the hour of reckoning, and of marching in unity: we must march in close formation, like the silver in the roots of the Andes.[40]

Martí's analysis proved to be as accurate as it was precise; to chide it from today's point of view with the criticism that it could not hinder the reach and overreach of the USA would be completely anachronistic and unjustified, in light of the tremendous impact of the long-term military and economic strategy of the United States. Since the Interamerican Conference in Washington at the latest, which he attended as an official delegate on the basis of his numerous political activities in the Latin American context in 1889-1890, José Martí had known very well that the situation in terms of the unity of "our America" was not the best it could be, and that the USA would pursue their hegemonic goals more ruthlessly than ever. No one reflected more profoundly upon the speed with which the world political situation was changing in those years than this Cuban intellectual who, while living in US American exile, would sometimes serve the interests of Argentina and Paraguay as consul in the United States, just as he administered those of Uruguay as delegate to the *Comisión Monetaria Internacional Americana*.

With its 1898 intervention in the Cuban-Spanish war, the USA displaced that European power that had, together with Portugal, dominated without opposition the first phase of accelerated globalization. In the period between the end of the 15th and the middle of the 16th centuries, Spain had certainly predetermined not only the military, political, and economical asymmetries, but also those relevant to historical mentality; but in comparison to the ambitious US,

39 José Martí: *Nuestra América*, p. 13.
40 Ibid. p. 14.

the country was now, in the economic as well as the military sense, but a shadow if its former self. Martí had some time before become aware of these asymmetries and of the long-standing second-tier significance that came to the Romance countries (especially after the defeat of the Pan-Latinist leading power of France by the military machine of Prussia) in the concert of world powers, and he had drawn his strategic implications from this new world-awareness.

It is thus not surprising that in his essay, the Cuban poet repeatedly works in the two previous phases of accelerated globalization and their direct effects upon the peoples of America. For three centuries, so writes the prophet of Cuban independence, America was under the command of a "despotic and treacherous colonizer."[41] For if the second phase of accelerated globalization had, in the end, made straight the way to independence for the inhabitants of Spanish America, insofar as it encouraged thought and action oriented toward reason by means of the "imported book,"[42] what was of predominant importance for Martí, from a pan-American point of view, were the continuities of dependence: "The colony lived on in the republic"—*La colonía continuo viviendo en la república*.[43]

To be sure, Martí had already seen a different America emerging—"and our America is saving itself from its great mistakes"[44]—but he knew only too well the powerful degree to which the problems inherited from the colonial period and carried over into the *independencia* continued to exist: the ever-sharper antagonism between city and country, the unchanged contempt for the "aboriginal race" (*raza aborigen*),[45] and the "excessive import of foreign ideas and formulas"[46] constituted in his view the greatest structural obstacles to a self-sufficient modernization that would intend, without "ifs" and "buts," to put the human person at the center of all ethically based political activities. For the countries of *Nuestra América*, their own modernity should self-confidently arise, one that would distinguish itself from that modernity that the Cuban exile in the USA had come to know intimately on a variety of levels, in all of its intentions and promises, but also in terms of its lapses and pitfalls. By no means was José Martí's understanding of *Modernismo* aimed only at a particular path to the ideal image of *the* modern era, but rather implied the development of that which we might designate as divergent modernity. This divergence and differentiation ve-

41 Ibid. p. 19.
42 Ibid. p. 16.
43 Ibid. p. 20.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.

ry likely yielded for him the new possibilities for a coexistence in peace and diversity.

But ideas simply imported or taken over from Europe—as Martí had already stressed at the end of the first paragraph of his essay—needed to be creatively fitted and altered, if one wished to exist with one's own rights and importance in the third phase of globalization now being largely shaped by the USA. For specifically in the realm of ideas and imaginings, transfer without transformation was unthinkable.

At the same time, the abundance of circulating ideas and models that were set in motion during this phase of accelerated globalization, and which so impressed Martí, also formed the pitfall of globalization, so long as transformation failed to follow transfer. For the author of *Nuestra América*, there simply could not be a single model, a single logic that would be cast from Europe or the USA with a universal claim over the grid network of the entire planet. To stumble into this pitfall was something that simply could not be allowed to happen to "his" America, which—as the first person plural *Nuestra* indicates—was supposed to be an America of diversity and plenty.

In this, his own position as a human being who stands up for (marginalized) human beings was consistently present to him, beyond any sort of ambition, as a guiding ethical principle. As he wrote in a letter from New York, July 7, 1894, to José Dolores Poyo:

> The single true glory of the human being—if a bit of fame in the context of such a wide work as the world amounts to anything at all—is to be found in the sum of all acts of support that he extends beyond his own person to the benefit of others. […] I am not a sedentary person: I have never been one: even less so, now that we are on the verge of bringing home the harvest for our patience and vision: yes, today less than ever.[47]

European and American Antiquity

At the center of the fundamental and long-term changes after which José Martí strove stand the ideas, the knowledge, in the form of cognition and recognition:

> To know is to liberate. To get to know the country and to govern in accordance with this knowledge is the only possible way to free it from tyrannies. The European university must yield to the American one. The history of America from the Incas to today must be passed down in all detail, even if this means that one must do without the history of the Greek Archons. Our Greece must take precedence over the Greece that is not ours. It is of

47 José Martí: "A José Dolores Poyo." In: José Martí: *Obras Completas*, vol. 3, p. 226.

> greater necessity to us. Politicians duty-bound to the interests of the nation must replace those who are oriented toward foreign lands. Let the world simply be grafted onto our republics—but the trunk must be that of our republics. And may the know-it-all be silent, he is beaten: of no fatherland can a person be prouder than of our long-suffering republics of America.[48]

This passage illustrates in its thoroughly contradictory construction perhaps most clearly the plan and the vision, but also some of the limits and hazards of Martí's concept of *Nuestra América*. For in a highly innovative way, José Martí aims here at a fundamental change to the systems of education in the countries of "our America," by which he seeks to redesign the future of these countries through an altered view of their origin. In one of those phrases so characteristic of Martí's style, he first places the pre-Columbian past, in the formula *nuestra Grecia*, on the same level as ancient Greece and thereby reclaims for Indian "antiquity" a comparable prestige, a comparable status to that of occidental antiquity. He thus attacks, with an awareness of self and of world, the backbone of a conception of history that traces every sort of civilizing development back to western antiquity, back to the eastern Mediterranean.

This idea already appears *in nuce* in the early reactions to the *conquista* of large portions of America during the first phase of accelerated globalization, and indeed, Garcilaso de la Vega el Inca, who was born in 1539 in Cuzco and died in Spanish Córdoba in 1616, had promptly emphasized in a famous phrase from the "Foreword to the Reader" of his *Comentarios reales* that his birth-city, at the time of the Incas, had been "another Rome in that empire."[49]

Similarly, even the title of the *Historia antigua de México*, that was published in Italian exile (and in an Italian translation) in 1780, and whose author, born in 1731 in New Spanish Veracruz, was Francisco Javier Clavijero, unmistakably highlights the trend toward the equal ranking of a European and a "Mexican" (and thus *American*) antiquity, right in the midst of the "dispute over the New World"[50] (discussed at length above) that was carried out with the greatest vehemence during the second phase of accelerated globalization. Furthermore, the critical perusal of all of the authors who since the 16th century had worked on the pre-Columbian past of Anáhuac that preceded this comprehensive work illustrates how important it was to Clavijero to illuminate the significance of pre-colonial history and to confront the often erroneous European views with

48 José Martí: *Nuestra América*, p. 17f.

49 Garcilaso de la Vega el Inca: *Comentarios reales de los Incas*. Ed. in the care of César Pacheco Vélez. Lima: Biblioteca Peruana 1985, p. 4.

50 See also Antonello Gerbi: *La disputa del nuovo mondo. Storia di una polemica: 1750–1900*.

the research that had been conducted on-site and with knowledge of the indigenous witnesses and documents.[51]

In this area, José Martí could therefore take recourse to a long tradition of conflict that, admittedly, had changed little in terms of the sharp asymmetry between the uneven appreciation of old-world and new-world history. How might one break away from this tradition of the inferiorization of American history? And how, finally, could the conception of a diverging modernity of the non-Anglo-Saxon America be established?

In *Nuestra América*, José Martí decisively undertook the attempt, more than a century after Clavijero, to draw the implications from this long-standing debate over the relationship of the old and new worlds. He openly demanded a new orientation of historical understanding and of historical education in America toward the knowledge of pre-Columbian cultures—and this even to the point of forgoing the consideration of all aspects of the Greece that "is not ours." The radicalness of this position is clearly discernible and also firmly adheres to the necessities of the inevitable polemic sharpening of arguments within hotly debated conceptual areas of education, but it also raises a multitude of problems of culture-theoretical and identity-political nature which would by no means be kept quiet.

In his aforementioned article for *La América* in April, 1884, José Martí pointed out what a tremendous cultural loss, what a "historical misfortune," and what a "crime against Nature" had been brought along by the *conquista*: "The conquerors stole a page from the universe!"[52] The Cuban thinker thus sought to make for the indigenous cultures a place that would not stand behind the cultural developments of the Old World:

> The misshapen dolmens of Gaul, or the rough drawings that the Normans use to describe their travels are not formed with the beauty of Tetzcontzingo, Copán, and Quiiguá, nor with the excessive opulence of Uxmal and Mitla; the same is true of the vague, indecisive, and bashful lines with which even the enlightened peoples of Southern Italy painted the persons of the elemental age. What is the intelligence of the Americans but a chalice open to the sun, or the special grace of Nature? Many peoples seek, like the Teutons; others build, like the Saxons; others understand, like the French; still others colorfully paint, like the Italians; but only to the peoples of America has it been given to envelop the sure idea

51 Francisco Javier Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México*, pp. xxv–xxxvii.

52 José Martí: "El hombre antiguo de América y sus artes primitivas." In: José Martí: *Obras Completas*, vol. 8, p. 335.

> to such a degree in light, gleaming, and wondrous adornment, as though this were its natural clothing.[53]

The demand for the recognition of an equal, indeed in some respects superior, position for the pre-Columbian American peoples as compared to the development of certain European tribes and "nations" is undoubtedly aimed toward a fundamental challenge to an evaluation scheme that is aligned with the cultural-historical development of the peoples of Europe. In 1884, the Cuban author introduced, in a whole series of articles, a point of view that is decidedly critical of traditionally Eurocentric representations and which documents how very much the various American cultures fascinated him.

And yet, while Martí had before emphasized the diversity of pre-Columbian cultures and the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous—that is, the concomitant occurrence of greatly differing stages of cultural development,[54] he still did not hesitate to distill from this an "Americanicity" that he contrasted to the different—yet respectively quite stereotypically depicted—European nations. In his concluding passage, in which he spoke of the "proud comets" (*cometas orgullosos*) that would later be brought up right at the beginning of *Nuestra América*, Martí pointed out that the Indian peoples, unlike the Hebrews, had not imagined that "the woman was formed from a bone and the man from mud," but "rather, that both were born at the same time from the seed of the palm!"[55] The Cuban-born son of a Valencian father and a mother from the Canaries had recognized the strategic relevance of a reinterpretation, a reevaluation of the pre-colonial past in all of its momentousness: the other (or otherwise construed) heritage allowed a different future (or one that could be conceived of differently) for "his" America.

In the phrase that closes his article, in which the concluding passage of *Nuestra América* may already be heard, a highly critical position regarding European perceptions can again be discerned that in its sharply contoured antagonism may well harbor the danger of a cultural schematism or essentialism. This tendency, which can in fact be frequently observed in Martí, confirms and reinforces itself just under seven years later in *Nuestra América*, but here in the abovementioned passage we encounter a contrast between America's "own" and a "foreign" Greece, a contrast that all too easily obscures the view that the cultur-

53 Ibid. p. 334 f.

54 Ibid. p. 333.

55 Ibid. p. 335.

al inheritance of the inhabitants of this America—as the Creole would certainly know—participates in both versions of Greece, in both antiquities.

Jose Martí had nevertheless placed his finger in the wound of postcolonial mechanisms of exclusion, and is attempting to thematize and problematize the “absence” of the indigenous population in political and social life, as well as in the self-image and self-understanding of the Hispanoamerican republics that had become independent in the 19th century. For unlike “the America of the North, that drowned its Indians in blood,” “our America” must behave fundamentally differently toward its indigenous population: “It must save itself along with its Indians.”[56]

Martí thereby defends not only an American antiquity, as opposed to a European one, but also separates his “own” America from the United States, which had committed genocide against its Indian population. Thus, an amended image of the pre-Columbian past in conjunction with a desired integrative policy regarding the Indians for the present and future becomes for Martí the point of departure for the design of America’s “own” modernity, which would not need to orient itself to the European or US American model. Admittedly, this position with two fronts comes with consequences.

Inclusions, Exclusions, and the Two Americas

One may observe in José Martí’s *Nuestra América*, from the very beginning, an opposition between “our America” and the “America of the North,” a comparison that exists in the shadow of an emerging and soon to be immediate conflict.[57] Martí’s plea that the diverse states and peoples of “our America” must as quickly as possible join together in a compact union, “as do all of those who will fight together”[58] draws forth the lessons from the experience of the first phase of accelerated globalization, where an enemy with superior military technology profited in his conquest of such broad regions from the disunity and contentiousness of the Indian peoples of America—a thought that can also repeatedly be found in Clavijero’s *Historia antigua de México*.[59]

56 José Martí: *Nuestra América*, p. 15.

57 Ibid. p. 13 f.

58 Ibid. p. 13.

59 C.f. Francisco Javier Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México*, p. 65: the result of internal conflicts and disputes is always *ruina común*, or “shared ruin.”

The accelerated globalization of his time, perceived from the inside perspective of the USA, had obviously sharpened Martí's awareness that ethnic and cultural heterogeneity and the resultant lack of solidarity would open the gates for a determined opponent to dominate the entire hemisphere. But this needed to be prevented, lest the construction of a politically independent, ethically founded and more humane society, aligned with the needs of all citizens—the image of which appears again and again as a guiding vision in Martí's writings of the eighties and early nineties—be nipped in the bud. The creation of a fundamental unity and an unshakeable solidarity in "our America" thus appeared to be imperative.

The reflection that the new republics of America assemble themselves out of "such disintegrated factors"[60] runs like a leitmotif throughout the entire essay of 1891. According to Martí, it had not been possible for the ideas that originated with the anti-colonial revolution for independence in the USA and with the political revolution in France, due to their methods not being in line with the specific conditions in "our America," to reconcile the components striving divisively within societies that—as we could say today according to still-dominant metaphorical usage—continue to be affected by a high degree of cultural hybridity.[61]

Thus does America—and since the above-cited incipit, the term often stands for that which Martí referred to as "our mestiza America" (*nuestra América mestiza*)[62]—suffer from the "weariness that comes from reconciling the discordant and hostile elements that it inherited from a despotic and treacherous colonizer, and the imported ideas and forms."[63] Like a kaleidoscope, new images of the colonial hybrid, accumulated over the different phases of globalization, again and again take shape:

> We were a vision: the breast of an athlete, the hands of a dandy, and the mind of a child. We were a masque, with knee-breeches from England, a Parisian waistcoat, a jacket from North America, and a bullfighter's cap from Spain. The Indian walked mutely around us, then climbed the mountain, climbed up to the peak of the mountain, to baptize his children. The Black man, observed from above, sang the music of his heart in the night, alone

60 José Martí: *Nuestra América*, p. 13.
61 See Nestór García Canclini: *Culturas hibridas. Estrategieas para entrar y salir de la modernidad*. Mexico City: Grijalbo – Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes 1990; and also Elisabeth Bronfen / Benjamin Marius et al. (eds.): *Hybride Kulturen. Beiträge zur anglo-amerikanischen Multikulturalismusdebatte*. Tübingen: Stauffenberg 1997. For recent consideration of the epistemological importance of the metaphors implied here see Uwe Wirth (ed.): *Impfen, Propfen, Transplantieren*. Berklin: Kulturverlag Kadmos 2011.
62 José Martí: *Nuestra América*, p. 19.
63 Ibid.

> and unrecognized, between the waves and the wild animals. The builder, the creator, blind with indignation, turned toward the contemptible city, toward his creation. We were epaulettes and togas in countries that came onto the world in hemp shoes and headbands.[64]

But what could be compared to such a vision? Against the corporeal and sartorial metaphors of hybridity and heterogeneity, Martí placed a metaphorical depiction of melting, of fusion, and of *mestizaje*, that was in keeping with the creation of unified structures and manifestations. From the beginning, a discourse of exclusion is discernible that concerns everyone who, from the midst of the traditional or hitherto existing elites, could put up resistance against this opposing image of America designed by Martí, a discourse of exclusion that occasionally gives rise to violent images: "The ships should be loaded with these harmful insects, still gnawing at the bones of the fatherland that continues to nourish them."[65]

This discourse of exclusion is contrasted to a discourse of inclusion that emphasizes the necessity, clearly influenced by humanist thinking, of integrating previously marginalized social groups such as the indigenous or the Black populations, but the peasant class as well, into a fundamentally reformed political system that is oriented toward neither the "European book" nor the "Yankee book."[66] Similar to what José Enrique Rodó would do a few years later in his *Ariel*, José Martí puts all his hopes in America's youth, whose watchword is no longer *imitar* but much more, *crear*.[67] Critique is allowed in every age, for critique is essential: "but with a single breast and a single mind."[68]

José Martí's American modernity project of *Nuestra América* attempts, with a boundary on either side separating it from the European and the US American book respectively, to create a space of its own that is marked historically by a high degree of disruption, but at the same time, by a yet-to-be-created unity and self-sufficiency. Proceeding from this defined space, Martí develops a new America discourse that, in the concluding passage of *Nuestra América*, unmistakably further accentuates the antithesis of the USA, "the difference in origins, methods, and interests between the two continental factors."[69] A hemispheric construction arises that clearly does not sketch America out as a continent charac-

64 Ibid. p. 21.
65 Ibid. p. 14.
66 Ibid. p. 21.
67 Ibid. p. 22.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid. p. 23.

terized by stable opposites in the North and the South, understanding it instead as a dynamic migratory space within which there looms a directly imminent but perhaps, with proper timing, still preventable southward expansion by the United States—moving first into the Caribbean to Cuba, that countries were continually attempting to purchase from Spain.

The "day of the visit"—*el dia de la visita* [70]—was supposedly near, and it was time to present, as quickly as possible, a unified image of *Nuestra América* (that was "united in soul and purpose"[71]), and to confront the neighbor to the north, caught up in its notions of military, economic, and political superiority. Martí tries through discursive means, over the course of his essay, to erect those "battlements of ideas" that he had immediately demanded so vehemently in his incipit.[72]

There can be no doubt that José Martí accurately assessed the world-political dimensions of the changes that he himself observed while in the United States of America, and understood to what degree the experience of acceleration, which he had so often pointed out, would certainly bring with it enormous displacements across the American continent. His hemispheric construction of America takes account of this acceleration, of these changes. Already, in a chronicle dated November 12, 1881 and published in *La Opinión Nacional* in Caracas on November 26 of the same year under the name "M. de Z.," Martí asserted: "Living in our times causes a feeling of dizziness."[73]Nowadays, whoever pauses along his way, regardless of whether it is "a people or one person," is simply thrown to the ground.[74] Nothing succeeds in eluding this *velociferische* acceleration.

Martí's chronicles for various periodicals of Spanish-speaking America frequently held artistically compact but seemingly breathless images of this rapid development, images that the Cuban created at first with wonderment, but soon with increasing ambivalence toward the USA. From his privileged New York perspective, he came fairly early on to the conclusion that the money-aristocracy had become a political aristocracy that controlled the newspapers and magazines, determined elections according to their desires, and unabashedly took possession of the "holy book of the fatherland."[75] The words of Martí, who wrote

70 Ibid. p. 24.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid. p. 13.
73 José Martí: "Carte de Nueva York." In: José Martí: *Obras Completas*, vol. 9, p. 105.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid. p. 108.

as the foreign correspondent for the most influential newspapers of America's Spanish-speaking world and not without reason was named representative of the Argentine press association (*Associación de la Prensa*) in the USA and Canada in 1888, carried weight.

From this point on, one can again and again find in Martí's reports from the USA indications, both explicit and implicit, of often dramatic phenomena of acceleration that had fundamentally changed not only a wide variety of sectors of US American society, but even the fundamental nature of private life. In a chronicle published on February 17, 1886 in *La Nación* in Buenos Aires, he states: "Here, one hardly has time to live."[76] More even than in Paris, everyone and everything are in the grips of a neurosis: "No one sleeps, no one wakes, no one sits: everything is gallop, flight, laying siege, crashing fall, eminent triumph."[77] Martí's well-calculated sentences themselves are subject to this out-of-breath acceleration that gives them a sensory quality that can be experienced and relived.

Parallel to the rapidly changing circumstances of life and their attendant artistic forms of expression, Martí also warns about the deliberations, quite publicly discussed, of the political "aristocracy" in the USA regarding the establishment of an inter-ocean connection by canal in Central America,[78] and building up, as quickly as possible, a powerful battle fleet capable of implementing US interests in opposition to other nations, with force wherever necessary.[79] Back in the founding year of *Modernismo*, in a chronicle for *La Nación* in Buenos Aires, datelined New York, July 15, 1882, Martí had pointed out to his readers that a changed policy was emerging in the US Congress, with a view to South America, but also to other rival European powers, based upon the rapid buildup and deployment of a technologically superior battle fleet:

> Additionally, the Republicans also put forth that this nation has reached the age of maturity, just as South America is now definitively established: in the sense of the necessities of its own expansion, the country thus requires large financial resources in order, within a short time, to raise a large army and to create an intimidating armada. They put forth that it could come to a war with England, the great naval power, because of aspirations to control the Panama Canal, or because the further growth of English power in America would have to be impeded. And the strange case has arisen where the Congress allocated a tremendous sum for upgrading the armada in response to the request and persistent badger-

76 José Martí: "De Año Nuevo." In: José Martí: *Obras Completas*, vol. 10, p. 363.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid. p. 365 f.
79 Ibid. p. 366.

> ing of that Secretary of the Navy who, even in Grant's time, drummed up several hundred millions with gestures that were confused, unnecessary, or left wholly unexplained.[80]

From this point on, the Cuban correspondent and essayist followed, with careful attention and growing unease, the further buildup of that war fleet that in 1898, thanks to the technical superiority of its armored cruisers—as seen above—easily shut down and sank the Spanish fleet, both in the Caribbean off Santiago de Cuba and in the Pacific off Manila. Martí had become aware very early on of the great differences between "the two continental factors,"[81] and did not doubt a violent expansion of the USA on both a continental-hemispheric and a transcontinental scale. He understood early that with the United States of America, a non-European factor would, for the first time, substantially contribute to determining developments, first on the American continent, but soon in a global context as well. But: what should be done?

For it was becoming increasingly difficult for him, and by no means only in his journalistic texts, to continue to recognize the values that the founding fathers of US American democracy, whom he also admired, had once stood up for, given not only the verbal but also the military escalation in the United States. Could the United States of America still be trusted? Or must one believe that soon this ambitious country, aware of its own superiority, would not be beyond military incursions? And how, in the competition of the powers for global spheres of influence and commercial markets, could the various forms of a reckless policy of expansion on the part of the USA still, from the Latin American perspective, be hindered?

The insight, expressed with increasing urgency in his chronicles and letters, that the acceleration that he was observing was not restricted to the national space of the USA, but instead would also quickly produce, on the world political level, far-reaching social, political, and economic consequences, not to mention cultural and (not least) military ones, was at first widely ignored. To the Cuban poet and revolutionary then, the clarification of a perhaps idealistic sounding question seemed to grow ever more necessary: what values could stand in opposition to such a development on the American continent, and on the global scale as well?

Nuestra América, together with others of Martí's writings, is the ambitious attempt to respond to the solid indications of a new phase of accelerated globalization, in which the United States and, with them, the entire American conti-

80 José Martí: "Carte de los Estados Unidos." In: José Martí: *Obras Completas*, vol. 9, p. 325 f.
81 José Martí: *Nuestra América*, p. 23.

nent were taking an active part, with an answer that was both competent and programmatic. In his famous unfinished letter of May 18, 1895 from Dos Rios, on the day before his death, José Martí wrote to Manuel Mercado that he had—beyond the goal of establishing a Cuban nation—always considered it his duty "along with Cuba's independence, to hinder, in a timely fashion, the United States from spreading out across the Antilles and, increased by this power, from descending upon the countries of America. Everything that I have done up to this day, and everything that I shall do, is aimed at this."[82]

On the Plurality of Modernities and the Paths to an American Humanism

None of the other Hispanoamerican Modernists recognized with a breadth of vision comparable to that of José Martí the various phenomena of world-wide acceleration and the resulting consequences to political and social, as well as cultural and literary development. His reaction to this increased celerity and the changing power structure in the USA did not lie only in the acceleration of all preparations for bringing the war against the old colonial power of Spain to Cuba, but also in his attempt to utilize the information available to him in New York to create new channels for the circulation of knowledge, and above all, to develop a new kind of discourse on America. Neither Rubén Darío nor José Enrique Rodó, indeed, none of the other great thinkers of the Spanish-speaking world, such as Miguel de Unamuno, José Ortega y Gasset or his Philippine contemporary, José Rizal recognized and analyzed the phenomena of the globalization of their time with such clarity as the restless *Poeta en Nueva York*, the Cuban poet in New York exile.

Time and time again, especially in the Martí reception on the island of Cuba, there is mention of a humanism that carries the stamp of pragmatism, of an individual and collective praxis as a reaction to rapidly changing circumstances. Cuban philosopher Pablo Guadarrama, mentioned above, put it this way in 1994:

> The humanism of Martí is not—as one occasionally expects from philosophers—characterized by abstract formulations, but is a concrete, revolutionary, above all *practical* human-

82 José Martí: "A Manuel Mercado." In : José Martí: *Obras Completas*, vol. 4, p. 167.

> ism, because it is made for transforming the human person within his circumstances, and for transforming the circumstances themselves that involve the human person.[83]

This position in which, with good reason, the strongly pragmatic—and less philosophical-systematic—character of the Martí-style understanding of humanism is emphasized was further explicated and, at the same time, politically and ideologically underpinned by Guadarrama in his 2003 work *José Martí and Humanism in Latin America*:

> It is not merely philanthropy or kind-heartedness that enliven his *practical humanism*, but the firm conviction that the human person in his own right needs a fully dignified existence, such as Martí demanded on other occasions and adopted as his task in a future Cuban republic, a principle that in its framing and in its sociopolitical practice is realized in the Cuba of today.[84]

To such a "tenable" perception of a "revolutionary" humanism that anticipates, as it were, the Cuba of Fidel Castro and its acquisition of complete human dignity, a substantially more complex perception of Martí as a global thinker must be critically contrasted—and in Lezama Lima's sense, that is, far from any simple, ideological instrumentalization. This perception should not misunderstand the humanism of Martí as a practical philosophy that is partly Christian-inspired, but primarily grounded in enlightenment optimism,[85] but should instead address the fact that this *humanismo* can in no way be reduced to one ideological-political dimension. Far more, it contains the broad variety (based always upon a knowledge for living and a knowledge for living together) of ethical, aesthetic, and culture-theoretical dimensions that so characterize Martí's writings.

Martí's richly detailed critique of an accelerating socioeconomic *modernización* and of a concept of modernity (*modernidad*) no longer shaped only by European but, increasingly, by Anglo-Saxon influence led him, since the beginning of the eighties—and thereby parallel to his insight into those fundamental changes to which we can attribute the third phase of accelerated globalization—to the development of a conception of writing in the Age of Modernity (*Modern-*

83 Pablo Guadarrama González: "Humanismo práctico y desalienación en José Martí." In: Ottmar Ette / Titus Heydenreich (eds.): *José Martí 1895/1995. Literatura—Politica—Filosofia—Estética*. 10º coloquio interdisciplinario de la Sección Latinoamérica del Instituto Central (06) de la Universidad de Erlangen–Nürnberg–Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag 1994, pp. 34 f.

84 Pablo Guadarrama González: *José Martí y el humanismo en América latina*, p. 97

85 Ibid. See also the study by Pablo Guadarrama González: "Raíces humanistas y vigencia martiana del proceso revolutionario cubano." In: *Anuario del Centro de Estudios Martianos* (Havana) XXII (1999) , pp. 202–215.

ismo), a conception that is based on literary-aesthetics and culture-theory. In his text that was first published in 1882 as the foreword to *El Poema del Niágara* by Juan Antonio Pérez Bonalde, one may recognize from today's point of view what is undoubtedly the first program of Hispanoamerican modernism.

It proceeds from the idea that a new period, his "era of splendid elaboration and transformation"[86] has dawned, in which there are neither "permanent works" nor "constant paths."[87] One could already justifiably see here, in Martí's compact phrasing—"Only the genuine is fruitful. Only the direct is powerful."[88]—the early formulation of that double opening that José Lezama Lima would give three quarters of a century later in *La expresión americana*: "Only the difficult is stimulating; only the resistance that challenges us is capable of being the archway, the provocation, and the reward of our potency of awareness."[89]

The epochal feeling of a time of transition and departure that comes to expression in Martí's programmatic foreword of 1882, in which people in many different areas pose the central question on the secret of life—*demandando a la vida su secreto*,[90] as the concluding sentence of Martí's ruminations puts it—has given way less than a decade later, in *Nuestra América*, to the unignorable worry that "our America" could, as a result of the imminent "visit" from the "America of the North" soon find itself in a new state of bondage and dependency. In his essay of January 1, 1891, Martí points out this danger but at the same time develops a discourse that vehemently confronts not only this form of dependence and oppression, but racism as well, emphasizing "the universal identity of the human person"[91]—a profoundly human principle—as an indispensable guideline.

The Cuban lyric poet and essayist consciously signals the danger that the mentality of superiority that had long been developing in the USA could turn against those peoples of "our America" that were despised and considered "perishable and inferior,"[92] and in the name of humanity and humane principles, he turns against all forms of foreign rule and dependency: "He sins against humanity, who fosters and preaches confrontation and hatred between the races."[93] In

86 José Martí: "El Poema del Niágara." In: José Martí: *Obras Completas*, vol. 7, p. 224.
87 Ibid. p. 225.
88 Ibid. p. 230.
89 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión americana*, p. 9.
90 José Martí: "El Poema del Niágara," p. 238.
91 José Martí: *Nuestra América*, p. 24.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid.

a logically consistent way, an alternative modernity-concept emerges in the final lines of *Nuestra América* that is not oriented toward the implementation of a single model for modernization, nor on the abstract particulars of a single modernity-concept:

> To think is to serve. One must not, out of rustic antipathy, attribute to the fair-haired people of the continent an inborn and inevitable malice simply because they do not speak our language, they see the house differently from how we do, or because they are not similar to us in their political defects, for these differ from ours; certainly, they esteem neither hot-blooded nor dark-skinned people, and they do not look down with charity from their still-insecure position upon those people to whom history was less kind and who now, in heroic stages, climb the road toward a republic. The known factors of this problem must not be obscured, for it can be resolved through appropriate study and a tacit, so urgently needed unification of the continental spirit, evoking a peace to last for ages. For the hymn is ringing out in unison; the current generation follows the road purchased by its noble fathers and carries on its back the America of the workers. Upon the condor's back sat the Great Zemí, and threw the seeds from the Rio Bravo to the Straits of Magellan, over the romantic nations of the continent and the suffering islands of the sea alike—the seeds of the New America![94]

The closing lines of this essay sketch out the picture of a different, a new America whose development through thinking (*pensar*) represents for Martí a service (*servir*), both to America and to humanity as a whole. In again taking up the rustic metaphor (*aldea*), the arc of thought that reaches from the first line of the essay to the last closes, so as to open, at the same moment, upon a vision of the new that stands in comparison to the old vision ("We were a vision"[95]). And it is not without reason that the geopolitical vision is not restricted only to the continental, but also includes the Caribbean islands, like beads strung on a rosary: Martí's thinking is shaped both continentally and insularly, and knows of the particular logic of the territorial and the relationality of the archipelagic and transarchipelagic.

Martí's new hemispheric construction of (the) America(s) distinctly differentiates between two ethnically, linguistically, politically, economically, and above all culturally different *areas* which admittedly do not necessarily have to face one another with antipathy. The transareal connections, those that cross both spaces, are to a great extent ignored by Martí in a very conspicuous way—even though, as a Cuban in New York exile, he wrote for newspapers and magazines in New York, Mexico (where the second printing of *Nuestra América* ap-

94 Ibid. p. 24 f.
95 Ibid. p. 21.

peared in *El Partido Liberal* on January 30, 1891), and especially in Buenos Aires. And yet the question regarding the forms and norms of a peaceful coexistence in difference is ubiquitous.

There are unmistakably tactical reasons that may have moved Martí to construe “our America,” as it were, as a *continente* of its own that—as insupportable geographically as it is politically or culturally—is presented as a unit that is, in the etymological sense, *zusammenhängend* (cohesive; “hanging together”) and *zusammengehörend* (belonging together), and stretches from the Rio Bravo to the Straits of Magellan with the special inclusion of the Island World of the Caribbean. If the “continental” unity of the peoples living here is also to be a quiet one, and not to be produced through supranational Bolívarian influence, it is still essential for Martí to create a symbolic figure to bind together and aesthetically represent the conjoining of plural and singular, of multiplicity and unity already apparent in the term *Nuestra América*.

Thus it is that the figure of the Gran Zemí that brings the entire essay to its close, and which Martí took second-hand, via the writings of his Venezuelan friend Arístides Rojas, from the works of Alexander von Humboldt and Father Filippo Salvatore Gilli,[96] is a direct recourse to the world of Indian myth which—as we have seen—had already been inserted into the first paragraph of the essay. The myth of Amalivaca, which traces back to the Tamanacs of what is today Venezuela, serves here to open a historical and cultural dimension that is transhistorical and transcultural, crossing different epochs—a dimension that could unite both the independent nations founded during the Romantic period with the islands of the Caribbean, still for the most part languishing in painful colonial dependence, and also unite the peoples with and without indigenous segments of their populations into a single configuration—if not, even, into a confederation. An America with the symbol-language of indigenous myth? *Nuestra América* thus in the manner of *Nuestra Grecia*?

José Martí is undoubtedly making an attempt here at the fundamental decolonization of inherited notions and imagery.[97] Connecting to this variously presented criticism by Martí—as we have seen above—of a continuing colonial model of thought and action, there can be found in *Nuestra América*, before a backdrop of globalization processes that are again accelerating, a penetrating criti-

96 See Cintio Vitier: “Una fuente venezolanade José Martí.” In: *Cintio Vitier: Temas martianos. Segunda serie*. Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas–Centro de Estudios Martianos 1982, pp. 105–113.

97 See Liliana Weinberg: *Literatura latinoamericana. Decolonizar la imaginación*. Mexico, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónomia de México 2004, pp. 67–80.

cism of a modernity that exclusively follows models of thought, norms of living, and forms of living as shaped by Europe. In contrast to the modernity project of the USA, based on military, economic, and political expansion, Martí presents—from the perspective of the countries and cultures of "our America"—the project for a different modernity which does not wish to employ the English language—as the language of the third (and fourth) phase of accelerated globalization—but which instead, in addition to the European languages of Spanish and Portuguese (which in America owe to the first phase of accelerated globalization) or French (which owes to the second), promises to include the Indian languages as well. As he states, shortly and succinctly: "The governors of the Indian Republics will learn Indian."[98]

Furthermore, he strongly makes the case for an education system invested in multilingualism;[99] in an essay on Oscar Wilde from January, 1882, he had already emphasized that "the boundaries of our minds may well be the boundaries of our languages."[100] And to this article, first published in *El Alemendares* in Havana and reprinted in December of 1882 in the influential Argentine newspaper *La Nación*, he added:

> Familiarity with various forms of literature is the best means of freeing oneself from the tyranny of some of these literary forms; just as there is no other way to be saved from the risk of blindly obeying a single philosophical system other than nourishing oneself from all of them [...][101]

Martí makes it clear here that future Hispanoamerican literature has to remain well aware of its Spanish heritage within the context of its lineage of western tradition, but at the same time, must not restrict itself to this heritage if it is to use the abundance of its transatlantic relations to other European languages toward the formation of its own autonomous future. Neither in literature nor in philosophy should this plenty turn into a pitfall; Martí was determined to use the chances of the globalization of his time without committing anew all of those errors that, with independence, had been committed immediately after the second phase of accelerated globalization. He had no interest in a compartmentalization of "one's own" culture, but rather, promoted multilingualism and plural logics. His relational understanding of the world, in its Antillean character, served him decidedly well in this.

98 José Martí: *Nuestra América*, p. 22.
99 C.f. José Martí: "En los Estados Unidos." In: José Martí: *Obras Completas*, vol. 13, p. 458.
100 José Martí: "Oscar Wilde." In: José Martí: *Obras Completas*, vol. 15, p. 361.
101 Ibid.

Though José Martí merely mentions the Black population in *Nuestra América*, and doesn't really include their cultures in the cultural space delineated in this essay, his recourse to the indigenous cultures, languages, and myths is an unmistakable sign, in his interpretation of writing in the modern era, of the programmatic opening of cultural horizons to the population groups in the Americas that up to this time had been almost completely marginalized and excluded. Coexistence is a fundamental goal of José Martí the politician and revolutionary, but also of José Martí, the writer: it is a dimension of his writing in prose and poetry alike.

It is, of course, not only the current Indian languages, but also the cultures of the pre-Columbian peoples, long relegated to history, that come to be of vital importance, on the level of his *écriture*, to our understanding of *Nuestra América*. His discovery and invention of an *American antiquity*, both parallel and in contrast to that of the Occident, may be understood as a commitment to a no longer Eurocentric understanding of a single modern era. The "universal identity of the human person"[102] that Martí contrasts to every form of racism in no way signifies that his humanism harks back to an abstract-universalistic position, proceeding from which all differences would dissolve. Rather, in *Nuestra América* Martí calls for the specifically American dimension of his thoughts on globality. Finding and inventing always open out upon a type of living and experiencing that never loses sight of the transformations of concrete forms of living and norms of living that are the conditions of any kind of coexistence, whether it be on the proto-national, the hemispheric, or the global scale.

Beyond the necessarily resultant understanding of a *plurality of modern eras*, one may also perceive the recourse to an American antiquity as a fundamental sign of the development of a (self-) conscious American humanism. If European humanism—a term, incidentally, that did not gain broad acceptance until the 19th century—may be most concisely identified as "recourse to the origins in antiquity for the goal of developing one's own culture,"[103] then one could understand the approach developed by José Martí in *Nuestra América* as an American humanism equally oriented to humanity and to the ideal of humaneness, not in the time of rule-aesthetics, but of the development of autonomous and divergent, self-propagating modernities.

Unlike José Enrique Rodó, who designed a modernistic modernity project from the perspective of the southern portion of the American double continent, in which western antiquity was most probably included, but not the indigenous

102 José Martí: *Nuestra América*, p. 24.

103 Gertrud Lehnert: *Europäische Literatur*. Cologne: DuMont 2006, p. 40.

cultures of the past and present, Martí designed a concept that was open to the future and—as it would subsequently be further developed by such Latin American authors as Alfonso Reyes, Jorge Luis Borges, or José Lezama Lima as part of an *expresión americana*—one that was open to the world. It is aimed at the intensification of mechanisms of inclusion that will hold and unfold new possibilities for a future coexistence.

José Martí's harking back to the origins of an American antiquity for the aim of developing a particular modern era even now remains a challenge for any understanding of both modernity and humanism, at a transareal or global scale. Perhaps Martí's paths to an American humanism make possible for us, quite incidentally, a conception of humanism that is, in the best sense, *diverging*, and which not only goes back to western antiquity, but builds upon a multilogical, polyperspectival structuring. For in present times, a newly accelerated globalization allows *Nuestra América* to identify the limitedness, but at the same time, the potential openness that shapes the philosophical and aesthetic, the cultural and literary spaces of an understanding of humanism that is still dominant today.

Just how much this very specific humanism was to express itself in that war that the founder of the *Partido revolucionario Cubano* ignited against the old colonial power, Spain, might be shown by a look into what is probably one of the most remarkable declarations of war ever composed. A few weeks before his own death, José Martí composed the official declaration of war, dated by himself and the military commander-in-chief, Máximo Gómez, on the 25th of March, 1895,[104] in Dominican Montecristi, the declaration that would go down in history as the *Manifiesto de Montecristi*. In phrases that clearly show the determination for battle, but also a love for the Spanish people, it states:

> This war is not directed against the Spaniard who, in the security of his children and the reverence for the fatherland which would be won, will be able to enjoy, respected and even loved, the liberty that will sweep away only those who shortsightedly put themselves in its way. [...] From the Spanish inhabitants of Cuba, the revolution that neither flatters nor fears has the hope, unlike the dishonorable rage of the first war, for a friendly neutrality, or a truthful assistance such that the war is shortened, its catastrophes minimized, and the peace in which fathers and sons live together is made easier and more friendly.[105]

104 I quote from the impressive facsimile edition of José Martí: *Manifiesto de Montecristi. El Partido Revolucionario Cubano a Cuba*. Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales 1985, p. 30.
105 Ibid. pp. 6 & 16.

Evoked not only for strategic reasons of war, this unity of the Hispanic family that Martí, the son of Valencian and Canary Island parents, proclaimed at the beginning of a "war without hate"[106] against the Spanish colonial power, distinctly shows how it was up to the prophet of Cuban independence, even in this somewhat paradoxical declaration of war, to center upon the future shared existence of all of the groups involved in the war. Peaceful coexistence—even at the brink of the war that he himself substantially brought forth—stands in first position for Martí: only with this is a future worth living possible. It is the multilogical structure, so masterfully worked out by José Lezama Lima, of an undoubtedly archipelagic multiconnectedness that sensitizes Martí's thinking to be on the lookout for new forms and norms of future coexistence. He too may have gone down in the vortex that he himself created, like the Spanish fleet that was shot to pieces off Manila and Santiago de Cuba. His polylogical writing, not to be co-opted by any Cuban dictatorship, continues to advocate a type of thinking that, from the experience of accelerated phases of globalization gains that humane depth with which "one's own" is not simplistically and confrontationally placed before some "other." José Martí thus opens for us some insight into a different modern era, into a different humanism that shows us, in association with the third phase of accelerated globalization, what other futures would have been possible and, even still, hold in readiness for us what José Lezama Lima called their "power of knowing."[107]

The Transarchipelagic World of the Philippines

The downfall of the Spanish fleet in the disaster of 1898 was a doubled one, and occurred almost synchronously in the Caribbean and Philippine archipelagos. If José Martí is to be seen as that Caribbean author who analyzed with the greatest breadth of vision the challenges that the 19th century presented on a world scale to the approaching 20th century, then another writer and intellectual *avant la lettre* may be placed alongside him in the person of José Rizal who now, from the Filipino perspective, may be considered the best witness to all of those connections from archipelago to archipelago that in recent times have attracted increased scientific attention.[108] In the third phase of accelerated globalization

106 Ibid.: "sin odio."

107 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión americana*, p. 9.

108 Evidence of this is the international conference "Culturas fragmentadas, culturas unitarias: De la isla al archipiélago en el mundo hispano (siglos XIX–XXI)," held at the *Casa de Ve-*

too, these transarchipelagic relationships are of great importance, not only in the military sense, but in the societal, economic and, not least, cultural sense as well.

José Martí and José Rizal were able, in an astonishing synchronization of the non-simultaneous, to break apart the individual pieces of the colonial kaleidoscope[109] from their ancestral dependencies—even if they themselves were never to experience, once their archipelagos were liberated from Spanish colonialism, how quickly the asymmetries of the postcolonial dilemma re-established themselves upon them in new ways. José Martí's sentence, stating that the colonies lived on in the developing republics, also came true here.

With the collapse during the first third of the 19th century of Spain's continental colonial empire in America, with a look to the connections between the Philippines and Mexico, many of the strands in the global web of the Iberian world powers that had been established over centuries were certainly severed. But the fact that not just the Philippines, but Cuba, Puerto Rico, and at least for the time being, the eastern portion of Hispaniola remained part of the Spanish colonial empire provided not only—despite all (especially cultural) differences and contradictions—a multitude of structural similarities and consistencies, but also stronger transareal trade relations between the Island World of the Philippines and the (especially Spanish) Caribbean. The figures of movement and exchange established over centuries continued to function in their transarchipelagic vectorization almost unabatedly.

One may view as evidence of this fact the life and works of José Rizal, born July 6, 1861 in Calamba in the Philippines, and executed by Spanish soldiers as a mastermind of the revolution on December 30, 1896. Quite justifiably, he was often—for example, by the Mexican philosopher Leopoldo Zea[110]—associated with the author of *Nuestra América*, whose travel-movements on the American continent and especially in the circum-Caribbean space were certainly no less restless than the travels of the writer of *Filipinas dentro de cien años*. As José Martí had spent long years of his life in expatriation and exile, so too did José Rizal sojourn in Spain, France, and the USA, but also in Germany, Austria, and

lázquez in Madrid in January, 2007; the papers were presented by Françoise Moulin Civil / Consuelo Naranjo Orovio et al. (eds.): *De la isla al archipiélago en el mundo hispánico*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas–Université Cergy-Pontoise–Casa de Velázquez 2009.

109 C.f. the above-cited work by Ottmar Ette / Gesine Müller (eds.): *Caleidoscopios coloniales*.

110 See Leopoldo Zea: "Prólogo." In: José Rizal: *Noli me tangere*. Editing and chronology by Margara Russotto. Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho 1976, pp. ix–xxx.

Switzerland, Hong Kong, Japan, England, and Belgium, before unsuccessfully petitioning in 1895 to be allowed to accompany, as a doctor, the Spanish troops deployed to Cuba in response to the outbreak of war sparked by Martí.

At this point, parallels between life-paths and circumstances affecting writing become apparent, that cannot be adequately summed up merely from national-literary or general world-literary perspectives. For Martí and Rizal embody, as conspicuous examples of their archipelagos, those developments that are connected equally to the anti-colonial struggle for liberty and to the ascent of the USA as the most forcefully expanding world power. For geostrategic reasons, it was no accident that Havana and Manila were brought at the same time into the crosshairs of US American desires. A transareal, movement-historical approach can easily illustrate this on a literary-historical level and also illuminate its literary-aesthetic consequences.

Surely José Rizal's most famous work today is his novel *Noli me tangere*, published in 1887 in Berlin. While Martí's only novel, *Amistad funesta*, also first appeared in book form in Berlin (if posthumously, in the tenth volume of the 1911 collected works edition by Quesada y Aróstegui), this fact is merely anecdotal in nature, though admittedly, it indicates similarly problematic publishing structures in the respective countries of origin. But far beyond merely the biographical perspective, this work by the Filipino author may be seen as part of a literature without a fixed abode,[111] to which may be assigned Cuban and—to a great extent—Caribbean literature as well.

Even more multilingual than José Martí, José Rizal, who could read and communicate in German, French, English, and Latin, along with his native tongue of Tagalog, had learned a very imperfect Spanish as a child, which forced him, unlike an author with native ability in Spanish, always to work away at his possibilities for expression before a multilingual backdrop. A multitude of translational and at the same time translingual phenomena distinguishes his unmistakable writing style in the Spanish language—a style as could only transareally arise under these circumstances of forever crossing other languages in the context of the third phase of accelerated globalization.

For good reason, Leopoldo Zea placed Rizal's battle for the language of his literature into the historical context of an archipelago that, after the defeat of the Spanish fleet by the steel warships of the USA off Manila, was to turn away from Spanish, the language of the colonial oppressors, and toward English, the language of the new hegemonic power of the third phase. It is as if the Filipino

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111 C.f. Ottmar Ette: *Writing-between-Worlds. TransArea Studies and the Literatures-without-a-fixed-Abode.*

author, who developed his life's work within a genuinely translingual context, had lost his linguistic abode at the same time that he lost his life in the Philippines: "Now the words, the writings of Rizal, the greatest hero of the Philippines, are beyond the reach of his people. For the language in which he expressed himself is no longer in their reach."[112]

In the case of a translingual author like Rizal, who is not writing in his native tongue, is it not a singular phenomenon that his individual language change to Spanish would soon be followed by a collective language change on the part of the Philippines away from Spanish, a change that would permanently cut off the writer of *Noli me tangere* from his Spanish-speaking reading public? That this fundamental language-geographical change took place in the third phase of accelerated globalization is of course—as our considerations thus far indicate—anything but an accident.

The fact that both of these men had to lose their lives in the battle against an ailing Spanish colonial rule, Martí in 1895 and Rizal in 1896, should in this context be of secondary importance to the fact that neither Martí nor Rizal, despite the restless and turbulent struggle of each for his homeland, never restricted himself to occupation solely with "their" respective Caribbean or Philippine archipelago. The space for the scope and movement of their thought as well as their travels was unmistakably transareal and transarchipelagic to the extent that, on the paths they traveled and in their thoughts—to use the words of the *excipit* of Martí's *Nuestra América*—"the suffering islands of the sea"[113] were consistently interwoven into a global projection. In this, their archipelagos were endowed—in their political and, even more, in their literary texts—with the function of dynamizing, mobile In-between Worlds: had not the entire world for them become a highly vectorized archipelago of greatly differing islands, each with their own particular logic and figures of movement?

The novel with the Latin title *Noli me tangere*, published in Spanish in the capital city of Germany, quickly became famous in the Philippines; shortly thereafter, upon governmental and academic examination, it was banned by the Spanish colonial authority. It is by no means accidental that the first of the sixty-three chapters of this novel began with the depiction of a celebratory feast. For celebrations—especially in a literary tradition shaped by *Costumbrismo*[114]—

112 Leopoldo Zea: "Prólogo," p. xxix.

113 José Martí: *Nuestra América*, p. 25.

114 C.f. Roberto González Echevarría: "Fiesta y el origen de la nación cubana: 'Francisco,' de Anselmo Suárez y Romero." In: Ottmar Ette / Gesine Müller (eds.): *Caleidoscopios coloniales*, pp. 67–81.

are always, due to their association with a specific place and time, special forms of self-understanding on a collective, especially (proto-) national level. The literary feast is thus also seasoned with a good deal of *couleur locale* and seeks to show the directly-addressed reader in an impressive literary-aesthetic fashion how such forms of sociability used to be done in the "Pearl of the Orient."[115]

From the beginning, this undeniably costumbristic opening to *Noli me tangere* very consciously integrates into the only briefly evoked river landscape and its rudimentarily developed cityscape, by means of the "chords of the orchestra" and the "meaningful *cling-clang* of the dishes and silverware,"[116] a *soundscape* that is in turn completed by a landscape of various aromas, a *smellscape*. The Filipino author thus creates in a highly sensuous way a (literary) landscape of reference which, due to its fractal structuring, exhibits an indisputably archipelagic character. For the whole world is brought into this microcosm.

The feast itself, too—as a well-crafted *mise en abyme* right at the beginning of the text—is indebted to the same sort of fractal structuring. From the beginning, the hospitality exists in association with the globalization of table customs and the excitation of the senses, such that the local color, before the background of a world-wide circulation of goods, customs, and feelings is, as it were, translocated: the Philippines are literarily rendered sensorily relivable within connections that are world-wide. It is not without reason that the main character of the novel, the blond and widely traveled Crisóstomo Ibarra, quickly introduces himself in the second chapter to the attending world of ladies—"a few young women, between Filipinas and Spaniards"[117]—and to the military men, clerics, and other representatives of colonial society with the following words: "Ladies and gentlemen! In Germany there is a custom by which a stranger, who comes to a gathering and finds no one who might introduce him to the others, states his own name and introduces himself."[118] No sooner said than done: why should German forms of sociability, in association with global circulations, not be transferable to a Spanish and Filipino public?

Just as it is on the level of gastronomy or etiquette, the successful literary setting of conviviality in the Philippines by no means remains restricted to the archipelago or to relations between the Asiatic Island World and the Iberian Peninsula. For beyond the fact that the novel is written in the Spanish language and that from the first chapter on the peninsular variant is contrasted with a

115 José Rizal: *Noli me tangere*, p. 8.
116 Ibid.
117 Ibid. p. 9.
118 Ibid. p. 18.

language of different social contexts that is shot through with Philippinisms (which also means that shorter inserts and passages in Tagalog are included), *Noli me tangere*, right from the title with its quote from the Gospel of Luke, makes use of Latin (which was globalized during the first phase), while the novel is preceded—again in the paratextual area—with a quote in German from Friedrich Schiller's *Shakespeares Schatten* as its motto. But there are also sprinklings and indications of French, English, and Italian, which is not surprising, not only in light of the many languages that José Rizal spoke but also in considering the widely traveled Crisóstomo Ibarra y Magsalin, who responds to a Spanish monk who lived for an extended period in Hong Kong and thus speaks "Pidgin English"[119] that he loves the countries of free Europe (*Europa libre*) and speaks several of its languages.[120] But, one might argue, do his readers too?

The multilingualism very consciously inserted into the scene here is without a doubt of a programmatic nature. For José Rizal's novel presents in its own linguistic composition a world-wide archipelago of languages, and in this realm too he very consciously places the unmistakable signs of a literature without a fixed abode and accentuates the translingual dimension of his writing. Has not the world become an archipelago of languages and cultures?

Not being able at this point to present an exhaustive analysis of *Noli me tangere* in the context of the questions addressed here, it should at least be emphasized what an enormous role is given to the house as a fractal pattern.[121] In the same way that the entire personality of the host, Don Santiago de los Santos, alias Capitán Tiago, is expressed in the oil painting on the wall that "shows a handsome man in a formal suit, quiet, upright, and as symmetrical as the tasseled walking stick that he holds between his ring-covered fingers," [122] so too does the house, with its interior appointments, its widely famed revelries, the ostentatious consumerism of its owner, oriented toward luxury goods of all possible provenance, and with the people here gathered, concentrate in the manner of a focusing mirror the tension-filled world of the colonial Spanish Philippines—note: as part of the colonial Island Worlds of Spain. The fractal structure of this house, unifying within itself a highly heterogeneous totality as in a *modèle réduit* (in Lévi-Strauss' sense) stands out the first time it is described:

119 Ibid. p. 22.
120 Ibid.
121 On the fractal pattern of the island-house, see Ottmar Ette: "Von Inseln, Grenzen, und Vektoren," pp. 161–167. The concentration there is on the realm of French, English, and Spanish language literature of the Caribbean in the 20th century.
122 José Rizal: *Noli me tangere*, p. 9.

> The house to which we are referring is somewhat low and features lines that are not quite correct: whether the architect who built it perhaps did not see well, or if this was the effect of earthquakes and hurricanes, no one can say for certain. A broad stair with a green balustrade and rugs spread here and there leads from the blue-tiled inner court or portal to the main floor, between planters and pots of flowers atop pedestals of Chinese stoneware in motley colors with fantastic drawings.[123]

In this manner and right in the first chapter of Rizal's novel, this house in the Philippines that rises above its thoroughly humble surroundings like an island of the most heterogeneous material luxuries compresses in a clearly marked *mise en abyme* that world-wide colonial migratory space of cultures and goods that presents itself in the archipelago and, even more, in the Island World of the Philippines, networked world-wide, as though in a landscape of theory. In the figure of Crisóstomo Ibarra y Magsalin, who in his name puts both the Spanish and the Filipino heritage in the spot-light, a postcolonial dimension, that is, one that comes after the resident Spanish colonial regime that the narrator apparently hopes for, becomes at least perspectively discernible as well. The house of power does not stand on a firm foundation.

Regardless of whether it was the (colonial) architect or the shocks and hurricanes of the times that brought the straight lines of this house out of plumb: the archipelago of the Philippines, like the archipelago of the Spanish Caribbean, stands at the end of the 19th century before the collapse of a colonial society that, under the influence of the third phase of accelerated globalization, will be swept away by the linear and well-constructed armored cruisers of the USA just a few years later. The makeshift colonial house is unsteady: it is doomed, like the political system it represents, even if it does allow its crumbling glamour to shine one last time. In the collapse of the positively depicted main characters of the novel, one can recognize on both the individual and the collective levels the epochal shipwreck of the *Desastre*, the catastrophe of 1898, of which the novel makes us observers from its first line: a shipwreck-with-announcement, bringing with it not only the downfall of the last vestiges of the Spanish colonial empire on both archipelagos, but of everything Spanish in the Philippines. It is of no use for the Spanish colonial power to denounce the insurgents as *filibusteros*, as freebooters and pirates: no *Espejo de Paciencia* and no voyage metaphor can make the once proud Iberian ship seaworthy again, or even simply rescue it from sinking. The representatives of the Spanish power proceed with all brutality, but no story—and certainly not the one by José Rizal—will exonerate them.

123 Ibid. p. 8.

A new era appears which—even though it must once again capitulate to the old powers that will murder the author Rizal himself—soon renders historical and dysfunctional everything that has remained, on both archipelagos, of the self-enclosed I(s)land-world concerned only with itself. The colonial kaleidoscope of the Caribbean and the Philippines—and here *Noli me tangere* leaves no doubt—has long since begun to dissolve into its individual parts, despite its convulsive attempts to remain on the surface.

For the situation of the Philippines within the transarchipelagic context discussed here is quite comparable to that of Cuba. No other writer and philosopher more impressively articulated the collapse of any sort of self-involved, provincial thinking in the presence of an accelerating globalization that sweeps everything along with it than did José Martí in the above-cited incipit of his certainly most famous essay. The old migratory spaces of "rusticity" and self-involvement of locality are henceforth exposed to a tremendous acceleration from which nothing and no one can escape—despite Martí preserving to the end of his life the hope of turning the island chains of the Caribbean into a bulwark against a new world power encroaching from the northern part of the continent. In Rizal, one can in fact see a Filipino contemporary witness to the same accelerations that Martí had already recognized so early from Manhattan, from Wall Street, as it were. Despite any differences, Rizal's diagnosis is in essence analogous to that of the Cuban freedom fighter. And yet, to the same degree as Rizal, Martí could not succeed

> at preventing a situation in Cuba where, through annexation, the way that must be blocked will become open to the imperialists there as well as to the Spanish, even as we stand on the verge of blocking the way toward the annexation of the people of our America by the agitated and brutal North that despises them.[124]

And yet both works, looking not only at their successes in the struggle against Spanish colonialism, were ultimately successful—despite their being unable, even under the most propitious circumstances, to preserve their Island Worlds, desired by old and new powers alike, from entering into a phase of new dependencies.

Under the influence of an acceleration that could be sensed even in daily life, an acceleration that José Martí and José Rizal, thanks to their widely-traveled perspectives, were able to observe and understand far earlier and more clearly than others elsewhere, it becomes apparent to what degree Island

124 José Martí: *Obras Completas*, vol. 4, p. 168.

Worlds needed to transareally take shape from I(s)land-worlds, if Cubans and Filipinos wanted to determine for themselves the direction and speed within this transareal and specifically transtropical migratory space.

The acceleration, however, came all too quickly, such that both of these intellectuals and writers fell victim to the old colonial power, while behind its back, a new world-political situation had long since emerged. The literary staging of their own deaths in the light of a future liberty is something the two authors have in common. Thus Martí's pen could have produced what Rizal has one of his two heroes say in the last chapter of his novel:

> The stranger turned his head to the east and murmured, as though praying: "I am going to die without seeing the sunrise over my fatherland…! You however, you who shall see it, greet it… and do not forget those who have fallen during the night!"
>
> He lifted his eyes to the heavens, his lips trembled as though they murmured a prayer, after which he lowered his head and slowly dropped to the ground…[125]

Martí also knew—as he wrote in what is surely one of his most famous poems—that he possessed two fatherlands, "Dos patrias":

> I have two fatherlands, Cuba and the night,
> Or are the two one? Hardly does the sun
> Majestically retire when, with a long veil
> And a carnation in the hand, silently
> Cuba appears to me, like a sorrowing widow. [126]

And yet, literature with him always comes to that place from which the new is not only thinkable and readable, but as an aesthetic experiential knowledge, becomes capable of being experienced with the senses and transformable in reality. Perhaps herein lay—over the long term—the greatest "danger" engendered by the two authors.

And so they became victims of a colonialism that, in the end, they also conquered, in their essays, poems and novels. For they had understood that the colonial kaleidoscope was no longer functional and would sooner or later have to fall apart and disappear. Martí's and Rizal's texts announced this coming disappearance and brought that which could be aesthetically experienced into the sphere of what could be lived in fact.

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125 José Rizal: *Noli me tangere*, p. 351.

126 José Martí: *Poesía Completa*. Critical edition. Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas 1985, p. 127. See also my translation of the poem "Dos patrias" in Hartmut Kohler (ed.): *Poesie der Welt. Lateinamerika*. Berlin: Propyläen Verlag 1986, p. 51.

José Rizal's and José Martí's writing thus made much of what could be aesthetically experienced and relived that the two writers and revolutionaries were not able to set in motion anew on the political level. But their works make recognizable a transformation from multiple structures to transarchipelagic ones, such as those that would (at least at first glance) not be developed—thinking, for instance, of the *Eloge de la Créolité*[127] and, perhaps even more, of the concepts imagined by Edouard Glissant in his *Poétique de la relation*[128] or Amin Maalouf in *Origines*[129]—until the turn from the 20th to the 21st century. The vectorial migratory spaces of literatures associated with the fourth phase of accelerated globalization reach back, however—as our Cuban-Filipino example might show—substantially farther back in time.

One thing that is certain: the time for the realization of such ideas and propositions had not yet come during the lifetimes of Martí and Rizal. For they shattered—and far beyond the Spanish-speaking realm—the logic of that centuries-old colonial kaleidoscope on which they themselves were finally to shatter. Applicable not only to Martí, but to Rizal as well, is José Lezama Lima's excellent, dynamic moving image[130] of the self-made vortex that sweeps everything along with it—including the one who creates it—a tremendous vortex in which everything disintegrates, that it might then become open to the new.

I(s)land-world and Island Worlds of a Transarchipelagic Literature

The creation and the expansion of transarchipelagic thought- and movement-figures are certainly not the exclusive privilege of the fourth phase of accelerated globalization. It is also important for the realm of literature to consider that the 19th century formed, at least on the large Antillean islands, the critical *Sattelzeit* ("saddle-ridge time," a period of crossover) for the development of national literary structures not only in the colonial continental spaces formerly belonging to Spain (those that attained political autonomy through the complex process of *independencia*), but also in the Caribbean Island World (that also consistently presented an I(s)land-world within which each individual island developed its

127 Jean Bernabé / Patrick Chamoiseau / Rafaël Confiant: *Eloge de la Créolité*. Paris: Gallimard–Presses Universitaires Créoles 1989.
128 C.f. Edouard Glissant: *Poétique de la relation*. Paris: Gallimard 1990.
129 Amin Maalouf: *Origines*.
130 C.f. José Lezama Lima: *La expresión americana*, p. 116.

own logic and processuality). Unquestionably, a pioneering role may be ascribed to Cuba and Haiti within this long-lasting and contradictory process—despite the fact that the one island already achieved its independence in 1804 through its revolution, while the other did not formally become independent for another century, in 1902. This can be seen in the field of literature, where in Haiti, for instance, the emergence of what contemporaries called *littérature jaune* allowed for the development of new kinds of literary transfer processes.[131]

For the process of developing a national literature and culture is deeply informed by a transareal logic within which an extraordinarily important and in many cases accelerating role was assigned to the phenomenon of exile.[132] In the case of Cuba, it is fascinating to see how the truly prominent representatives of these practices of writing and publication (that early on constituted national literature) were always moving, mostly due to political persecution, between at least two different spaces: the poet José María Heredia between Cuba and Mexico, the writer Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda between Cuba and Spain, the novelist Cirilo Villaverde between Cuba and the USA, and José Martí between Cuba and Spain, Mexico, Guatemala, Venezuela, and finally, the USA.

For this reason, it may with good reason be said that Cuban literature—anticipating here many developments that would manifest themselves within a, to some degree, very different political and economic context in the subsequent postcolonial history of the Caribbean—constitutes a *literature without a fixed abode* and in this respect develops a fundamental and influential trait that to this day distinguishes it as a (highly productive) national literature.[133] For it is also true of the development of Cuban literature in the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century that it would be absurd to reduce it to only the territoriality of the island of Cuba if, since the beginning of the 19th century and under a variety of political constellations, a substantial, even preponderant portion of Cuban literature was written and published far from the island itself. Cuban literature cannot be adequately encompassed from the perspective of a national literary praxis of territorialization as determined by Europe: if one wishes to understand

131 C.f. Gesine Müller: *Die koloniale Karibik zwischen Bipolarität und Multirelationalität*, pp. 221–226.

132 In regard especially to the space of Haiti at the transition to the 19th century and also to the postcolonial dimension of exile, see Chris Bongie: *Friends and Enemies. The Scribal Politics of Post/Colonial Literature*; see also Chris Bongie: *Islands and Exiles. The Creole Identities of Post/Colonial Literature*. Stanford: Stanford University Press 1998.

133 For more extensive discussion, c.f. Ottmar Ette: *Writing-between-Worlds*, pp. 132–157.

the transfer processes that constitute it, it must be observed and understood in the context of movement-history as a transareal phenomenon.

If Cuban literature formed its future viability up to today directly from the fact that it developed primarily as a national literature beyond the national state and perhaps more, outside the national territory, then as a literature without a fixed abode, it points out the risks, and even more—with a view to its very successful history—the opportunities of such a transareal literary development and literary history. For even from the most "conservative" national-philological viewpoint, one can hardly dispute the assertion that this specific configuration, over the long decades of the 20th century, has become a model of success that gained for Cuban literature an important place among the literatures of the world.

Though the Swedish author Fredrika Bremer seems in no way to have reviewed the developments in Cuban literature during her trip to Cuba, but for the most part overlooked them, concentrating instead in her aesthetically successful travel impressions on the Caribbean landscape, the world of Caribbean plants, and her frequently recurring expressions of admiration for the herculean bodies of the Black slaves, the thoroughly archipelagic and transarchipelagic structure of the Caribbean Island World is still apparent in her *Letters from Cuba*. It was certainly not a Cuban book that the Swedish author held in her hands on the 28th of January, 1851—two years to the day before the birth of José Martí in Havana— when, on a ship out of New Orleans used by many travelers to reach the regions of the California gold claims as quickly as possible, she made the crossing to Cuba, that "Pearl of the Caribbean," the counterpart, as it were, of the "Pearl of the Orient." The European author seems hardly to have known anything about the existence of a Cuban literature. And yet, even in ignorance of the poems of José María Heredias or of the authors associated with Domingo del Monte, she masterfully understood how to delineate the fascination with the crossovers between the continental and the insular, between that which can be clearly territorially demarcated and geographies that are amphibious, such as those that to a great degree shape the Caribbean as a landscape—and also, obviously, as a landscape of theory. Especially fascinating here are the intermediate forms between the continental and the insular:

> We cast off, and with book in hand, I sat down to watch the riverbank from the sundeck at the stern, and I found it wonderful. For I could remain thus alone, while the spectacle of the bank appeared to me like a magical vision of the lands of the South. We sailed down that arm of the Mississippi that opens into Atchafalaya Bay, and from there, on to the Gulf of Mexico. One plantation after another appeared, with their white houses bordered by orange groves, stands of cedar, and blooming oleander, aloe, and palmettos. One after another, they presented themselves, separated by ever greater distances. The banks sank lo-

> wer and lower, until they turned to muddy land with grasses and reeds, now without trees, shrubs, or houses. They barely rose above the surface of the water: a short while later, they sank under it, and in so doing they took on the uniform and particular figure of that which, due to its similarity to the shape of the Greek letter, they call the "Delta of the Mississippi." A few grasses still swayed over the water that was moved by waves and wind. Finally, they too disappeared. The waves alone now dominated all. And now the land lay behind me, the immense continent of North America, and before me, the great Gulf of Mexico with its immeasurable depths, the southern sea with all its islands.[134]

It would surely be exciting to investigate at what point in time travelers from far away started to arrive in Cuba more often than not with a Cuban book (or even in the Caribbean in general with a Caribbean book) in their hands. Here the 19th century cannot be a first *Sattelzeit* or the place of a pre-history. The *traveling*, so convincing in literary-aesthetic terms, of Fredrika Bremer's travelogue, that depicts for us the gradual transition between land and sea from a perspective of motion, should also call our attention however to that multiconnectivity, that complex relationality that consistently characterizes Island Worlds by the continual dwindling, disappearance, and reemergence of land. Just as with Alexander von Humboldt and Fredrika Bremer, descriptions of this sort can be found frequently in Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, Eugenio María de Hostos, or Lafcadio Hearn; the travels of this last-mentioned author will be revisited directly, in this third main section of the present book. The literatures without a fixed abode succeed in developing, over the course of the long 19th century, new, vectorially influenced literary references and forms of depiction in such a fashion that they open up other, new thought-possibilities of the amphibious Caribbean Island World.

The literatures of the Caribbean, which has undergone since the turn of the 16th century a high degree of globalization, have not only evolved, over the course of the 19th and especially the 20th centuries, into one of the most concentrated literary spaces in the world; at the same time, they have proven the extraordinary productivity and creativity of literatures without a fixed abode. For they preserve themselves from any attempt at simple territorialization, against every reductionist attribution to a particular territory, and yet without giving up belonging, within the migratory space of the Caribbean, to a (proto-) national literature. National literatures thus become the object of *transareal* studies that can be restricted neither to the static state of national-philological analyses nor

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134 Fredrika Bremer: *Cartas desde Cuba*. Redys Puebla Borrero (ed.). German translation by Matilde Goulard de Westberg. Havana: Fundación Fernando Ortiz 2002, p. 17 f.

to the analogy-rhetoric of comparative investigations, but are instead based upon a poetics (and legetics) of motion.

The transfer processes that have profoundly influenced the Caribbean since its forced integration into world-historical and globe-spanning developments, such as those already documented by Juan de la Cosa's map from the year 1500, certainly present to us the challenge also to grasp in new ways world-literary developments in the future, before that very background of just such archipelagic and transarchipelagic processes: bound together in multilogical, relational exchange-connections beyond national-literary concepts of traditional European provenance. Would this then not carry the logical consequence of drawing from this knowledge inferences for a new understanding of European literature(s)?[135]

The prominent meaning of just the last third of the 19th century to the circulations and circulation-forms of knowledge in both the transatlantic and the transpacific spaces is beyond question, considering that the migrations from a wide variety of places in Europe and the deportations from many different parts of Africa, not to mention immigration from such places as China, India, and the Arab world, gave rise in the entire American hemisphere, and to a very specific extent in the Caribbean, to highly complex, transareal cultural connections. Not coincidentally, these would in turn give rise specifically in the Caribbean space to theories of transculturality in the first half of the 20th century. And yet already in the third phase of accelerated globalization—as we have seen—impulses emanate from this space which are of fundamental importance to the re-thinking of political and social, cultural and biopolitical relationships on a world-wide scale. The Caribbean as the testing-ground for a society tailored to the global—this idea can already be discerned among some travelers who in the last third of the 19th century crossed through that space around the point of intersection of the American double continent.

Patricio Lafcadio Tessima Carlos Hearn, who was born on the 27th of July, 1850 on the Greek island of Lefkada and died in Tokyo on the 26th of September, 1904, under the Japanese name that he had meanwhile adopted, Koizumi Yakumo, can surely in this context be considered among the most interesting and brilliant of authors. For this author of Greek-Irish descent, who shaped like no other the image that people in the West at the beginning of the 20th century conjured when thinking of the distant archipelago of Japan, embodies transarchipelagic thinking on a global scale —and not only because of his biography, that in-

135 C.f. Ottmar Ette: "Europäische Literatur(en) im globalen Kontext. Literaturen für Europa," pp. 257–296.

deed took him from the Greek archipelago, via Ireland and England, Cincinnati, New York and New Orleans to the Caribbean and finally on to Nippon. For even more, one may categorize a great number of his writings as expressions of that line of tradition that has its origin in the early-modern genre of the *isolario*, the island atlas, and in the text-and-map world of Benedetto Bordone, but which found new and surprising aesthetic forms in the third phase of accelerated globalization amidst the new possibilities for travel brought about by the technology of the modern steamship.

In his narrative *Chita: A Memory of Last Island*, that was first published in book form in 1889, the archipelagic and transarchipelagic dimension of his writing becomes clear from the beginning; in the incipit, a traveling movement is developed that, in its traveling, is highly reminiscent of the passage from Fredrika Bremer cited above—surely a depiction that can hardly have been familiar to this writer, journalist, and translator. The consistencies, but also the differences between the two passages—which indeed do depict, in a double sense, *passages*, transitions—are enlightening:

> Travelling south from New Orleans to the Islands, you pass through a strange land into a strange sea, by various winding waterways. You can journey to the Gulf by lugger if you please; but the trip may be made much more rapidly and agreeably on some one of those light, narrow steamers, built especially for bayou-travel […]
>
> Panting, screaming, scraping her bottom over the sand-bars,—all day the little steamer strives to reach the grand blaze of blue open water below the marsh-lands; and perhaps she may be fortunate enough to enter the Gulf about the time of sunset. For the sake of passengers, she travels by day only […]
>
> Shadows lengthen; and at last the woods dwindle away behind you into thin bluish lines;—land and water alike take more luminous color;—bayous open into broad passes;—lakes link themselves with sea-bays;—and the ocean-wind bursts upon you,—keen, cool, and full of light. For the first time the vessel begins to swing,—rocking to the great living pulse of the tides. And gazing from the deck around you, with no forest walls to break the view, it will seem to you that the low land must have once been rent asunder by the sea, and strewn about the Gulf in fantastic tatters….
>
> Sometimes above a waste of wind-blown prairie-cane you see an oasis emerging,—a ridge or hillock heavily umbraged with the rounded foliage of evergreen oaks:—a cheniere. And from the shining flood also kindred green knolls arise,—pretty islets, each with its beach-girdle of dazzling sand and shells, yellow-white,—and all radiant with semi-tropical foliage, myrtle and palmetto, orange and magnolia. Under their emerald shadows curious little villages of palmetto huts are drowsing, where dwell a swarthy population of

> Orientals,—Malay fishermen, who speak the Spanish-Creole of the Philippines as well as their own Tagal, and perpetuate in Louisiana the Catholic traditions of the Indies.[136]

The labyrinthine way from New Orleans to the Gulf, on intertwining canals, branches, and bayous of the Mississippi, crosses various landscapes of the delta in which the aquatic transitions between the American continent and the Caribbean Island World are introduced through the movement of the ship in a dizzying interplay of the elements. It is a matter of open, highly mobile, unmistakably rhizomatic structures in which each thing is connected to every other thing, yet without ever coalescing into one another. They are lyrically dense sentences in the mesh of which readers could lose themselves like travelers who are not sufficiently familiar with the world between continent and islands, between freshwater and saltwater, between land and sea to be able to move therein safely and sure of their destination. Solid ground is nowhere to be found, crossings are everywhere, nowhere in the landscape of the Mississippi delta can a straight line be drawn that separates the stable from the mobile: everything—including the intrinsic poetics of the writer—is in motion.

Already hinted at in these twists and turns, the motif of the intertwining of land, water, and sky that, in the later course of the narrative, reaches its peak in the land being devoured by the sky and the water in a powerful tropical storm offers a view of the open sea of the Caribbean, the waves of which in a life-rhythm of ebb and flow are transmitted irresistibly to the ship. And while the tragic destruction of the coastal Island World around the *Ile Dernière* (Last Island) along with (almost) all of its inhabitants and visitors is subsequently related, the text already indicates beforehand, on the linguistic level, how not only English and French, but also Spanish, the Creole languages of the Caribbean and the Philippines, as well as the Tagalog of the immigrant population from this last-named archipelago begin mutually to interweave with one another in the text in a transarchipelagic movement that connects Asia to America and the Philippines to the Caribbean, all within the transcultural world of Louisiana, much in the way that water and land are intimately connected to one another in the delta.

In the delta of the enormous river-landscape of the Mississippi, the natural elements, the cultures, the languages, and the ways of life of myriad areas come together; in this microcosm of constant becoming and decaying, of intertwining and being devoured, they live together in never-ending tension. And much to

136 Lafcadio Hearn: "Chita: A Memory of Last Island." In Lafcadio Hearn: *American Writings*, New York: Library of America 2009, p. 77 f.

the irritation of his contemporary US American editors,[137] who thought themselves able to admonish the author for having left no small number of foreign language quotes untranslated, Lafcadio Hearn allows his readers to partake intimately in the multilingualism of this equally transcultural and transarchipelagic world. Hearn's prose *is*, in its "fantastic tatters," the very landscape that it (de)-scribes, and its theory as well.

The aquatic world between continent and Island World, between continentality and insularity, marked as it is by ebb and flow and by strong ocean currents, but also by winds and storms, is again and again masterfully presented in its constantly swimming, blurring borders by Lafcadio Hearn. In Hearn's work, his islands are forever presented in reference to other islands; behind, beside, or beneath a certain island, again and again, other islands emerge that group to form archipelagos, thus instantly forming other, new networks, and in the course of their branching out within their own archipelago, still other archipelagos will appear and again disappear. Anglophone Southerners and Franco-Creoles, but also Malays, Mexicans, and Filipinos, appear in a circum-Caribbean world that simply cannot be depicted with the aid of a single language—not even the language of the third phase of accelerated globalization, English. The words in Lafcadio Hearn's text refer to places that, for their part, refer to still other places and words. It is as though ebb and flow were forever moving and pumping new people, new languages and cultures through this space. It is the rhythm of a life that can only be discovered, created, and experienced as life in a pulsating rhythm. In the writing of Lafcadio Hearn, that much more than most cries out to be read aloud, a transarchipelagic world full of life and full of motion becomes sensuously omnipresent.

In his travel report *Two Years in the French West Indies*, which was based upon two different trips to the Caribbean and first published in 1890, Lafcadio Hearn brought this highly dynamic, mobile form of writing from movement and in movement to perfection. This collection, consisting of shorter and longer narrative texts arranged in a form similar to an archipelago, is a travel report *sui generis* that tells us of the encounters and more, the experiences of the first-person narrator in those French "West Indies" in which the Caribbean and American cultures, languages, and ways of life intimately connect to those of Africa, Europe, and Asia.

Hearn succeeds here in repeatedly opening his complexly interlaced and not merely polysemous but, even more, polylogical writing style like a window

137 See "Note on the Texts" in Lafcadio Hearn's *American Writings*, pp. 827–831.

upon transarchipelagic dimensions, and allowing the Caribbean islands that he has visited to shine forth in all their world-wide relationality. The text, perhaps even more radically than in *Chita: A Memory of Last Island*, obtains its literary unity from its mobile multifacetedness, where individual narrative texts, for their part, include in their respective titles further embedded tales, myths, or legends such that the narrative processes in *Two Years in the French West Indies* move on different levels and in different types of texts.

In this polyperspectival travel report, Lafcadio Hearn often successfully undertakes the attempt to tie geographical and geological aspects to cultural ones in such a fashion as to make us understand that on our way through the Caribbean, we are *at the same time* underway on various routes through a profoundly transarchipelagic world. Proceeding, for instance, from a description and portrayal of the Montagne Pelée, the gigantic volcano on the small French isle of Martinique, he writes:

> But its centre is not one enormous pyramidal mass like that of "La Montagne": it is marked only by a group of five remarkable porphyritic cones,—the Pitons of Carbet;—while Pelée, dominating everything, and filling the north, presents an aspect and occupies an area scarcely inferior to those of Aetna.
>
> —Sometimes, while looking at La Pelée, I have wondered if the enterprise of the great Japanese painter who made the Hundred Views of Fusiyama could not be imitated by some creole artist equally proud of his native hills, and fearless of the heat of the plains or the snakes of the slopes. A hundred views of Pelée might certainly be made: for the enormous mass is omnipresent to dwellers in the northern part of the island, and can be seen from the heights of the most southern mornes. It is visible from almost any part of St. Pierre,—which nestles in a fold of its rocky skirts. It overlooks all the island ranges, and overtops the mighty Pitons of Carbet by a thousand feet […][138]

In a movement typical of Lafcadio Hearn's writing, the narrator first puts his object, the Montagne Pelée, into focus, in order then immediately to relativize and relationize its center, in this case to create a connection to another volcano on a European island, Mount Etna on Sicily. The movement associated with this opens up this at once transatlantic and transarchipelagic relation, but with an immediate glance to the Japanese Island World, where the perfect figure of Fujiyama is introduced into the text, admittedly not in terms of geographic or geological aspects, but of artistic ones. The reference to the great Japanese painter Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), whose name is not actually mentioned here, and his famed series of colored woodcuts of depictions of Fujiyama makes it possible for Hearn to put a hypothetical Creole painter in play who, like the Ja-

138 Lafcadio Hearn: *Two Years in the French West Indies*, p. 387.

panese artist, could create a polyperspective work that would necessarily come forth from the motions round about the rugged volcanic region of Montagne Pelée, "infested" with countless thousands of snakes. A region, by the way, of which Lafcadio Hearn himself had extensive knowledge and through which he had hiked countless times, setting out from St. Pierre, the city that so fascinated him and which later fell victim to an eruption of this dangerous volcano.

The intermedial reference from Hearn's prose to Hokusai's art includes, on a transmedial level, an inherent poetics of his own writing. For the polyperspectival work that Hearn calls for, to be based upon the series of the great Japanese artist—as the text itself presents in this passage—Lafcadio Hearn himself has unquestionably created. This implicit, inherent poetics that is developed here proceeding from the transarchipelagic connections of Montagne Pelée to Etna and Fujiyama makes reference to the literary sketches of this writer of Greek-Irish extraction himself: it is he, essentially, who has long since become that nameless Creole painter who again and again presents us with new views and conjures from this polyperspectivity a polyrelationality that gives rise to a series of images that unfolds in labyrinthine sentences and is sometimes confusing at first glance. It is a series of images of fascinating transareality.

For this Greek, Irish, British, and US American becomes an Antillean and Japanese man whose many names serve to fill in that space of the nameless Creole painter, for in that seemingly empty place of the name, many names, many places can be transarchipelagically entered, indeed, must be entered. And a passage soon to follow will also establish this: it is as if, in this great volcano of the Isle of Martinique, the volcanoes of this world, of the most widely differing regions of this Earth, all run together, yet without finding here their "centre," their midpoint. For such a center, such a midpoint of the Earth, simply cannot exist for the writer Lafcadio Hearn.

Patricio Lafcadio Tessima Carlos Hearn, in his travel report *Two Years in the French West Indies*—a title that, in the application of the English language term "West Indies" to the French-speaking realm of the Antilles, already introduces a globe-spanning dimension of the tropics—approached the subject and the destination area of his journey essentially like a painter: proceeding from a tremendously (as it will forever remain uncompletable) artful painting of the glorious colors of the differently-shaded colorations of the ocean and the sunsets that he always installed with relish in great number and in the greatest variety of places in his text. It is the colors above all that fill out and delineate the region of the tropical Island World. Just how important the constant visualization of all things was to Hearn's writing may be underscored, by the way, by the fact that he acquired, specifically for his stay on Martinique, a costly set of photographic

equipment, in order to punctuate his literary travel report with a photographic scenery and design of his own.[139] The Light-Script of the Photo-Graphics subsequently bespeaks a literary style that puts the accent on the specifics of light in the tropical Island World of the Antilles.

Like *Chita: A Memory of Last Island*, his *Two Years in the French West Indies* also begins with the impressions of a ship voyage on board the “long, narrow, graceful steel steamer”;[140] the literary travel report begins with the photographic image of this steamer at pier 49 in New York Harbor. Here again, as in *Chita*, one may discern an almost erotic connection on the part of the narrator to the consistently feminine semantic forms of the elegant steamer. A great heat[141] already prevails at the departure in New York, so it is not the temperatures that differentiate and separate the Island World of the Antilles from the rest of the continent. From the point near the beginning where a “nice old French gentleman from Guadeloupe”[142] explains to the first-person narrator with as much astonishment as vehemence that the water they are passing over just a few days’ voyage from New York can be described not really as blue, but at best as greenish, the undivided attention of the traveler concentrates on the color-world of water and sky. The changing of the never-ending play of colors within the spectrum of a deep, luminescent blue becomes the actual sign of recognition of the fact that, a few days later, one has finally begun to approach the tropical Island World. For the narrator, the world of the Caribbean is one of intense, “real” colors.

In expressions reminiscent of the Old Testament book of *Genesis*, the decisive transition comes on the fourth day, on which “the West Indian languor”[143] begins to become apparent on board, and even the friendly old man from Guadeloupe admits that the water that the steamer is now plowing through possesses “*almost* the color of tropical water”:[144] “The swaying circle of the resplendent sea seems to flash its jewel-color to the zenith.”[145] All the powers of Nature seem sensuously to re-combine and to fill everything with new life, with a world-life:

139 On the story of this expensive photo equipment, see the “Note on the Texts” in *American Writings*, p. 828.
140 Lafcadio Hearn: *Two Years in the French West Indies*, p. 159.
141 Ibid.
142 Ibid. p. 161.
143 Ibid. p. 163.
144 Ibid.
145 Ibid.

> All this sensuous blending of warmth and force in winds and waters more and more suggests an idea of the spiritualism of elements,—a sense of world-life. In all these soft sleepy swayings, these caresses of wind and sobbing of waters, Nature seems to confess some passional mood. Passengers converse of pleasant tempting things,—tropical fruits, tropical beverages, tropical mountain-breezes, tropical women. It is a time for dreams—those day-dreams that come gently as a mist, with ghostly realization of hopes, desires, ambitions.... Men sailing to the mines of Guiana dream of gold [...]
>
> The sunset comes with a great burning yellow glow, fading up through faint greens to lose itself in violet light;—there is no gloaming. The days have already become shorter.... Through the open ports, as we lie down to sleep, comes a great whispering,—the whispering of the seas: sounds as of articulate speech under the breath,—as of women telling secrets....[146]

Everything is filled with life, becomes sensuously laden and synesthetically dense. In this way, before arriving at the first of the Antillean islands, an expectant atmosphere is created, complete with all of the clichéd elements of tropical life, some of which are actually brought forth. The tropics appear as a different world.

The perception of a white man whose origin is not in the tropics is thereby taken up and highlighted from the beginning, a fact that, of course, does not subsequently hinder the narrator from providing us over the course of long pages with detailed and penetrative everyday images from the lives of the washerwomen (*blanchisseuses*) or women carrying heavy burdens (*porteuses*) in Martinique. Pictures from life of the everyday practices of a culture arise with an intensity such as we could hardly ever find in other texts of the period.

It is specifically the women who impart to us their knowledge for living and, in a way, their secrets: we learn how long they work, when they eat, and how they prepare their meals, but also of what sort of life they dream for themselves—including the figure of one girl who comes on board for the return trip, to work as a domestic servant in New York. The *porteuses* tell us of the burdens they learned to manage as young porters and which paths they used to connect the different parts of the island, but also about the songs they sing, the dangers they face, the hopes they cherish, and the dreams they follow. Thus arise life-images of the highest poignancy.

The passage into the tropics, by virtue of the motion of the ship, becomes a passage into another world of color and sound, into a different material sensuality that is like a different (and spiritual) dream-landscape made capable of being aesthetically and aisthetically experienced through the sounds and colors of

146 Ibid. p. 163 f.

language. The sound of this specific manner of writing, which is frequently broken up by sentences in the *français créole* of Martinique, employs the entire register of sound figures included in various languages. The pictures from the lives of the Mulatto washerwomen spreading out their laundry in St. Pierre, or the families of coolies who illustrate the norms and forms of coexistence that they have brought from (East) India, thanks to their vibrancy, directly make their mark upon the reading. We learn much of the societal reality of the islands, above all of the community of isles *as it is lived*, with each island having developed its own forms of clothing and cooking, coexistence and conflict.

And with a view to the vectoricity and the trajectories of *Two Years in the French West Indies* we still maintain: Lafcadio Hearn's literarily very precisely constructed entrance (of the narrator) into the Island World of the Caribbean shapes the entire subsequent course of the journey and the travel report. Like pearls of various colors, shapes, and weights, the Windward Islands and the Leeward Islands string themselves upon a merely ostensibly simple narrative thread that the first-person narrator uncoils with ever-new perspectives on islands and island landscapes, on harbors and people, societies and communities. Each island possesses its own particular logic, relates to us its respective, specific life-history, is presented to us as an I(s)land-world, but also within its archipelagic and transarchipelagic multiconnectedness.

This extremely diverse world of islands only changes once the steamship leaves not the tropics, but the islands, and makes for the coast of the South American continent. The difference between insularity and continentality is clearly signaled here, for a fundamental change has occurred:

> It is the morning of the third day since we left Barbados, and for the first time since entering tropic waters all things seem changed. The atmosphere is heavy with strange mists; and the light of an orange-colored sun, immensely magnified by vapors, illuminates a greenish-yellow sea,—foul and opaque, as if stagnant.... I remember just such a sunrise over the Louisiana gulf-coast.[147]

Deliberately established here is a subtle but unmistakable color *framing* of that world of islands that is to be distinguished, to an equal degree, from the subcontinents in the southern and northern parts of the hemisphere. The world of islands that stretches between them now becomes "strung together" into an *Island World* of isles that are joined together respectively among themselves, but also with other islands world-wide and in the most widely varying places, via an internal and external relationality as though in a great, net-like web. This archi-

147 Ibid. p. 215.

pelagic and transarchipelagic perception of an Island World, however, is then contrasted in a second, more extensive section with an *I(s)land-world*, insofar as the traveler now, during a longer stay, concentrates on one of the islands that he has before only visited for a short time: the above-mentioned island of Martinique, whose volcano we had already viewed in the midst of its world-wide, transarchipelagic network of relationships.

This literary division into two must not only be brought into connection with the simple biographical division of the two journeys of Lafcadio Hearn into the realm of the Caribbean: beyond this, it possesses an aesthetic, not to mention epistemological character, and demonstrates for us, by means of a concrete motion-model, how we might understand the Antilles on a global scale. Travel literature consistently demonstrates for us, in the mobile mappings of a world in motion, models for understanding that come from motion:[148] thought-models that, as we read them in all their complexity, we can comprehend piece by piece, line by line. The I(s)land-world of Martinique consequently offers us a certain island as a world in and of itself, as a world with its own logic, yet it never loses sight of the fact that this particular logic of an I(s)land-world, being a highly compressed semantic version of an ambiguous figure, is always an *Island World* in the transarchipelagic sense as well.

Counting certainly among the greatest merits of the intricate, sometimes labyrinthine style of Lafcadio Hearn is its having depicted in an aesthetically convincing manner this indeed highly complex double movement-structure in all its vectoricity, in all its advances and movements. The small isle of Martinique appears to be simultaneously self-contained and yet bound to world-wide relations, an I(s)land-world and an Island World where a world unto itself, as it were, holds an entire world within itself.

In a passage that occasionally makes reference to the long since classic texts of Père Labat and of Père Du Tertre, but also to the treatise dedicated to Martinique titled *Etudes historiques* by—as Hearn calls him—the Creole author Dr. E. Rufz,[149] the mountain-and-volcano world of the French Antillean Island again becomes the point of departure for a perspective that spans the tropics world-wide. This is sketched precisely during the course of a mountain ascent,

148 C.f. Ottmar Ette: *Literatur in Bewegung*, pp. 21–84.
149 C.f. Lafcadio Hearn: *Two Years in the French West Indies*, p. 420.

in the upward motion, as it were, of a gain in transparency[150] that since Petrarch[151] has been associated with the motion of understanding and knowing:

> With the diminution of the warmth provoked by the exertion of climbing, you begin to notice how cool it feels;—you could almost doubt the testimony of your latitude. Directly east is Senegambia: we are well south of Timbuctoo and the Sahara,—on a line with southern India. The ocean has cooled the winds; at this altitude the rarity of the air is northern; but in the valleys below the vegetation is African. The best alimentary plants, the best forage, the flowers of the gardens, are of Guinea;—the graceful date-palms are from the Atlas region: those tamarinds, whose thick shade stifles all other vegetal life beneath it, are from Senegal. Only, in the touch of the air, the vapory colors of distance, the shapes of the hills, there is a something not of Africa: that strange fascination which has given to the island its poetic creole name,—*le Pays de Revenants*.[152]

Without being able at this point to go into the isotopy of spirits, ghosts, and "returnees" (*revenants*) that runs through the complete works of Lafcadio Hearn and which we already encountered in one of the previous quotations with the adjective "ghostly,"[153] the return of the first-person narrator to the island of Martinique for a longer stay is nonetheless clearly motivated by the fact that from here, not only does an island open itself up as a collective, self-contained and yet complete world, but also that this so distinct world is at the same time able to combine within itself, as though in a living web, the great variety of elements of a world-wide network of connections. Martinique is a microcosm, an *island-island*[154] that incorporates the world in its own way and is thereby so unique—a transareally concentrated world, both on the level of nature and on that of cultivation, of culture.

The French Antillean island stands at the point of intersection and within the network of connections between the West Indies and the East Indies, between the *Indias occidentales* and the *Indias orientales*, as the names were expressed during the first phase of accelerated globalization. The island around the Montagne Pelée is a global island: in *Two Years in the French West Indies*, presented in book form in 1890—and here the literary travel account plays out

150 C.f. here Jean Starobinski: *Jean-Jacques Rousseau. La transparence et l'obstacle*. Suivi de Sept Essais sur Rousseau. Paris: Gallimard 1971.

151 See the classic study by Joachim Ritter: "Landschaft. Zur Funktion des Ästhetischen in der modernen Gesellschaft." In: Joachim Ritter: *Subjektivität. Sechs Aufsätze*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1989, pp. 141–163.

152 Lafcadio Hearn: *Two Years in the French West Indies*, p. 419.

153 C.f. Ibid. p. 164.

154 C.f. Ottmar Ette: "Insulare ZwischenWelten der Literatur," pp. 13–56.

even in its title the long and complex history of globalization—it represents the three phases of accelerated globalization.

It is, then, no accident that the traveler embarking in New York, the center of the first non-European globalizing power, should undertake his voyage to the Caribbean on a steamship of steel, on a “long, narrow, graceful steel steamer.”[155] One could well see in this elegant steamship an envoy (certainly not completely detached) of that “New Steel Navy” that would, in the same decade, blast clear the way for the USA to become the undisputed leading power on the continent, sinking the Spanish fleet in the seas off Manila and Santiago de Cuba.

Still today a possession of France, the lead power of the second globalization phase, Martinique is, as an Antillean island, part of that zone of the most highly compressed globalization that from the first phase of this process onward brought into contact (and even more, into collision) the people, cultures, and languages of the European “discoverers,” conquerors, and colonizers with the different cultures of the local indigenous population, with the Black slaves transported here from various parts of West and Central Africa, and later, with the contract laborers from different regions of Asia as well as the coolies from India. In the literary landscape image of Martinique created by Lafcadio Hearn, the widely various elements of the different continents fit together into something different, into something new, into a whole that cannot be confused with Europe, Africa, or Asia.

Thus Martinique becomes the transareal and transcultural world of a single small island in which the most distant continents and archipelagos at different degrees of longitude and latitude condense and vectorially reconfigure into a transarchipelagic Island World. Lafcadio Hearn’s literary travel report provides for us the fascinating motion- and thought-model for these historic, cultural, and biopolitical processes that arise from the interdependence of the discovered and the invented, of the experienced and the lived. In his model-island of the French West Indies, the third phase of accelerated globalization, even many years later, comes back to life.

155 Lafcadio Hearn: *Two Years in the French West Indies*, p. 159.

Globalization IV

In the Net of Transarchipelagic Connections: On the Plenty of Polyperspective and the Pitfall of Monolingual Globalization

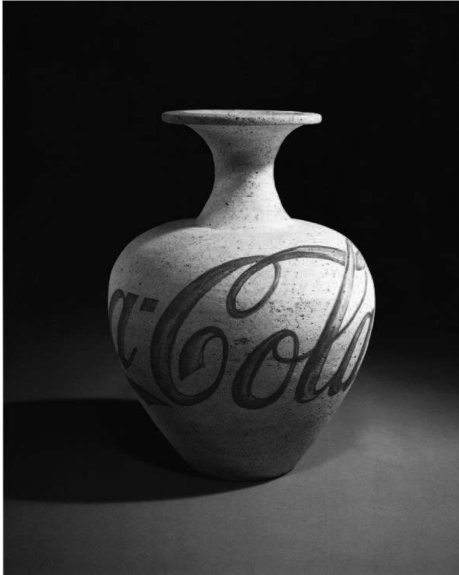

Fig. 9: Ai Weiwei: *Coca-Cola Vase* (1997), color on Tang Dynasty Vase. © FAKE Studios.

Fig. 10: Ai Weiwei: *Coca-Cola Urn* (2006), color on Han Dynasty Urn. © 2011 Artnet Worldwide Corporation.

On Inscribing the Global

Born in Beijing in 1957 as the son of a poet who was persecuted during the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese conceptual artist Ai Weiwei, in a series of sculptures that was begun in the 90's of the 20th century and continues at the present, applied to Neolithic jars, to vases from the Han and Tang dynasties, and to various urns, in a variety of colors, the cursive logo for Coca-Cola (figures 9 and 10). This series of artworks, straddling the central period of the fourth phase of accelerated globalization, depicts without a doubt, through both the striking use of the global icon[1] of the US American beverage concern and through its serial-like fabrication as well, an artistic answer to problematic issues that, in association with the accelerated globalization and the world-wide mass consumption of our time, have grown more virulent than ever at the turn of the 21st century. For how else might one understand the fact that the Coca-Cola logo is stamped upon everything of which it can successfully take possession?

One can certainly agree with the estimation of Lydia Haustein, who states with a brief sideward glance to Ai Weiwei that "the almost surreal struggle in China between art and the stereotyping of the world" can also be found to be growing stronger "in many sub- and youth-cultures in Asia."[2] If the Coca-Cola logo with its high recognition value has long since come to represent on a global scale a culture and lifestyle that can be classified, depending upon viewpoint, as "the West" in general or "the USA" specifically, it is also important at this point not to forget that the beverage, invented by John Stith Pemberton in the 1880's, who later sold the rights to the apothecary wholesaler Asa Griggs Candler, refers back to the third phase of accelerated globalization, during the course of which the USA represented the first time—as we have seen above—that a non-European global player took to the world stage. Can this coinciding with the understanding presented here (of globalization as a process that is of long duration but may be subdivided into different phases of acceleration) be attributed to mere chance?

Surely not. The rise of Coca-Cola both accompanies and symbolizes the military and economic rise of the United States of America: the Coca-Cola Company was founded in 1892, the trademark protected in 1893 with subsequent distribution throughout the USA, and from 1896, the "conquest" of foreign markets be-

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1 On the history of Coca-Cola et al., see Andrea Exler: *Coca-Cola. Vom selbstgebrauten Aufputschmittel zur amerikanischen Ikone*. Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt 2006.

2 Lydia Haustein: *Global Icons. Globale Inszenierung und kulturelle Identität*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag 2008, p. 218.

gan. Coca-Cola is, quite simply, far more than a beverage or an attitude toward life. That the victory procession of the US military and economic power and that of the Coca-Cola Company ran essentially parallel may have decisively contributed to the soft-drink manufacturer's brand being equated with the vehement expansion process that crystallized in the war year of 1898, which led to the talk of "Coca-Colonialism" [3] that, even today, can be depended upon to pop up continually in globalization debates. Between globalization and Coca-Cola there is a mutually affective referential relationship that is demonstrably grounded in history and was employed by Ai Weiwei for his artistic series in a clever and well-calculated way. And it may well be that, beyond this, it is no accident that in the person of Ai Weiwei, it was a Chinese artist who began this series in the 90's, if one can view China from today's perspective to be a power that could play a decisive role in a future, fifth phase of accelerated globalization.

The use of the world-famous logo by the Chinese intellectual, activist, and performer undeniably implies a dual entry in the periodization of globalization as developed in the present volume, for two phases of accelerated globalization are thereby clearly brought together in a connection without whose reciprocal relationality a good part of the history of the 20th century would certainly remain incomprehensible. In Ai Weiwei's artworks, the logo (the icon) of the global leads indeed to a dual entry that seems to contain a clear message, an immediately understandable political attribution. Unvarnished anti-colonialism perhaps?

Surely that, too. For the millennia-old urns, vases, and jars that Ai Weiwei emblazoned with the logo for Coca-Colonialism can be perceived as a direct criticism of a process of expansion steered by the West that has covered and will continue to cover the world with its forms and norms of living, but also with its mass-culturally expressed interests and commercialization strategies. The round, often pot-bellied jars that become the subject of an inscription of the global, often embody, as it were, the globality of an Earth-body, whose quality of being made of earth is at the same time placed under sensory perception, in a dimension that pertains to history, most especially human history. Thus, the degree to which the shape of the Earth—and with it, the long process of globalization itself—is made and shaped by human hands becomes aesthetically productive.

The *inscription* of the global, of the global icon, comprises both space and time, takes over the artifacts of other cultures and other times, upon which it re-

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3 See, among others, Ulfried Reichardt: *Globalisierung. Literaturen und Kulturen des Globalen*, p. 11 and passim.

troactively impresses its stamp, its mark, its identity. The inscription (*Aufschreiben*) becomes a writing *upon* (*schreiben auf*) the very base of the Other; it becomes, in essence, a violent overwriting by which the Other, despite any physical violence that has been done to it, remains, but in the manner of a palimpsest. Nevertheless: the Other, from the Western perspective, has now been rebranded as the West's own and is made a component of an economic system that impresses upon everything the same standard, the same norm, the same form.

To this extent, the series by the Chinese artist unquestionably contains the recognizable criticism of a system that also, in fact, dominates the international and transnational art market itself. For in this, is not the Other—let us here say: the Chinese culture—simply absorbed, denigrated to mere value-assessment within an art market operating on a world-wide scale? All of this is correct, and yet Ai Weiwei's works of art do not remain restricted only to this immediately readable, all too pithily applied critique.

For obviously, the artist himself makes use in his series of these very market-mechanisms that characterize a western-dominated art market in the fourth phase of accelerated globalization. In this sense, one may very well speak of an ulterior action in the reproof of Coca-Colonialism, should this reproof be shown, in the inscription of the globally marketed, to be just as much a part of a circulation of materials and knowledge—often in the form of material knowledge. The urns and vases not only display the globalizing processes in which they are caught, but also the manner *in which they themselves*, in the productive recourse to these processes, put themselves into circulation and pursue their own interests and goals.

Consequently, we are talking here about an art that for its part overwrites the global logo, insofar as it makes the logo useful to itself, without thereby expunging, erasing, or rendering invisible that which underlies its own script. On the contrary, it is more present than ever. For these objects are still receptacles of the Neolithic period, or from the Han or Tang dynasties: they are mounting a resistance to their assimilation into a global system of capitalism. This resistance is clearly not indebted to any aesthetics of resistance, but uses the propensity of the aesthetic to be resistant, in order to use its ambiguity as an aesthetic force[4] of resistance.

This is also true specifically for the forms and norms of the circulation of the global. For here too, the entry into the global occurs as a process of inscription

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4 On the aesthetic concept of force, see the considerations of Christoph Menke: *Kraft: Ein Grundbegriff ästhetischer Anthropologie*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2008.

that, without the global media—and especially the world-wide web of the internet—would hardly be possible. To this extent, the remark in this context that the painting of an urn from the Han dynasty is about “the confrontation of Chinese culture with the culture of the market of the West”[5] is both accurate and, at the same time, insufficient. For we are dealing here with artists who have become true experts in the field of world-wide communication in real time and who understand how, especially on the internet, to demonstrate the resistance-force of the aesthetic—consistent with their own interests and goals—in a world-wide manner that cannot be ignored. It is not without reason that in October of 2011, the British magazine *Art Review* placed Ai Weiwei in the number one position on its “Power 100” list, thereby choosing him as, world-wide, the most influential representative of the art world.[6] This powerful effectiveness of his artistic activity is also quite distinct in the series discussed here. While the political leadership of his homeland may seek to exclude him in the long run by means of intermittent inclusion, the attempt at this sort of exclusion ultimately leads to an even more enduring inclusion in the power-sphere of a transareal art scene in which the artists without a fixed abode have long since found, devised, and made livable their own homelands, homelands that dynamically straddle and traverse individual areas.

Whoever currently deals with the Chinese art of today will not be able to ignore or deny the fact that internet appearances and blogs have become not just recent vehicles, but also forms of expression and thus components of artistic creation in China (and elsewhere). When the first blogger conference in the Middle Empire took place in 2005, many artists were invited by Sina, one of the country’s largest internet companies, to take part creatively with their own blogs. Many immediately accepted this invitation—among them, Ai Weiwei, whose first blog entry is said to have read: “In order to express something, one needs a reason—the expression is the reason.”[7]

The acknowledgment of this part of creating *as art* is thus an important step forward that at the same time precludes seeing in Ai Weiwei’s series a striking and, at best, well-staged indictment of a world-wide, omnipresent Coca-Colonialism. Rather, this art becomes self-reflective, applies its inscription of the glob-

5 Samuel Herzog: “Coca-Cola aus der Han–Dynastie. ‘Mahjong’ – eine grosse Austellung chinesischer Gegenwartskunst in Bern.” In: *Zürcher Zeitung* (Zürich) 138 (May 16, 2005), p. 43.

6 C.f. the *Spiegel Online* report of October 13, 2011.

7 Quoted from Marianne Burki / Li Zhenhua: “Die Kunst, die wir nicht sehen. Die Bloggerszene in China und das Verhältnis sozialer Netzwerke zur Kunst.” In: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zürich) NZZ-Online (Sept. 12, 2011).

al in a reflection of its own methods for the globalization of artworks, the virtual existence of which is every bit as artistically concentrated as the materials and objects of which it not infrequently makes masterful use. This quality of becoming self-reflective on the part of a globalized and globalizing art points artistically, if you will, to the blind spot in its own genesis, and yet includes any knowledge of the recognition of that blind spot, which—like the irruption of the optic nerve onto the retina of the eye—becomes the unavoidable pre-condition for any sort of seeing, any sort of knowing and aesthetic formulation before or beyond all processes of visualization.

The fact that, with a view to national organizational conditions, the sovereignty of art in China (as elsewhere) has its limits, is shown with unmistakable clarity by the repressive measures to which Chinese artists are subject on the internet (and elsewhere). At the same time, this repression draws attention to just how effective aesthetic resilience is, the power of which artists like Ai Weiwei are able to safeguard in the world-wide web. Local repression is thereby translocalized and ultimately made transareally visible and experienceable.

For some time—and not just since the "Arab Spring," as it has come to be called—the assertion that social networks like Facebook and Twitter should become of great importance to this process has no longer been a matter for debate. These quasi self-generating networks no doubt enjoy a higher level of trust in countries like China than the official media and proclamation-machinery, such that one could, with good reason, place their manner of use "somewhere between Wikileaks and the way they are used in the West."[8] Though attempts are made, using state resources and tremendous effort, to out-maneuver the blogger-scene and specifically targeted artists, the fact is undeniable that Ai Weiwei's exhibits are present world-wide on all five continents, while their virtual dimensions some time ago became the subject of specialized exhibits of their own—like the recent one in Winterthur.[9]

Consequently, Facebook and Twitter, in conjunction with other networks, are responsible for the fact that, on a further meta-level, art not only critically expresses itself on western globalization while at the same time self-critically examining its own globalization, but that it independently steers this globalization, in order to subject it, itself, to a critical back-and-forth between art producers, art consumers, and art critics on a world-wide scale. The logics of an art like this include the art of making the logics of world-wide norms and forms of circulation artistically productive.

8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.

But what is the meaning of "on a world-wide scale?" Looking at a world map that visualizes all together the connections of Facebook users (figure 11; from December, 2010),[10] it quickly becomes apparent that we cannot speak of a social network that spreads to cover an entire surface. The easily expected situation, where the closest and most intensive connections can be seen in the Northern Hemisphere, and therein especially between the US and Europe, points to the fact that, in an actual sense, we are dealing here with great islands of Facebook users who, within this community currently comprising more than 800 million people, are exchanging information with one another, sometimes over very great distances. In the ranking of countries, the number of users in the US stands in first position, followed by Great Britain, Indonesia, Turkey, France, Italy, Canada, the Philippines, Mexico, Spain, and India. Germany, by the way, does not come up until 14th position, after Argentina and Columbia.[11] The highest per-capita concentration of Facebook users is attributed to Hong Kong, followed by Canada, Great Britain, and the USA; China is absent from this representation, whereby reprisals are put forth as the primary reason for this omission.[12]

Fig. 11: *World Map of Connected Facebook Users* (December 2010). Author: Paul Butler, in: http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=469716398919 , last accessed 01/03/2012.

10 See http://a6.sphotos.ak.fbcdn.net/hphotos-aksnc4/163413_479288597199_5658562_8388607_n.jpg. My thanks to Winfried Gerling for this tip. Regarding the community of Facebook users, see Oliver Leistert / Theo Röhle (eds.): *Generation Facebook*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag 2011.

11 This list can be found at http://internet.cytalk.com/2010/07/where-in-the-world-is-facebook-used/.

12 Ibid.

In a more complete examination of such world-wide relationalities, other social networks and providers would of course be considered along with the nonetheless dominant Facebook.[13] Of decisive importance to the questions chosen here is that a map of this sort, based on the relationships between individual Facebook users, illustrates, for one thing, how unevenly the use of such social networks and, certainly, any access to the internet at all, are distributed. At the same time it is clear that, while national borders are drawn on this world map, they by no means depict its dominant characteristic, in light of the mobile, dynamic connections that emerged and established themselves between the different areas of our planet. Above all though, this mobile mapping shows in a very graphic manner that it is not so much structures of territorial continuity as open structurings of dynamic relationality that make up the world-image of this world map. With the usual spatial turn we do not do justice to the highly dynamic relationships of this sort, and remain insufficiently complex on the levels of culture, art, and literary theory in dealing with artistic processes of the fourth phase of accelerated globalization as they are directly, artistically developed by the art practices of authors like Ai Weiwei.

The fact clearly must not be overlooked that the insular, archipelagic, and transarchipelagic patterns of connections that crystallize, for instance, on Facebook or Twitter by no means represent decentralized, open structurings with multiple logics, but rather, are globally active completely within firm structures centered around the USA. The asymmetries of earlier phases of accelerated globalization have not simply evaporated; they are—especially in vectorized form—still present everywhere.

In this sense, the social networks referred to here represent a virtual product of mass-culture that in its design is directed toward the greatest possible degree of world-wide distribution and use and is open to a certain range of reception styles that are variously contingent depending on culture, but which in its having been strategically devised within the framework of the considerations presented in this book, should still by no means be naively affirmed. In connection with the artistic practices of someone like Ai Weiwei that were presented and analyzed at the beginning of this section, it is a matter of an experimental modeling of a variety of practices of artistic production, distribution, and reception and how, in association with the fourth phase of accelerated globalization, they cannot be conceived of without the uneven movement-patterns of past phases of global acceleration.

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13 See the world map at http://www.internetradierer.de/social-media-networks/facebook-regiert-die-welt.html.

These considerations no doubt contain insights and revelations of considerable importance, both for an understanding of the current fourth phase of accelerated globalization and for the conditions of artistic, literary, and cultural productivity and creativity. For this production is occurring in a world that, in a spatial sense, is characterized less by continuities than by discontinuities, less by stabilities than by mobilities, and less by continental than by archipelagic structures and structurings. If it is conspicuous how high the concentration of Facebook users specifically on islands and archipelagos is—such as Indonesia or the Philippines, the Caribbean, Hawaii, or Hong Kong—then with a second look, it becomes clear that it is now archipelagic and transarchipelagic (if not necessarily open) relationalities that characterize and influence the exchanges taking place on the internet and on social media between the people of our planet. The inscribing of the global, including its *Aufschreibesysteme 2000* ("Discourse Networks 2000")[14] may today be described and understood as a transarchipelagic, deeply transareal process that renders inevitable the art-theoretical and literary-theoretical development of poetics of movement in association with accelerated globalization processes.

Invisible Continents and Archipelagos of Visibility

If one wishes to designate Ai Weiwei, among the numerous prominent artists of China, as "the only one who enjoys global recognition far beyond the culture scene,"[15] and to understand why this artist represents "for a young generation the face of a new China that moves culturally at the same level as its global fellow combatants,"[16] then it is worth considering that his world-wide presence is not based solely upon spectacular exhibit openings or creative actions such as he designed for *Documenta* in Kassel, but is instead owing to that omnipresence on the internet that has steadily woven a mobile mapping of virtual "presences" into this geography of material objects for exhibition. The intellectual and efficient critic of the regime is beyond a doubt a transarchipelagic web artist.

Considering that Ai Weiwei, out of ethical obligation and artistic engagement, collected the backpacks and satchels of those schoolchildren whose

14 This term is yet another reference to the publication, already more than a quarter –century ago, of Friedrich A. Kittler: *Aufschreibesysteme 1800–1900*.
15 Gerhard Mack: "Ai Weiwei will sein Land und die Welt wachrütteln." In: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zurich) NZZ Online (April 10, 2011).
16 Ibid.

deaths the Chinese government wished to cover up for a large installation at the *Haus der Kunst* in Munich in 2008, or himself arranged, at the *Documenta* in 2007, for no fewer than 1,001 Chinese to travel to Kassel in order to take notes within the framework of this living travel experience on all that they went through over the course of their visit, then the artistic creativity that he develops functions like a social network that focuses on the transareal relationships between the people of the various "islands."

Again and again with Ai, it is a matter of remembering with a look to the future. In a blog from July 28, 2006 with the fitting title "Aftershock," he not only differentiated between "two types of catastrophe: the visible and measureable natural catastrophes, and the non-measureable mental catastrophes"[17] but at the same time clearly demonstrated the deadly consequences that cover-ups can have for the survivors: "If the collective memory of a people is erased and their capacity for self-reflection destroyed, it is like robbing a living organism of its immune system."[18] These are the catastrophes for which art creates not only a (cultural, collective) memory, but also a prospective set of perspectives.

Before this backdrop, it is certainly no coincidence that among the millennia-old objects that Ai Weiwei overwrote with the Coca-Cola logo there were not infrequently urns that had been shattered at the Chinese artist's performances.[19] A barbaric act that serves only to gain him publicity? The destruction of Neolithic urns up to 7000 years old can undoubtedly be considered a provocative, iconoclastic criticism of the ruthless destruction of cultural objects by the Chinese government, but at the same time, in the aesthetic re-functionalization of these Earth-bodies, it references the dimension of life. For these urns were not only formed by human hands many human lifetimes ago, they were also devised for the remains of people whose names have not come down to us.

If Ai Weiwei, despite numerous repressive measures, had undertaken with a great number of helpers the successful attempt to bring the names of the schoolchildren who had been killed to light, children who had lost their lives due to sloppy building codes and shoddy construction in China, then the urns embla-

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17 Ai Weiwei: "Aftershock." In: Ai Weiwei: *Make no Illusions about Me. The forbidden Blog* (*Macht euch keine Illusionen über mich. Der verbotene Blog*). Translated into German by Wolfram Ströle, Norbert Juraschitz, Stephan Gebauer, Oliver Grasmück, and Hans Freundl. Edited by Lee Ambrozy. Berlin: Verlag Galiani 2011, p. 187.

18 Ibid. p. 188 f. On the connection between art and (culture-) politics in Ai Weiwei's China, see Peter Pakesch (ed.): *Art and Cultural Policy in China. A Conversation between Ai Weiwei, Uli Sigg and Yung Ho Chang, moderated by Peter Pakesch*. Vienna–New York: Springer Verlag 2009.

19 See the report on the exhibition: Arcadia University Art Gallery Presents: "Ai Weiwei: Drop-ping the Urn." At: http://gargoyle.arcadia.edu/gallery/09-10/ai.htm.

zoned with the Coca-Cola logo stand for the attempt to thereby fill our planet with new life, such that connections are made between people from the most distant regions of the world through the creation of an immediate exchange. To this extent, the art of Ai Weiwei is a life-art that is focused upon the Earth-body, our planet, and is intent upon connecting those things that at first glance do not belong together, and creating new relationalities that, in a world-wide sense, are transarchipelagic. A China Sea of art to see.

Without a doubt, these highly dynamic, transarchipelagic webs of connections form a characteristic both of *life* at the turn from the 20th to the 21st century and of that *knowledge for living* that the literatures and arts understand how to condense, compress, and transform within themselves. In his 2006 travel text[20] *Raga. Approche du continent invisible* (*Raga. An Approach to the Invisible Continent*), Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio, winner of the Nobel prize for literature, chose oceanic space as his landscape of theory[21] and designed the moving image of an I(s)land-world and an Island World that are characterized by the transarchipelagic connections between the individual islands and island groups.[22] This approach to the "invisible continent" that consists exclusively of the islands and the sea that connects them comes from a highly complex multiconnectedness that originates at different times and can only be understood through different logics, and which is predominantly (but by no means exclusively) modeled on the island of Raga, or Pentacoste, in the Archipelago of the young South Pacific island nation of Vanuatu. By no means only geographically, but also culturally based, the diversity of the story or stories within the space of the South Pacific (or more specifically, Oceania), is emphasized again and again. In Chapter 1, "L'art de la résistance," for instance, it says:

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20 On the forms of literary presentation of travel by Le Clézio, see Bernadette Mey Mimoso-Ruiz (ed.): *J.M.G. Le Clézio. Ailleurs et origins: parcours poétiques*. Conference Proceedings 9, 10, & 11 December 2004. Toulouse: Editions Universitaires du Sud 2006; Isa Van Acker: *Carnets de doute. Variantes romanesques du voyage chez J.M.G. Le Clézio*. Amsterdam–New York: Rodopi 2008; and Claude Cavallero: *Le Clézio: témoin du monde. Essai.* Paris: Editions Calliopées 2009.

21 Regarding this concept, see chapters 1 (third dimension of the travel report), 2, and 11 of Ottmar Ette: *Literatur in Bewegung. Raum und Dynamik grenzüberschreitenden Schreibens in Europa und Amerika*.

22 In many of Le Clézio's works, shoreline landscapes stand for the "Utopia of a different world"; on this, c.f. Luc Rasson/Bruno Tritsmans: "Ecritures du rivage: mythes, ideologies, jeux." In: *L'Esprit Créateur* (Baton Rouge) LI, 2, (2011), p. 1; and extensively, Isabelle Roussel-Gillet: "Plages-mémoires de J.M.G. Le Clézio." In: *L'Esprit Créateur* (Baton Rouge) LI, 2, (2011), pp. 81-96.

> Is there today a “Pacific” consciousness (as one might speak of a “Latin American” or “African” consciousness)? The extreme fragmentation of this immeasurable maritime space and the common struggle against the colonial powers seem to have forged bonds between the peoples.
>
> Many islands are still today under protection or under an actual colonial regime: the Tahitian archipelago, the Marquesas Islands, the Loyalty Islands or New Caledonia, even Hawaii, Guam, and Samoa. Others have achieved independence to greater or lesser degrees of success—and have now come to know the difficulties of autonomy, such as unemployment, economic underdevelopment, the superiority of the industrial nations, or outrageous tourism. But the information circulates. Bonds form between the islands, between the archipelagos. Naturally, the greatest concerns are economic interests, market opportunities.
>
> Nevertheless, a different type of connection becomes apparent, something that consists of memories, feelings. Perhaps there is something left of the old vibrations, of the rumble of the log drums that sounded from island to island, of the masks, the tattoos, the *ruerues* drawn upon the earth, or of the indistinct and fluctuating voice of the myths that once unified these peoples from one edge to the other in this infinite ocean.[23]

The text lets islands and archipelagos emerge in an endless ocean that in its historical, cultural, and linguistic diversity delimits a migratory space within which everything can be connected to everything else. Thus arises a *new type* of continent: a continent that is made up of islands that avoid all continuity, as well as all things that are, in the traditional sense, continental. Here a continent is not thought of as an island, in the way that one could look at the continents of Australia or America as gigantic islands, but rather, in a *poly-nesian* manner as it were, a polyrationality is at once discovered and invented that on an everyday level can be increasingly experienced and lived. In this triangle of discovery, invention, and experiencing or living there arises, distilled from out of the landscape, a theory within which a continent can and should be understood as a transarchipelagic polylogic whose parts continually reference one another anew. This new type of continent is invisible but nevertheless real, towers up from the water and yet is within it, as if tied together by it.

The real Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio makes reference in his *Raga* text to a no less real trip that he took as part of the project *Les peuples de l’eau* (The Peoples of the Water) initiated by Edouard Glissant, the famous Martinican poet and cultural theoretician who died in early 2011. He partly made use of the possibility, while aboard the frigate *La Boudeuse*—the name of this ship being taken, with an obvious wink of the eye, from the flagship of Bougainville’s expedi-

23 J.M.G. [Jean-Marie Gustave] Le Clézio: *Raga. Approche du continent invisible*. Paris: Seuil 2006, p. 109 f.

tion to the South Pacific—to become familiar with the oceanic Island World between the continents of America, Asia, and Australia. This three-masted ship, whose name consequently refers directly and unmistakably to the great 18th-century voyages of discovery in the Pacific region and thus to the second phase of accelerated globalization, departed in 2004—as will be more fully discussed later in the present chapter—from Corsica on a voyage of circumnavigation to which twelve journalists and writers were invited for specific segments of the journey, each taking part in one of the expeditions.

If it is early in Le Clézio's *Raga* that the proud silhouette of the "extraordinary *Bordeuse*, upon which I made part of my trip" is introduced lying in a bay off of the island,[24] then it is by no means an accident that at the end of the book, the island of Raga is seen for the last time from an altitude of 3,000 meters "from the window of a twin-engine Canadair from Vanair."[25] Here the text quite consciously connects to one another the definitive means of transport for the second and fourth phases of accelerated globalization, the frigate and the airplane, thus taking into view continuities and discontinuities at the same time. The figure of the narrator, not to be confused with Le Clézio, knows himself to be part of these continuities, knows himself to be part of these fractures that can still be understood as vectorized dynamics that induct the old movements into the new.

It is equally unsurprising that in Raga, the image of *La Boudeuse* is far removed from the very different image of the steamships of those "Blackbirders" who, seeking cheap and ultimately enslaved labor during the last decades of the 19th century and well past the turn of the 20th, afflicted and de-populated the Oceanic Island World by means of their barbaric hunt for human beings.[26] Taking place during this time of the third phase of accelerated globalization is possibly the darkest epoch yet of that ruthless plundering that was first set in motion on a large scale by England and France, but soon also by the USA, Australia, and (at least temporarily) the German Empire. Over the course of this chapter, this connection between the first, second, third, and fourth phases of accelerated globalization in Le Clézio's *Raga* will be revisited more thoroughly.

Yet it seems more pressing at this point to devote attention to those passages in the French writer's text that attempt to bring to the consciousness of a world-wide, but certainly European and French readership, the literal conquest

24 Ibid. p. 56.

25 Ibid. p. 122.

26 Criticism of some errors that slip into Le Clézio's work during such historical ruminations are noted by Gilles Bounoure in his review of *Raga* in *Le Journal de la Société des Océanistes* (Marseille) 125 (2007), p. 337.

of the Oceanic Island World by widely-traveled anthropologists and scientists, of course, but also by sensationalistic journalists, filmmakers, and storytellers of every stripe. Was it not sensation-seeking filmmakers who, in a "shock-umentary" in 1962 took the entire space and turned it, for Europeans, into a "lost world" full of "cannibals" who, as "survivors from the Stone Age" were still obsessed by magic and knew nothing of civilization?[27] Counting among the worst, however, were "those patriotic writings of the colonial period, when the great powers competed for possession of the islands and their inhabitants," like *Erromango* by Pierre Benoit for instance, that appeared during the period between the wars and where this author emphasizes "the French destiny of the New Hebrides."[28] And—according to the narrator in *Raga*—did "a journalist in the 60's not in turn designate New Caledonia as the largest aircraft carrier in the French navy?"[29]

Certainly these developments, threatening not only to the inhabitants of Oceania, but to other parts of the tropics as well, had been foreseeable far earlier. For by the middle of the 20th century, the French anthropologist and researcher of myths Claude Lévi-Strauss had already, in a small, impressive volume, elaborated on how far the destruction of the long since saddened tropics had, as it were, transtropically advanced. Not without reason did the reference appear, right at the beginning of the following quoted passage, to that military wonderwork, the aircraft carrier, in which the lines of development of the steamship and the airplane intersect and allow the world powers in the second half of the 20th century to take the island strategy of the Iberian powers of the first phase of accelerated globalization and, with the help of this new mode of transport, modernize it and raise it to a new technological standing as would become, in a military context, characteristic of the fourth globalization phase. In the chapter "La Quête du Pouvoir" ("The Quest for Power"), even so far back as the 1950's, one reads in this brilliant analysis by the mythologist and structuralist reader of signs:

> How then today, while the Polynesian islands are sunk in concrete and turned into aircraft carriers anchored to the floor of the South Seas, while the entirety of Asia has taken on the appearance of a sick ward, while the shanty-towns are devouring Africa, while commercial and military air travel deface the naive beauty of the American or Melanesian forests, before they can destroy their virginity; how then could the supposed escape of travel achieve anything other than to confront us with the unhappiest aspects of our historical

27 Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio: *Raga*, p. 121.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.

> existence? This great Western civilization, which has created the marvels we enjoy, has certainly not done so without bringing forth their negative counterpart. As in the case of their most famous work, in which are developed architectures of unknown complexity, the order and harmony of the occident demand the elimination of a prodigious amount of toxic by-products with which the world is today contaminated. Travel, what you show us first of all is our filth, thrown into the face of humanity.[30]

The magic of the old voyages of discovery that continues to exist for Europeans—and the *Sad Tropics* do not grow weary of letting its brilliance, now mostly relegated to the past, shine forth one last time—made way, after the just-previously survived Second World War and on the eve of the fourth phase of accelerated globalization, for a horrified response to all of the destruction that gripped the tropical Island Worlds and the continents alike on a global scale. It is thus not surprising that Claude Lévi-Strauss, in his book *Tristes Tropiques* that appeared in 1955 and looks back at stays in Brazil between 1934 and 1939, traced the rhetorical figures and figurations of the tropics from the starting point of the concrete travel movements of his narrator. In the first section of the book, significantly titled "The End of the Journeys" (*La fin des voyages*), a thought-provoking incipit appears under the inscription "Departure":

> I hate travel and explorers. And yet here I am, on the verge of relating my expeditions. But how much time it took to get me to do it! Fifteen years have passed since the last time I left Brazil, and over the course of all of those years I have often intended to start this book; each time, a sort of shame and disgust prevented me from it.[31]

The often poetically-written work on the tropics oscillates in constant turnings and changes of direction between writing and not writing, traveling and not traveling, the gesture of discovery and the shame of the awareness of one's own part in the destruction carried out world-wide by Europeans. These tropics grow sad, cast in an aesthetically deliberated interplay of reflections in which the rhetorical figure of the European discoverer is reflected in a Rousseau-influenced ethnologist and tropical researcher who begins to see himself as the last link in a long chain of discoverers, researchers, *and* destroyers.

This may make some readers uncomfortable. For does not a protagonist of globalization, who as a traveler and scientist plays his part in it, dismantle here those myths that have endured from the time of the first phase of accelerated globalization up to the present of Lévi-Strauss? The rich abundance of the tropics in its diversity of peoples, cultures and circumstances of living flashes up in

30 Claude Lévi-Strauss: *Tristes Tropiques*. Paris: Plon 1984, p. 36.
31 Ibid. p. 9.

that very moment when the destruction brought about by Europeans has become a trap, and seems to have reached its completion: everything is now consigned to irretrievable downfall, the end of the tropics is immediately at hand. Does not the structuralist Claude Lévi-Strauss become a deconstructivist *avant la lettre*?

Yet at one point in this travel report, the *Nevermore*, that moves through all the pages of this volume, tears open this end of all journeys: one final time, the explorer of the 20th century is afforded the undreamt-of opportunity that so often and impressively presented itself to Columbus and Juan de la Cosa, to Vespucci and Villegagnon, to Alvar Núñez Cabeza or Hans Staden long centuries ago:

> There is no more exciting prospect for the ethnographer than that of being the first White to penetrate an indigenous community. Already in 1938, this greatest reward could only be won in a few regions of the world that had become so rare as to be counted on the fingers of one hand. Since then, these opportunities have diminished even more. I shall thus both re-live the experience of the old explorers and at the same time encounter that decisive moment of modern thought when, thanks to the great discoveries, a humanity that thought itself complete and perfected suddenly—as though it were a counter-revelation—receives the intelligence that it was not alone, that it was part of a vast collective, and that it now, to know itself at all, had to look at its unrecognizable image in this mirror, wherein the fragment of the image that had been forgotten by the centuries would cast its reflection, for the first and last time, for me alone.[32]

The experience of this "only total adventure offered to mankind,"[33] in association with that world-historical process that began with Christopher Columbus, Juan de la Cosa, the Pinzón brothers, and Amerigo Vespucci, opens upon an image of complete destruction—similar, in a certain way, to what Las Casas' brief report on the harrowing acts of destruction in the colonies, his *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, had outlined in a manner unforgettable to European memory. Europe knew what it was destroying, but without knowing what would never appear again. Since the end of the 16th century, the end of the tropics and their inhabitants was also, not least, a trope in European thought and writing: in the form, in Hayden White's sense, of tragedy, with clear crossovers into apocalypse. Early on the tropics were experienced by Europeans only in terms of their plenty, even while they could always be felt, at the same time, as a pitfall.

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32 Ibid. p. 387.
33 Ibid. p. 82.

On the basis of just this mechanism, in a critical passage in *Tristes Tropiques*, a last tribe, not yet detected by Europeans, is "discovered" and in the same moment, "covered up," made to disappear: erased forever. In the disappearance of the Tupi-Kawahib, there is also revealed the disaster of the European thirst for a knowledge that is not aimed at knowledge for coexistence with the other, and whose global triumph is presented through all available literary means as a global failure. In our investigation of the second phase of accelerated globalization we have already seen how this highly problematic dimension of destruction through an absolute desire to know had already been explicitly recognized and excoriated by Cornelius de Pauw.

It is no longer caravels, but airplanes that sketch out the cartographies and choreographies by which this planet's rain forests and primeval woods are disappearing piece by piece: the face of the world is being disfigured. The tropics of discourse signal planetary spaces that are associated not only with plenty, but with an apocalyptic pitfall—an apocalypse that transtropically encompasses not just the American tropics alone, but the entire tropical world. A humanity that thinks itself in the abundant plenty of its possibilities sits in the trap, in its own pitfall.

America is thus no longer to be understood only from within America. For the narrator in Lévi-Strauss' *Tristes Tropiques* demonstrates how, before a backdrop of the destruction of the tropics of America, Asia, and Africa, the developments in the Amazon regions can now only be understood from the perspective of the globe-spanning dimension of the tropics. This by no means constitutes, as we have seen, a new phenomenon: for already in the 16th century, the Iberian powers constructed those world-wide infrastructures that connected Mexico via the harbor of Veracruz and the Caribbean not only transatlantically with Europe but also, via the harbor of Acapulco, transpacifically with trade in Asia.[34] The European collections of travel reports such as the highly influential one by Giovanni Ramusio concentrated at the end of the first phase of accelerated globalization not upon single continents or regions; they instead contained, of course, along with voyages to the New World, reports on the tropics of Africa and Asia.

The disciplinary and, even more, discipline-imposing policies of our sciences—from anthropology and ethnology to historical sciences and on to the philologies—pushed these combinations farther into the background in the 19th and 20th centuries and, through specialization on single areas, concealed them, indeed, made them disappear. Today, it is unquestionably time, and not only in

34 C.f. extensively Serge Gruzinski: *Les Quatre parties du monde. Histoire d'une mondialisation.*

the realm of climatology, to understand the tropics transtropically, and through TransArea studies to differently align and newly perspectivize area studies, which will also be necessary in the future. At the same time—as proposed in the present volume and as attempted herein—territorially anchored historical concepts should be broadened and transformed through vectorially based forms of movement-history. For we can no longer avoid one simple fact: the history(-ies) and culture(s) of Europe are as unlikely to be understandable without the inclusion of transareal processes as would be, for instance, the climate of Norway without the Gulf Stream from the tropics. Only in this vectorial sense can the archipelagos of visibility be merged into new continents (and continuities) that are only at first glance invisible.

Tropics and TransArea Studies

In the focus of our considerations up to this point—to take up once again the metaphor of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera— there emerged from the womb of the ocean (in successive surges in globalization) islands, archipelagos, and continents that configured a world of tropics that the European powers (and in turn, any new global players) sought, according to their own respective needs and interests, to modify and tie to themselves as colonial supplemental spaces (whether as providers of raw materials, as commercial markets, or as vacation paradises). These individual spaces were tied as high priorities back to the European metropolises in the manner, and with the movement-patterns, that the Brazilian anthropologist and cultural theoretician Darcy Ribeiro identified for Latin America in a groundbreaking essay from 1976. It states:

> In a geographical respect, Latin America is a continental unit; no unified sociopolitical structure, nor any active and interactive system of relations corresponds to it, however. This great continent is split into individual nations, of which some have very poor prospects for development. The geographical unity in Latin America has never led to political unity because the various colonies from which the Latin American societies arose existed side by side for centuries without any contact. Each one was directly connected to the metropolis. Still today, we Latin Americans live as though on an archipelago whose islands are connected to one another by means of ships and airplanes and are oriented more outwardly, toward world commercial centers, than inwardly. Even the borders of the Latin American countries run along the uninhabited cordilleras and through the ancient and

> impenetrable forests, serving more to isolate than to connect, seldom allowing intensive contact.[35]

One could subsequently place the "invisible Island World" of the (sub)continent of Latin America, in Ribeiro's sense, alongside the "invisible continent" of Oceania. The centuries-old structure of dependency revealed in the passage presented directly above gave rise to specific patterns of movement that are of no less significance than the circular movement-figures of the European explorers who, proceeding from Europe, necessarily had to return to Europe if they wished—like Columbus before them—to legally secure and validate their discoveries. Connection networks, dependencies, and power structures become readable in these choreographies and movement-figures, like letters written by an unknown hand.

These movements were vectorially stored, pre-programmed, as it were, as fundamental movement-patterns of understanding, and as history of movement, were as likely to enter the writings of a Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, James Cook, or Antoine-Joseph Pernety, as those of a Georg Forster, Alexander von Humboldt, or Adalbert von Chamisso, or even of a Blaise Cendrars, Claude Lévi-Strauss, or Clifford Geertz—just to name a few examples that (at first glance) seem very different from one another. Movements make sense.

Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, Cornelius de Pauw, or Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, on the other hand, stand for the other colonial movement-figure: that of remaining in the colonial center, without ever once having traveled to the depicted and discussed regions of the world. Both variants—the traveler and the stay-at-home alike—are elementary components of a largely "unconscious" poetics of movement whose advances are consistently based on a respectively specific and culturally produced knowledge for living.[36] Both of them, admittedly, stand more for an external than for an internal relationality of the tropics.

The exclusive focusing of this one-sided orientation toward Europe however, as it comes to expression in the movement-patterns mentioned here, conceals the fact that between these islands, archipelagos, and continents, multifaceted connections long ago came into existence, that have brought forth for-

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35 Darcy Ribeiro: "Gibt es Lateinamerika?" ("Is there a Latin America?") In: *Darcy Ribeiro: Unterentwicklung, Kultur und Zivilisation. Ungewöhnliche Versuche* (Portuguese title: *Ensaios insólitos*). Translated from the Portuguese by Manfred Wöhlke. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1980, p. 315.

36 Regarding this term, see (among others) the entry "Lebenswissen und Lebenswissenschaft" in Ansgar Nünning (ed.): *Metzler-Lexikon Literatur- und Kulturtheorie. Ansätze—Personen—Grundbegriffe*. Stuttgart–Weimar: Metzler 2008, pp. 414–415.

ward-looking phenomena and restructurings on the economic and social, cultural and political levels. Beyond a dialectic of phenomenal plenty and destructive pitfall that is also certain to endure, the tropics became a space defined not so much by its territorial or climatic limits, but rather by ever-new movement-patterns that, in their constant crisscrossing forever vectorially recreate this migratory space. How can this multitude of such widely varying vectorizations be considered and represented?

From their basic orientation that construes a certain territoriality and places it into a relationship of exchange with a center of knowledge located outside, area studies represents a circulation of knowledge that prioritizes forms of movement directed toward Europe or the USA and tends to weight others less strongly and view them as less relevant. In the term *Fernkompetenz* (“remote competence”) that has lately become increasingly popular in Germany—coined at facilities and research centers that have specialized, as for example in Berlin, on various “regions of the world”—this model originating in Europe is, perhaps involuntarily, very distinctly expressed.

The example of the Caribbean—and with it that space that, since the end of the 15th century, counts among the spaces of most compressed globalization—clearly demonstrates, with a view specifically to a new conception of the tropics, the necessary understanding of a dynamic generation of space. For it is not sufficient to perceive the archipelago of the Caribbean Island World only in terms of its connection to Europe and the respectively very different (and not all former) “mother countries.” Instead, along with the *internal* relationality of the multicultural archipelago, it is essential on the level of *external* relationality, in addition to the hemispheric relationships[37] of the Caribbean islands to the entire American continent, to fundamentally incorporate and consider together the transatlantic and transpacific frames of reference.[38]

Along with the “EuropAmericas,”[39] an equally important role is played by the “AfricAmericas”[40] with their routes across the “Black Atlantic,” the “Arab-

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37 C.f. Peter Birle / Marianne Braig et al. (eds.): *Hemisphärische Konstruktionen der Amerikas*.

38 See also, on the 19th century, Ottmar Ette / Gesine Müller (eds.): Caleidoscopios coloniales. Transferencias culturales en el Caribe del siglo XIX; and on the 20th century, Ottmar Ette (ed.): Caribbean(s) on the Move—Archipiélagos literarios del Caribe. A TransArea Symposium; comprehensively, see Ottmar Ette / Werner Mackenbach et al. (eds.): Trans(it)Areas. Convivencias en Centroamerica y el Caribe. Un symposio transareal.

39 C.f. Ottmar Ette / Dieter Ingenschay et al. (eds.): *EuropAmerikas. Transatlantische Beziehungen*.

40 C.f. Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger / Tiago de Oliveira Pinto (eds.): *AfricAmericas. Itineraries, Dialogues, and Sounds*.

Americas"[41] with their migrations and connections to the Arab world, or the transpacific "AsiAmericas"[42]: circulations and migrations of people, in the manner of commodities, knowledge, and manufactured or symbolic goods, undermine a point of view that seeks to understand a particular region of the tropics from its particular, privileged relationship to Europe or its particular, defined territoriality.

The transareal requirement is transparent: whoever would like to understand the tropics of the American double-continent must not restrict themselves only to studies of the American tropics that include their relationship to certain countries of Europe. The external relationality of the tropics can only be thought of in terms of a vectoricity that is of world-wide scale, but which at the same time must not be thought of and developed in terms of spatial history, but of movement history.

The epistemological consequences of a "direction of view" that is altered in this manner are easy to foresee. For the investigation of the tropics consistently makes the inclusion of a transtropical, transareal dimension necessary. The development of TransArea Studies, a development that in future will be more strongly oriented toward culture, art, and literary theory, will in turn hardly be capable of advancing without the development of a poetics of movement which, for its part, is as much embedded in the objects and subjects of research as in the respective methodologies and analytical processes in any of a variety of forms of knowledge for living. It is a matter of a focused and epistemologically reflected multiplicity of perspectives, structured by "research with" in the place of "research on": the Caribbean specifically, with its culture-theoretical as well as its literary and artistic production received world-wide, sees to it that not only fascinating objects of research are prepared, proffered, and provided a home by the tropics, but also distinguished subjects of research, cultivations of theory, and methodologies as well.

But all of this includes movement-patterns and forms of circulation other than those that until well into the 20th century seemed quite self-evident, and which to no small degree shaped the scientific and/or disciplinary perspectives of analysis that have dominated up to the present day. For the reasons men-

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41 C.f. Ottmar Ette / Friederike Pannewick (eds.): ArabAmerikas. Literary Entanglements of the American Hemisphere and the Arab World.

42 A session of the *Forschungsverbund Lateinamerika* on this topic took place in January, 2007 in Berlin-Brandenburg (ForLaBB) at the *Ibero-amerikanischer Institut PK* in Berlin; tied in with it in February 2012 was the symposium *TransPacifico*, hosted by the Potsdam International Network for TransArea studies (POINTS).

tioned, the conventional form of area studies is no longer in a position to investigate the dynamic networks that make up a region from a transareal perspective—even if, from the perspective chosen here, it is a matter of a yet-to-be-developed understanding that no longer sees a particular area only in terms of its being restricted to static-territorial boundaries and conditions.

An innovative and, at the same time, more adequate understanding of the tropics will thus necessarily have to consider other movement-patterns of knowledge that correspond to more strongly mobile, dynamic forms of knowledge interconnection whereby continuous and discontinuous movement-types alike, as well as combinations of both, must receive consideration. The goal of this must be to newly configure certain areas such as Latin America, Southeast Asia, or North Africa with the help of TransArea Studies and to comprehend them from the context of their world-wide networks, but also from that of their world-wide vectoricity, as it has been approached and undertaken in the three previous chapters. Discontinuous leaps and consistent re-plotting of borders give rise to mobile cartographies that time and again render new spaces vectorially (and thereby movement-historically) understandable.

Tropics, like tropes, are movement-figures. And these give rise, upon the surface of the ocean, to continents that are at first invisible, just as on the broad surfaces of the continents, island and archipelago situations are not only conceivable, but can also be verified and newly examined. The reduction to static spaces arrests a necessarily movement-historical understanding without which we simply cannot comprehend the various phases of accelerated globalization in all their dynamic complexity.

As a transareal investigation of the Caribbean (in which the many and differing paths of knowledge from Africa and Europe, from South, Central, and North America, from India, China, or the Philippines cross and intersect) as part of the world of the tropics reveals, there is quite probably no other large area of the planet that is (and for longer expanses of historical time has been) more intensely interconnected with other areas than this region of the world. The tropics represent, for their part, on the basis of their complex external interconnectedness and a highly discontinuous and multifaceted inner relationality, the epitome of a typical TransArea—and with it, always, a Trans(it)Area.[43] Consequently, the world of the Greater Caribbean will be granted still closer attention in this fourth chapter of the present work.

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43 C.f. here the introductory volume of the POINTE that appeared in the *edition tranvía* (Berlin) (Potsdamer Inter- und Transculturelle Texte): Ottmar Ette / Werner Mackenbach et al. (eds.): *Trans(it)Areas. Convivencias en Centroamérica y el Caribe. Un simposio transareal.*

It would deviate from such a considered viewpoint to delimit and thus anchor down the tropics, with their already conceptually presented plurality, merely by means of ecliptic and solar altitude, climate and vegetation, wind and ocean currents, land and water distribution, or specific ecological, economical, social or political indicators. For each migration, each vectorization, in conjunction with the different phases of accelerated globalization, has projected onto the tropics and exported into the tropics its own logics and advances.

The tropics, then, may be understood to be the definitive global movement- and transit-space. It was not for nothing that Victor Klemperer, in a fragment of his *Lingua Tertii Imperii* dated August 12, 1935 and titled "Café Europe," had Jewish emigrants, as they made their way into Peruvian exile, call back "Are you longing for Europe? / It lies before you in the tropics; / For Europe is a concept!"[44] Not only for Europe were the tropics always a reflection- and projection-space for one's own hopes and fears, for one's own creations, disturbances, and destructions: a plenty, that could not be thought of, it seems, without the pitfall.

In a certain way, the beginning and end of the micro-narratives that the Cuban Guillermo Cabrera Infante brought together in 1974 in his book *Vista del amanecer en el Trópico* may be read like the history of those European tropes of the tropics, of that expansion and apocalypse that led us in our reflections on the *De Orbe Novo* of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera to the *Tristes Tropiques* of Claude Lévi-Strauss, and will yet lead us onward to the literatures of the turn from the 20th to the 21st century. For in the first text of this *Vista*, an island and then islands emerge from the ocean to form an (of course, Cuban) archipelago in the Caribbean:

> The islands emerged from the ocean, first as isolated isles, then the keys became mountains and the shallow waters, valleys. Later the islands joined to form a large island that soon became green, wherever it was not golden or reddish. The islets continued to rise beside it, now becoming keys, and the island transformed into an archipelago: a long island beside a large, round island surrounded by thousands of islets, isles, and even other islands. But since the long island had a defined form, it dominated the group, and no one has seen the archipelago, preferring instead to call the island "island" and forgetting the thousands of keys, islets, and isles that border the large island like clots around a large, green wound:
>
> There is the island that still rises up between the ocean and the gulf; there it is.[45]

44 Victor Klemperer: *LTI. Notizbuch eines Philologen*. Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam, jun. 1968, p. 195.

45 Guillermo Cabrera Infante: *Vista del amanecer en el Trópico*. Barcelona: Plaza & Janés Editores 1984, p. 15.

This poetic, literarily highly successful genesis brings a continually changing world of immeasurably many tropical islands into existence that on the level of spatial structure is first artificially centered by the human person, for in his sight, everything concentrates on the large island—just as no less than Cristóbal Colón once believed Cuba (as we have seen) to be not an enormous island, but rather a stable continent. The flaw in the system of the appropriation of space by human beings, indeed, its "original sin" as it were, consists of the fact that everything orients itself to a dominant territoriality, and yet seeks to the greatest possible extent to remove the mobile multiconnectivity of a bewildering Island World in all its inconclusive mobility. With the complex, mobile knowledge for living found in literature, Guillermo Cabrera Infante has here placed his finger in the wound of not only Cuban history, but of a European spatial history addicted to hierarchy and stability. Even today, we have not left it behind us.

No story—so show the moving pages of this impassioned, aggrieved, and amazed book by the great, exiled Cuban author—will absolve humanity of this fundamental error. Subsequently, at the end—in mirrored symmetry with this incipit—a "sad, unfortunate, and long island" appears, which can finally—but only after the last Indian, the last Spaniard, the last African, the last American, and ultimately, the last Cuban have left it—rejoice in its position in the tropical Gulf Stream: "And there it will be. […] surviving every shipwreck, bathed forever by the Gulf Stream: beautiful and green, imperishable, eternal."[46]

Cuba, the island of islands,[47] is emblematic of a tropical world that in its imperishable beauty has no need of people. Moreover: the incipit, in its co-textual relationship with the excipit, demonstrates how the stable and centering constructions of humanity recklessly destroy this migratory space of natural archipelagic beauty. For the first intervention of man in Guillermo Cabrera Infante's creation story of this world of islands consisted of differentiating between a main island, a large neighboring island, and many small, nearby islets, and introducing centralizing hierarchies. Each isle, each *cayo*, each sandbar is assigned a firm, immovable place in a stable hierarchy. Literature impressively points out here the absurdity and the totalitarianism of an epistemology that is only at first glance "natural."

This production of centered patterns of movement and understanding omits the fact that the "main island" formed itself from several large and smaller islands, but now resembles a long wound in which, before the advent of all histo-

46 Ibid. p. 229.

47 C.f. Ottmar Ette: "Kuba—Insel der Inseln." In: Ottmar Ette / Martin Franzbach (eds.): *Kuba heute. Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag 2001, pp. 9 –25.

ry, that which is historically approaching is already announced. Truly a sad tropic history in sad tropes.

The entrance of the tropical archipelago into history is however an entrance into a European *movement*-history that, in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance—as we saw in the chapter on the first phase of accelerated globalization—becomes globalized with tremendous acceleration and violently asserts its central perspective. For the determination of the equator and the firm placement of the central perspectives[48] are—in both cases rooted, to be sure, in Arab groundwork—almost contemporaneously implemented inventions of the Renaissance in art and cartography, in architecture, painting, and earth science. The force that proceeds from them that encompasses the body and thought, the senses and understanding of humanity is indisputable, beyond the particular aesthetic, logic, and beauty that proceeds from them.

Let us at this point not forget: these mathematically founded fictions are implemented from out of the West, for the West. Both inventions appear to us in their production today—from the occidental perspective, that is—as completely "natural: much the same as we tend "naturally" to disseminate photographs of our Earth from space only in north-up orientation—with Europe and Northern Europe, of course, "on top." And yet, with these carefully constructed map-networks and focusing—as a look at other cultures shows us—it is a matter of cultural encodings that possess and collectively reflect their own highly particular history and their particular, if culturally enmeshed, circumstances of origin. They are visualizations of an epistemology and ideology that in the midst of their becoming visible attempt to make themselves invisible.

If the tropics, since their culturally coded genesis in the first phase of accelerated globalization, are time and again shaped by the failed experiment in the coexistence of differing cultures and origins, it is now time to understand them transareally and, by virtue of their world-wide interconnections and various and discontinuous movement-patterns, *simultaneously from widely varying mobile perspectives* (and thus transareally) to reinvent them. Beyond the consistently privileged (from the European perspective) relationships of dependency upon Europe, there opens the heretofore severely neglected field of a multifaceted and discontinuous space that, through complex global movements that cross this world-spanning belt of the planet, is again and again vectorially reconfigured and reconstituted in its plurality as a migratory space.

48 C.f. Hans Belting: Florenz und Bagdad. Eine westöstliche Geschichte des Blicks.

If we look today to the tropics, it is surely vital that we not lose sight of the tropes of this migratory space that have been passed on over centuries. As the tropes of our discourse, that in this *View of Dawn in the Tropics* are presented and microtextually developed from a Cuban or Caribbean perspective, they are historically irreducible and cannot—so literature reminds us— be simply displaced, destroyed, and dismissed from our minds.

But an adequate understanding of the tropics can be developed from the wide variety of perspectives only if, with a transareal logic, the tropes shift with the tropics into the field of view of a vectorially oriented movement-history. They are always, if you will, tropes that push limits and tropes that leap, being thus continuous and discontinuous at the same time: islands that sketch out an invisible continent, and continents that can be better comprehended when viewed from their archipelagos. In this sense, the tropics are paradigmatic: they are the TransArea *par excellence*, and they allow us to think of and develop new, mobile forms of knowledge and understanding of culture, history, and literature in world-wide interactions.

After the Absolutism of Reality: A Transareal Landscape of Theory

Within an "archaeology"—to use the metaphor made so popular by Foucault—of such forms of thought, a significance that can hardly be overestimated and yet has up to now been largely ignored in culture theory comes to the poet, novelist and essayist José Lezama Lima, undoubtedly the most important literary figure of the Cuban 20th century. For the author of the famous novel *Paradiso*, in his volume of essays titled *La expresión americana*, developed, in a groundbreaking manner similar to the Argentine Jorge Luis Borges, a theory of that which is American, in which territoriality is assigned a distinctly secondary relevance. This volume was based on five lectures that he held on the 16th, 18th, 22nd, 23rd, and 26th of January, 1957, at the *Centro de Altos Estudios* of the *Instituto Nacional de Cultura* in Havana. Even though he himself hardly ever left his house or his own quarter in Havana, with José Lezama Lima, everything is in motion. In his various works and writings, he anticipated different aspects of literatures in the time of the fourth phase of accelerated globalization and thereby developed that prospective character of literature that receives far too little attention in traditionally oriented literary studies in the shadow of memory problematics.

In the third chapter of the present work, we already saw that in his central lecture, José Lezama Lima had had the developmental lines of that which is American culminate in the figure of José Martí. The *expresión americana* embodied in Martí was fueled not only by the Hispanoamerican tradition of the 19th century, but also felt itself connected in a fundamental way to the American cultures of pre-Columbian heritage, and even to Asiatic elements as well. If, then, there is something "Cuban" (*lo cubano*), it is only if it cannot be reduced to the island of Cuba alone, nor understood exclusively in terms of this territory. For José Lezama Lima, it is exactly for this reason that José Martí could become the incarnation of the world of American expression, because he did not let himself be tied down to any sort of continental territoriality of America, and instead opened up—as did José Rizal, his contemporary from the Philippines, who was equally rebellious against the Spanish colonial power—new, globe-spanning horizons for thinking and writing in the Spanish language.

The founder and head of the magazine *Orígenes* thus correctly included the founder of the *Partido Revolucionario Cubano* as part of a world-wide dimension reaching far beyond the hemisphere, a dimension that, with the inclusion of the Chinese culture, for instance, could attest to the delineated abundance of possible absence, *la plenitud de la ausencia posible*.[49] Here, the abundance arises—unlike the case of the European tropical discourse handed down over centuries—not from an abundance of presences, but actually from an absence, which is a presence from out of absence, and is thereby allowed, perhaps, to avoid the trap of pure "being-present."

While the fighters opposing the Batista dictatorship, in association with the centennial celebrations, invoked Martí as the "intellectual author" of their revolutionary thought and actions and soon transformed the great Cuban intellectual into the icon of a revolution that would, over the course of the subsequent decades, functionalize Martí in various ways according to the changing goals and objectives of Cuban power politics,[50] Lezama Lima reached back to those forms of expression in Martí's writing in which the vortex takes shape, the hurricane that was created to sweep away everything with it, including the one who called it forth. Lezama carefully points out the creative force of this *remolino*, the decisive significance of "poetic awareness" (*conocimiento poético*),[51] the re-

49 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión Americana*, p. 115.

50 On the equally complex and fascinating history of the reception of José Martí, see Ottmar Ette: *José Martí. Teil I: Apostel—Dichter—Revolutionär. Eine Geschichte seiner Rezeption.*

51 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión Americana*, p. 116.

levance of "poetry as the prelude to besieging the city,"[52] to which the writer of *Enemigo rumor*, in his abhorrence for prevailing conditions, undoubtedly felt himself to be very closely connected.

Crucial to these so poetologically fruitful considerations, it seems to me, is the call for a specific knowledge of the art of writing, of an awareness, possibly only accessible to literature, that—as the phrasings show—can very well turn to the concrete transformation of reality, as the example of José Martí himself demonstrates. But what exactly may be understood from this "poetic awareness," from this poetic knowing?

The answer turns out to be Caribbean. For Lezama Lima, the expression of that which is American is the intensifying confluence of world-wide lines of tradition that, in association with a continent, with an island, behave like magnets within a transareal field of cultural forces. They form for this author of *Fragmentos a su imán* a magnetic migratory space that, at the intersection of all paths of knowledge, integrates on a world-wide scale a great variety of cultural elements into a common field of forces. The poetic knowledge, the poetic awareness in Lezama's sense, is not aimed at an essentializing of that which is American, but at its particular relationality that binds different areas together, and thus at a poetics of movement: it is not the space, but the crossing of it, not the static presence, but the dynamic production of ever-new paths and intersections that counts. The abundance gleams forth through its absence. It is not about identity, nor about nationality; it concerns, rather, the world-wide interactions between internal and external relationalities. This transareal poetics of movement has now succeeded in releasing from the absences, in continually new ways, the abundance of the possible—and this is more than "only" another turn of phrase for poetic fancy.

For present and future—and the Lebanon-born Amin Maalouf, in his far-reaching essay on the deadliness of absolutely fixed identifying associations impressively pointed out this fact to us[53]—are simply not shackled to one single affiliation, to one single origin, to one single assignment of identity. Not the roots, but the routes, not the weights of history but the wits for future certainty are crucial to the development of multiple forms of expression as they are here delineated as poetic awareness. It is the aesthetic wonders of poetic awareness that distinguish Lezama Lima's wits in dealing with a historically accumulated weight. Toward what is this wonder, discernible in the poet's every line, directed?

52 Ibid.

53 See Amin Maalouf: *Les Identités meurtrières*. Paris: Grasset 1998.

Whoever looks in José Lezama Lima's *La expresión americana* for identity delineations[54] of a rigidly formed Latinity or Hispanicity, of a *latinoamericanismo* or *panamericanismo*, of a *cubanidad* or *carabeanidad*, however one might categorize them, will soon find themselves disappointed: the volume of the great poet of the *Origenes* group—and herein lies its most significant merit—endeavors to stay as far away as possible from such essentialisms as *the* Cuban, *the* Caribbean, or *the* American. The volume of essays is the invitation to a complex way of thinking that is prepared to commit to the multilogical, and thus to life. This is a *Lebens-Lust*, a joy in life that gains its strength not from categorization, but from the artful labilization of all that is categorial, all that is categorical.

More radically than Martí, Lezama Lima applies his thought and the expression of his poetic knowledge, his poetic awareness, to the creative organization of inclusion mechanisms that present Cuba and America (and render them understandable), not as the results of an identity built around exclusions, but as fields of forces that dynamically advance their own development through creative adaptation and transformation. José Lezama Lima's invitation to think in the terms of a poetic knowledge that rests upon the complexities of the superimposed images of his *eras imaginarias*, and thus upon the dynamic interrelation of finding, inventing, and experiencing, is an invitation with the long-term effect of not being satisfied by that which is simple or monological, but seeking rather the living impulse, the constant stimulus, the vortex of knowledge.

Lezama Lima's poetics is consequently not oriented toward a spatial history, but rather toward a *movement-history*, toward a profoundly vectorial point of view that gained him, even during his lifetime, the reputation of being a "difficult" poet. It is no wonder then, that the very first words of the first of what would be five lectures and eventually essays in 1957 should deal with the topic of difficulty:

> Only the difficult is stimulating; only the resistance that challenges us is capable of being the archway, the provocation, and the reward of our potency of awareness (*potencia de conocimiento*); but what, in reality, is the difficult? Only that which is awash in the motherly waters of darkness? The original without causality, antithesis, or logos? It is the form in the process of becoming (*la forma en devenir*), in which a landscape approaches a sense, an interpretation, or a simple hermeneutics, thereafter to cross over into its reconstruc-

54 C.f. the categorizations of Gustav Siebenmann: "Lateinamerikas Identität. Ein Kontinent auf der Suche nach seinem Selbstverständnis." In: *Lateinamerika-Studien* (Erlangen) 1 (1976), pp. 69 –89.

> tion, which is definitively that which marks its efficiency or disuse, its regulatory force or its extinct echo, and consequently, its historical vision.[55]

Though not exactly simple in its structure, this incipit to the essays that Jose Lezama Lima himself collected into a single volume already makes it clear on the levels of grammar and style, content and theme, that that which is in motion and still in the process of development, that which is incomplete and thus the *forma en devenir* within a landscape, and specifically not its supposed actuality and rigidity, are what attract the essayist of the *Confluencias* in all his sensuous and sense-heightening openness. It is a matter of the *estimulante*, the stimulus that provokes thought and sets it in motion, and is not, first and foremost, oriented toward *Fest-Stellen*, “firmly ascertaining”, nor toward the once-and-for-all regulated.

So it also is with the *conocimiento poético*, the literary, the poetic awareness about not a stable, permanently fixed knowledge, but a highly dynamic knowledge, as it were, truly a vortex of knowledge that receives specifically from the difficult the impulse to move: *sólo lo difícil es estimulante*. Poetic knowledge is nothing that is definitively final, draws forth nothing abstractive from the simple, and its comprehension is not aimed at a simple arriving-at-the-concept. The *conocimiento poético* is a different form of knowing that specializes in not being specialized in certain (quasi-disciplined) forms of knowledge in defined discourses, in pre-set vocabularies. It thus undermines knowledge-norms of the scientific, without excluding its knowledge-forms. For its foundations are polylogical: they are aimed at inclusion, not exclusion.

The concept of landscape, *paisaje*, appears once more even in the first pages, but also over the further course of *La expresión americana* to create, as it were, a *landscape of theory* that is in motion and seeks to codify or to fix in place neither Cuba nor the American continent, neither the past course of history nor its extinct echo, the *visión histórica*. Set in the midst of a long western tradition,[56] this landscape, as a landscape of theory, is more than just the “historic vision”[57] of a particular culture, even if, beyond all doubt, it *also* is and wishes to be this. It is a generative program for the future, a constantly changing model for the production of thought and action that is not bound by a single point of

55 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión Americana*, p. 9.

56 C.f. Luc Rasson / Bruno Tritsmans: “Ecritures du Rivage: mythes, idéologies, jeux,” p. 1: the topic there is the necessity of a “small cartography of the mobile landscape of the seashore.”

57 Emilio Bejel: “La historia y la imagen de Latinoamérica según Lezama Lima.” In: *La Palabra y el Hombre* (Veracruz) 77 (1991), p. 131; also, Sergio Ugalde Quintana: *La biblioteca en la isla*, p. 249.

view, but instead again and again prospectively finds and devises new forms, again and again projects new horizons and makes them livable.

In play with these landscapes of theory, literature proves to be an experimental testing-ground, but also a dynamic knowledge-space for the future. Insofar as the imaginable becomes thinkable and that which is thought becomes writable and even publishable, new horizons and possibilities for realization open up to that which may be experienced and that which may be lived. In this, literature too is *forma en devenir*, a knowledge-form of those knowledge-forms that know themselves to be indebted to life and thus find themselves in constant motion.

As in the yet-to-be-discussed "travel report" *La terre magnétique* by Edouard Glissant, sound and reverberation, echo and the echo chamber in which sounds and voices coming from all sides combine, play a vital role in what is most likely Lezama Lima's most famous volume of essays. For just as the poet from Martinique could not travel to Easter Island and only from a distance made what was reported and provided to him into the foundation of his writing, so too did the Cuban lyric poet write of his island from the library of his home on Trocadero Street[58] without ever personally having traveled to India or Egypt, China or Paris. A literature in motion does not require an author in motion, in terms of his physical mobility on the planet's surface.

The library in the house in Havana, on Cuba, in the archipelago in the Caribbean, as an island within the island of islands,[59] generates a particular temporality, a particular spatiality, and consequently, a particular sense of its own, in which the scope and movement-patterns of that which may be lived and experienced can be fundamentally altered and broadened. It should be noted: a movement-historical manner of observation therein—to enduringly dispel this sort of misunderstanding—is by no means tied to the individual travel movements of the respective authors, even though, conversely, these can very well have an important, even decisive share in the poetics and poetology of the aesthetic artifacts of these authors. Applicable to José Lezama Lima (as to Edouard Glissant, who also remained at home) is the paradox of the traveler that Denis Diderot puts in the mouth of his dialogue partner B in his *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville*, as a reaction to the development of voyages of discovery at the beginning of the second phase of accelerated globalization:

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58 C.f. the aforementioned and very convincing dissertation by Sergio Ugalde Quintana: *La biblioteca en la isla*.

59 C.f. Ottmar Ette: "Kuba—Insel der Inseln," pp. 9 –25.

> If the ship is but a floating house, and if you consider the seaman who crosses immeasurable spaces whilst living, constricted and immobile, in a truly narrow enclosure, then you see, as he circles the world on a plank, how he is just like us as we circle the entire universe on our parquet floor.[60]

The ship with its library as a floating house that, in Lezama's case, anchors in the harbor at Havana: from this configuration there arises a perception that is equally transhistoric (crossing different times and histories) and transspatial (moving through widely varying spaces); the high and often surprising movement-coefficient of this perception results from a spatiotemporal entanglement that stops at no set boundaries—unless it were (as it says at the end of the essay that provides the collection with its title) the line of a horizon that is constantly moving onward: "Happy are the transitory ones, we who see movement as an image of eternity and, absorbed, can follow the parabola of the arrow all the way to its interment (*enterramiento*) in the line of the horizon."[61]

Thus there is, in *The American Expression*, a potency of awareness, a *potencia de conocimiento* that needs to be advanced, and that can only be capable of developing and gaining momentum if it succeeds in unifying greatly differing phenomena and objects and relating this assiduous activity of forming archways (*enarcar*)—to again employ a term from the incipit—to greatly differing cultures and culture-historical horizons. The island of Cuba, situated at the intersection of east-west and north-south movement- and exchange-axes forms an ideal point of departure and observation for this arrow's flight. The high frequency, therefore, of the terminology of movement in Lezama Lima's forms of expression, oscillating as they do between literature and philosophy, is anything but accidental: it is programmatic.

The Caribbean island of islands[62] consequently develops the *potencia de conocimiento* to which it has access from its immense historical and social, but above all, biopolitical and cultural dynamics that it has vectorized over the course of very different phases of accelerated globalization within this zone of

60 Denis Diderot: "Supplément au voyage de Bougainville ou Dialogue entre A et B." In: Denis Diderot: *Œvres*. Edition établie et annotée par André Billy. Paris: Gallimard 1951, p. 964. See also, with a view to the epistemological foundations of the 18th century, Ottmar Ette: "'Le tour de l'univers sur notre parquet': lecteurs et lectures dans l''Histoire des deux Indes'." In: Gilles Bancarel / Gianluigi Goggi (eds.): *Raynal, de la polémique à l'histoire*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation 2000, pp. 255–272.

61 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión Americana*, p. 429.

62 See Ottmar Ette: "Insulare ZwischenWelten der Literatur. Inseln, Archipele und Atolle aus transarealer Perspektive," pp. 13–56.

the most compressed *mondialisation*. Before this backdrop , *La expresión americana* is—very much in the sense of Fernando Ortiz' fundamental anthropological and culture-theoretical work, *Contrapunteo cubano del tobaco y el azúcar* ("Cuban Counterpoint of Tobacco and Sugar")[63], first presented in 1940—a decidedly transcultural book, and it seems the American expression can only be adequately articulated in this manner that spans widely varying cultures. The degree of complexity with which the movement-metaphor implied here is related to a landscape may be substantiated by the well-known terminology of the Cuban anthropologist and inventor of the term "transculturation":

> There have been no more vital human factors for Cuban-ness than these continuous, radical, and contrasting geographical, economical, and social transmigrations of settlers (*pobladores*), this perennial transitoriness of intentions, and this life that was always marked by the uprooting from inhabited ground and by disagreement with sustaining society. People, economies, cultures and longings, everything here seemed somehow foreign, provisional, changeable, "migratory birds" over the land, on its coasts, at its cost, to its displeasure.[64]

Here too (and also later, by the way, with Edouard Glissant), the migratory metaphor of seasonal birds: cultural configurations with no fixed abode become apparent that give rise to spaces that emerge from movements, from vectorially stored and forever changeably applicable movement-patterns—even if, in the quote from 1940 cited above, Fernando Ortiz did feel that in the context of the then-current debate over "Cuban-ness," he could not abstain from the *Fest-Stellung* ("firm ascertainment") of *cubanidad*. In the light of Ortiz' transculturation theory, the territorial appears as a migratory space (for the "migratory birds"), as a connection-space (for seafarers), and as a living-space that is not capable of reterritorializing and thus spatially immobilizing the state of being uprooted, nor the absence of a fixed abode, nor that which comes from outside and is forever transitory.

It is not without reason that the concept of transculturation introduced in 1940 in *Contrapunteo cubano* came into being in the Caribbean. It is indebted to a poetics of movement that at that time was, in Lezama Lima's sense, just discernible on the horizon, a poetics that is based on the willingly never-ending transfer of its vectorization and the artistic transformations of its becoming transarchipelagic. Ever since, culture can be newly spelled out. No other space of movement, connection and living on this Earth offers in a comparably con-

63 Fernando Ortiz: *Contrapunteo cubano del tobaco y el azúcar*.
64 Ibid. p. 95.

densed manner the historical and social, the economic and cultural prerequisites for being able to programmatically find, invent, and live culture, no longer from *cultura*, in the sense of working the land, but from its crossing, its transmigration.

Finally, this living from the constant uprooting from the ground, *esa vida siempre en desarraigo de la tierra habitada*,[65] represents a knowledge for living that feeds on knowledge from one's own life experience, and at the same time feeds constant motion into one's own knowledge of, and in, life. In its most concentrated form, that is, in the form of the *conocimiento poético*, is knowledge for living not at the same time always a knowledge of movement that, within itself, knows but one truth: that only in the plural, only polylogically, can truth itself be had?

The vital historical process for the construction of this sort of knowledge for living and for survival is that of the *conquista*, and subsequently, that first phase of accelerated globalization that, in the words of Fernando Ortiz, became as it were the "Big Bang,"[66] the detonating shock to the cultures in the so-called "New World":

> If this India in America was a New World for the people of Europe, Europe was the Newest World for the American peoples. They formed two worlds that mutually discovered one another and collided with one another. The contact (*contacto*) between the two cultures was terrible.[67]

It is this shock, this destructive contact in the sense of a terrible collision, that accounts for the specifics of America in general and, in a very particular way, of the Antilles and Cuba. The vectorial dimension of this impact, that is, the recording of historical paths of energy and movement that, coming from America and Europe and soon from Africa and Asia, come together and collide, develops its dynamic influence from this *choque* that, at the turn from the 15th to the 16th century after Christ brands all subsequent phases of accelerated globalization with its movement-figures. Within this world-wide system, as it develops with tremendous force, the Caribbean advances to a prominent compression-zone of often violent processes of globalization. Thus arose an asymmetry of global relations that with all of its (de)formative force would endure for centuries—and the various islands of the Caribbean archipelago found themselves in the middle of this monstrous hurricane.

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65 Ibid.

66 See also Severo Sarduy: *Big bang*. Barcelona: Tusquets 1974.

67 Fernando Ortiz: *Contrapunteo cubano del tobaco y el azúcar*, p. 94.

Of course, the writings of José Lezama Lima also know of that shock, know of that violent collision that the Cuban poet for his part refers to as “the crash (*choque*) of old cultures.”[68] Though he is far away from relating everything back to this collision of 1492, the movements of the five subsequent centuries for him still remain associated with those forces and dynamics that the impact unleashed on both sides of the Atlantic and later, in the region of the Pacific as well, within which the Philippines formed the key transarchipelagic structure.

For after Miguel de Legazpi, on a mission for Spain, had found a route to the Philippines in 1566—as has been emphasized above—it became possible to enter into connection and continuous exchange with China and Japan (the Cipango of Marco Polo) *from out of New Spain*, thus bringing the ball of the Earth transpacifically to its definitive (and interest-driven) roundness. America had arrived in Asia, and Asia in America, and the circles of the Iberian Empire closed and, in the same motion, opened up a planetary circulation within which there came to the archipelagos of the Canaries and Cape Verdes, the Azores and the Madeiras, but also to the Caribbean and the Philippines, a significance that we have already encountered in such widely differing contexts in this volume.

These dynamics become apparent again and again *en filigrane* in the thinking of José Lezama Lima. His own writing and philosophizing extract, from the inter- and transcultural dynamics released through these processes, the energy that would make the poet from Trocadero Street in Havana—despite the fact that, after his early and brief trip to the American continent, and only partly because of his steadily increasing obesity, he hardly ever went anywhere again—into one of the most important poets of movement in not only Cuban literature, but in all of the literatures of the Americas. The Harbor city La Habana, lying at the intersection of movements between the north and the south of the continent, but also between transatlantic *and* transpacific exchange movements, offered here—as the culture theories of the anthropologist Fernando Ortiz no less impressively demonstrate—a thoroughly exhilarating prospect upon these world-wide fields of force. For is not *la expresión americana* after all just this: the search, conscious of its possibilities of literary awareness, for a transareal poetics of movement from the Cuban, from the insular perspective?

The transareal dynamics thus pervade this constantly evoked distance, this presence of absence that again and again offers and withdraws itself and *in absentia* gives rise to plenty in order to prevent the situation where, in the discourse of plenty, the pitfall of discourse is sprung. This can be seen in a truly

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68 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión Americana*, p. 68.

paradigmatic way, for instance, in the poem dated March, 1972, and taken from the *Fragmentos a su imán* called "Palabras más lejanas" ("Words More Distant"), with its echo-like reinforcement of an abundance of forms expressing motion, emergence, departure, and disappearance:

> The morning sweats a word,
> grown saddened and disappearing,
> bends running back and forth around the corner.
> In silence she stepped into the tavern,
> still there the metaphysical singers of Purcell,
> the echo of the bell makes her thin.
> They laid their hand upon her shoulder,
> they added in other words to the hearing.
> She will play to lose herself
> with the sands that burnish her.
> She is happy, because they have come
> to see her new face, she falls asleep
> in the smoky rolling of the coins.
> She disappears like a squirrel,
> in the midnight of the other corner
> newly extinguished.[69]

Before the background of the lyrical magnetic field constructed in the *Fragmentos a su imán*, one can without a doubt assign José Lezama Lima's complete poetic works, but especially the puzzle-game of *La expresión americana*, to a yet-to-be-created poetics of movement, to an emerging poetics of relation such as would be developed a few decades later by the likewise Caribbean poet and essayist Edouard Glissant from the perspective of the French-speaking Island World. For it is a consistently vectorial relationality, in the sense described above, that provides the otherwise disconnected phenomena with their dynamic of reciprocally changing and reinforcing one another. Everything is connected or at least connectable, all is brought through rapid movements as though in

69 José Lezama Lima: "Palabras más lejanas." In: José Lezama Lima: *Fragmentos a su imán*. Prológo de Cintio Vitier y José Agustín Goytisolo. Barcelona: Editorial Lumen 1977, p. 66: *La mañana suda una palabra. / apesadumbrada desaparece, / correteando dobla la esquina. / Entra silenciosa en la taberna, / todavía allí los cantantes metafísicos de Purcell, / el eco de la campana la adelgaza. / Pondrían la mano sobre su hombro, / añadirían otras palabras al oído. / Jugará a perderse / con las arenas que la bruñen. / Está alegre porque han venido / a verle su nueva cara, se adormece / en el ahumado rodar de las monedas. / Desaparece como una ardilla, / en la medianoche de la otra esquina / recién apagada*.

transit into an illuminating, then fading, context. Thus Lezama Lima stresses, with Klages, from the midst of the intertextual network that he has spread:

> When I inform myself that matches were invented in the year 1832, I only manage to increase forgetting by one layer. But if I expand this datum with the death of Goethe and his statement "More light"?!, then it becomes more difficult for the commendable little datum on the invention of matches to again dis-appear from me. Not without reason do the Germans view such processes of memory-schooling as forms of *Witz*, of ingenuity.[70]

One could connect this passage with a photograph that shows Lezama Lima surrounded by books, but also by some well-traveled articles in his library, just at the moment when the poet is in the act of contentedly lighting a cigar with a match (fig. 12). This moment of ignition, of the creative flight of the spark, is very consciously settled in an enclosed inner-space of books from which no window opens to the street, to the outside world. We are indisputably dealing here with an enigmatic visualization of theory, even more, a literary praxis that interprets in its compressed image all of those marks that characterize creative activity according to the perception of José Lezama Lima. Do we not feel sympathy for the fiction of this subject, a fiction that seeks "only" to give a face, an embodiment, a figural expression to the theory that underlies its writing?[71]

For Lezama Lima enrolls himself into this pictorial visualization of an innate poetics in a long tradition of the staging of the desk and one's own library as it runs in its different variations through the modern age from the end of the 18th century on.[72] What sits in his library, what lies on his desk can no more be separated from his writing than the fact that in this world of books, widely spanning yet centered on itself, it is the flight of the spark, the igniting connection that is truly decisive to what is brought forth from this world and can be translated, in an ingenious process of finding, inventing, and experiencing, from the sphere

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70 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión Americana*, p. 23; *Witz* appears in the Spanish language original.

71 On the question of the possibilities and limits of the visualization of theory in the light-script of photography, see Ottmar Ette: "Sympathie für die Fiktion eines Subjekts: Roland Barthes' friktionales ÜberLebenSchreiben." In: Lusin, Caroline (Hg.): *Empathie, Sympathie und Narration. Strategien der Rezeptionslenkung in Prosa, Drama und Film*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter 2015, pp. 169–192.

72 C.f. Ottmar Ette: "La mise en scène de la table de travail: poétologie et épistémologie immanentes chez Guillaume-Thomas Raynal et Alexander von Humboldt." In: Peter Wagner (ed.): *Icons—Texts—Iconotexts. Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality*. Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter 1996, pp. 175–209.

of the imaginable into that which is livable. Only then does life come into the text.

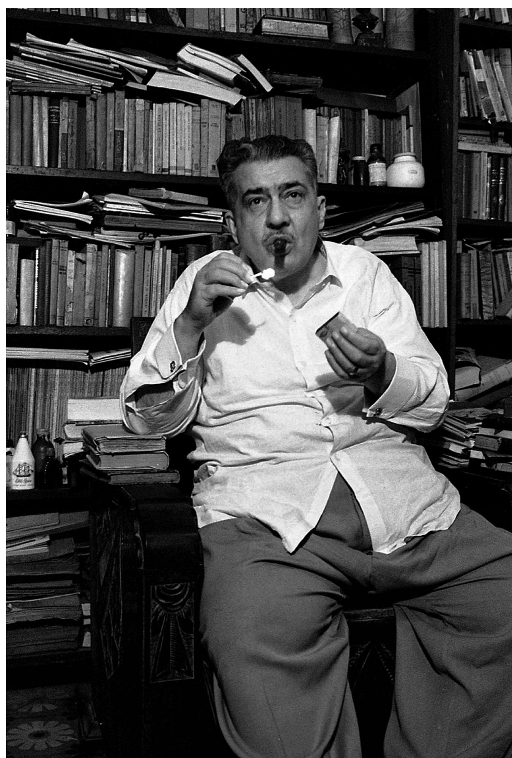

Fig. 12: *José Lezama Lima in his Library* (1969). © Iván Cañas. From the exhibition "Lezama Inédito", Miami Book Fair International, 14th to 21st November 2010.

Perhaps the actual *Witz* of this relationality that Lezama Lima displays on various levels in *La expresión americana* lies more in the fact that the Cuban author shapes his (literary) landscapes and sets them in motion with the help of manifold and surprising connection networks and combinatorics. The moment of surprise, as a moment of movement—as much *motion* as *emotion*—is central to Lezama's poetics. For him, with reference to Ernst Robert Curtius—and here too can be seen how much he was indebted to the intermediary activity of José Ortega y Gasset's influential series of writings and his magazine *Revista de Occi-*

dente[73]—the necessity to newly (re)construct and reinvent the old myths stands in the foreground,[74] and in such a fashion that these myths forever show new faces to us. For "the fictions of myths are new myths, with new exhaustions and terrors."[75] Finding and inventing flow in this phrase into terms of life and experience.

In his first lecture, under the title "Myths and Classical Exhaustion" (*Mitos y cansancio clásico*), when José Lezama Lima presents the transformation, through finding and inventing, of fatigued and exhausted myths into new myths as a substantial component of his method, he also knows at the same time that the new myths, too, can always fall victim to the *cansancio*, the exhaustion, if the reciprocal relations are not in a state of constant mobility, modification, and transformation, and accessing new forms of experience. This is also certainly true for the landscape, which appears not as nature, for instance, and thereby as the object, the material of culture, but rather as its originator: "The only thing that creates culture is the landscape, and therein is she our terrible mistress, without the exhaustion of critical twilight running through us."[76] And he adds, with a look to the creative force of the inhabitants of these American landscapes: "Beyond function and institution, it is important to give rise to the necessity of incorporating foreign landscapes to use their procreative potencies, to mobilize (*movilizarse*) in order to attain pieces of proud and golden sovereignty."[77]

Is this a simple geodeterminism perhaps also a European tropic-discourse of abundance at work? By no means. Rather, the incorporation, the assimilation of foreign landscapes becomes a means for preventing exhaustion, preventing atony, whereby the introduced relationality becomes the motor for a motion that incorporates the old points of reference, the old myths, into forever new and changing contexts. The creative force[78] of a landscape (of theory) generates, as it were, a constantly renewed work on myth that is neither firmly placed in, nor configures itself into, a single, isolated landscape. And this work on myth,

73 C.f. extensively the above-mentioned study by Sergio Ugalde Quintana: *La biblioteca en la isla*, pp. 37–41.
74 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión Americana*, p. 20.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid. p. 27.
77 Ibid. p. 35.
78 C.f. Christopher Menke: *Kraft. Ein Grundbegriff ästhetischer Anthropologie*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2008.

to speak along with Hans Blumenberg, is situated in Lezama Lima's case as work on the landscape, decidedly *after* the "absolutism of reality."[79]

With this, not only is the perhaps central poetic process of José Lezama Lima described and placed into a historical dimension, but at the same time a mobile, transarchipelagic landscape of theory is formed that again and again produces, throughout *La exprêsion americana*, new world-wide connections between the various islands within this mental cartography and choreography of world cultures. It is not a matter of the contiguous or the continental, but of such single "pieces of proud and golden sovereignty"[80] as populate the poet's library.

It is therefore a transareal and, at the same time, transarchipelagic vision that the Cuban poet develops before the eyes of his listeners as well as his readership, a vision that rests upon a fundamental effort toward inclusion. Time and again the (American) landscape becomes the point of departure of a globe-spanning and multilogical multiconnectivity from which the myths have by no means disappeared, but instead strive after continually new connections, after a new finding and inventing, and above all, after new life and experience.

Thus space does not constitute itself in stable territoriality, but appears as a world-wide migratory space, a quasi-infinite, dynamic playing-space in which relationality becomes the *movens* of a potentiality and a procreative force that will neither tire nor slacken, as long as the myths do not become fixed and territorialized. Only literature, as though in an experimentation-space, is capable of transhistorically providing us with this space *and* the poetic awareness that goes with it, and of holding them ready for endless new applications. That the Cuban Revolution, unlike Lezama Lima's dynamic and open model, long ago spatially and semantically defined the myths that it created once and for all, in order, as it were, to immortalize them and itself is here nothing more than a marginal comment that will sooner or later become historical. What remains, however, is the insight that myths, once fixed, become exhausted—and in a dual sense.

79 Hans Blumenberg: *Arbeit am Mythos*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1986, p. 9.
80 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión Americana*, p. 35.

America's Expression: Search for the Place Beyond Historical Violence

José Lezama Lima's lectures in January of 1957 took place, and this is not immediately recognizable in them, before the dramatic background of the guerrilla war of the revolutionaries surrounding the two Castro brothers and Che Guevara in the Sierra Maestra, as well as—and this much closer—before the backdrop of the sacrifice-filled struggle of student and leftist groups against the Batista dictatorship in the Cuban capital. As the great poet of the *Origenes* group brought his lecture of the 22nd of January, 1957, to its peak in a lyrical portrait of the Cuban poet, essayist, and revolutionary José Martí, he spoke—as we have observed above—significantly of "poetry as the prelude to besieging the city"[81] and led, in a closing turn, into a phrase that was often interpreted as a small bow to the contemporary revolutionaries: "for the star that announces the nascent act."[82] Subsequent statements by Lezama Lima also suggest that in the beginning, the *origenista* clearly saw a connection between Martí's revolution and that of Castro.[83]

There is much to support the notion that the just-then-forming mythos of the new creative force of a group of determined revolutionaries, the apostolic number of whom people would later never tire of pointing out, is here being worked into a historic process for which, in *La expresión americana*, a Simón Rodríguez and a Simón Bolívar, but also a Fray Servando Teresa de Mier or a Francisco Miranda are introduced as examples[84]—much in the way that today, a Hugo Chávez very consciously and not without deftness seeks to install himself as part of a mythical connection to the *Libertador*. Has it come here to a reinvention of old myths in the garb of new myths that have not yet fallen prey to the *cansancio* and become exhausted, and which had configured themselves into the environment of the revolution for independence? A myth-bricolage of this sort is certainly injected into Lezama Lima's discourse in association with the (Cuban) *estrella*, the star of the Cuban national flag, but it contains a historical model and a world-view of America that had little to do with those of the Cuban revolutionaries surrounding Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.

However one might interpret this short passage: it dispenses with any basis from which one might wish (as was occasionally undertaken) to try to stylize

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81 Ibid. p. 116.
82 Ibid. p. 117.
83 See also Sergio Ugalde Quintana: *La biblioteca en la isla*, p. 288.
84 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión americana*, p. 116.

José Lezama Lima into a Castro partisan and an apologist for the social model that was ultimately erected by the Cuban Revolution. The subsequently construed and cultivated connection between the revolution years of 95 and 59 flashed but briefly, only to disappear immediately. Much more, the author of *Paradiso* was forced, since the end of the sixties and the intellectual watershed of ever more oppressive culture-politics, into an increasing marginalization, an *ostracismo* from which, though it did not reach the level of condemnation experienced by Virgilio Piñera, neither his long-precarious national fame nor his international prestige as one of the greatest authors of the 20th century could save him.

The golden times of the open culture-politics of the Revolution were history since the end of 1968 at the latest, in the wake of the so-called Padilla Affair, the forced self-incriminations of Cuban intellectuals, and the intermittent imprisonment of undesirable writers: not logics of inclusion, but of exclusion alone were required and desired by the regime. New norms of living together were aimed at forms that were denounced as obsolete in order to establish and secure on the island a coexistence that was, to the greatest possible degree, planned and overseen in every detail.

But in José Lezama Lima's transarchipelagic landscape of theory, there was no room for totalitarianism, no place for practices of potentially violent exclusion, but room enough for a world-spanning field of play for the polylogical, open to the many-voiced exchange between different cultures toward the development of gnosemes of a coexistence, elements of a knowledge then, that allow the living together of a great variety of logics. This is what José Lezama Lima advocated.

In José Lezama Lima's thoughts, the question of violence plays a role that is unignorable, to be sure, and yet generally ignored in the research. For the first phase of accelerated globalization, the "collision of old cultures,"[85] already was marked by a violence that was—as we have seen—most asymmetrically distributed.

This was a matter especially of a violence that has an effect upon bodies, one that locks them away in prisons and dungeons, banishes them from island or continent, or brings them death. Time and again we are reminded of the "great romantic tradition of the 19th century, that of the dungeon (*calabozo*),"[86] and at the same time, that bodily violence[87] is invoked that culminates in the fi-

85 Ibid. p. 68.

86 Ibid. p.115.

87 C.f. Roland Barthes: "Propos sur la violence." In: Roland Barthes: *Œuvres completes*, vol. II, p. 903.

gure of the Dominican monk Fray Servando Teresa de Mier y Guerra, who was continually being locked up in different prisons and always escaping from them. And with this New Spanish monk (extensively discussed in *La expresión americana*) and enlightenment figure at the turn from the 18th to the 19th century, the second phase of accelerated globalization, which in America was associated with emancipation from Europe and a predominantly political independence, is also incorporated into the paradigm of violence.

In his hardly-noticed reflections on violence, the French semiotician and philosopher Roland Barthes differentiated between two types of violence. He delineated the difference between, on the one hand, the violence that lies in any sort of restraint that a collective exerts upon individuals, a violence, then, of law and of the power of the state that can be designated as "violence of restraint" (*violence de la contrainte*)[88] and which possesses a more structural character, and on the other hand, the violence that is inflicted upon bodies by individuals—where it can be either a "prison-like violence" (*violence carcérale*) or a "bloody violence" (*violence sanglante*)[89]—that makes bodies temporarily or permanently disappear, dragging them away, torturing them, or destroying them.

The fact that the so historically rich tradition of the American dungeon by no means ended with the independence of the Hispanoamerican states or Brazil was something that Lezama Lima did not have to explain in any great detail to his listeners; it was a time, in the Havana of the final days of the Batista dictatorship, when bloody altercations, abductions, and mutilations were the order of the day: all too distinctly (and yet at the same time very restrainedly outlined), the context of an omnipresent violence surged into the literary text of the Cuban poet. Cuba's 20th century is a century of consecutive dictatorships, only briefly interrupted by pauses for breath that were equally hopeful and transitory: a time marked by violence, legitimized by the most widely differing ideologies and counter-ideologies.

The thematically broad and open communication situation of the lectures in January of 1957 was subsequently suspended in a murderous system of violence and backlash and stretched to the breaking point in the tension field between the power discourse of the current tyrant and a revolutionary counter-discourse protesting against the barbaric power of this tyrant. What could be done? Lezama Lima's sympathies might no doubt have been with the students going up against the power, but he did not allow himself to be caught in the web of power discourse and anti-power discourse. Regardless of whether he already suspect-

88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.

ed, in this now civil war-like situation outside the entryways and windows of his lecture hall, that the *akratic* discourse struggling against the power and about the power would soon enough transform into an *enkratic* discourse that would be coming to power or in power,[90] his position in the mirroring of earlier *eras imaginarias* can have been neither that of Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, who indefatigably battled against any sort of accumulation of power, nor that of a José Martí either, who created the very vortex that was to sweep away everything, including himself. José Lezama Lima put much more stock in a different "power": the aesthetic power of literature that possesses its own resilience, the resilience of the aesthetic, and can render it effective against all repression and counter-repression.

But this meant that Lezama Lima had to take a gamble on time, which is a condition and foundation of the *temporal* art that is literature itself; he had to so position his own discourse, such that neither the power nor the opposition could misappropriate and functionalize him. The text itself had to become the actual testing ground for the challenge of abolishing, or even more precisely, of *transforming* in a fundamental way all violence, whether physical or stemming from language, and opening it to new horizons.

For since the appearance of certainly the most famous frame story in world literature, the narrative framing of the *One Thousand and One Nights* that crosses different cultures over the course of millennia, we have known—or at least, we can know—that the weight of threatening violence can, with the wit of literature, be transformed into a wonder of future coexistence.[91] But the question arises as to which strategies and which gnosemes of knowledge for living and knowledge for survival on the part of literature can be set against a history in order to escape the ubiquity of violence and develop other knowledge-norms and knowledge-forms of coexistence. The literary answers that José Lezama Lima provides to this are clearly contoured and set in a transareal context. They offer no recipes, contain no formulas, but they form complex trial protocols that help one to grasp how literature is able to confront the prevailing and transhistorically self-propagating violence, not with an opposing logic, but with multilogical thinking.

90 On the "rules of play" in the struggle between akratic and enkratic discourses, and on the "tipping" of the akratic into the enkratic, see Ottmar Ette: *Roland Barthes. Eine intellektuelle Biographie*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1998, pp. 346–349.

91 See also the chapter that examines violence (Ch. 8) of my *ZusammenLebensWissen. List, Last und Lust literarischer Konvivenz im globalen Maßstab*.

With a look to the question—standing as it does in association with that which is difficult—of a good coexistence, *La expresión americana* forms a fundamentally complex migratory space of the Multi-Logical that allows itself to be neither akratically nor enkratically misappropriated, and in this way sets everything in motion in order to avoid the hopelessly turning spiral of violence. In reference to millennia-old western and non-western traditions, one could very well recognize the basis of all narration, of all writing, in the *transformation* of violence: the experience of violence becomes the driving force, the actual motor of the narration of violence, in order to bring the suffering from violence to an end.

If we are looking, however, for a fundamental transformation of violence (and not one that is simply revolutionary, in the sense of just reversing the circumstances in a logical way), one that at the same time does not itself resort to violence, what offers itself is the polylogical in literature, which can depend not on an aesthetic of resistance, but upon the resilience and recalcitrance of the aesthetic. In this sense, literature always forms for its readers a gnoseme in the sense of a peaceful coexistence in diversity, as long as it offers, in the act of reading, the chance to test, modify, and practice forms and norms of behavior in playful earnestness. Literature is the test case for complex thought, it trains us in the finding, inventing, and living of Multi-Logics. With the delineation undertaken here of that which is American, specifically through the non-restriction to that which is American, *La expresión americana* is an excellent example of the answers that the literatures of the world are able to give in response to the challenges of the global. The lectures of 1957 are not only a non-violent call to arms against the violence surrounding them, but also the search for something beyond historical violence. Only the difficult is stimulating and challenges us.

Let it be understood: in his lectures and in their printed version, José Lezama Lima in no way closes his eyes to violence, but he does not carry violence forward discursively; instead, he resolutely turns his back on the historical burden of the *violencia*. This is no flight from the present, no evasion: Lezama emphasizes time, the foremost intrinsic force of literature, knowing full well that a rotating violence-spiral cannot immediately be broken or even simply interrupted. At the same time, he makes it clear that the record of violence is not the only line of tradition in American history, and moreover, that an American form of expression exists, whose orientation toward inclusion, toward transformative integration, is of fundamental significance. This is, so his analysis indicates, not only the legacy, but the future of that which he describes as the American expression.

For against the radical impoverishment of discourse that we can easily discern in all situations of violence, against the deliberate reduction to a few prefabricated patterns of discourse that with a certain degree of complicity between enkratic and akratic discourse are set hard against one another, literature can assert its vitalizing capability to direct the polysemy and polylogic that is based on the complexity of life against pervasive discourses on violence and violent discourses. The literatures of the world set a knowledge in motion that allows us to creatively make the contrast between totalizing reductionisms and the aesthetic force of concentrated life, a sort of literary life-force that is in no way separated from non-literary life, but also does not simply fall into step with it. José Lezama Lima makes use of this *transforming*, creative force in dealing with the long history of violence to which Simón Rodríguez and Simón Bolívar, Fray Servando Teresa de Mier and José Martí were delivered in America so that he might understand the way in which they succeeded, thanks to their creative assimilation, in further developing and carrying forward the *expresión americana*.

On this point exactly, it seems to me, lies the actual explosive force of the thought and writings of José Lezama Lima, as his aesthetic expression, still fascinating today and thus able to gain time for itself, is found and won in *La expresión americana*. For where the *violence carcérale* with its logic of inclusion continues the long tradition of exclusion in American imprisonment and causes, as it were, the particular logic of an I(s)land-world to change into the totalitarian unit of an prison-island, in *La expresión americana*, a complexity of an Island World is developed, a complexity that continually reflects violence but does not embody it, and which, in its transarchipelagic diversity of voices undermines the authority of a single, monological voice. Between the imaginary, mythical dimensions of Popol Vuh[92] and Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*, between Aleijadinho and Picasso, between the Indio Kondoriand Cézanne, there develops in this volume a magnetic field whose lines of force are both transhistorical and transcultural, and yet these lines of force never succumb to the danger of defining and securing what is one's own through the exclusion of the other.
To this extent, one might say with good reason that the immobilization figures that José Lezama Lima repeatedly includes, figures of a violent, prison-like determinacy and spatial and intellectual exclusion through enclosure, allow a multitude of motion-terms to emerge that engenders the living dynamic of *La expresión americana* and impressively keeps it going. Against these figures of historical (and also, implicitly, contemporary) violence, against these repre-

92 See Sergio Ugalde Quintana: *La biblioteca en la isla,* pp. 139–146.

sentatives of the exclusion the Other, José Lezama Lima places a transarchipelagic creative power that, in this delineation of a non-essentializing and not essentialized concept of the American, depicts the actual image-configuration that runs through all *eras imaginarias* in the fascinating vortex of widely differing cultures. Or to put it otherwise: the "I" of America wants a "you," wants to be a "we," specifically because it can thereby, in a much deeper, even more perfect way, *be* America. How poor then, in contrast, is the effect of all recipes and formulations of identity that primarily and continuously segregate the "I" from the "you," one's own from the Others', in order to dev*I*se for them*selves*—for the "I"—an unassa*I*lable place marked by variously tolerant or murderous[93] discourses of identity and alterity.

With this world-spanning transarchipelagic modeling, repeatedly eruptive historical violence is opposed by a literary life-force that does not engage in the discursivity of violence, but instead works against that discursive poverty in which the enkratic-akratic is entangled in ever new, but always violent, ways. In this image development, in this imagination for battling against an impoverished discourse as it is presented in all the world's trouble spots, lies the ethical and aesthetic power of a *transareal poetics of movement*. To this extent, the changing imaginary image-worlds or *eras imaginarias* of Lezama Lima form historically accumulated delineations of a vectorial imagination that stores up and transforms the old motion-images, and which seeks to explode the *calabozo*, the dungeon of a reduced and reducing world of imagining.

Gnostic Space and the Archipelago of Literature

In his closing lecture "Sumas críticas del americano" on the 26th of January, two days before the *Cena martiana* of 1957, the Cuban poet again brings substantial configurations of the previous lectures into the picture, mocks all attempts to territorialize the forms of art in any simple way, in the manner of someone seeking to formally "paste" a Picasso into the so-called "Spanish tradition, "[94] and points out that it is important to differentiate thoroughly the synthesizing power of the *Goethezeit* from contemporary forms of artistic and, accordingly, literary synthesis:

93 C.f. Amin Maalouf: *Les Identités Muertrières*.
94 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión americana*, p. 159.

> The great figures of contemporary art have discovered regions that seemed to be flooded, forms of expression and awareness that had been neglected, yet remained creative. Joyce's acquaintance with neothomism, even if it were only dilettantish, was no late echo of scholasticism, but a medieval world that in contact with him became creative in a peculiar way. Stravinsky arriving at Pergolesi was no neoclassical artifice, but the necessity of finding a continuous thread through that tradition that had come so close to reaching the secret of mysticism, the canon of creation, the fixed point in transformations, the rhythm of the return. The great exception of a Leonardo or a Goethe transformed itself in our epoch into the emblematic expression that made an intuitive and rapid awareness of previous styles necessary, faces of which, even after so many shipwrecks and a suitable situation in contemporary polemics, had continued to be creative, in equilibrium with that which withdraws into the shadows and that which leaps from the waters like a stream.
> If Picasso jumped from Doric to Eritrean, from Chardin to Provençal, then this seemed to us the very best sign of the times, but if an American studied and assimilated Picasso, *horror referens*.[95]

The search for art and literature in submerged spaces and sunken times that is defined in this passage—and the water and shipwreck metaphors of this quotation seem to me to be crucial here—does not expose the traces of old tradition, but in a surprising way brings into connection things that at first glance seem not to go together. In light of the fact that in the preceding lectures Lezama had historically developed the transareal multifacetedness and dynamics of the American form of expression as well as the expression of that which is American, any sort of asymmetry in the polylog of the arts, between Europe and America for instance, would from now on have to seem highly misguided, while from America especially—as Borges famously did in "The Argentine Writer and Tradition"[96]—the right not to be territorially determined and bound could be claimed.

The *horror referens* corresponds to the *horror vacui* that on medieval and early modern maps populated unknown regions with those monsters that would fit into no classifying order, and thus also into no local territoriality. The Americans however, as Lezama impressively showed in his volume of essays, had long been able to claim the right not only to delocalize knowledge from other latitudes and consequently shift it to another (peripheral) place, but in fact to translocalize it such that it could, and can, become thinkable and livable according to different logics. For how could a world peacefully develop in its differences, if its ideas, if its concepts were to be thought out and disseminated only from a single place, from a single continent, from Europe?

95 Ibid. p. 162 f.

96 C.f. Jorge Luis Borges: "El escritor argentinoy la tradición," p. 272.

Here is where José Lezama Lima's hemispheric construction of the American continent has its place in the transareal tension field. In our epoch, according to Lezama, it is indisputably necessary "to connect the ghosts of Scotland Yard with the Toledo School of Translators, in close cooperation with the guild of Egyptian scribes."[97] And it is with such joy that the Cuban poet subsequently leads his listeners, from an American perspective, through the times and cultures in a world-wide and only seemingly muddled sequence that presents to us a landscape of theory as a mobile model of a future culture beyond all exclusions. Culture is not restricted to that which the human being cultivates upon his ground, upon his own territory. Culture can only be more than what it is, if it is more than the place from which it is.

It is thus not surprising when Lezama, over the course of his essay, devotes several pages to landscape and pokes fun at an understanding of landscape that seeks to delimit it, in "sympathetic polygonal reduction," strictly to a previously defined "extension of nature."[98] For the definition of nature (drawn from Schelling's *Naturphilosophie*) as visible spirit, as well as the definition of spirit as invisible nature is, for the author of the *Confluencias*, more the distant echo of an idealist philosophy that in the name of the *expresión americana* must be reinterpreted, transferred, and transformed into the "sovereignty of landscape."[99]

From here it is just a small step to that fathomless and confident laughter with which the Cuban intellectual holds up the American mirror to Hegel and his self-perpetuating European conceptions—with the admitted "intention to make fun of him."[100] Hegel is said to have respected only the white Creoles in his *Philosophie der Weltgeschichte*,[101] while completely despising the "black continent" (*continente negro*), since he considered it incapable of any sort of progress or any sort of education.[102] The ghost of Cornelius de Pauw can in fact be read in every wrinkle of this world philosophy, despite the fact that hardly any acknowledgment of de Pauw's once so acclaimed writings on the non-European world can be found among many current interpreters of Hegel.

In his critical assessment however, Lezama Lima, who was quite obviously familiar with the dispute of the waning 18th century over the New World, bru-

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97 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión americana*, p. 164.
98 Ibid. p. 170.
99 Ibid. p. 171.
100 Ibid. p. 177
101 Ibid. p. 178.
102 Ibid. p. 179. Regarding criticism of Hegel's world-historical omissions, c.f. Susan Buck-Morss: *Hegel und Haiti. Für eine neue Universalgeschichte*.

shed away such notions with reference to the *expresión americana*: "Sufficient to refute this is that epic culmination of the Baroque in Aleijadinho, with its synthesis of the Black and the Hispanic."[103] It is no coincidence that the viewpoint of *Señor Barocco*,[104] who as the representative of American Baroque always stood for the difference between worlds in equally intense (if asymmetrical) relationships of exchange and transfer, should become the crossing point for the pride of the American in his own transareal traditions, which have developed far beyond European hegemonic fictions of Hegelian or post-Hegelian provenance into a life of their own. It is a pride that, in awareness of a rich past, seeks to secure the future.

The at first astonishing presence of US American culture and literature in the numerous references to Melville and Whitman in the final pages of the volume may once again emphasize that in *La expresión americana*, we are indeed dealing with a hemispheric construction that neither relinquishes the concept of the American to the USA nor silently reclaims it for Iberian America. The "gnostic space" (*espacio gnóstico*)[105] that extends from the landscapes of America—from the Incan engineering structures to the baroque churches of New Spain to US American Jazz—across these pages that pass as though in time lapse is the space of the *conocimiento poético*. It is the space of an acquaintance, an awareness, and a knowledge that crosses spaces and times with a confident gesture to produce a transareal poetics of movement in which America—and while the connections to Alfonso Reyes or José Vasconcelos remain subliminal here, they are unmistakable—leads the way on a globe-spanning level to the "exit out of European chaos, which has begun to hemorrhage."[106]

Only as a side note is it mentioned here again that these new perspectivizations of the American double continent can be translated very well into current cultural and social science research. A multitude of newer research efforts from the viewpoint of different disciplines have demonstrated the importance of a transareal body of perspectives not only for the space of the Caribbean,[107] but for

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103 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión americana*, p. 179.

104 See the second essay in *La expresión americana*, "La curiosidad barroca."

105 Ibid. p. 188.

106 Ibid. p. 189.

107 C.f. Ottmar Ette (ed.): *Caribbean(s) on the Move—Archipiélagos literarios del Caribe. A TransArea Symposium*; Ottmar Ette / Gesine Müller (eds.): *Caleidoscopios coloniales. Transferencias culturales en el Caribe del siglo XIX*; and Ottmar Ette / Werner Mackenbach et al. (eds.): *Trans(it) Areas. Convivencias en Centroamérica y el Caribe. Un symposio transareal.*

the entire hemispheric space,[108] should it be particularly necessary to more closely investigate Arab-American, European-American, African-American, and Asian-American relationships and their transfers[109] in order to comprehend in what complex manner the entire hemispheric space of the Americas is configured from out of the movements and dynamics that at different times and in different levels of intensity crossed or cross it. Only in this way can a world-wide perspective be gained that must necessarily be understood polyperspectively.[110]

But let us return to José Lezama Lima's speech on gnostic space and poetic awareness. For America transforms itself in the manner just sketched—and with this, *La expresión americana* closes—into the actual "gnostic space, thanks to a nature that interprets and recognizes, that prefigures and yearns."[111] But of what sort can this space be? And of what sort such a knowledge?

In the first pages of the first of the five essays, we find an answer that reveals to us that a "new vision" also always contains a "new experience and a different reality, likewise with weight, number, and mass."[112] A kind of knowledge is presented here that, from the finding and invention of such a vision, creates a *nueva vivencia*—and thus, new experience—insofar as this knowledge brings forth a new reality that can be imagined, experienced, and lived at no lesser degree of intensity and materiality.

But this reality is, in Lezama Lima's sense, a creation that comes from exhaustion, a *creación* that—to call to mind the title of the first essay—lifts itself from the fatigue, from the *cansancio* of the old myths. It is not the radical (avant-garde) break, and even less is it destruction or annihilation, that forms the foundation for the creation of future, but the ability to meet the discourses of power and of opposition with the power of discourses that obtain their fascination from continually changed configurations of de-localized and translocalized knowledge. In the process, transfer always includes transformation, too;

108 C.f. Marianne Braig / Ottmar Ette et al. (eds.): *Grenzen der Macht / Macht der Grenzen. Lateinamerika im globalen Kontext*; Marianne Braig / Ottmar Ette (eds.): "Dossier: Construcciones hemisféricas." In: *Iberoamericana* (Frankfurt am Main–Madrid) V, 20 (December 2005), pp. 83–156; Peter Birle / Marianne Braig et al. (eds.): *Hemisphärische Konstruktion der Amerikas*.

109 C.f. Ottmar Ette / Friederike Pannewick (eds.): *Arabamericas. Literary Entanglements of the American Hemisphere and the Arab World*; Ottmar Ette / Dieter Ingerschay et al. (eds.): *EuropAmerikas. Transatlantische Beziehungen*; Ottmar Ette / Horst Nitschak (eds.): *Trans*Chile. Cultura—Historia—Itinerarios—Literatura—Educación. Un acercamiento transareal.*

110 C.f. Ottmar Ette / Gesine Müller (eds.): *Worldwide/weltweit. Archepiélagos como espacios de prueba de convivencia global.*

111 José Lezama Lima: *La expresión americana*, p. 189.

112 Ibid. p. 15.

indeed, in the most actual sense, it is oriented toward this force that does not simply reverse, but alters.

With insight into the indisputability of the polylogical there may be seen an essential reason why José Lezama Lima never combined his five lectures into a textual unit, instead leaving them as the several essays, between which—analogous to the text-islands of an archipelago of literature—ever-new combinatorics can be produced. Thus develops the multilogical openness of a gnostic space that appears not to be conceived of from a single point, and cannot be completely mastered, or even illuminated, from any single point. No doubt: here the *expresión americana* perceives itself as the forerunner of a world-spanning circulation of knowledge that does not tap its way into the trap of cultural homogenization, but instead advances the particular logic, the particular sense of an American I(s)land-world and Island World within the archipelization of the world. That an archipelized world of such dimensions can be conceived of in a library in a house in Havana demonstrates, in the body of its own text as it were, that the payment follows right on the heels of the claim. The text demonstrates what it depicts, realizes what it represents.

In the historical figure of Fray Servando Teresa de Mier—whom we encountered in the second phase of accelerated globalization—José Lezama Lima prepares an etched image of the victim of persecution who turns this persecution into a "modus of integration," in order to produce, during his fate-driven voyages and meanderings, a "futurity" (*futuridad*) that will help him to reach "the blessed island, the independence of his country":[113]

> Fray Servando is the first to decide to be the persecuted one, for he has intuitively grasped that another nascent landscape is seeking him that no longer counts upon the great arc that connected the Spanish Baroque to its enrichment in the American Baroque, but which instead reveals the opulence of a new destiny, the image, the island that rises up from the portolan charts of the unknown, creating a fact, the emergence of the freedoms of his own landscape, finally freed from the commitment to an enduring dialogue with a spectator who was a shadow.[114]

One could be tempted to see, in this portrait of the persecuted Dominican, the reflection of a poet, novelist, and philosopher who was no less restlessly in search of that island which, like the Caribbean Island World on the famous map of Juan de la Cosa, finally crystallized out of the portolan charts of earlier mappings. Literature would then be, one could assume, at once portolan and island,

113 Ibid. p. 97.
114 Ibid.

at once a finding and an inventing, consistently aimed at the most intense possible living and experiencing of the future, the *futuridad*. This expression of America is aimed at just that.

It is—as we have seen over the course of this book—no accident that it is specifically the Caribbean poets and essayists who, from the experience of a transarchipelagic landscape and from living out a transhistorical vectoricity formed an ever more complex landscape of theory in which the image, the *era imaginaria*, of a future world emerges: of a world as archipelago that from the diversity and particular sense of its individual islands generates those new and always changing combinatorics that cannot be conceived of from a single place, nor mastered from a single place. That the hemispheric constructions of America were very quickly able, from the highly mobile perspectives of an I(s)land-world as an Island World, to transform themselves into world-wide projections may be an eloquent sign that the polylogics of future coexistence arise most convincingly where, in association with concentrated globalization, the experience of the transareal could become the stimulus, the incentive to reinvent the world through writing. For exactly that is what this perhaps difficult, but certainly fascinating expression of America is about: about the finding and inventing of a new world that in the gnostic space of America presses onward toward life, toward experience, and transforms the vision into a *vivencia*, indeed, into a *Konvivenz*, a coexistence.

This gnostic space of poetic awareness can be found, from the francophone perspective, compressed again in the works of the Martinican poet and essayist Edouard Glissant, who died in January, 2011. In the fourth phase of accelerated globalization, he was able not only to build upon the theorems and thought styles of French poststructuralism and on the debates surrounding Aimé Césaire's *Négritude*, but also succeeded in making fruitful a thoroughly continuous line of tradition for his work, which ranges from José Martí to Fernando Ortiz and on to José Lezama Lima and the Caribbean theoreticians of the present. Culminating at the transition from the 20th to the 21st century in Glissant's rich work is a thinking of world-wide complexity that in many respects is not only promising for the future, but helps to ensure the future.

The Magnetic Island in a World-Wide Polynesia

In November of 2007, Edouard Glissant's prose text. *Les errances de Rapa Nui, l'île de Pâques* ("The Magnetic Land: the Wanderings of Easter Island, Rapa Nui") appeared as part of the book series *Les Peuples de l'Eau*, published by the author himself and mentioned above. In *La terre magnétique*, the Martinican

poet, cultural theorist, and philosopher devised the literary picture of an island that on the most differing levels—as signaled by the subtitle of the work—exists in discontinuous movement. These "wanderings" of Easter Island in the midst of the surrounding expanses of ocean (from the American point of view) far out in the Pacific are forever associated with the world-wide, with a planet-encompassing coordinate system, within which the island becomes the off-kilter (in more ways than one) focus, the visible point of reference for the entire globe, for the *terre*:

> The migratory birds bring the egg here; the first egg (that contains the world) guarantees, after one has mastered the ocean currents and the dizzy feeling of the air, the power of the running year. Similarly, the round, holy stone that they call *the navel of the world* takes on the approximate shape of an egg, it is polished and made from a material that is not found anywhere else on the island; and it is found on the seashore and not in the center of the land (*terre*). It lies at the confluence of the wind and the ocean currents.[115]

Does the world then possess a hidden center? One would thoroughly misunderstand the culture theorist of *Poétique de relation*[116] if one presumed in this passage the renunciation of a line of thinking that for long decades had vehemently fought against structures that sought to center anything and everything. For this "navel of the world," about which we learn early on that it is sought out and worshipped by Japanese pilgrims who have come from far across the Pacific,[117]surely forms for Glissant an intersection of all confluences of water, air, and earth, brings together from the four elements a planetary network of connections that came into existence in an off-center position between the air and the ocean currents on the edge of the magnetic land of Easter Island, and is woven into an old myth according to which the migratory birds had brought the egg that contains the world here to this isle. Rapa Nui is produced by all of those movements that cross this egg-island.

But Rapa Nui does not form a superordinate center, compared to which all else would be periphery. The island lies far out in the sea. At the same time, Edouard Glissant's lyrical and greatly fragmented text allows from the start no doubt to arise: this land is connected and interwoven with the whole world, with the entire body of the Earth in the most intimate of ways. Easter Island is *a* middle-point—but in the form of an intersection without hierarchy, without periphery, without centering hysteria.

115 Edouard Glissant: *La terre magnétique*, p. 39.

116 See Edouard Glissant: *Poétique de relation*.

117 Edouard Glissant: *La terre magnétique*, p. 17.

The oft-invoked egg-shape—in which the famous egg of Columbus, and thus the planetary roundness of the world, as well as the power over the sphere of the Earth can also be considered to be—unifies the formation of the stone with the all-enveloping form of the organic and of life per se, while we find in another place that this egg-island contains *one* (and, consequently, in no way *the*) navel of the world, *un des nombrils de monde*: and these are "places of death and birth."[118] Death and birth: the egg stands, like the island, for the world, for that which is within it, for that which comes into being within it, but along with life it always, at the same time, holds death, which is in all life and never remains external to it.

The magnetic land is no secure, stabilized land: its existence is always precarious and endangered. Can it not, at any moment, be swallowed by the ocean? It is not without reason that the notion is introduced of the entire island gliding along a freshwater surface, thereby following the course of the tectonic plates: the island is consequently "a ship wandering about, whose course is known only to the migratory birds."[119] Like the island of St. Brendan,[120] Rapa Nui is always in motion, always underway.

The island immediately evokes the image of the ship, to which it is tied—be it in the long tradition of the floating island, or in the chain of transfer processes that configure every island or island group—in a great variety of forms. In the double-projection of island and ship, of the island-as-ship, the insular is relieved of all that is static: the island is not firmly bound to the geological depths like a rock cliff, but navigates and loses itself in the element of the ocean that is mobile and dynamized by the currents. No fixed point anchored in the depths, but a moving phenomenon of the expanse, of the surface.

The routes of the island-as-ship on its odyssey, known only to the migratory birds and not to human beings, create the effect that the island is *at once* long-lasting and transitory, enduring and fleeting: "The island is ephemeral and lost."[121] The island's movements, driven by plate tectonics, and the beliefs and fantasies of its inhabitants, enter into this fleeting durability that is certainly also that of literature and of writing itself:

> The island wanders, and no one knows how many centimeters in a year, so perhaps it will experience the fate of the archipelagic countries that one day (and likewise, no one knows

118 Ibid. p. 71.
119 Ibid. p. 41.
120 C.f. María José Vázquez de Parga y Chueca: *San Brandán, navigación y vision.* Aranjuez: Ediciones Doce Calles 2006.
121 Edouard Glissant: *La terre magnétique*, p. 42.

> when) will be torn apart by the unavoidable frictions between the plates in the deeps, and the imagined notions of the inhabitants of Easter Island steer through the space of the Pacific and under the moon of the Great Triangle in search of the lost word. That is almost true.[122]

This "almost-true," this *presque vrai* of literature, takes up the movements of the island and its inhabitants and restores to each that "lost speech" of when and where the island might sink forever under the sea. Their triangular form (undoubtedly endowed with the attribute of the divine eye) absorbs the triangular form of the entire Polynesian archipelago into itself and thus forms the fractal model of an island that is an island of islands:

> The open triangle is the Polynesian triangle that at one of its corners points to this other triangle, the farthest and loneliest of all, that completes the entirety and supports this whole surface: the magnetic land.[123]

In this triangular form, which in Christian iconography represents the divine in its presence, but could also be the triangle at the center of the human body, a *landscape of theory* objectifies and objectivizes itself that, in the framework of that tradition that so early on shaped the Caribbean space, is obviously a theory of world-wide scale. And let us not forget here that for Edouard Glissant, the landscape is at once nature and culture—and thus also ultimately something living; as it says in *Le discours antillais*: "(Our landscape is its own monument: the trace that signifies it is traceable within it. It is all history.")[124] For Edouard Glissant, landscape elements are always elements of a theory of living writing (as it comes from life itself). Text-theoretically, he puts it like this:

> I don't know at what age in my very young years I dreamt of having developed a text that innocently, but in a dense manner, curled up in triumph over itself such that, bit by bit, it could produce its own sense. Its thread was repetition, together with that imperceptible deviation that allows for forward movement. In everything I write, I have always pursued this text. It still disturbs me not to find again the spiral that it created that whirled so, not

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122 Ibid. p. 48f.

123 Ibid. p. 48

124 Edouard Glissant: *Le discours antillais*. Paris: Gallimard–Folio 1997, p. 32; a quotation of Edouard Glissant from a press conference on the 26th of June, 2006, at the Madison Hotel in Berlin could be said to reinforce this: "Dans la Caraïbe comme en général dans les Amériques le paysage est le véritable monument historique et cette dimension-là a beaucoup influencé ce que je fais en poésie. Le paysage devient un personnage à la fois des romans et de la pensée et de la poésie. C'est pourquoi dans tout ce que j'ai écrit, romans poésie, essais, le paysage est un personnage vivant."

> to find again a motion that seemed to drive into a bush thicket and to fall down volcanoes. But occasionally I have discerned something like a shadow of it that ties together the word-boulders that I heap up alongside such a landscape, a bush thicket with a volcano towering over it.[125]

The (living) triangle of the island of Rapa Nui in the triangle of the Polynesian archipelago[126] not only forms the fractal configuration of the island landscapes of the Pacific but at the same time, as an island in the shape of the egg brought (and produced) by the migratory birds, also contains that navel of the world from which the roundness of the Earth can be thought of and its world-wide dimensions reassessed. For on one hand, Easter Island is, in quite an extreme way, an *I(s)land-world* that represents a self-contained world with its own space, its own time, and consequently, its own patterns of movement. Like no other island on the planet, it is—as was emphasized at the beginning of this volume—separated from other shores, from other countries, by huge distances and, as such, is *isolated*.[127]

This is a fact that, in the depiction of the genesis of the text, is also consciously placed into the scene through the matter of it not being possible for the author himself, at his advanced age, to undertake so long and arduous a trip as the one to Easter Island. So, instead of Edouard Glissant, his life partner Sylvie Séma was to undertake the trip while he stayed at home, and provide for the author of this poetic travel report, by means of sketches and notes, reports and drawings, the basic materials for a writing that explicitly does without the authentication provided by the eye-witness in order to piece this world together literarily from a different place of writing. *Une île peut en cacher une autre.*

The Magnetic Land is, accordingly, a travel report that is not based upon a trip made by the author. The functions of the traveler and the writer are to a large extent separate. The basics of the travel report genre are thereby revoked, to the extent that the writer makes recourse to the report of a— to be sure, highly trusted—traveler and to other witnesses who are at his disposal. That which was discovered by Sylvie Séma, the representative traveler to Easter Island, becomes, together with that which was created at the desk at home, something that was produced in common and, moreover, experienced in common. The fact

125 Edouard Glissant: *La Cohée du Lamentin. Poétique V*. Paris: Gallimard 2005, p. 20.
126 On the specific problematics of Rapa Nui in the intersection of various histories and island-projections, see Grant McCall: “Rapanui: Traum und Alptraum. Betrachtungen zur Konstruktion von Inseln.” In: Heide Weinhäupl / Margit Wolfsberger (eds.): *Trauminseln? Tourismus und Alltag in Urlaubsparadiesen*. Lit Verlag 2006, pp. 263–278.
127 C.f. Edouard Glissant: *La terre magnétique*, p. 10.

is not concealed that the text also takes on a rather testamentary dimension insofar as the writer, through the perspective of the traveler, moves into "another world," as though he wishes to comment upon the ways of the traveler from a place beyond, and accompany them with his literary word—the once lost word for which the island went searching. Through the death of the writer a few years later, this entire dimension, quite particular to this text, has become apparent and accordingly readable.

On the other hand, this island that is geographically isolated in the extreme and forms a world in and of itself is not only a closed-off I(s)land-world, but also an *Island World*, insofar as a whole world of islands are superimposed and bundled together in it. In the little island of Rapa Nui with its volcanoes, the four elements of fire and earth, air and water create for themselves, in the air and ocean currents, but also in the movements of the tectonic plates and the fiery magma connected to the Pacific Ring of Fire, a movement-place of manifold planetary confluences upon which a world of islands again and again reconfigures itself.

Rapa Nui then, as a fractal multiplication of the insular, becomes in this sense an *island-island* [128] in which not only the various islands of Polynesia cross over and intersect, but the multifaceted composition of this (poly-)island, from other islands, is again multiplied through the fact that the island visited by the life partner of the narrator is recorded by the narrator himself from other islands—be they the Antilles or the *Ile de France*—and interwoven world-wide as well. The whole world is an island that is the whole world, without being or wanting to be its center.

But we come again at this point in our considerations back to the truly unusual separation of the functions of traveling and writing. We should not succumb to the temptation to assign to the feminine traveler the discovery and experiencing of Easter Island, but to the masculine writer, as creator and demiurge, the invention and penetration of the object. For with both, the figure of the traveler as much as the figure of the one who stayed home, the acts of *finding, inventing,* and *experiencing* emerge in an intense interplay, such that it does *not* correspond to the epistemological separation that prevailed until the end of the 18th century between *voyageur* and *philosophe*, between the explorer, who presumedly collects by chance and without a plan, and the philosopher, situated at the center of knowledge, who first transfers what is so collected into a system, into a clear and well thought-out order. Was not the first map of the

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128 On the concept of the island-island, see the seventh chapter in Ottmar Ette: *ZusammenLebensWissen. List, Last und Lust literarischer Konvivenz im globalen Maßstab.*

Island World of the Caribbean in 1500, from the hand of the great pilot Juan de la Cosa, designed in such a fashion that the islands in the center of the New World climbed, as it were, out of the medieval portolan charts to reposition themselves, together with the old myths of Asia, on *one* world map in which, in a manner both precise and rich in fantasy, the discovered and the experienced were bound to the invented?

The complex relationality of the genesis of the text is of great relevance to *The Magnetic Land*, such that the first long sentence of the incipit of this prose volume is deliberately devoted to a truly multilayered interrelation that is both semantic and *Lebensweltlich* (pertaining to the "world of life"). Consequently, the text starts out somewhat ponderously, even awkwardly:

> We had agreed, then, to divide up the work, and thus to deal with the island in two ways that perhaps would complement one another: Sylvie in a manner that one would have to describe as field research (she would fly beforehand to Santiago, then travel according only to her own inclination as far as Valparaiso, in order to fulfill for herself a dream of the sort cherished by all children of the world, and finally, on a flight of at least twenty-three hours, to reach Easter Island), and I, with my commentary on what she would send along or bring back from there, notes, impressions, drawings, films and photos, so as to transfer all of this with her help into the order, or disorder, of literature, which I would give to her documents and to her feelings, so abruptly brought to expression.[129]

At the end of the third of the total six parts of this volume—and thus exactly at the center of the overall text structure of *La terre magnétique*—a noteworthy confluence of different views and viewpoints can be discerned that in their unity generate the text. The multifacetedness of these confluences runs through the entire volume from the beginning, as does the fractal model of an island that from the beginning, in the lyrical prose of this double journey to Easter Island, links this island to the world. Again and again the perspectives expand, explicit connections of Easter Island are established, not only to the Polynesian archipelago and to Tahiti, but also to the American Mediterranean of the Antilles and to the European Mediterranean with its islands of Sardinia and Corsica, and even to Iceland, that Columbus had come to know during his early voyages.[130] A world of islands is designed.

In this way, a transarchipelagic view generates and manifests itself, that unfolds over all "routes of the world,"[131] from island to island, from archipelago

129 Edouard Glissant: *La terre magnétique*, p. 9.
130 Ibid. p. 62f.
131 Ibid. p. 63.

to archipelago, as the French three-master *La Boudeuse*, that under the auspices of UNESCO and the command of Captain Patrice Franceschi, undertook a voyage of circumnavigation on July 27, 2004, from Bastia, Corsica. During its voyage of 1,063 days covering some 60,000 kilometers, twelve different writers and journalists, who had been chosen ahead of time by Edouard Glissant, respectively undertook expeditions to individual "peoples of the water," before the French sailing ship, on the 25th of June, 2007—just a few months before the release of *The Magnetic Land*—returned to Corsica. Literary and philosophical intent is as little to be isolated from maritime intent as is Easter Island from the other islands visited on this ocean voyage: the island and the ship reflect mutually and display widely varying transfer processes. Edouard Glissant's book, produced in collaboration with Sylvie Séma, forms—not only from its claim, but from the settlement of it—an open structuring that, as a volume, ties together in a well-calculated fashion the various volumes, the different journeys of the participating authors.

This relational and, at the same time, transarchipelagic point of view that time and again develops between Easter Island and the Antilles shapes the poetic and poetological prose of Edouard Glissant and is undoubtedly connected to his famous "Poetics of Relation" that he first developed intra-archipelagically from the Antilles, before proceeding to expand it hemispherically to the entire American continent. In his theory, applied in 1981 in *Le discours antillais* and further developed in 1990 in *Poétique de la Relation*, and which sharpened itself in a critical dialogue with substantially more strongly centering beliefs such as those formulated by Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Rafaël Confiant in their much-respected but also much over-estimated *Eloge de la créolité* of 1989,[132] Glissant left no doubt that his spatial conception of the Antilles was at once relationally and hemispherically conceptualized. For Glissant perceived the Antilles as a "multi-relation" that was in no way to be understood as scattered flecks of earth in a "Sea of the USA," but instead as forming the "estuary of the Americas."[133] It is as though Edouard Glissant had undertaken the ambitious attempt to delineate that landscape of José Lezama Lima as a landscape of theory, but one in which everything has to be in constant motion, *forma en devenir*, and must not congeal into a solid form.

What then would be more sequentially correct than an expansion of this conception to the world-wide, a universalization that—as Gesine Müller articu-

132 C.f. Jean Bernabé / Patrick Chamoiseau / Rafaël Confiant: *Eloge de la créolité*; see also the eleventh chapter of my aforementioned volume, *Literatur in Bewegung*.
133 Edouard Glissant: *Le discours antillais*, p. 249.

lated from the perspective of coexistence[134]—was already apparent in the 19th century in both the French- and Spanish-speaking Caribbean?

The hemispheric viewpoint consistently expands in *The Magnetic Land* to a transarchipelagic dynamic, the relationality of which henceforth spreads worldwide while at the same time comprising the American continent: a Polynesia, a Land of Many Islands, on a global scale. This is shown by the aforementioned micro-text in the central piece of the entire volume, with its macrogeographical dimensioning and greatest possible precision:

> To be Rapa Nui, repository of the unique and the quite ordinary, of these powers that the people of the Pacific and South America have carried [...] Papa Kiko sings a lamentation of the Quechua from the heights of the Andes, and to the beat of the tambourine he dances an approximation of some steps from Vanuatu with complete profundity. Pirù perfects the collection of trash, though it is constantly overflowing. The island-body of the island is within them, its secrets are at home in the veins of the volcanoes of the inhabitants, inseparably circulating. Since the island is so far away from every measure and from every calculation and from every view and from every approximation, it lies forever *in a view from above* that has blessed the archipelagos collected down below with its gifts.[135]

The connection of the I(s)land-world, seemingly isolated due to the tremendous distances, to the Island Worlds of the Archipelago, but also to the Andes of the American continent, gives rise to a world that, in the view from above like that of the Creator, puts forth the dynamic, mobile relationality of a planet in which the songs of cultures that are spatially far removed from one another can be heard at different points, but without melting into one another. The clearly transcultural arrangement of this polyphone orchestration of Pacific and America dynamizes a transareal modeling on a world-wide scale. From the I(s)land-world and Island World of Easter Island, that which is planetary, that which binds archipelagos and continents, becomes—and this opens up a positively paschal dimension—capable of being newly understood, newly experienced, and newly lived.

At the current point in time, America is generally known, due to the greenhouse effect and the attendant reduction in the polar ice cap, once again to have become an island that may well present itself as a large, continuous, and contiguous landmass, but does not at the same time fulfill that second level of

134 See the convincing article by Gesine Müller: "'Nunca se llega a ser caribeño del todo.' *ZusammenLebensWissen* in transkolonialer Dimension. Oder: karibische Literaturen im 19. Jahrhundert." In: Ottmar Ette (ed.): *Wissensformen und Wissensnormen des Zusammenlebens*. Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter 2012, pp. 192–205.

135 Edouard Glissant: *La terre magnétique*, p. 92.

meaning for *continens* that rests upon the fact that the continents of Africa, Asia, and Europe are contiguous to one another such that, without the crossing of oceans or ocean narrows, one can "wander" from one continent to another. If the hemispheric construction of America from a geographical perspective, through the melting of the polar ice caps, has long since brought to light an insular structure *within* the continental mass, then a transarchipelagic vision in the manner of the network of views of island dwellers is the design for a world that, in the double logic of I(s)land-world and Island World, becomes quite vivid in the north-south extension of the New Continent. In other words: the relationship between island and continent can no longer be understood only as a structure of opposites, but as a complementary referential structure and, moreover, a fractal model that oscillates in the self-similarities between continent and island. This is no doubt even more evident in the relationship between the "continent" of Australia and that "invisible continent" that—to connect to Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio's *Approche du continent invisible*[136]—is formed from Polynesia, Melanesia, or Micronesia. Toward the end of his life, Glissant without a doubt scored a final, cleverly prepared culture-theoretical coup in having, as it were, transarealized his Antillean Island World in the transpacific island profusion.

In these theoretical constellations, most likely hidden from a first glance that sticks only to the surface of the ocean, one can recognize a substantial reason why Glissant did not give his book the title *L'île magnétique* instead of *La terre magnétique*. For the French *terre* (unlike the lexeme "land," but comparable to the German "Erde" and the English "earth") includes the very important planetary dimension. Drawn up in this way, the mobile, dynamic view of the planet opens a transareal understanding of "world." This is not tied to territories and firmly-drawn borders, but understands spaces from the movements that cross them, so as to transfer the migratory spaces that thus arise into mutually transformational relationship networks. Nothing on this planet is immovable, once and for all fixed: *La terre magnétique* delineates the often hidden forces of attraction or repulsion that determine the force field of our *polynesian*, island-rich globe.

Before this backdrop, the particular sense, the particular logic of an I(s)land-world are maintained; at the same time, however, it becomes obvious that this particular logic of a given isle cannot be understood as long as it is not considered in relation to the transareal conditions of tension in world-spanning Island Worlds. But this is no more and no less than a *living* structure that cannot

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136 J.M.G. Le Clézio: *Raga. Approche du continent invisible.*

be held to a permanently fixed conceptuality. In the magnetic and force fields of the Earth and its islands, it always comes to new choreographies, to ever-new *errances*: wanderings and migrations that—so it seems—are indebted to no ideological, *Weltanschauung*-related, or historical-philosophical teleology. Shifting, wandering islands have for some time no longer been a "peculiarity" of the European Middle Ages.

It may be that such a *living* polylogic is not always readily apparent, although Edouard Glissant honestly endeavored to spell it out through the example of a multilogical landscape of theory—the example of the Polynesian Pacific. It may be that in the closing thoughts of the narrator—who, possibly with a look to the often unfairly assessed Glissant (as "difficult" or even "incomprehensible"), complains of having to hear the same old story, "always the same litany" (*Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire je ne sais pas*[137])—we can hear the fear on the part of the Caribbean poet and theorist coming through, the fear that his reading public will not understand. But is not the difficult characterized exactly by the fact that it stimulates?

For in essence, everything is quite simple, if one only first adopts or utilizes insular and transarchipelagic logics that, like literature, do not seek the truth, but at best seek truths in the plural. And so ends the text, where the difficult, the challenging is unraveled, and gains, in the found or invented, but in every case experienced and lived words of the island inhabitants, an unaccustomed effortlessness: "Nothing is true in truth, everything is totally alive: yes, this is the translation that these people give to the raging breath of the stone, yes, yes says Ammy: Nothing is true, everything is alive."[138]

Text passages of this sort, in light of the fact that in truth, nothing is true, make it unequivocally clear: literature is an experimental field of the living, it is a testing ground of life in life itself, in that it is concerned not with the truth, but with the truths. An island-island like Edouard Glissant's magnetizing Easter Island, in which the most widely different islands—in the midst of great spatial isolation but almost magnetically attracted toward one another—transarchipelagically superimpose and consolidate themselves, can with good reason be conceptualized as a privileged movement-place from which the world can be reconsidered and reinvented. From here—and is this not the achievement of literature, the mission of literary science?— the world can be prospectively opened with new concepts for a new, and above all *living*, understanding.

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137 Ibid. p. 118.
138 Ibid.

Islands as Continents, Continents as Islands

The different dimensions of life and the living also stand at the center of Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio's travel text *Raga. Approche du continent invisible*, which at this point in the course of our considerations will be examined for a second time. In the fifth chapter (dedicated to foods) of his book, that came out in 2006 as part of Edouard Glissant's project "Peoples of the Water" and was strongly influenced by the thoughts of the Martinican poet,[139] it becomes apparent that it is not only about the life of the people, but also about the life of the island and the sustainable safeguarding of this life. For the islands of Oceania were not simply occupied by their original inhabitants, as was later the case under the rule of the various colonial powers. They were, rather, very carefully cultivated and treated positively lovingly, as living beings:

> As soon as they are finished with all of that, this earth (*terre*) belongs to them. Not as though they possessed it for all eternity, but just to live from it and to enjoy it. This earth has been given to them as a gift from the spirits of the dead in order to continue their history. It is a living being that moves, that stretches out together with them, it is their skin, along which run shivers and desires.[140]

In this passage from the chapter "Taro, Yams, Kava," not only is a living connection established between the living and their dead, who bequeathed to them the land and their history, a relationship oriented toward coexistence is also established between the people and "their" island, their land, their earth. For coexistence never only means the living together of different people, but also the coexistence (as responsible and future-oriented as possible) of human and nature, of life and life.

This is a matter of coexistence in its most fundamental sense; it is indeed a *symbiosis*, in which the two different life forms, humans and islands, with all their fears and all their joys, share a common life. Thus the island is not conquered and plundered, it is not overrun with planters, plantations, and police stations so that the highest possible profits can be drawn from the land; instead, it is incorporated into a knowledge for living that is at the same time knowledge for living together and knowledge for survival. For it should make it possible, even under difficult conditions, for the resources necessary to all life forms to be ensured in the long term. Everything is permeated with life. The islands live and

139 See the review by Gilles Bounoure in *Le Journal de la Société des Océanistes* (Marseilles) 125 (2007), p. 37f.

140 J.M.G. Le Clézio: *Raga. Approche du continent invisible*, p. 65f.

move; they swim with the people in an immeasurable ocean that is actually inimical to people, an ocean whose tremendous dimensions are again and again evoked in the text. Here too: swimming, shifting islands.

Over this ecosystem, established over the course of the long temporal spaces of settlement, the different phases of accelerated globalization—as Le Clézio's *Raga* impressively presents— break with all fury (and with all perfidy). It is illuminating that the narrator identifies that space of time that we have designated as the fourth phase of accelerated globalization with that "wave that today washes over all the shores of the world, even to the most distant archipelago."[141] And further: "The globalization (*mondialisation*) is, without a doubt, primarily one of epidemics."[142] No less dreadful than the transgressions of the individuals who consciously infect their partners with the Aids virus—and thus carry on (as we have seen) the globalization theme that has run through the centuries—are the big pharmaceutical companies "that refuse to distribute at lower cost those medications that slow down the development of Aids, thereby handing the sick from the poorest countries a death sentence."[143] The sicknesses do not appear here to be scourges from nature: they are tied in manifold ways to the actions of the individual and his very specific interests, and in the form of epidemics or pandemics, turn out once again to be leading indicators of accelerated globalization.

But the different historical phases of accelerated globalization are not only present on the level of epidemics and plagues in *Raga*. While the Iberian seafarers and "discoverers" of the first wave might only have sailed through this continent composed of islands in search of richer regions and, while on their way to the legendary southern continent, were as incapable of recognizing this Island World as a continent as were the Bougainvilles and Cooks of the second phase, in the third phase of accelerated globalization, multiple calamities befell the world of Oceania. In the chapter "Blackbirds," the question of what the so-called "discoveries" and voyages of exploration of Europeans and US Americans in the Pacific region had cost in human lives is worked out, with reference to scientific studies.

These numbers are shocking, reminiscent of those concerning the inhabitants of the Antilles who, over the course of the first phase of accelerated globalization, were for the most part annihilated. The simple columns of numbers read like a death register and a victims list of a development that had broken upon

141 Ibid. p. 93.
142 Ibid.
143 Ibid. p. 94.

the area of the New Hebrides like a natural catastrophe. And yet we are dealing here not with the consequences of a pandemic, but with a catastrophe created and directed by human hand:

> 1800: according to estimates, around 1,000,000 inhabitants
> 1882: 600,000 (estimate acc. Speiser)
> 1883: 250,000 (estimate acc. Thomas)
> 1892: fewer than 100,000 (Colonial Office in London)
> 1911: 65,000 (British government census)
> 1920: 59,000 (*idem*)
> 1935: 45,000 (*idem*)[144]

The sharp, catastrophic collapse of population figures during the time span of the third phase of accelerated globalization not only indicates the effects of epidemics that were carried along by the globalizers, but shows even more the consequences of a ruthless plundering of the inhabitants, who were pressed into forced labor under slavery-like conditions on the plantations of the globalizers by the so-called "Blackbirders." For in a biopolitics of the most brutal sort, the island inhabitants were deported by regular man hunters—of whom we will hear in still other parts of the tropics—to French, British, US American, Australian and German colonies. With long-lasting consequences:

> In total, during this second half of the 19th century, more than 100,000 Melanesians were taken, men and women, of whom the greater part never returned to their native land. This hemorrhage can still be sensed today, a hundred years later. The impression of anxiety that lies upon these shores, the isolation of the villages perched on the flanks of the mountains, speak again of that accursed time when every sail that appeared on the horizon spread fear among the inhabitants.[145]

In the midst of the fourth phase of accelerated globalization, a specific sensitivity seems to have arisen regarding all of those processes and developments, destructions and atrocities that can be observed in such great measure during the third phase, which for a long time were at best ignored in European historical writing, but for the most part—and this not seldom even today—deliberately hidden and conjured away. The aesthetic examination of earlier globalization phases has become a solid component of contemporary literature at the turn from the 20th to the 21st century, which is why a further example, originating in other cultural areas, should in turn be analyzed. Unlike many scientific discipli-

144 Ibid. p. 47.
145 Ibid. p. 54

nes, the literatures of the world know very well that the current phase of accelerated globalization can only be adequately understood if one very consciously incorporates the lived events and vectorizations from earlier phases of accelerated globalization. *Une mondialisation peut en cacher une autre.*

The literatures of the world have long since taken over the function of recording these destructive phenomena, massacres, and mass-exterminations, not just as selected points, but in a transareal movement-context, thereby experimenting not only with the means and possibilities of a historiographic memory or a historio-scientific memory-politics, but to experiment with other forms of a memoria that are not merely the sheer reprocessing of what is past, but which are turned far more toward forming the future. As it is stated in the closing chapter "Islands" with unmistakable prospective accentuation:

> In truth, the island is one of those places where firmly emplaced memory is of quite the least importance. The Antilles, the Mascarenes—but also the Pacific atolls, the archipelagos of the Society Islands and of the Gambiers, Micronesia, Melanesia, Indonesia. They fell victim to such unbearable, horrific violations and crimes that there was nothing left to their inhabitants but to turn their gaze away from these to some point in their history, that they might again learn to live, for otherwise, they would perforce sink into nihilism and despair.[146]

This important passage is not about erasing or suppressing the past and its horrors, but about a memory culture that in the moment of forgetting reopens the possibility of learning to live again so as to be able to live with a new self-determination in the future. The past is not lost in this way, but instead enjoys the double-sense of the German word *aufgehoben* ("kept" and "abolished"): a paradox of a forgetting that remembers, that is aimed at the future and intent on winning back life. In this important gnoseme of a knowledge for and about living (and survival), the fundamental promise of literature appears: to have ready a knowledge of life *in* life that in a living way can be incorporated *into* life and fruitfully transformed *for* one's own life. Literature sees itself here as a means of living.[147]

Yet it is by no means only the islands that are the focus of a writing that is widespread in the literatures of the world and that, in awareness of the current

146 Ibid. p. 123.

147 On this important dimension of literature, see Ottmar Ette: "LebensMitte(l) Literatur. Vom Lesen des Lebens als Mittel des Lebens: Überlegungen im Anschluß an Honoré de Balzacs 'La Peau de chagrin'. In: Ottmar Ette / Yvette Sán-chez / Veronika Sellier (eds.): *LebensMittel: Essen und Trinken in den Künsten und Kulturen*, Zurich: Diaphanes 2013, pp. 21–46.

globalization phase, turns critically to earlier phases of accelerated globalization. For just as the relationships and connections between the most disparate archipelagos from the Antilles to Indonesia are brought to attention in the *passage* above, so too can continents be placed in connection with one another in a no less transareal manner, being comparably affected by the impact of globalization phenomena. Indeed, for the transtropical region in the current phase of accelerated globalization especially, there can be found numerous examples in the literatures of the world.

Born in 1936 in Peruvian Arequipa, Mario Vargas Llosa, who like Le Clézio is one of the recent winners of the Nobel Prize for literature, first dealt in his body of works with his native region of Peru, especially Lima, but soon expanded to look at the Andes and Amazon regions of his home country, and later (in *The War of the End of the World*) at Brazil and (in *The Feast of the Goat*) at the Island World of the Caribbean. In this successive expansion of the diageses of his novels and narrative texts, his novel *The Dream of the Celt*,[148] published in 2010, the year of his distinction in Stockholm, receives a special significance due to its initially multispatial and multitemporal construction. For here, in a very consciously transareally constructed novel diegesis, Europe, Africa, and America are so connected that the three continents cannot be thought of separately from one another: they are components of an interdependent system whose knowledge for dominance is, admittedly, very unevenly distributed. But what do these three areas in the prosperous *Fin de siècle* before the outbreak of the First World War have to do with one another?

Already in the novel's effective cover-art designed by Pep Carrió, in the silhouette of Roger Casement, the story's protagonist, can be seen a world map in which there appear, like islands that are connected to one another by drops of blood, the places of these events from the third phase of accelerated globalization (fig. 13). The historical figure of Roger Casement, born near Dublin in 1864 and executed for high treason in London in 1916, connects his two very asymmetrical islands of origin, Ireland and England, with the locations of that extreme colonial and neocolonial exploitation to which at that time the Congo and the region of the Putumayo in the Peruvian Amazon Basin were subjected. It is a world of ruthless expansionist politics in the competition of the industrial powers over the division of the "last" colonies, as they emerged in paradigmatic fashion at the Africa Conference in Berlin in 1884—which is brought up many

148 Mario Vargas Llosa: *El sueño del celta*. Mexico City: Santillana–Alfaguara 2010.

times during the events of the novel. A world in the crosshairs of several old, but also some new, colonial powers.

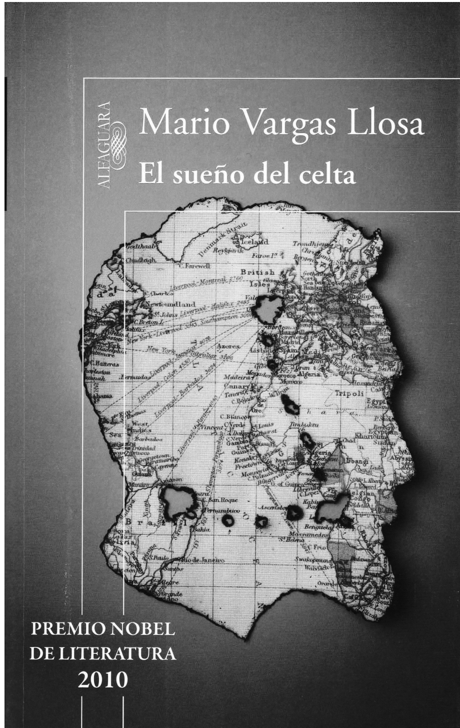

Fig. 13: Dust Jacket for Mario Vergas Llosa's *El sueño del celta.* Madrid: Alfaguara 2010.

Mario Vargas Llosa chose his subject well. In the figure of Roger Casement himself, the highly decorated and even knighted British diplomat who later rebelled against England and became an Irish national hero, the different landscapes, asymmetries, and forms of exploitation that tie together the Congo, the region of the upper Putumayo, and finally Ireland, despite all their differences, culminate again and again in a virtually transarchipelagic way. For do not the same interests, the same powers, stand behind all political and economic actions? And is not the Congo—as the novel repeatedly states—everywhere?

> Roger felt himself shifted in space and time to the Congo. The same scenes of horror, the same contempt for the truth. The difference consisted of the fact that Zumaeta spoke in Spanish and the Belgian bureaucrats in French. They denied the obvious with the same

> insolence, for they believed in both cases that to collect caoutchouc and earn money were ideals for Christians that justified the worst misdeeds against those heathens, who were always obviously cannibals and murderers of their own children.[149]

The colonialist European discourse that justified the worst atrocities has long since overgrown everything and become a matter of course, second nature to the so-called "civilized." Only from a deeper understanding—in the sense of Wilhelm Dilthey's *durcherlebt*[150]("lived out") understanding—of the colonial and neocolonial situations in Africa and America does the British diplomat, passionately fighting for his ideals of humaneness, develop an insight into the misanthropic ruthlessness of the "mother countries" that present themselves as so "civilized," but also insight into the fact that his own Irish homeland is subject to, and helplessly at the mercy of, the same principles of British power politics. Not until he considers it in the light of the collection of raw caoutchouc on the Putumayo and Congo can Roger Casement newly read, write, and experience—and thereby transform—Ireland's situation. Thus does he decide to turn against the Great Britain that he has for many years diplomatically represented, and thereby throw himself in the path of what is undoubtedly the most powerful protagonist of the third phase of accelerated globalization, the British Empire. A hopeless case?

Yes and no. In every trap is material from which (admittedly, in a contradictory way) national heroes can be made, and specifically then, when they do not procure their views and insights from the immediate influence of national experiences. For only from a world-wide perspective does the hero figure, written by an author with Peruvian and Spanish citizenship, recognize that Ireland is after all nothing but a colony in the hands of British capitalism—no different from the well-camouflaged mechanisms of the Peruvian Amazon Company, who continued to make the rich richer and the poor poorer until Casement, as he did in his report on the Belgian plundering of the Congo, establishes openness and uncovers all of the inhumanity upon which the share earnings of this seemingly impeccable corporation on the London Stock Exchange actually rely. So, criticism of colonialism? Certainly. Did not the historical Roger Casement investigate "atrocious crimes against primitive peoples and indigenous communities on two continents"[151] and in this way recognize and reveal the rules of play in

149 Ibid. p. 174.

150 C.f. Wilhelm Dilthey: "Goethe und die dichterische Phantasie." In: Wilhelm Dilthey: *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung. Lessing—Goethe—Novalis—Hölderlin*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1985, p. 139.

151 Mario Vargas Llosa: *El sueño del celta*, p. 194.

that phase of accelerated globalization, which were valid until the outbreak of the First World War, that dirty, interest-driven war, under the favorable conditions of which he himself sought to connect the fate of Ireland to an alliance with the German Reich against the Empire?

The overall structure of the novel, that is partitioned into the chapters "El Congo," "La Amazonía," "Irlanda," and a final epilogue, allows from the beginning no doubt that the tropical regions of Africa and America, despite their very different political situation—on the one side, a Belgian colony, on the other, the economically dependent and corrupt Peruvian national state—are in a structural analogy. They are caught in the framing circumstances of an accelerated globalization directed at the competition of the powers over the last colonies remaining to be divided, where they, like Ireland so close to England, are like dependent islands bound to their power centers in Europe and mercilessly subject to their interests. *The Dream of the Celt* seeks again and again to make it clear: the matter of Ireland could not be adequately understood without an understanding of the global mechanisms of British world dominance.

Decisive to this world-spanning competition for markets, profits, and power were the workforces that in each case would be deployed as inexpensively as possible, and without whose "free" availability the sought-after maximizing of profits on the part of the companies driving the economic globalization would never have been possible. Under the pretense of Christian proselytizing and civilizing, entire peoples—contemporaneous with the deportation of slave labor in the Pacific region on which Le Clézio's text reports—were driven to their deaths in enslavement disguised as wage labor, a process of the most intense brutality that *El sueño del celta* seeks to retrace in all detail of human cruelty, and even more, to shape in a way that is sensuously reproducible. Flogging, mutilation, torture, and murder—as before in *La fiesta del chivo*, the arsenal of atrocities and acts of violence that the Peruvian author unfolds before the eyes of his hero (and his readers) is simply inexhaustible. It is from this that the novel draws its own violence that it brings to bear on the violence of unscrupulous powers.

It is meanwhile no accident that this narrative text, based (as always with Vargas Llosa) on the on-site field research of the author, views the globalization phase of a century ago from a perspective that would surely be unthinkable without the experience of the current phase of accelerated globalization. However much the author, who in his presidential campaign lost in a close race to the later dictator Fujimori, might still remain in his political convictions the

writer who pays homage to neoliberalism, his novel presents to his readership (which, after the Nobel Prize, is more world-wide than ever)[152] the full impact and destructive force of an economic, political, religious, and cultural expansion that created a degree of international interrelation and dependency such as would not be reached again until the 60s of the 20th century. *The Dream of the Celt* also implies—beyond any not always auspicious political statements that never reach the high level of his literary work—a statement in response to all of those powers that drive the globalization surge of today.

It is thus not of anecdotal, but of structural significance that in the novel itself, different phases of accelerated globalization mutually illuminate one another and scrutinize one another in their continuities. This already happens at a point early in the novel, when the protagonist still believes in the civilizing mission of the Europeans and is at the moment working for the “Sanford Exploring Expedition” at a place as far as which “four hundred years before, the caravels of Diego Cao”[153] had advanced. But there, of all places, where the Portuguese seafarer had once immortalized his name—still legible then—on a cliff, a German engineering firm is beginning the construction of a city for European colonial public officials whose houses are being erected here from European wood for the exclusive use of European companies. As in Le Clézio’s text, where German Samoa does not go unmentioned, in Vargas Llosa’s novel it also becomes clear, with a look to the third phase, by what means the newly-founded German Reich desperately sought to find affiliation with the great colonial powers. Bismarck’s shadow—as both texts clearly show—is ubiquitous not only in Europe, but in Africa, America, and Oceania, even if the German Reich, unlike the USA, was no longer able before 1914 to press forward into the front ranks of expanding world powers.

The repeated inclusion of the first, the Iberian—and especially in Africa, the Portuguese—phase of accelerated globalization[154] leaves no room for doubt that *The Dream of the Celt* is determined to comprehend and illustrate the processes of globalization as phenomena *de longue durée*, as a development extending over several centuries. Again: the literatures of the world have never—and in this way they differ from the various scientific disciplines that actually should

152 C.f. Fernando A. Iwasaki Cauti: *Vargas Llosa de cuyo Nobel quiero acordarme*. Madrid: Instituto Cervantes 2011. An overview of the complete works is presented by Efraín Kristal / John King (eds.): *The Cambridge Companion to Mario Vargas Llosa*. Cambridge–New York: Cambridge University Press 2010.

153 Mario Vargas Llosa: *El sueño del celta*, p. 54.

154 A further reference can be found, among others, on p. 73; further references *passim*.

have known better—perceived globalization as a newly emerging phenomenon of the waning 20th century. For literary texts react virtually seismographically to all movements that have stored away within themselves movement-patterns that go back to earlier pathways.

The designation of Roger Casement as "the British Bartolomé de las Casas,"[155] as the great friend to the indigenous peoples of his century—a statement attributed to the great writer, Joseph Conrad—not only creates a direct connection between the first and the third phases of accelerated globalization (with a wink from the direction of the fourth phase) but at the same time makes it clear that beyond the connections between Africa and America, the entire tropical world had long since become the migratory space of European interests. On the main island of the Empire, all of the threads in the northern part of Europe ran together, with the help of which the colonial islands in the global south—from India to Oceania, from the Caribbean to South Africa—could be controlled and maneuvered at will.

But considering all of these not only transareal but also transhistoric connections between different spaces and times of globalization, one might ask: from all of these catastrophes, from the genocide and destruction that were brought forth—and not least by religious zeal or lust for profit—upon the (entire) population of the Earth, what has (European) humanity actually learned?

Exclusions and Inclusions: of Caoutchouc, Coolies, and Coral

To this question that he himself suggests, Mario Vargas Llosa's very deliberately transareally constructed novel provides—and herein lies one of his greatest assets in terms of any targeting of a broad effect—no simple answers. Above all else, he presents a long learning process. For in the Congo, the British citizen too sees himself confronted time and again with penetrating questions to which, in the first few years, he is unable to give any conclusive answers: "Were not the interests of the Empire more important than the whining complaints of a half-naked savage who worshipped felines and snakes and ate human flesh?"[156] Should not one, so Roger Casement says in conversation with himself, be allowed as a European to hope that civilizing progress despite all objectionable violations, would not in the end be beneficial to all people, even to the Africans who were treated on their own continent like beasts of burden?

155 Ibid. p. 74.
156 Ibid. p. 108.

Nevertheless, it became ever clearer to the Irishman that, since the conquest of America by the Iberian conquistadors, hardly anything had changed and that most Whites—or those who considered themselves as such[157]—still as a matter of course excluded Indians from the category of “human”:

> For them, the indigenous people of the Amazon region were in an actual sense not human beings, instead a lower and contemptible form of existence that stood closer to animals than to the civilized. It was thus legitimate to exploit them, to flog them, to abduct them, to transport them away for the preparation of caoutchouc or, if they mounted resistance, to kill them like rabid dogs.[158]

And yet at the same time, something had begun to change. For it had become possible, through the strength of the word, through the power of official reports, to shake a public awake that—once disturbed in its thoroughly profitable sleep—was absolutely in a position to react and to act. And now, it was a world-wide public that could be reached, a public that, for all of the harsh asymmetries at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century, could, within certain limitations, be designated an emerging world-public. An information society[159] in the sense of the fourth phase of accelerated globalization was certainly not yet functioning, and yet there were opportunities in Roger Casement’s time to use the indisputably present might of world-wide communication[160] and to expose the machinery of exploitation on-site, as it were, to that noble home office of the Peruvian Amazon Company in the heart of London’s center of world trade. These were opportunities such as the novel itself depicts condensed to a few lines:

> Roger had been in the offices of the Peruvian Amazon Company in Salisbury House, E.C., in the London financial center. A truly spectacular place, with a landscape painting by Gainsborough on the wall, uniformed secretaries, carpeted offices, leather sofas for visitors, and a whole swarm of clerks with their striped trousers, their black frock coats, their shirts with high, starched collars and their fancy little ties, who were all busy with calculations, sending and receiving telegrams, selling and collecting on shipments of talc-treated and aromatic caoutchouc to all of the industrial cities of Europe. And at the other end of the world, on the Putumayo, the Huitotos, Ocaimas, Muinanes, Nonuyas, Andoques, Rezi-

157 Irish in the US, for instance, were not categorically viewed as White until the beginning of the 20th century; on the problems of this historically highly changeable category, see Nell Irvin Painter: *The History of White People*. New York–London: W.W. Norton 2010.

158 Mario Vargas Llosa: *El sueño del celta*, p. 209.

159 Manuel Castells: *Das Informationszeitalter*.

160 C.f. Manuel Castells: *Communication Power*. Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press 2008.

> garos, and Boras, who were being slowly wiped out without anyone lifting a finger to change the situation.[161]

In a few lines, the world-wide interdependence and simultaneous radical asymmetry in the distribution of power is impressively presented in a situation painted out in rich detail, in which the modern transatlantic communications media ensure the exchange of commercially necessary information by transoceanic cable. But these communication structures serve one-sided interests that reach far beyond the interests of these secretaries and office workers who, as "uniformed personnel" ultimately point to that which is at first invisible. Specifically in that which remains invisible however, the power structures are brought forth and silently made visible in these few lines, in a way that is aesthetically effective. A machinery of world-wide exploitation and power, well oiled, created for a small minority: a finely balanced landscape painting of the third phase of accelerated globalization.

Regarding art: this passage, familiar as it is with the contemporary décor and fashion of the time of this historical novel, also receives, in the form of a decorative painting, a specifically intended purpose: that of an ornamental role that both displays and heightens the symbolic capital of its owner, and that, in its conceptual design as a landscape, conceals all of those landscapes for whose value and dignity no one will speak. The protagonist and the novel itself rebel against an art of this sort, for which Thomas Gainsborough's painting stands here as representative; they seek to defend a consciousness that one could, along with Alexander von Humboldt, call a complex *Weltbewußtsein*,[162] a world-consciousness. It abruptly places the landscape of the Putumayo into the well manicured landscape of the Thames.

Not being able at this point to go into the high frequency of the lexeme "life" (*vida*, *vivir*, *viviente,* etc.) that is detectable in this text, one should emphasize the degree to which an intrinsic poetics is woven into Vargas Llosa's novel, a poetics that assigns to art the task of giving shape to the complexity and inconsistency of human life in the experimental space of literature in a way that is aesthetically relivable. Roger Casement's insight, according to which "life, complex beyond all reckoning,"[163] eludes any sort of scientific calculability and becomes the foundation of an arrangement of action and figures in which the lite-

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161 Ibid. p. 220.

162 C.f. Ottmar Ette: *Weltbewußtsein. Alexander von Humboldt und das unvollendete Projekt einer anderen Moderne.*

163 Ibid. p. 355.

rary character of Roger Casement himself becomes "the living example of all of these ambiguities."[164]

Impressively lifted up to examination in Casement's political and biopolitical, humanistic and nationalistic, erotic and economic positions, is how life in the triangle of finding, inventing, and experiencing can be literarily represented with such openness, inconsistency, and recalcitrance. It is not the task of literature to resolve these "ambiguities" and render them calculable. It is not the task of literature to deliver recipes and formulas for the simple and appropriate solution of all of these real problems. Much more, it is a matter of examining and providing models for thought and interpretation that strive toward the relivability of life-processes, insofar as they are intensively *played out* (and in Dilthey's sense, *lived out*) by literary (albeit, occasionally historical) figures.

From our present perspective, hardly any other literary figure could serve more effectively than Vargas Llosa's Roger Casement to demonstrate so graphically the problems of the globalization surge at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century in all their contradictions, and thus to bring them in their transareal dimension effectively to the present. In the figure of Roger Casement is embodied the violence that in the third (as in the first, as in the second, as in the fourth) phase of accelerated globalization grips all bodies—in the finance center of London with its uniformed secretary-dolls and well-dressed scribblers as at "the end of the world" with its abducted, abused, and annihilated bodies of the indigenous peoples.

If one desired to formulate it paradoxically, one could maintain that Roger Casement, specifically because he felt himself *nunca de ninguna parte*,[165] that is, at home nowhere, had to lose his life in fighting for the dream of a free, independent Ireland. The Ireland of this dream, this *sueño*, as "his" island homeland, stands for all of those islands that, during his life with no fixed abode, he made his and for which he risked his life. As a wanderer between worlds—between Ireland and England, but also between Europe, Africa, and America—he needed to possess a very fine intuition for the fate of all of those peoples who, at the end of the passage cited above, after the description of the luxurious home office of the Peruvian Amazon Company in London, pop up briefly, only to be ultimately swallowed up by history as deported, enslaved wage laborers, as a "work force" that falls victim to extermination. In the machinery of asymmetrical power, nothing of them remains.

164 Ibid.
165 Ibid. p. 374 f.

For it seems that no one in Europe or elsewhere wants to take responsibility for these people, who according to falsified documents are taken on as wage workers and officially paid for their work. But official history may also have shut them out: *The Dream of the Celt* attempts in the current globalization phase to meet this historical exclusion with an inclusion that, while it does not turn them into the subject of their own story, at least lets them again come to the fore as persons who have been misused by history. Like objects of history in scientific treatises, certainly, but at the same time as *living* subjects who confront us with their gaze, with their abused bodies by the Congo or the Putumayo, with the only possession they have: their very life, which cannot be defined away.

Just as Vargas Llosa's narrator figures at first look from the standpoint of the fourth phase of accelerated globalization back to the third phase and its exclusions, so too, since the 1980s, has the poet, filmmaker, and cultural theorist Khal Torabully,[166] who was born in 1956 in Port-Louis on Mauritius, been developing from a dual historical world-consciousness his project of *Coolitude*. It forms the poetic and poetologically reflected attempt to develop, on the basis of inclusion of all of those persons excluded by history, a vision and revision of historical and current globalization processes that seeks to bring to language, to expression as living subjects, all those who for the most part had to hire themselves out under miserable circumstances as wage and contract workers worldwide.

The subject here, as compared to Vargas Llosa's novel, is neither the Black slaves, whose enslavement, at least on a formally legal level, was abolished over the course of the long 19th century, nor the caoutchouc workers exploited under slavery-like conditions who, for the most part, were "extracted" from the indigenous groups along the Congo or Putumayo and pressed into forced labor. Certainly, on the edges of the action in *The Dream of the Celt*, smaller groups of wage workers brought in from more distant regions show up, to whom the return voyage at no charge, to Barbados or Trinidad perhaps, that was promised upon their recruitment is never provided, being refused for threadbare reasons so that they can continue to be held in absolute dependence. Such a destiny, such a life-experience, becomes the historical starting point for the concept that was developed by Khal Torabully and called "coolitude," but it is not uncommon that first migrations, from India to the Antilles for instance, form the beginning of further subsequent migrations within the wide belt of the tropics dominated by colonial powers. The coolies, also ubiquitous in Lafcadio Hearn's is-

166 On the work of Khal Torabully, see Véronique Bragard: *Transoceanic Dialogues: Coolitude in Caribbean and Indian Ocean Literatures*. Frankfurt am Main–New York: Peter Lang 2008.

land-texts, count among the actually transtropical protagonists of the third phase of accelerated globalization, a fact that was first brought to our attention in all its vitality in the fourth phase of accelerated globalization by the culture theory and poetic praxis of the writer from Mauritius.

Khal Torabully, who earned his doctorate at Lyon with a dissertation on the semiology of poetics and is one of the founding members of a group of French researchers concentrating on globalization (*Group d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Globalisations,*(this should be *Mondialisation,*right?) or GERM), has not only sought to create in his poetic and poetological texts a literary monument, a memorial place, as it were, for the coolies who originated primarily in India, but also in China and other countries, but has also developed a poetics of global migration, as was already expressed in his 1992 volume *Cale d'Etoiles—Coolitude* ("Stardock—Coolitude"):

> Coolitude, to lay the first stone of my monument of all monuments, my language of all languages, my part of the unknown that innumerable bodies and innumerable stories have again and again deposited into my genes and into my islands. [...]
>
> This is the song of my love to the ocean and to the journey, the odyssey that my people who took to the sea have not yet written. [...]
>
> And I know my crew will perform in the name of those who wipe out the limits to enlarging the *Land of People*.[167]

In this song of love with its Homeric tones, an unmistakably prospective dimension appears at the side of the memoria of all of those who have been forgotten and swallowed up by history, whom we first encountered in the present work in the descriptions and photographs of the island-nomad of Greek-Irish extraction, Lafcadio Hearn. For to this *poeta doctus*, who comes from a family that once had left India to come to Mauritius in search of work, it is not a matter of a concluded past, the sealed grave which one must honor with little stones carried to it in the name of dutiful remembrance. Proceeding from both the collective and individual experiences that the largely disenfranchised wage and contract laborers were forced to endure, especially in the third phase of accelerated globalization, a poetics is developed that is turned to the future and also newly illuminates current globalization with its migrations, a poetics that, early in its global relationality, manifests itself squarely in the region of the tropics. It is stated (originally in French):

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167 Khal Torabully: *Cale d'Etoiles—Coolitude*, p. 7.

> You from Goa, from Pondicherry, from Chandannagar, from
> Cocane, from Delhi, from Surat, from London, from Shanghai,
> from Laurient, from Saint-Malo, you people of all ships
> who took me to another I, my stardock
> is my travel plan, free space, my vision of the
> ocean that we all cross, even if we do not
> see the stars at the same angle. [...]
>
> If I say coolie, I also say every pilot without
> registration on board; I say every person who set out
> for the horizon of his dream, whatever ship he took or
> had to take. For when one crosses the ocean, that he might come
> to another place in the world, then the seaman on a trip of no return loves
> to sink into his stories, into his legends and into his dreams. The
> time of an absence from memory.[168]

The idea of the coolie is historically anchored, but not thought of as excluding: it is also used by Torabully in a figurative sense and illuminates specific phenomena of a globalization "from below," a globalization of migrants who cross oceans in search of work. In lyrical compression, a truly world-wide network of such "travelers" arises, who as the objects of extreme exploitation connect the islands and cities of India, China, and Oceania with the European colonial harbors.

With the example of the changes to the lyric "I," it is clearly demonstrated how, in every ***Über**setzen* ("crossing over") and every *Über**setzen*** ("translation"), in every transfer there is always a transformation included that changes the "I" into another and in so doing, always opens new spaces to move and angles of view. The ocean becomes a simultaneously binding and separating element that also transforms the cities of this network of colonial exploitation into islands that develop their own "angle," their own perspective. The "odyssey"[169]

168 Ibid. p. 89: "Vous de Goa, de Pondichéri, de Chandernagor, de / Cocane, de Delhi, de Surat, de Londres, de Shangaï, / de Lorient, de Saint-Malo, peuples de tous les bateaux / qui m'emmenèrent vers un autre moi, ma cale d'étoiles / est mon plan de voyage, mon aire, ma vision de / l'océan que nous traversions tous, bien que nous ne / vissions pas les étoiles du même angle. [...] // En disant coolie, je dis aussi tout navigateur sans / registre de bord; je dis tout homme parti vers l'horizon / de son rêve, quel que soit le bateau qu'il accosta ou / dût accoster. Car quand on franchit l'océan pour naître / ailleurs, le marin d'un voyage sans retour aime replonger / dans ses histoires, ses légendes, et ses rêves. Le / temps d'une absence de mémoire."

169 C.f. the Chapter "The Coolie Odyssey: a Voyage in Time and Space" in Marina Carter / Khal Torabully: *Coolitude*, pp. 17–34.

of the contract laborers that we already encountered in Lafcadio Hearn's work and which was otherwise, for the most part, omitted from all identity discourses over a long period of time, follows its world-wide course between these islands. But a return voyage to Ithaca is not provided in the ship's logs or travel plans.

Accordingly, the Indian coolie is precisely perceived and reconstructed in his historical form, but does not remain restricted to the concrete figure of history insofar as he is instead metaphorically and, even more, *figurally*[170] expanded, as all of those who have made a journey under inhuman conditions and mostly with no return are drawn into the focus of a lyric poetry and a theory. That which was never written down, that which has slipped away from recollection and memory, that which no one wished to integrate into their respective identity construction is concentrated in Khal Torabully's writings both poetically and poetologically into a rational understanding of historical processes which cannot be viewed as territorializing and centering on one point, but instead must be understood movement-historically—and no longer spatial-historically—from an oceanic perspective (or from a perspective of Oceania). The *figura* of the coolie then, once "discovered," is *present* everywhere. For it is far more than a *figura* of memoria: it brings word in multiple senses from another time.

Even if the tropics in their dependence on outside powers remain a burning wound—"I will one day discover another new world. / From it I will burn the tropics / And damn Columbus for his damned economics."[171]—they still remain fixed in a wide network of movements, whose founder, Christopher Columbus, is representatively accused. This short, inserted look back at the first phase of accelerated globalization with its world-wide economic system throwing its net opens on something yet to come, on a "new world" in a different sense, in which the new possibilities are plumbed for building another world. For another, in this sense new, world based on future coexistence in diversity is possible. Khal Torabully's aesthetic is ethically based, its gesture postcolonial.

In his 1999 volume of poems *Chair Corail, Fragments Coolies* ("Coral Flesh, Coolie Fragments"),[172] the Mauritian poet (who has meanwhile also stepped forward as a filmmaker, having been recognized with the "Golden Award" at the Cairo Film Festival in 2010 for *La Mémoire maritime des Arabes*) introduced a metaphorology directed not toward the rhizome, as in the case of Deleuze and

170 C.f. Erich Auerbach: "Figura," pp. 55–92.

171 Khal Torabully: *Voices from Indentured*. Unpublished manuscript 2011.

172 Khal Torabully: *Chair Corail, Fragments Coolies*. Guadeloupe: Ibis Rouge Editions 1999.

Guattari,[173] but toward the coral, this symbiotic life form of the sea: “In my memory there are tongues too / my coolitude is not a stone / It is coral.”[174] Coolitude is no dead monument stone, but living, tonguing, speaking coral—except: “What is the poet trying to say here?” Is the language here not too obscure, too difficult?

Let us accommodate this stimulus. The diversity of language so important to Torabully’s writing and both the ***Über**setzen* and the *Über**setzen*** to other shores depict unceasing transfer procedures that again and again become transformation processes: “no longer the Hindu person from Calcutta / but coral flesh from the Antilles.”[175] From these mutations, from these metamorphoses, arises a praxis of writing and at the same time a culture theory that are both constructed in an unmistakably transarchipelagic manner. It is thus programmatically stated in Torabully’s contribution to a conference hosted by the University of Potsdam in 2011:

> The coral imagery based on coolitude constitutes a suggestion to archipelize these diversities that are so necessary to humanity (*une proposition d’archipéliser ces diversités si necessaries aux humanités*). It very concretely places our imagery from the polylogical, archipelagic India into the contemporary reality where economy, culture, and ecology cannot be separated from one another, as is substantiated by present day globalization with its repeated breakdowns filled with violence.[176]

This transarchipelagic view, based historically upon the painful experiences of millions of Indian coolies who in their desperate search for work signed five- and ten-year contracts that could just as easily spirit them away to the islands of the Indian Ocean or to Oceania, as easily to the British West Indies as to the French Antilles, is tied to the theorem of coral so crucial to Torabully’s writing, that he established in 2011 as follows:

> The coral is observable in its living habitat, quite unlike the rhizome, that lies under the earth. Beyond this, it affords me an agglutinating cohesion that builds itself, similar to a palimpsest, with layers, with concretion, with sedimentation, and not only for the sake of

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173 See Gilles Deleuze / Félix Guattari: *Rhizom*. Translated from the French by Dagmar Berger, et al. Berlin: Merve Verlag 1977.

174 Khal Torabully: *Chair Corail, Fragments Coolies*, p. 82: “ Dans ma mémoire sont des langues aussi / Ma coolitude n’est pas une pierre non plus / elle est corail.”

175 Ibid. p. 108: “non plus l’homme hindou de Calcutta / mais chair corail des Antilles.”

176 Khal Torabully: “Quand les Indes rencontrent les imaginaires du monde.” In: Ottmar Ette / Gesine Müller: *Worldwide/weltweit. Archipiélagos como espacios de prueba de convivencia global*, Ms., p. 12. See also the explanations by Khal Torabully at http://www.ialhi.org/news/-i0306_8.php.

> developing an erratic cohesion whereby it maintains the egalitarian aspect of the connection does it stand open to every current. The coral is, by its very essence, a hybrid, for it is born of the symbiosis of a phytoplankton and a zooplankton. In the object metaphors of diversity, it simply could not be better. It is root, polyp, and flattening, it is self-changing form, pliant and hard and even multicolored. Though it is rooted, it sets loose the greatest migration on Earth, that of the plankton, that can be seen from the moon like the Great Barrier Reef that was classified by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site. This archipelago of coral is quite simply the most widely spreading living sculpture on Earth, and it too can be seen from the moon.[177]

The recurrence of the lexeme *vivant* (living) at the beginning and end of this passage emphasizes the great degree to which life processes are also of crucial significance for Torabully in the theorem of coral. Though the poet and theorist did not include the fact that no less than Charles Darwin himself once played with the idea of making coral "the symbol of all natural development" and to use it as a "model of an evolution that anarchically grows in all directions and does not—as in the tree model—see man as the crown at the end of development"[178]: the coral does not just become a life-theorem for Torabully, but *embodies* in its vitality a knowledge for both survival and coexistence that allows this community of living beings in their *sym-bio-tic* form of existence to grow into artworks of tremendous dimensions. Even Darwin's "coral inspiration"[179] was already able to ensure itself of a long artistic and natural-philosophical history of tradition in which "the corals and the products they create in the struggle for life belong in the realm of art."[180] Had not Leon Battista Alberti, mentioned earlier in the present volume in a different context, already drawn attention to the simple way that complex natural forms can be reinterpreted from the human perspective into semantically high-powered works of art?[181]

That the coral is understood by the author from Port-Louis as a competing concept to the poststructuralist theory of the rhizome is obvious; at the same time, however, it becomes clear that both the coral and the rhizome, in an extremely similar manner, represent the non-centered, the self-networking, and the non-hierarchical, whereby the coral, in its oscillation between its life-dispensing (and erotic) fleshiness—the *Chair Corail*—and its sculpting dimension as a

177 Khal Torabully: "Quand les Indes rencontrent les imaginaires du monde," Ms., p. 10 f.
178 Horst Bredekamp: *Darwins Korallen. Die frühen Evolutionsdiagramme und die Tradition der Naturgeschichte*. Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach 2006, p. 1. My thanks to Gesine Müller for pointing out this publication.
179 Ibid. p. 70.
180 Ibid.
181 C.f. ibid. p. 11.

stone monument presents a dynamic connection between geology and biology, between animal and plant, between death and life, between society and community, the poetic valence of which can be played out in Torabully's lyric poetry. The symbiotic world of the coral connects to a coexistence that from the perspective of the tropics gives rise to a life-world that settles and develops above and below the surface of the ocean. As a poetic trope, the coral embodies the movement-world of the tropics and, thanks to its migrations, is the transtropical life form *par excellence*.

It is fascinating to see how dynamically and with what movement-historical mobility the Mauritian author lays out his concept of the coral, something that one might be, especially with a view to the Great Barrier Reef, more likely to associate in a general sense with rigidity and resilience. But Khal Torabully listens to the sweeping sound of its story, its many-storied layers, its living sedimentation. And he references its natural yet palimpsest-like art. It is only from this profoundly vital story of the smallest life forms that the resilience of the giant coral reefs grows.

The connection between coral and migration repeatedly emphasized by Khal Torabully is tied in the image-world of this poet and theorist with a coolitude that enters into the oceanic and the migratory. As the Mauritian culture-theorist stated in an address to UNESCO:

> It is impossible to understand the essence of coolitude without charting the coolies' voyage across the seas. That decisive experience, that coolie odyssey, left an indelible stamp on the imaginary landscape of coolitude.[182]

The *landscape of theory* implicitly addressed here undoubtedly enriches the relationality (developed transareally in the present volume over four phases of accelerated globalization) of the self-contained I(s)land-world and the archipelagic and transarchipelagic Island World, insofar as the movement-forms and forms of living of the coolies, who were released into the unknown, together with the epistemological and poetological metaphor of the coral, introduce a living and reinvigorating dynamic into this transtropical landscape of theory, and not only on the level of an intensifying metaphorology. Khal Torabully's conceptual world is shaped in a deeply transareal manner.

And this can be substantiated in terms of the history of the concept. In a volume he completed in 2002 with the British historian Marina Carter, the term

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182 Khal Torabully: "The Coolies' Odyssey." In: *The UNESCO Courier* (Paris) (October 1996), p. 13.

"coolitude" is historiographically anchored insofar as its different aspects are systematically discussed with reference to historical sources. In this work, the often brutal methods for recruiting inexpensive labor, such as we have already come to know from J.M.G. Le Clézio's travel text, *Raga*, by the example of the so-called "Blackbirders" in the Oceanic region, are time and again clearly identified and examined.

So it was that—to select but one individual example—in 1882, a little boy named Dawoodharree was recruited, as so often happens, under false pretenses to be sent as a contract laborer to the plantation on Mauritius with the lovely name of "Sans Souci." The manager of this plantation firmly refused the boy's request to be released, saying:

> Dawoodharree was engaged at the same time as five or six other men who came from India with him, that he was aware that he was going to Mauritius to contract an engagement for five years, that his passage as well as the passage of the others, had been paid by the sirdar of "Sans Souci" estate, and that the amount disbursed for this purpose by the sirdar had been refunded by the estate.[183]

Legality, legitimacy, and feudal-capitalistic inhumanity can hardly be distinguished from one another in this juristically argued, post-abolition document. It deals in absolutely no way with the question of coexistence, but with that of exploitation and concupiscence. Slavery may only be visible here as a metaphor, but it is much more: for the coolies, it is reality that they live out and live through. The contract becomes a construct through which the tropical promise of plenty again becomes the pitfall. For these ones forgotten by history, Khal Torabully unfolds *simultaneously* a poetry and a poetics, a theorem and a theory that, with a view to all of those developments that reached a dramatic high point over the course of the third phase of accelerated globalization, are in a position to construct a landscape that can be sensuously experienced and re-experienced, a landscape that would not be imaginable without the culture-theoretical backgrounds of the current globalization surge. Literature allows these forgotten lives to come alive again, and thanks to its aesthetic power makes it possible to re-experience what the movements are, what the paths are that, like a palimpsest, vectorize and continue to determine our current paths of movement.

Without a doubt: it is a matter of a transareally conceived landscape of theory that certainly could not have been designed without the political, social, and cultural contexts of the island of Mauritius, which became independent in

183 Quotation from Marina Carter / Khal Torabully: *Coolitude*, p. 24.

1968. Uninhabited before its colonization, this island in the Indian Ocean that existed under the dominion of Portugal (1505-1598), the Netherlands (1598-1710), France (1715-1810) and England (1810-1968), concentrates as in a concave mirror many of the developments that are characteristic of a transarchipelagic multiconnectivity that, especially in the realm of the tropics—as we have seen—experienced a very specific shaping process. Much in the way that, on the religious level, Hinduism, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Islam come together in the closest of spaces, so too, on the linguistic level, one can differentiate, along with Morisien (a creole based on French that is used by nearly the entire population), different North Indian variants of Hindi, South Indian languages like Tamil, and South Chinese dialects as well, while English is the bureaucratic language and French not only is spoken as the mother tongue of an elite class, but also dominates in the mass media. A linguistic, religious, cultural microcosm that Khal Torabully is able, through aesthetic and epistemological means, to open up to the macrocosm.

The world of coolitude is thus, looking as much at Khal Torabully's Mauritian origins as at the world-wide migrations of the coolies themselves, a world that is at the highest level not only multicultural but also multilingual, in which *Über-Setzen* in its various senses is of crucial importance. ***Über**setzen* ("to cross over ") and *Über**setzen*** ("to translate") thus indisputably belong to the core of that which one may designate, with Khal Torabully and Marina Carter, as "the coolie heritage."[184] Even if, in his various writings, the multilingual author from Mauritius can by no means illuminate all linguistic and translingual dimensions, there can be no doubt how much his theoretical prose *and* his lyric praxis are shaped by continual processes of crossing from one language to another—a fact that can be heard not only in his public readings.

Consequently, if one should wish with good reason to speak of "revoicing the coolie,"[185] then it is important to bear in mind that the many voices of coolitude never spoke with one voice or one language, and that they also cannot do so in the future. Even though Khal Torabully has had to defend himself in response to the objection or accusation of sometimes essentializingly proceeding in his conceptions through a certain appendance to the concept of *négritude* developed by Césaire and Senghor,[186] and even if some might be able to consider

184 Ibid. p. 117.

185 Ibid. p. 214.

186 See Khal Torabully: "Quand les Indes rencontrent les imaginaires du monde," Ms. p. 1f.

the concept of the search for “identity”[187] to be terminologically problematic, the great significance of the Mauritian author’s thought and writings is beyond questioning: “In the “post-ethnic society” of Mauritius where the “impact of modernity” has rubbed away at competing ancestral cultures, Khal Torabully has emerged to become a “*homme-pont*,” or human bridge.”[188]

For in the place of a chain of mutual exclusions—“The White rejects the Black, and he, the coolie”[189]—the author of *Chair Corail, Fragments Coolies* sets a writing that knows itself to be connected to forms of writing that (in an often diasporic situation) unleash multilingual *imaginaires polylogiques et archipeliques*. They open out upon a “contamination of discourses, genres, places, and even languages,”[190] that is no longer subject to any sort of spatial-historical, territorializing underpinning.

In this way, India is newly pluralized, it now experiences as *les Indes*, *las Indias*, or *the Indies* a self-directed *Orient*ation in which East Indies and West Indies, Asia and Australia, Europe, America, and Oceania are incorporated and opened up, on the literary and the culture-theoretical levels, in a reciprocal multidimensionality and polylogic of relationality. Their richness is the richness of transareal literatures and transareal studies. For that which is developed by these far more transareally complex literatures and theories will, bit by bit, alter and fundamentally transform our world view, our world consciousness, and not last—and there is no need here for the gift of prophecy—our concrete world experience itself. Coolitude is anything but a problem of the Other: it allows us, in a new and different way, to understand and grasp conceptually the literatures of the world, far beyond the world of literature. And thereby to continue to make our world in a polylogical way.

Insularia in the Current Globalization Surge

Is there a future for the insularia, for those island atlases whose importance to the first phase of accelerated globalization was discussed at length in this volume? And what could a written form look like, that would make this tradition fruitful and useful for the literatures of the world under the circumstances of the

187 C.f., repeatedly, in the closing section of Marina Carter / Khal Torabully: *Coolitude*, p. 215 and passim.
188 Ibid. p. 216.
189 Khal Torabully: “Quand les Indes rencontrent les imaginaires du monde,” Ms. p. 7.
190 Ibid. Ms. p. 9.

current surge in globalization? If we should wish to ask today about the possible forms of insularia that would be in a position to develop a polylogical, global perspective, crossed by many logics and many languages, then a special significance would surely be gained by the literary short (and shortest) forms. For the microtextual literary form that makes the small, even smallest, text-islands, and has become the object of nanophilological studies,[191] still offers today the possibility of polyperspectively developing a world, not from the perspective of continental continuity, but of multiply broken insularities.

As a representative for the many other authors who have taken the literary praxis of the shortest texts—notably in Spanish-speaking America—to an impressive blossoming, one might accordingly cite the experimental texts of Yoko Tawada, whose work can be understood in many respects as a highly creative reaction to the challenges of the fourth phase of accelerated globalization. Like hardly any other artist, she knows how to construct in her works an arc of suspense that transareally develops in ever-changing oscillations between the Japanese archipelago and the German-speaking realm.

From the perspective chosen in this volume, the complete works of the Japanese-born author can be understood as a single, great island atlas, an *isolario* of the continents and cultures, the languages and language games, the I(s)land-worlds and Island Worlds, wherein the long forms of her novels stand out like moving continents among the widely varying forms of short and shortest texts. The ocean, the sea, consistently forms in this world-spanning archipelago of Tawada's texts the element that simultaneously separates and connects, but even in separation always relates, moves, and flows: a world of islands that in the water, in the fluid, in the supposedly limitless, does not dissolve, for it would then *liquidate* itself.

The programmatic diversity of voices and multiplicity of meanings that would have to be paradigmatic for a world-spanning 21st century island book conceived in this sense can already be found in a concentrated fashion in the title of her book, *Überseezungen*[192]. For does not this title play off of one another, between the linguistic *Über**setzen*** ("translate") and the spatial ***Über**setzen* ("cross over"), a number of possibilities of meaning that have to do with a wide variety of phenomena connected to translation between different areas, different languages, and different cultures?

191 C.f. Ottmar Ette (ed.): *Nanophilologie. Literarische Kurz- und Kürzestformen in der Romania*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag 2008.

192 C.f. Yoko Tawada: *Überseezungen*. Tübingen: konkursbuch Verlag Claudia Gehrke 2002.

Regardless of whether we are dealing here with "Übersetzungen" that are carried out interlingually (between different languages) or intralingually (within the same language); with "Übersee-Zungen" ("overseas tongues"—languages far apart spatially); with a treatise "über Seezungen" ("concerning sea-tongues"—for literary gourmets, with a possibly seductive nonobservance of the different types of tongue); with the appeal "Üb Ersetzungen!" ("Practice substitutions!"—addressed to passive readers); with the demand "Üb er Setzungen!" (imperative to *er*, the third-person male "Practice phrasings!"—which could be directed to all male readers who might not be aware of the great significance of phrasings—gender specific, for instance—and definitions; or with other assignments of meaning that can be generated in a ludic manner, turning on the difference between ***der*** *See* ("the lake") and ***die*** *See* ("the ocean"): consistently, *the* sense cannot be con*firm*ed, it begins again and again to oscillate, to fluctuate between two or several poles, such that the ***Über****setzen* between different spaces and the *Über****setzen*** between different cultures becomes an unstoppable motion. The motion of the sense and the senses in Yoko Tawada's *Überseezungen*-work is radically open—an openness, by the way, that also becomes apparent in the artist's impressive performances.

If Tawada's form of living, often brought into play through carefully strewn biographemes, can be described as a pendulum-swing between Japan and Germany, but also between other countries and continents, then her literature undoubtedly stands in association with a Writing-between-Worlds,[193] as is typical of literatures without a fixed abode. And it is obvious that these oscillations leave their mark not only on the life of this writer, who was born in Tokyo in 1960, first traveled with the Trans-Siberian Railroad to Germany in 1979, lived in Hamburg after 1982 but has lived in Berlin since 2008,[194] and who received the doctorate in the field of Modern German Literature at the University of Zürich with the dissertation topic *Spielzeug und Sprachmagie*[195]. For Yoko Tawada's work, while certainly not exclusively, is surely fundamentally marked by micro-

193 C.f. Ottmar Ette: *Writing – between – Worlds*, Ch. 6, "Oscillations."

194 Different emphases in the paratextual apparatuses of Yoko Tawada's books is always enlightening. See the information in the first edition of Yoko Tawada: *Talisman*. Tübingen: konkursbuch Verlag Claudia Gehrke 1996; or Yoko Tawada: "Neun Fragmente." In: Yoko Tawada / Aki Takase: *diagonal*. CD. Tübingen 2003, booklet. An informative overview of life and work is provided by Albrecht Kloepfer / Miho Matsunaga: "Yoko Tawada." In: Heinz Ludwig Arnold (ed.): *Kritisches Lexikon zur deutschsprachigen Gegenwartsliteratur*. 64. Supplement. Munich: Edition text+kritik 2000.

195 Yoko Tawada: *Spielzeug und Sprachmagie—eine ethnologische Poetologie*. Diss. Zürich 1998. Tübingen: konkursbuch Verlag Claudia Gehrke 2000.

textual forms of writing that make possible strategies of a transarchipelagic style that is characterized not by the production of continuous text-surfaces, but by the creation of numerously subdivided, penetrated, and broken text-islands separated from one another by longer or shorter intervals. Multiple short and shortest texts thus emerge that can be lined up across the complete works in ever-new archipelagos and island groups.[196]

The artistic forms of expression of this transarchipelagic writing, a writing that crosses different archipelagos world-wide, are as multifarious as they are ambiguous, as full of humor as they are full of delight, as poetic as they are poetologically complex. Consistently, an accentuated significance is given to both the spatial and linguistic forms of this *Über-Setzen*.

Perhaps no other text plays this equally ludic and lucid game like the literary essay "Das Tor des Übersetzers oder Celan Liest Japanisch" ("The Translator's Gate, or Celan Reads Japanese"), a prose text from the volume *Talisman*, now available in its seventh edition.[197] In this experimental effort, run through with discourses of literary and translation theory, translation appears not as something that, to a text that was composed in a certain single language, is external and placed temporally after the act of writing, but as something that is present to, and always inherent in, the writing itself. Translation is omnipresent: in every text, its translation is already installed and inscribed. And, one might add: every possibility of an island implies the challenge of being able to cross over (***über****setzen*) to it, and to translate (*über****setzen***) it.

In this sense, the first-person figure of this essay postulates a specific form of translingual writing with the ability "to make present in the text […] while writing, one or several foreign thought systems."[198] Thus the way is prepared for the—to Yoko Tawada's writing—central thesis that both "original" and "transla-

196 On dimensions of archipelagic writing by Yoko Tawada, see the extensive considerations in Ottmar Ette: "Zeichenreiche. Insel–Texte und Text–Inseln bei Roland Barthes und Yoko Tawada." In: Christine Ivanovic (ed.): *Yoko Tawada. Poetik der Transformation. Beiträge zum Gesamtwerk*. With the piece *Sancho Pansa* by Yoko Tawada. Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag 2010, pp. 207–230.

197 On the problems of translation (in general) Miho Matsunaga: "Die Dimension der Übersetzung in Werken von Yoko Tawada." In: Peter Wiesinger (ed.): *Akten des X. Internationalen Germanistikenkongresses Wien 2000 "Zeitwende—die Germanistik auf dem Weg vom 20. ins 21. Jahrhundert."* Vol. 7. Bern–Berlin–Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2002, pp. 329–335.

198 Yoko Tawada: "Das Tor des Übersetzers oder Celan Liest Japanisch." In: Yoko Tawada: *Talisman*, p. 130 f. See also the analysis of this essay in Ottmar Ette: "Zeichenreiche," pp. 207–230. The present analysis takes these considerations further in light of newer texts from the volume *Abenteuer der deutschen Grammatik*.

tion" are already established in the act of writing itself and are not radically separate from one another. But one can only understand this "if one imagines this emergence not as being at a point in time on a progressive timeline, but within an intermediate space upon a threshold."[199]

This writing in an intermediate space and from motion within the immediate space is, as Writing-between-Worlds, a deeply *translingual* phenomenon in which different language and thought systems are not only crossed one after the other, but are kept present for one another. In the one language, the other languages are always present, below and above the language that seems to lie on the surface they create textual thresholds that do not just form *inter*lingual, that is *übersetzende* ("translational/crossover") connections between two languages (without these languages having mutually changed one another), but rather, bring about *trans*lingual migratory spaces that attach the transfer between the languages to a mutual transformation of the languages.

A self-composure of the sense and the senses is not to be imagined in a transformation of this sort. And truth (whatever the "true" translation) can only exist in the plural.

In this way, the intermediate space, the threshold, becomes the actual testing ground of the text, an experimental space, indeed, a language-laboratory in which multilogical, open structurings test the relationality between islands that are archipelagically connected to one another. The linguistic *Über**setzen*** connects inextricably to a spatial ***Über**setzen* that swings back and forth between the text-islands, the language-islands, and the life-islands. But are these not poetologies that lose sight of the poetic?

By no means. If the venues of Tawada's texts jump back and forth between Germany and Japan, South Africa and the USA, between Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, then surely it is not a transareal situation in a purely spatial sense that is intended, a situation in which a continent like Africa becomes an island, an island like Japan becomes a continent, and everything is transformed into a world-wide movement space. In this world-wide relationality in which all of Tawada's texts come together in a great island atlas, the poetic adventures emerge not only on the level of a world-spanning geography, but on the level of a traversal of a wide variety of languages and sign systems that are drawn into the highly vectorized interplay between the places, between the words, and between the worlds. There can be no fixed point in mobile archipelagos.

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199 Yoko Tawada: "Das Tor des Übersetzers oder Celan Liest Japanisch," p. 134.

Yoko Tawada also impressively presents this in her volume of poetry *Abenteuer der deutschen Grammatik*, released in the fall of 2010, upon which I would like to concentrate in the following pages. For in the interplay between (in the German language) *der Gefundene* ("the found") and *der Vorgefundene* ("the discovered"), between (in the German language) *der Erfundene* ("the invented") and (as and in language) *der Erlebte* ("the experienced")—or that which the reader is to experience—there is no standstill, there can be no fixed point. Yoko Tawada's texts will not leave her readers in peace.

In this volume, which according to the blurb represents the author's twentieth book in the German language, translations play an important, even decisive, role. For even in the title, other languages unmistakably resonate under, over, or beside the German language. One could speak here of a heterolingual structure in the sense of Naoki Sakai, [200] insofar as a multilingual audience is thought of, or an audience comprising multilingual segments. Analogous to this, there is no literary central perspective of any sort: all of Yoko Tawada's texts are polyperspectively designed.

This especially becomes clear in the third part of the collection of poems, "Die Mischschrift des Mondes" ("The Mix-Script of the Moon), that consists of a single poem, the title of which is admittedly not even readable, or decipherable, for a reader familiar only with European languages (fig. 14). The author's "comment" clarifies what sort of experiment this is:

> This is a transcription of the translation of the poem "Der Flucht des Mondes" ("The Flight of the Moon" from: Yoko Tawada: "Nur da wo du bist da ist nichts," konkursbuch Verlag Claudia Gehrke, 1987. Translated from the Japanese by Peter Pörtner.) To write Japanese, one must write the meaning stems with Chinese ideograms, and everything else (the hands and feet of the words) with a phonetic script. The poem shows that with this mixed method, one can also write German.[201]

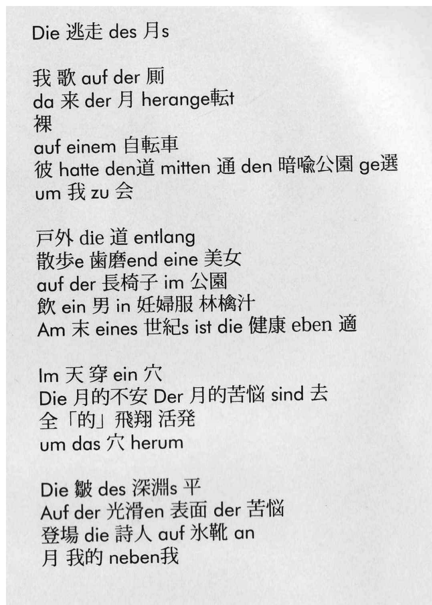
Let us first note: the mixing or intersection of languages and sign systems placed in the poem and in the paratext is at first glance anything but simple to comprehend. The poem printed in *Abenteuer der deutschen Grammatik* is not an intertextual, but intratextual neo-writing, a *réécriture* of a poem that was publicshed twenty-three years before in an earlier volume by Yoko Tawada. There, already in 1987, it was admittedly a matter of an allographic translation by the japanologist Peter Pörtner, who frequently worked with the author. This (spatial

200 C.f. Naoki Sakai: *Translation and Subjectivity. On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism*, p. 3 f.
201 Yoko Tawada: *Abenteuer der deutschen Grammatik. Gedichte*. Tübingen: konkursbuch Verlag Claudia Gehrke 2010, p. 41.

and linguistic) *Über-Setzen* from Japanese to German forms the oscillating point of departure for a transcription that rewrites itself as an *Über**setzen*** ("translation") into another sign system, that of Japanese.

This of course demands a recourse to Chinese ideograms and thus a historic ***Über**setzen* ("crossing over") from Japan to China and back, whereby, in the transcribing, it comes to experimental frictions not only between the western alphabetic writing and the sign system commonly used in Japan, but also between the latter and the ideograms of Chinese origin employed within it that in turn must be completed through a phonetic script, without which the German language translation of the Japanese poem could not be pronounced.

Certainly: the uncomplicated movement of the ***Über**setzen* ("crossing over") from one island to the other looks simpler. It is crucial though, that this reaching back to one of the earliest of her own poems translated into German places the complete works of Yoko Tawada into a continuity of discontinuous autographic and allographic translational processes without which the transarchipelagic world of the Tokyo-born writer and poet would not be imaginable.


Die 逃走 des 月s

我 歌 auf der 厠
da 来 der 月 herange転t
裸
auf einem 自転車
彼 hatte den道 mitten 通 den 暗喩公園 ge選
um 我 zu 会

戸外 die 道 entlang
散歩e 歯磨end eine 美女
auf der 長椅子 im 公園
飲 ein 男 in 妊婦服 林檎汁
Am 末 eines 世紀s ist die 健康 eben 適

Im 天 穿 ein 穴
Die 月的不安 Der 月的苦悩 sind 去
全「的」飛翔 活発
um das 穴 herum

Die 皺 des 深淵s 平
Auf der 光滑en 表面 der 苦悩
登場 die 詩人 auf 氷靴 an
月 我的 neben我

Fig. 14: Yoko Tawada: "Die Flucht des Mondes" ("The flight of the Moon"). In: *Abenteuer der deutschen Grammatik*. Tübingen: Konkursbuch 2010.

In other words: the perhaps somewhat circuitously rewritten cycle here demonstrates the occurrence of a fairly complex *Über-Setzen* between German, Japanese, and Chinese, wherein this process is applied to a poem that, for its part—unlike the autographic transcriptive and translational processes—is the result of the work of another (thus allographic) translator. In turn, the result of the collective cycles is a transcription into interwoven script characters of European and Asiatic provenance that in the progression from left to right and from top to bottom can and must be pronounced in German.

Transareal movements with transcultural and translingual aspects that crisscross culturally differing areas thereby come together in a poem form that is actually accessible only to readers with a mastery of German *and* Japanese. Beyond this though—and this seems to me to be important—the different script characters, in their progression, configure islands and archipelagos that in their relationality and in their abstract, detached symbolic quality, as it were, become graphic text-islands, archipelagic graphisms.

So much, for the moment, for poetology. And the poetry? At this point it is essential to go back to that poem originally published in 1987 that Yoko Tawada described, in a message from March 3, 2011, as the "German translation"[202] of the "mix-script" from *Abenteuer der deutschen Grammatik*:

The Flight of the Moon
I sang in the bathroom
then the moon came
rolling up

naked
on a bicycle
He had taken the path through the Metaphor park
to meet me.

Outside along the street
a pretty woman strolled brushing her teeth
On the bench in the park
a man in maternity wear drank apple juice
At the end of a century good health is just in fashion

In the sky gapes a hole
The moon-shaped fear the moon-shaped sorrow are gone
Everything in good shape flutters briskly
round about the hole

202 Mail from Yoko Tawada to OE of 3–3–2011.

The fold of the abyss smoothes out
On the shining surface of care
the poets enter on ice skates
Moon—mine—beside me[203]

A comparative inspection of the poem printed in the "Mix-Script of the Moon" shows that in that version, as compared to the one printed in *Abenteuer der deutschen Grammatik*, more variants or even aberrations—that cannot be examined in full detail here—can be discerned. It seems to me however to be crucial to these oscillations of translingual *Über-Setzen* that for one thing, the translation, very much in the sense of the essay on Paul Celan, is already established in the process of writing itself, and that it makes little sense to clearly differentiate between an "original" and a subsequent "translation."

But still more important perhaps, for another thing, is the fact that the poem, in its own body—with the help of its "hands" and "feet" as it were—illustrates that it is impossible to understand this lyric text, and ultimately the world, from the perspective of a single language, a single area, a single culture. Globalization as a monolingual process, as a process of a single logic that establishes itself monolingually, is nothing more and nothing less than a trap, a pitfall into which the literatures of the world with their plenteous truths, with their coralline coexistence, are clearly not captured.

The poem not only unmistakably draws attention to its transareal composition that traverses different cultural areas, but also insists upon reflection on transareal relationships that can no longer be adequately illuminated and understood in a traditionally comparatistic, correlative sense. Was this perhaps the reason, within this network of movements, that the moon of the poem took flight?

It is not without reason that in *Nur da wo du bist da ist nichts*—the island chain of monosyllabic word material gives the readers something of a japaniz-

203 Yoko Tawada: "Tsuki no toso" / "Flucht des Mondes." [German translation by Peter Pörtner: Ich sang in der Toilette / da kam der Mond / herangerollt // nackt / auf einem Fahrrad / Er hatte den Weg durch den Metaphernpark genommen / um mich zu treffen // Draußen die Straße entlang / spazierte zähneputzend eine schöne Frau / Auf der Bank im Park / trank ein Mann in Umstandskleidung Apfelsaft / Am Ende eines Jahrhunderts ist Gesundheit eben angesagt // Im Himmel klafft ein Loch / Die mondgestaltige Angst der mondgestaltige Kummer sind weg / Alles Gestaltige flattert munter / um das Loch herum // Die Falte des Abgrunds glättet sich / Auf der blanken Oberfläche der Sorge / treten die Dichter auf Schlittschuhen an // Mond—meiner—neben mir]. In: Yoko Tawada: *Nur da wo du bist da ist nichts*. Tübingen: konkursbuch Verlag Claudia Gehrke 1997, p. 71. The version of the poem sent to me in the mail of 3–3–2011 contains some variants that cannot, however, be further examined here.

ing key for the reading—a tremendously strong vectorization of all processes for the generation of meaning had been presented; the direction of reading of German-language and Japanese poems from left to right, from right to left, from top to bottom and bottom to top with simultaneous readability, as well as the numbering of the pages from back to front and front to back demonstrated the non-validity of a single principle, a single logic, of arrangement. Directions of movement running opposite to one another undermine any attempts to reduce poly-perspectival processes of perception to monological subordinating processes of understanding. Texts as I(s)land-worlds *and* Island Worlds, irreducibly multilogical, impossible to bring under *one* rationality.

In the "Mix-Script of the Moon," the poem consequently develops a logic of its own that, on the basis of its translinguality, is of a relational, transareal variety. As a lyrically concentrated text-island, the poem may accordingly be understood *simultaneously* as an I(s)land-world and an Island World: it is self-contained, develops its own logic of "mixing" or mutual interweaving, but it can only be interpreted when different segments of cultural and linguistic knowledge can be integrated. Reading from a single standpoint is merely to understand that one understands nothing.

The meeting between an "I" singing in the bathroom and a moon riding a bicycle in the first two stanzas of the poem is replaced by the encounter in the third stanza between a beautiful woman and a man who is sitting on a bench, such that here, contrasts of movement (sitting versus mobile) correspond in intersection. The one movement is translated into the other. In the third stanza, the hole created by the movement of the moon draws forth disquieting assignments of meaning which, however, are smoothed out in the fourth stanza into the surface of a poetic skating exhibition so that finally, in the last stanza, the possessive and personal pronouns of the first person singular are able again to assimilate the "I" of the opening line. Characterized as flight, the movement of the moon—or, more accurately, of a moon appropriated by the "I" as "mine"—carries to its end a motion that consists of the transgression of separating the heavens from the Earth. For the circular disk of the moon has connected itself to the *Erdapfel*, the "Earth Apple" liquefied in apple juice—Martin Behaim's globe of 1492, presented in the form of an apple, sends warm greetings as the matrix of this liquefaction. We will return shortly to the apple as the fruit of semantic concentration.

Insofar as the poem brings together things that at first glance do not belong together and which are, in any case, far apart from one another, it leads to a unification that—as the maternity wear indicates—generates a future that can be grasped by neither the "I" nor the moon alone, by neither the woman nor the

man alone. To this extent—without attaching any other interpretive views—the single poem of the section "Die Mischschrift des Mondes" may be understood as a lyrically concentrated text that is terrifically well-suited to the processes of transareal, transcultural, and translingual *Über-Setzen* described here. And does not the hole in the sky call up the inverse form of an island, where the surrounding water—now frozen to a shining surface—becomes the playground and testing ground for the poets, gliding away across the emptiness?

world-wide

At this point, an additional prose text with the title "eine fernaufnahme aus der nähe" ("a distance-shot from close-up") included in the second section ("Eine poetische Nachbarschaft"—"A Poetic Neighborhood") of the volume of poems can be introduced, as it illuminates, from a different viewpoint, the tension between the distant and the nearby that was already dealt with in the "Die Flucht des Mondes." The text, comprising just over one page, is composed entirely in lower case without punctuation or paragraphs and may be seen as a micronarrative due to its brevity, linguistic compactness, and the definitive narrative structures of a specific nanophilological[204] perspective. Since it features, from a perspective of content and structure as a prose text, many references and intratextual relations to the "Mixed-Script" of "Die Flucht des Mondes" that is published in the same volume (and thereby contextualized), this micronarrative should be examined, with appropriate brevity, a bit more closely.

As in the poem examined above, the female protagonist appears at the very beginning of the text, though it is not an "I" in this case, but "das mädchen" ("the girl"),[205] to whom, likewise, no more individualizing name is assigned. The first lines of this micronarrative are as follows:

204 On this concept, see Ottmar Ette (ed.): *Nanophilologie. Literarische Kurz- und Kürzestformen in der Romania*.

205 Yoko Tawada: "eine fernaufnahme aus der nähe." In: Yoko Tawada: *Abenteuer der deutschen Grammatik*, p. 33.

> the girl gazes into a space that is bigger than the hanseatic city in her eyes a
> sailing ship on the blue longing trust in the smiling the mouth half opened what allcan come in with the north sea wind […][206]

Fig. 15: *Yoko Tawada*. Photo: Isolde Ohlbaum.

In the tension field between far and near already evoked in the title, the gaze and eyes of the girl make reference, in Helmuth Plessner's sense, to the human remote sense of sight[207] while the half-opened mouth, into which something can pass, brings in the sense of taste which, being an approximal sense—like the nose and ear—opens physically and bodily to an inner space. In combination with other scattered biographemes that already reveal in this incipit a diegesis focused on the Hanseatic city of Hamburg, for many years one of the pendulum-places of Yoko Tawada, this girl with the half-opened mouth could very easily be connected to iconic and written paratexts, always carefully crafted by the

206 Ibid.: das mädchen blickt hinein in einen raum der größer ist als die hansestadt in ihren augen ein / segelschiff auf der blauen sehnsucht vertrauen im lächeln der mund halb geöffnet was kann / alles mit dem nordseewind hineinkommen […]

207 C.f. Helmuth Plessner: "Anthropologie der Sinne." In: Helmuth Plessner: *Gesammelte Schriften*. Vol. III: *Anthropologie der Sinne*. Edited by Günter Dux, Odo Marquard, and Elisabeth Ströker. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1980, pp. 317–393.

author, that visualize an intrinsic poetics of Yoko Tawada.[208] Even if one need not necessarily speak of the "mythos of the author Tawada,"[209] it is still apparent how finely tuned to one another the paratextual elements tend to be, such that poetological connections between paratext and "actual" text—in this case the micronarrative examined here—can always be established.

At this point, a relationship in this case might be established not as much with the photograph of the author provided in the book *Abenteuer in der deutschen Grammatik*, as with Isolde Ohlbaum's photo-portrait that is placed above the front blurb of the volume *Talisman* (fig. 15). It presents a young Asian woman leaning out of an inner space between two rough walls, and thus from out of an opening that is repeated in the slight opening of her coat, and indeed, of her mouth. One could refer here to the significance and text-generating productivity that Roland Barthes, in his Japanese island book *Empire of Signs*, attributed on an epistemological and erotic level to *l'interstice*, the gap, the opening and the space between,[210] in measuring the poetological dimension of this presentation of the body in the interplay of inner space and intermediate space, but also that of nearness and distance.

This specific tension field is constructed from the first lines of the micronarrative on, and indeed appears to be a "space that is bigger than the hanseatic city in her eyes," while the "north sea wind" tries to penetrate the girl's body like "a wicked draft."[211] At the same time, in reverse vectoricity, a voice seems to come out of the mouth, a voice that—after a thousand years of silence—"breaks the fog and clears the clouds away."[212] The girl is no longer mute; she begins to speak into an opening expanse.

The space that from the beginning is larger than the space of the city opens onto a planetary, even cosmic dimension, where the "almost scandinavian sky" is placed in immediate contiguity with an "organic apple" that hangs "on the tree of wisdom."[213] Here again, the apple (once again connoting good health) undoubtedly stands for the *Erdapfel* of the globe, but at the same time introduces that original scene of narrative and coexistence that is told to us with a view

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208 On the importance of the paratext, see also Ruth Kersting: *Fremdes Schreiben. Yoko Tawada*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier 2006, p. 60 f.
209 Ibid. p. 60. On the significance of photography, see also Ottmar Ette: "Zeichenreiche," p. 222 f.
210 On the connection to the empty sign, see the microtext "L'Interstice" in Roland Barthes: "L'Empire des signes." In: Roland Barthes: *Œuvres completes*, vol. II, pp. 762–764.
211 Yoko Tawada: "eine fernaufnahme aus der nähe," p. 33.
212 Ibid.
213 Ibid.

upon paradise and the banishment of the first humans in the book of Genesis.[214] The *fernaufnahme* ("distance-shot") reflects not only that which is spatially so far distanced from the Earth and the sky, but also the pre-history of the human race in whose later times all literature and all attempts at coexistence are necessarily post-paradisiacal. In the microcosm of the micronarrative—and this is a thoroughly genre-specific element[215]—the macrocosm of the creation story appears.

When, in the subsequent action of the Tawada text, "a golden snake, agilely woven about her right ear" reveals to the girl in a whisper "how to make language indirectly,"[216] then here, in association with the Tree of Knowledge at the sensuously idyllic spot of the ear, a story of humanity, a story of language, a story of literature and its communication forms is sketched that in semantically concentrated, *fractal* form enters into the micronarrative. Literature conceals a rebellious knowledge that has eaten from the Tree of Knowledge and—coming back to life in the whispering of the snake at her ear—remains intimately close to the body.

The sensuality of the scenery that, with the ear and after the mouth places an "insistent" sense of the body into the scene, allows the space of paradise, for so long inaccessible, to emerge from the space of the text-island. In the space of paradise, then, a creation story marked by banishment, migration, distance, and displacement can be recognized. The text-island of the micronarrative constructs island-spaces that bind together the Hanseatic city and Scandinavia, the earthly paradise and the heavens into a *world-wide* network marked by movement, marked by that "sailing ship on the blue longing."[217] The text provides a close-up of the distant.

The history of literature, that the child had already drawn "from the library of the womb," is delightedly ("on the lips the delight") and constructively projected from "the plan of an angel at the elbe" onto a world that, in the play of ebb and flow, arises in the intermediate space of a repeatedly flooded sand beach and is formed by "glowing hands."[218] The intermediate space is shapeable, and becomes collectively malleable as a testing ground. A utilization of

214 C.f. my book *Konvivenz. Literatur und Leben nach dem Paradies*.

215 C.f. Ottmar Ette: *Del macrocosmos al microrelato. Literatura y créacion—nuevas perspectivas transareales*. Translated from the German by Rosa María S. de Maihold. Guatemala City: F&G Editores 2009.

216 Yoko Tawada: "eine fernaufnahme aus der nähe," p. 33.

217 Ibid.

218 Ibid.

space as edge occurs here, in the sense of an inconstant, repeatedly liquefying "in-between," as a highly mobile vector field.

For "the children of the neighborhood," the initially "strange work" of the girl becomes their own work, to which everyone contributes, such that a space of creation, but also of joyous coexistence—and with that, ultimately, a paradisiacal space—emerges in the intermediate space of the sand beach. Preset Lego-shapes that allow only the remotely directed reconstruction of "legosauruses"[219] lose the interest of the children. When the girl then, at "seven o'clock," pulls down the sky "like a jalousie" and the children go home, "rose and lily patterns"[220] appear on the fabrics that the mother is ironing—signs of a distant *locus amoenus*, of a paradise that, like a distant island, can still be photographed close up and articulated, can be made indirect, and can be made a means of living.

The ironing board of the mother becomes at the end a "raft between day and night."[221] In the global interplay between light and darkness too, an intermediate space opens up, from which the "the sea" and the "horizon of dialogue" can also be reached at the end of the micronarrative: "the lanterns of the letters flicker in the distance the shadows of the mermaids the wind from eight compass points."[222] The letters appear like points of light, like islands on the surface of the sea, over which the wind blows from, and to, all directions of the compass.

Literature and its letters themselves have become that movement in the vector field of the ships and the winds that connects the islands to one another in time and space and makes them able to communicate among themselves linguistically. The physical-bodily intermediate space of the mouth, the spatial-temporal intermediate space of the beach that emerges between the tides, between ebb and flow, and the intermediate space of literature that is associated with the Tree of Knowledge and with banishment, and that arises from the prehistory of paradise, all create a story in which the distant and the nearby are transarchipelagically and discontinuously connected to one another in space and time, and communicate directly with one another. This island-space, *trans-areal* in a fundamental sense, can be experienced in ever-new ways through reading.

219 Ibid.
220 Ibid.
221 Ibid. p. 33 f.
222 Ibid. p. 34.

Yoko Tawada's literature, which results from the multiple movement-patterns of the back-and-forth of the multilogical *Über-Setzen*, creates a world that from the relationality of its islands, its archipelagos, may be understood as a transarchipelagic Island World in which the different languages and various sign systems are drawn forth, the distant is drawn from the nearby, the neighborhood is drawn from foreign places, all in a movement of coexistence that has arisen in association with the apple, and thus not only with knowledge, but also with banishment from paradise. Her texts in their entirety form an island atlas in which—beyond dialogue—a polylogue of languages and cultures is experimentally tested and made readable and experienceable.

Unlike the situation of Benedetto Bordone, for this author who writes in Japanese and German in the context of the current phase of accelerated globalization, the transarchipelagic migratory space is no longer understandable or controllable from out of *one* place (Venice or Europe), by *one* word and a single language, or from out of *one* culture. And also not through the *figura* of the "I" in its thousand recurrent forms in her writing. In a poem from the volume *Abenteuer der deutschen Grammatik*, of which Yoko Tawada once sent me an advance copy as a poetological stimulant, it is stated in this way:

> **Die zweite Person Ich**
> Als ich dich noch siezte,
> sagte ich ich und meinte damit
> mich.
> Seit gestern duze ich dich,
> weiß aber noch nicht,
> wie ich mich umbenennen soll.[223]

The *ich* ("I") lies in the *dich* ("you," informal singular accusative) no less than in the *mich* ("me," accusative), and thus has no fixed abode, no fixed point in the web of pronouns. Like a mobile, wandering island, such as we can see so often on European maps of the Middle Ages, but which we found again in so many of the literary creations that have been presented in this book, the word as well as the sound of the *ich* run all through the hospitable words *mich*, *dich*, and *nicht*. By no means then, can the *ich* be spatially compressed or eliminated—for the *ich* is not dispensable (or, in German: *Mitn**ich**ten läßt s**ich** folglich das **Ich** räuml**ich** verd**ich**ten oder vern**ich**ten—denn verz**ich**tbar ist das **Ich** n**ich**t*), if *Abenteuer der*

223 Yoko Tawada: "Die zweite Person Ich." In: Yoko Tawada: *Abenteuer der deutschen Grammatik*, p. 8. (**The Second Person I** / When I still called you Sie, / I said I and with it meant / me. / Since yesterday I call you du, / I still do not know / how I should rename myself.)

deutschen Grammatik is to be experienced and made to be transareally experienceable.

In this, as in many other "adventures," a ludic lucidity can be recognized that without its translingual sensibility and sensuality could not polyperspectively use the experimental surface of literature in such an intense way. In the archipelago of constantly changing figures in Yoko Tawada's *isolario*, any sort of center goes missing, but not the *du* ("you"), not the *Sinn* ("meaning" or "mind") with its many vectorially referenced compass points.

From the textual matrix of her literature, from the intermediate spaces of her translingual discoveries and inventions, a transareal library has long since developed whose texts as I(s)land-worlds *co*ordinate with ever-new Island Worlds, but without ever, in living and experiencing, making the distant, the foreign, the Other, *sub*ordinate. Thus, in the testing ground of literature, a world is configured that is, in the most literal sense, ***weltweit*** (world-wide), and yet without being reducible to the concept of world literature as understood in the Goethean sense. The pleasant-sounding word ***weltweit*** forms—and herein lies its adventure in German—the repetition of ***welt*** in ***weit***, but in such a way that the difference between ***l*** and ***i*** can be read word for word as a minimal difference. This minimal differing programs and configures, in the tension field between the graphic continuity of the unbroken ***l*** and the relational insularity of the two dissimilar islands of the ***i***, the world, our world, time and again new, time and again different. For the fragmented, discontinuous arrangement of larger and smaller islands, as is stored away within the ***i***, undermines the continuity, embodied in the ***l***, of a homogeneous, continuous, quasi-continental view of the world in the way that the insularium as imaginarium confronts a hegemonic world-plan with the resilience and life-force of plans that are divergent and dynamic. The future of transareal literatures and cultures, the historical traces of which this volume set out to examine prospectively, has long since dawned. And that of its theories as well.

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