



Anaximander's Map of the World

NOTES ON EUROPE

The dogmatic sleep

International Conference

October 29-31, 2019

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NOTES ON EUROPE

The dogmatic sleep

Proceedings

Edited by

Eduarda Neves

Luís Lima

Nuno Faleiro Rodrigues

CEAA | Centro de Estudos Arnaldo Araújo
Art and Critical Studies research group

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Eduarda Neves, Luís Lima and Nuno Faleiro Rodrigues

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Centro de Estudos Arnaldo Araújo

Escola Superior Artística do Porto

Largo de S. Domingos, 80

4050-545 PORTO, PORTUGAL

Phone: (+351)223392130

Email: ceaa@esap.pt

www.ceaa.pt

NOTES ON EUROPE. The dogmatic sleep

"In fact, the question of the essence of Europe is not mysterious or unanswerable. (...) But let us not worry about sterile questions about the true borders and ethnic entities of Europe. There is no doubt that Europe has neither a substantial popular base nor strong borders to the east and the southeast, nor an unequivocal religious identity (...) The question should not be: who, according to what criteria and what traditions, belongs to a "true Europe"? (...) but: which scenes do Europeans play in their decisive historical moments? What are the ideas that animate them, the illusions that mobilize them? How has Europe achieved its driving history and by what means does it keep moving? Where does Europe's power and unity run the risk of failing?"

[Peter Sloterdijk | If Europe Awakes]

"Let this new Europe keep its luminous memory this way: philosophy, democracy, the Enlightenment, and even what is called, in a very dubious way, "secularization". May it also keep its nocturnal memory, the memory of all the crimes it committed in history and which were committed in its name, all these forms of hegemony, of colonialism, and, in the course of this century, all the monstrosities of European totalitarianism: fascism, nazism, stalinism (...) But I still appeal to you, to a Europe that (...) proposes a "new international" and not a "cosmopolitanism".

[Jacques Derrida | Letter to Europe]

The notion of "Europe" has been questioned since the last decades of the twentieth century, especially in the territory of the so-called European Studies. Since World War II, Europe has lost its visionary project of a privileged race of the human kind, thanks to the consequences of its policy of self-destruction, already present in the first half of the last century, to the effects of decolonization and the loss of ethnocentrism. The convulsions at the level of world politics and geopolitics definitely change the course of history.

What Europe is left after the great historical controversies that have crossed and continue to cross it? What critical framework is possible to outline today so as to understand the various interactions and disseminations that make Europe fundamentally a kind of financial and commercial brand? What place can there still exist in the world for a Europe that does not yield to the imperialist tradition? As Sloterdijk critically questions, is this commonplace that tries to formulate Europe as a "unity of differences" or "a set of contradictions" a empty one? What is the possibility of a heterotopic becoming for Europe? How to wake it from the dogmatic sleep as did Kant in respect to Reason?

Since the modern age, in which European cartography has practically reduced the terrestrial globe and the representation of the world to Europe, until today, the old continent loses its enchantment, its mystical character, being increasingly challenged as a paradigm. If it is true that it will continue to be privileged, this fact can not prevent us from thinking about what we are as history, from establishing a dialogue with ourselves, a kind of personal archeology.

Similarly, in the territory of art, Europe has been the subject of complex debates, in the domain of which some artists have been called in to participate, questioning both the political reorganization of post-Second World War, recent political decisions, or artistic mapping based in geopolitical strategies in a global context. If European art was regarded as the world's art, its protectorate seems to have been emptied. Will those who Sloterdijk calls "the second-rate artists" be the ones who continue to overestimate heterogeneity and otherness, making efforts to maintain the myth of the European dream?

CONTENTS

ANGELUCCI, Daniela – *Tremor, Uncertainty, Invention. Europe and the sea*, p.11

BALONA, Alexandra – *Disfiguring Figures. The political potentiality of Marlene Monteiro Freitas's choreographic work*, p.18

CÁDIMA, Francisco Rui – *Europe out of the Picture*, p.36

CASTRO, Paulo Alexandre e – *Then and Now: cultural Europe in agony on Zambrano's thought*, p.57

CRUZ, Carla – *European Dream. "Keep bangin' on the wall"*, p.64

DI MEO, Carmen – *"Europe" in Literary Sources: A Political Ideal, and a Strategy*, p.79

FILYUK, Kateryna – *Eurorenovation (Euroremont): the art of concealing*, p.97

GONÇALVES, Rosa – *Mental Health in Portugal and Europe*, p.105

IRRERA, Orazio – *Europe's onset and the universalization of Western Culture. Philosophy, antihumanism and colonialism according to Michel Foucault*, p.107

KOTSANAS, Panagiotis – *Kotsanas Museum of Ancient Greek Technology*, p.108

LAMBERT, Maria de Fátima – *To Draw Borders and the Aesthetic Mind: reviewing Europe with Almada Negreiros*, p.109

LENGYEL, Dominik; TOULOUSE, Catherine – *Europe's Architectural Identity – a visualisation method of ideas*, p.126

LIMA, Luís – *Europe: Univocity or Equivocity? A reading between Gilles Deleuze and Jacques Rancière*, p.138

MICHEL, Andreas – *Cosmopolitanism, Populism, and Democracy*, p.153

MIRANDA, Luís – *From Peripheral to Cosmopolitan. The Crisis-Images in Miguel Gomes Arabian Nights*, p.167

MOLL, Łukasz; POSPISZYL, Michał – *Europe without Organs? Opicinus de Canistris and the New Anomos of the Earth*, p.179

MONTANARO, Mara – *Deprovincializing and denationalizing European Feminisms*, p.197

MOREIRA, Inês – *Two Extremes at the European Peripheries: Baltic and Iberian post-industrial cultures*, p.213

RUIZ DE SAMANIEGO, Alberto – *Europe's Sickness*, p.228

STEINWEG, Marcus – *Euroamericanism*, p.239

SUSIGAN, Cristina – *Gerhard Richter: between the sayable and the intelligible*, p.245

TEXTS

TREMOR, UNCERTAINTY, INVENTION

Europe and the sea

Daniela Angelucci

Università Roma Tre - Dipartimento di Architettura e Filosofia / Roma Tre University -
Department of Philosophy, communication and media studies, Rome, Italy

Abstract

*In recent years the migrations that cross the sea around Europe call into question the philosophy, which is urged to think about this Outside. How can we avoid an objective discourse, but also the offence of being too familiar with situations so different from our own, as European citizens? By calling into question the category of "intercessor" proposed by Deleuze, perhaps the artistic narrative can help us in this approach. The sea as a mobile territory can then be described in the tremor that animates it (Glissant), in the uncertainty that it implies (Melville), in the invention of a new space and of a new people that it could bring with it (Deleuze and Guattari). These three characteristics emerge in the work of video artist Laura Waddington, *Border*, as an example of invention and intercession that makes tremor and uncertainty visible.*

The situation of Europe and its borders is an urgent theme of our present, which calls philosophy into question. The most urgent event today concerns the migrations that cross the sea around Europe, and it should force philosophy to think. In 2016 more than 5000 migrants died in the Mediterranean; in 2017 more than 100,000 people landed in Italy, including about 15,000 unaccompanied minors; 3 October 2016, near the island of Lampedusa, in Sicily, 366 persons died just half a mile from the coast and the salvation.

In front of the European sea, crossed by migrations, the first step of philosophy should be to think about the kind of narrative that we aim to legitimize in this respect. The question is: How can we avoid an objective discourse (what Lacan called the discourse of university), but also the offense of an excessive familiarity with situations so different from our situation, so harder than our situation, as European citizens? To borrow a concept from Deleuze and Guattari,

we can call into question the category of "intercessor": becoming someone's intercessor means trying a continuous exchange of points of view, in an affective, political and stylistic adhesion, instead of speaking in his/her place. The theoretical and political sense of this concept – intercession – is that one of refuting the claim of the intellectual, of the philosopher, to speak for others, attributing to himself the right or the duty to be their spokesperson. I quote Deleuze who asks: "Who speaks and who acts? It is always a multiplicity, even in the unique person who speaks or acts". This multiplicity is what produces a stammering, an uncertainty, for Deleuze and Guattari, a becoming-minor of the language.

In the notable book *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*, Iain Chambers talks about thinking *with* migration, and emphasizes how thinking *with* migration and not *about* migration means questioning our position with respect to language, to our history and culture. Thinking with migrations promotes a different relationship, more disturbing, with our own philosophical background. So it needs to give up a more consequential, more structured argumentation, to adhere precisely to the uncertainty of the title, to be captured and modified from the outside and to escape the pleasure of objectification. Not to speak for anyone, nor to be someone's representative, but neither to remain at a distance: the concepts produced in the encounter between the event of the sea crossings and the philosophical practice to produce a rapprochement, an area of indiscernibility, an intercession. And maybe the artistic narration can help us in this approach, maybe it can help us speak about the sea and its contemporary situation without taking a distance and at the same time without showing an excessive familiarity.

Starting from various readings, philosophical in the broad sense, but above all literary, and also visual, I propose then three characters of the sea, which speak to us of the contemporary situation and at the same time of the philosophical practice and a new way (different, disturbing, Chambers would say) of relating to it.

Thinking of the sea as a territory, analogous but very different from the land, the tremor is the characteristic that we could use to express in the first place its

mobility, its fluidity. Borrowing a concept by the book of Edouard Glissant, *Pensée du tremblement*, we can talk about a "trembling thinking" (*tremblement* in French is also *tremblement de terre*, earthquake, something that not by chance has to do with the territory). Against every dogmatism Glissant opposes the archipelagic thinking, which is declined as a *tremblement*, tremor: in fact, such thinking does not aim at the constitution of preconceived grids of interpretation of reality, but adapts to an unstable perception of the world in its own changes. In the ethical field, the trembling preserves the desire and uncertainty of the discovery of the Other. It is a thinking that resists the stiffening of systemic thoughts and the impetus of systems of thought; it opens the identity to the relationship with the Other, it is "the seismic thinking of the world" that trembles inside and outside of us. Glissant affirms that we are "noble" enough, "magnificent" and "wild", and also "miserable" when necessary, to consider our relationship to the Other and to the World as a tremor.

Tremor can be used to indicate the fluidity of water and the rippling of waves, but also the movement of lives, both human and animal, that populate and cross the sea. Tremor describes the vitality of the sea, its mobility but also the fact that it is full of living beings, animals and humans. The tremor here is closely linked to a poetics of the relationship: the trembling thinking also means living the openness to the whole world, at risk of trembling, at risk of uncertainty.

There are many literary texts about the sea that describe its uncertainty, the impossibility of seeing what is hidden under the surface, the possibility of shipwreck, of dying while crossing. Carl Schmitt, in his book *Land and Sea*, writes that Melville, with his *Moby Dick*, represents for the oceans what Homer and *Odyssey* represented for the Mediterranean. Well, in both cases the element that characterizes the sea is that of uncertainty. In the *Odyssey*, the sea has the color of wine, it is infinite, dark, full of fish, but above all, with its waves and storms, it destroys any attempt by humans to follow a route.

So, uncertainty is first of all the uncertainty of the sea's conditions, given that the movement of the sea changes continuously and suddenly. But uncertainty is also the uncertainty of recognition: on the surface of the sea it is difficult to

distinguish who or what may arise out of it: the white whale? the sirens? an overturned dinghy? or a boat full of humans beings? dead or alive? The Italian writer Elena Stancanelli, in the book *Venne alla spiaggia un assassino*, describes her experience in the autumn of 2018 aboard the ship Mare Jonio of the Mediterranean fleet, prepared to intervene in the sighting and rescue of migrants. Stancanelli describes very well the uncertainty of the sighting, but also the uncertainty about the nature and intentions of the Other coming from the sea (are these people in need of rescue or dangerous people?), as well as the uncertainty of the survival. At the beginning of the book she writes that the Mediterranean Sea is filling up with deaths, which is a sort of quotation that refers to Melville, that defined the sea floor – Ocean in this case – as “a great cemetery”. But above all the sea’s uncertainty is that of survival: in the *Odyssey* Ulysses, during the storms unleashed by Poseidon, often complains about the fear of not returning home. In the fifth book, which tells the departure from the island of Calypso and the path into the sea before arriving from the Phaeacians, at the court of Alcinous, Ulysses is desperate during the storm, and regrets not to have died in war, because dying at sea means not having a burial, not having marked graves.

Precisely the recognition of this uncertainty, however, dictates appropriate rules of conduct, the law of hospitality towards castaways or those who come from the sea: the stories of hospitality towards shipwrecked people are many in the *Odyssey*, but perhaps the most beautiful verses are present in the *Telemachy*, at the beginning of the *Odyssey*, when Telemachus goes in search of Odysseus until Sparta at the palace of Menelaus: the squire asks Menelaus if he should accommodate the two foreigners or not, and Menelaus responds disdainful to the idea that there may even be a doubt. Telemachus and Nestor's son are washed, wrapped in beautiful robes and seated on two thrones, then fed and quenched with water. Only then are questions asked about their identity.

The third character that I propose, referring to Deleuze and Guattari, is that of the invention of a new space and a new people. Meanwhile, the idea of the invention of a new space must be taken seriously: the experience of those bodies that come from Africa literally creates a territory, a path that was not

there before. Uncertainty in fact leads to the search for an escape route, which, as Henri Laborit writes in *L'éloge de la fuite* (1976), is not only sometimes the only salvation, but also the possibility of gaining "unknown shores". The invention of a new, minor, nomadic people, which is missing, is a political, artistic and philosophical task for Deleuze and Guattari. Using Glissant's reading of Deleuze and Guattari, we could say it is a matter of inventing and not creating, if by creating we mean a future already included in the present. Instead, this invented people is always a "becoming people", it is in continuous change. In art, but also in philosophy and politics, the invention of a people can only take place by taking a minor position, rejecting the greater canon. From the point of view of the two French authors, minority and majority do not constitute themselves as such on a quantitative level, but on the basis of an opposition of the former to the majority character of the management and organization of society. Majority is defined through constancy, homogeneity, centrality and unification, minority is instead the disorienting, plastic and deterritorializing element of the system.

Referring to the words of Iain Chambers, that I quoted before, who invites us to think *with* the event of migrations, we can highlight what the sea as a territory and as a border can teach to philosophy. These three concepts – tremor, uncertainty, invention – that describe the sea as a boundary can also be proposed as characteristics of philosophical work, which should expose itself to risk, accept the possibilities offered by uncertainty, give space to invention.

An example of artistic invention, a filmic one, in which these three characteristics emerge clearly is the film of English video-artist Laura Waddington, *Border*, a great success at the Locarno Film Festival in 2004. The film seems to be a perfect example of an invention and an intercession that makes visible tremor and uncertainty. It seems to me to be particularly suitable for this occasion precisely because of the characteristics of the sea as a boundary, of which I have spoken so far. Waddington has a literary background – and maybe this is significant in respect of the kind of narrative that she chose. She travelled to Kurdistan, The Middle East, and the Balkans, researching refugee routes into Europe, and in 2002 she lived for a few months in the countryside around the

Red Cross camp in Sangatte, a small French town in the Nord-Pas de Calais region, refusing to join the government-authorised news media linked to the Red Cross. There she closely followed Afghan and Iraqi refugees who were trying to pass through the underwater tunnel linking France to the United Kingdom. Joining the migrants with a small DV camera, Waddington filmed their nightly routines, escape attempts, runs through the camps, waits, police repression and clashes over the closure of the camp. The sea here is really a border, or rather a wall to be crossed, an object of desire that is never seen, however. As for the way of narration, Waddington proposes a non-objective narration, she participates and puts herself at risk, not interviewing, but running, running away with the refugees. It is not, therefore, a face-to-face confrontation with reality, but rather an intercession, an affective adhesion, as if the artist is looking for a deletion of her subjective gaze, in order to become part of those situations.

The tremor: The images, always shot in the dark and in slow motion, are grainy, confused, flickering. The tremor of life that swarms and moves in the dark, highlighted by the tremor and flashes of the same images is also noticed by Georges Didi-Huberman in his book *Survivance des lucioles* (2009), which cites Waddington, along with Jean-Luc Godard and Claude Lanzmann, tracing the lines for a survival policy: "Waddington's images like fireflies pierce slightly the darkness of the ethical void into which contemporary society seems to be plunged". The uncertainty: the film recounts the uncertainty of these lives, it is about trying a chance that is often a failure; losing the people who travel with you; risking their lives. This uncertainty of the sea, or the experience of the border in this case, is shown in all its scope in this powerful and disorienting video. Finally, the invention: different from conventional narrative cinema, but far beyond the formalism of some experimental cinema, Waddington shoots and edits these images inventing a new, different way to tell the experience of the borders.

Author identification

Daniela Angelucci. *Is associate professor of Aesthetics at Roma Tre University. She is co-director of the Post-graduate course Environmental Humanities at Roma Tre (Departments of Philosophy and Architecture). She has been in the Presidency Board of Società Italiana di Estetica. She is Advisor for Philosophy and Cinema for Enciclopedia Italiana (Treccani). She is co-director of the series Sguardi fuori campo (Mimesis edizioni); member of the scientific board of the series Estetica e critica (Quodlibet); member of Scientific Committee of the journal La Deleuziana; managing editor of Lebenswelt and Colloquia philosophica. In 2016 she organized the 9th Deleuze Studies Conference. Last books: Deleuze e i concetti del cinema, 2012 (Engl. transl. Edinburgh University Press, 2014); Filosofia del cinema, 2013; Philosophical Essays on Nespolo's Art and Cinema, co-ed. D. Dal Sasso, 2018*

DISFIGURING FIGURES

The political potentiality of Marlene Monteiro Freitas's choreographic work

Alexandra Balona

European Graduate School & Lisbon Consortium FCH-UCP, Switzerland and Portugal

Abstract

Departing from the German philologist Erich Auerbach's foundational study on the genealogy of figura—a concept that belonging to the three different fields of theology, rhetoric and visual arts has laid the foundations of the theories and practices of Western European representation—and following the reformulations by Freud, Gilles Deleuze, and Lyotard of this influential notion of figura as indeterminacy between form and process, the visible and the invisible, sensible and intelligible, the corporeal and the spiritual, this paper wishes to address how the choreographed figures of ambivalence, hybridity and metamorphosis in Marlene Monteiro Freitas' works, namely, in her solo work 'Guintche', set the stage for a contemporary criticality of some of the structuring postulates of European modernity.

Keywords: Marlene Monteiro Freitas, contemporary dance, figure, figural, decolonial

*Everything changes; nothing dies; the soul
Roams to and fro, now here, now there, and takes
What frame it will, passing from beast to man,
From our own form to beast and never dies.
As yielding wax is stamped with new designs
And changes shape and seems not still the same,
Yet it is indeed the same, even so our souls
In their migrations ever-changing forms.
Ovid, Metamorphosis*

Through her choreographed figures, between the human and nonhuman, the animated and inanimate, the subject and the object, gender, race and species fluid, the Cape Verdean choreographer Marlene Monteiro Freitas, Lisbon based and awarded the Silver Lion by the Venice Biennale in 2018—an award for the choreographer revelation of her generation—creates dance realms of amazement in a permanent play of disfiguration and transfiguration.

Summoning a considerable oeuvre, from her early pieces—*Primeira Impressão* (2005), *Larvar* (2006), *A Improbabilidade da Certeza* (2006), *Uns e Outros* (2008), and *A Seriedade do Animal* (2009-10)—the choreographer developed international recognition since her solo *Guintche* (2010), following with the group pieces *Paraíso – colecção privada* [*Paradise-private collection*] (2012), *de marfim e carne – as estátuas também sofrem* [*Of ivory and flesh – the statues also suffer*] (2014), the duet *Jaguar* (2015) with Andreas Merk, and *Bacantes – Prelúdio para uma purga* [*Bacchae. Prelude to a purge*] (2017).

Influenced by strategies of hybridity, animism and the uncanny, her fictional constructs not only destabilize Western European theatrical apparatuses, as they unravel the assumption of Western modern subject's autonomy and stability, questioning its universality, and staging, instead, creatures in relational and unstable processes of subjectification. In her own words, her artistic universe is anchored in 'intensity, openness, and impurity' (Freitas, 2013), with choreographic proposals organized through unexpected metamorphic dynamics, subverting any rational meaning or theatrical narrative. Therefore, heterogeneous in the singularity of each theatrical happening, the choreographer seeks the transmission of a force, or *pathos*, between the dance event and the audience, rather than the communication of a meaning or a message. For Marlene, as she underlines, 'the theatrical experience of her dance works exists in a third space: that of the encounter between two forces, the one produced by the performance on stage and the other emanated by the spectator in the audience' (Freitas, 2017). Thus, to approach Marlene Monteiro Freitas' choreographic worlds is to relate to theatrical scenes that are always open and never self-enclosed, that (dis)organize themselves through strangeness and contradictory dynamics, where the relations between the visible and the invisible, cause and effect, perceiving and thinking — and from there to writing — can no longer be taken for granted as a unified discourse, but as unstable oneiric assemblages.

Marlene Monteiro Freitas was born in Sal, and lived in São Vicente, Cape Verde, until her early adulthood. Although her work goes far beyond identity politics or postcolonial critic, it is relevant to address Cape Verdean singularity, an

archipelago populated by Portuguese colonizers, which between the 15th and the end of the 17th century became a relevant commercial trading place for the transatlantic slave trade. According to Françoise Vergès (2007:141), the process of creolization originates from the slave trade in the first global capitalism, which by means of violence, inequality and survival, sets forth a continuous process of cultural imposition and appropriation, thus, it is not the result of a free and spontaneous encounter between cultures (Fernandes, 2006: 78). In this country grounded, therefore, in the triangulation between three continents—Europe, Africa and America—, the subject results from a process of adaptation and creation of an always open and new collective identity, different from the originating colonial one.

Creolization, according to Edouard Glissant, goes beyond miscegenation, which results from “an encounter and synthesis between two different worlds” (Branco, 2016: 11). Creolization exceeds miscegenation, and as Glissant postulates, it is a “boundless miscegenation, whose elements are multiplied and the result is unpredictable. Creolization diffracts, while certain modes of miscegenation may return and concentrate” (Cit. in Branco, 2016: 11).

Vergès also mentions that the plurality of possibilities underlying creolization derives from its sense of “bricolage”, absorbing what is available, reinterpreting and recreating creatively new forms of cultural manifestations, distinct from the original ones (idem). This idea of creolization as bricolage, or as cultural cannibalism, in the sense that each subject appropriates the best of the other culture and reincorporates it, reinventing a new form, is relevant to understand the aspect of creolization in Marlene’s choreographies. Thus, her work reflects this potentiality for openness that characterizes the processes of creolization, as well as the archipelagic condition of Cape Verde (where each island has its specific creole, its traditions and cultural manifestations). Specifically relevant in the city of Mindelo, island of São Vicente, where she lived, was the influence of the commercial port, with the arrivals of new strangers and their novelties, as well as the peaks of collective emotion that accompanied each event on the island.

In addition, music, rhythm and dance as profound cultural traces of Cape Verdean culture, leave its sensorial and bodily imprints in her choreographies. Of extreme relevance for her creative process, 'music,' states the choreographer, 'allows her and the performers to access certain areas and specific imagery,' which otherwise would be impossible to access or transmit. (Freitas, entrevista).

Furthermore, as can be experienced in São Vicente Carnival, one of the keystone reference of Marlene's cultural Cape Verdean heritage—the ritual of utopia, of being other, of metamorphosis and excess, 'the festival of joyful otherness' (Coderch, 1999: 15)—her work does not witness the destruction of opposites, but their circular structuring, where all unpredictability may occur. In other words, the choreographer seems more attracted by the tension and circularity between polarities, than to emphasize their oppositions. Among some of these polarities are the Apollonian and the Dionysian, echoing on the path of Nietzsche the differences between the rationality of the beautiful versus the formless and the overwhelming of the sublime, but also the poles between human and nonhuman animality, the subject and the object, the modern and premodern, life and death, the animate and inanimate, the conscious and the unconscious, the clean and the dirty, the mechanized versus the organic and the visceral, just to name a few of the dichotomies often at play in her work. In fact, Marlene's figures frequently embody the mechanic movement of marionettes and puppets, statues that are endowed with life, petrified human figures, hybrid creatures in-between the human and the nonhuman animal, with references to birds, dogs, horses, or apes, in a permanent process of instability and ambivalence. Opening space for the unpredictable and contradictory to be staged as if there were no contradiction at all, her dance works propose non-confined oneiric worlds, undefined and unstable, where familiarity and strangeness co-exist.

For each singular work the choreographer departs from an on-going and eclectic atlas of visual, musical and theoretical references that reveal her profound knowledge on various spheres—from Western history of art, iconology and anthropology of image to psychoanalysis—an atlas that is heir to the Warburgian methodology of art history and culture studies (*Kulturwissenschaft*). Although relevant this structural mapping may be, the dance performance itself is neither

a collection nor a montage of those references, but the result of an uncanny digesting process that culminates in the art work, which according to the choreographer, seems to have a life and a will of its own, one that herself is unaware of, and cannot control.

In a play with over-determined images and figures, her methodology is reminiscent of the four processes of the dream-work, that Sigmund Freud has named condensation, dislocation, conditions of representability (or figurability) and second elaboration.

Thus, to see Marlene Monteiro Freitas' choreographic works, following Didi-Huberman's reflections on image and time, means to be witnessing a complex temporality, 'an extraordinary montage of heterogeneous times forming anachronisms' (Didi-Huberman: 2017, 18). In each dance work, Marlene operates, as we will see below, with 'malleable cultural and cognitive tools, ductile wax tools that gain, between each hand and against each material (...), a different meaning and use value' (idem). It is in this paradoxical fecundity of the bodies materiality and of the temporal anachronism given by the images she conveys, that her work gives access to multiple stratified times, because, as Didi-Huberman says, 'when forms survive, history opens' (Didi-Huberman: 2017, 35). In this time frame of the choreographic event that is, then, more than present, her dance works appear as a shock, a rip, an outburst that strangles in strangeness, as if they were a flash of light, leaving the spectator both confused and fascinated, sometimes outraged or disaffected. The reactions are diverse, multiple and disparate.

It is our belief that the idiosyncratic strangeness deriving from Marlene's work is caused, above all, by the instability not only of the composite figures she creates and which destabilize the viewer's expectations, but also by the dissolution of the most diverse epistemological frontiers, aesthetic, identitarian, gender, humanistic, among others, calling in its place a space of simultaneous contradiction, over-determination, and hybridity. This openness, as we tried to demonstrate in the beginning of this reflection, is also engrained in the poetics of Marlene's culture of creolization, as open-ended process that reintegrates and

appropriates references, in order to subvert the sources, and (re)invent the unexpected. This is inseparable from a decolonial praxis, an art work as a form of life where, as Glissant mentioned, the idea of creolization as a “poetics of relation” (Glissant, 1997). In addition, the process of creolization may also have a resonance in the processes of disfiguration and transfiguration that are engrained in her methodological practice.

Then, how does Marlene Monteiro Freitas' work revisit Western European epistemological and artistic legacy in order to dislocate it through strategies of condensation, transfiguration and conditions of figurability? How do her composite and hybrid figures open a discursive space for decolonial criticality-as-praxis? How does it proposes visual and performative frameworks upon which to (re)address Cape Verdean entangled creole cultural traces, overlapped on a triangulation between Africa, Europe and America? These are some of the questions we propose to address in this essay, departing from a close reading of the long and ambivalent concept of *figura*, and figural work, and dedicating a closer look into Marlene's solo *Guintche*.

Disfiguring Figures

Whether musicians or dancers, Marlene names her performers as figures, since figures allow for greater openness and instability of play, form and content, and are less conditioned than theatrical characters. This reflects the relevance of the concept of figure in her creative methodology, requiring a deep historical investigation of the term, and its extended concept of *figural* work.

In effect, since the nineteenth century, artists have been questioning the mimetic relation with the real, representation and its *mise-en-scène*, and playwrights and dramaturges have been trying to erase from the scene the theatrical character as the illusion of a plausible subject, against an installed bourgeoisie idea of mimesis. Indeed, with an uncertain status and a troubled mode of existence, since Robert Abirached, it is hard to evoke the theatrical character otherwise than in a state of crisis (Sermon: 2004, 5).

In his well-known work *L'Avenir du drame* (1999), Jean-Paul Sarrazac unravels the complexity of the dramatic character proposing for it the term 'Figures d'homme' (9), where the author signals that the symbolic elevation of the theatrical character goes parallel with an accentuation of the body. 'La figure', Sarrazac refers, 'ne représente donc ni l'hypostase ni la dissolution mais un nouveau statut du personnage dramatique: personnage incomplet et discordant qui en appelle au spectateur pour prendre forme; personnage à *construire*¹ (idem). One can trace these two relevant points in Marlene's work: on the one hand, the accentuation of the body by the relevance of the dance figure, on the other hand, the dialogic relation between the work and the audience, with the figural work being not only constructed by the choreographer, but with and through the gaze of each singular spectator.

In the mainstream choreographic lexicon, the work of figure may refer to 'the movement that makes a singular dance execution a specific recognizable figuration, pertaining either to an established repertoire, (...) or schemas that have become canonical by repetition' (AAVV: 2016-17)². In addition, 'in the theatrical vocabulary, a common understanding of figure would relate to the construction of the theatrical character' (idem). In both senses, the rendering of a visible figure a recognizable and archetypal one, would refer to a process of figuration. What is in place in Marlene's work is precisely an inverse and much more profound concept of figure, closely attached to 'a notion of *figural work*, a process that disengages the corporal figures from any figurative work, mobilizing the forces of disfigurement and transfiguration, inherent of the imaginary', and the unconscious, 'as faculties not of forming images, but of distorting them' (idem).

¹ 'The figure thus represents neither the hypostasis nor the dissolution but a new status of the dramatic character: incomplete and discordant character who calls on the spectator to take shape; character to build.' [my translation.]

² From February 2016 to March 2017 La Manufacture, a research department from Haute École Spécialisée de Suisse occidentale (HES.SO), in Lausanne, organized a research project entitled *Le Travail de la figure: que donne à voir une danse?*, with a team composed by Loïc Touzé, Mathieu Bouvier, Rémi Héritier, Alice Godfroy, Anne Lenglet, and invited researchers. For detailed information, consult: <http://www.manufacture.ch/fr/1895/Figure>. The research outcome was published in as Bouvier, Mathieu (2017) (Ed.), *Pour un atlas des figures* in <http://www.pourunatlasdesfigures.net/atlas>.

In his foundational study *Figura* (1938),³ Erich Auerbach unravelled the philological evolution of the word *figura* from its origin until the Middle Ages, tracing its centrality for the Western history of representation. With the same etymological root as *finger*, *figulus*, *fictor* (sculptor, the one that gives shape and puts a figure on the thing), and *effigies* (imago, seal, emblem), *figura* originally meant “plastic form” (Auerbach: 1959, 11), but it was always associated as something livable, dynamic, and incomplete, a changing aspect that ran through the history of the concept, namely, through the works of Varro, Lucretio and Cicero. In fact, Greek vocabulary was much richer and had different terms for the concept of form, namely, ‘*morphe*, *eidos*, *schema*, *typos*, *plasis*,’ and in the rhetorical and philosophical texts of Plato and Aristotle, ‘a clear dividing line was drawn particularly between *morphe* and *eidos* on the one hand, and *schema* on the other: *morphe* and *eidos* were the form or idea which “informs” matter; *schema* was the purely perceptual shape’ (14).⁴ According to Auerbach, *figura* nonetheless kept its original plastic signification, since ‘*typos*, “imprint”, and *plasis*, *plasma*, “plastic form” were often rendered by *figura*’, developing from ‘*typos* the use of *figura* as “imprint of the seal,” (15), as a seal stamped in wax. Furthermore, *figura* expanded also into notions of ‘statue’, ‘image’, ‘portrait’, ‘to impinge on the domain of *statua*, and even of *imago*, *effigies*, *species*, *simulacrum*’ (idem).

In addition, in his ground breaking work *De Rerum Natura, On the Nature of Things* (first century BC), the roman poet and philosopher ‘Lucretius uses *figura* in the Greek philosophical sense’ (16), as notes Auerbach, but in a more free and significant way, transposing the term ‘from the plastic to the auditory sphere’, as figures of speech, to the ‘transition from the form to its imitation, from model to copy, (...) where form and *imago* are too solidly anchored in one or the other of the two meanings’ (idem). Further on, ‘it is in Lucretius where

³ ‘Figura’ was first published in *Archivum Romanicum* 22 (1938): 436–89 and then reissued in 1939 by Leo S. Olschiki in Florence as a self-standing offprint. It was reprinted in Erich Auerbach, *Neue Dantestudien* (Istanbul, 1944), pp. 11–71 and again in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur romanischen Philologie* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 55–92. The first English translation was by Ralph Manheim in Auerbach, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays* (New York, 1959), pp. 11–76. I will be citing from this 1959 English edition.

⁴ The words *morphe* and *eidos* were generally translated in Latin as *forma*, close to the idea of the model; and *figura* was a common translation of the word *schema*, a Greek term widely used in rhetoric, mathematics, geometry, grammar and logic.

first *figura* is employed in the sense of “dream-image”, (...) “ghost” (17). And professing ‘the cosmogony of Democritus and Epicurus, according to which the world is built up with atoms’, the philosopher sometimes calls ‘*figurae*’ to these atoms that in permanent motion give form to the cosmos.⁵

Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*, an extremely influential work for Marlene, was also a significant contribution to the notion of *figura* as ‘changing form’ (21), in the sense of ‘imprint of the seal’ in wax (22), and as ‘mobile, changeable, multiform, and deceptive (23).

The Middle Ages and the Renaissance, according to the German philologist, still attach a great deal of importance to the art of figures of speech. But later on, behind pagan antiquity, the Christian Fathers gave an extremely relevant contribution to the ambivalence of the concept of figure, by interpreting the events of the Old Testament as prophetic prefigurations of the New Testament. In this figural reading, the *figura* of the Old Testament corresponded to *umbra* or *imago*, ‘in the sense of “deeper meaning in reference of future things”’ to come, and the New Testament was called ‘*veritas*’ (35-36). *Figura*, then ‘appears also as an idol, as dream figure or as a vision’, but ‘by far the most often, it appears as prefiguration’ (idem), both spiritual and carnal.⁶ The term *figura*, then, acquired a theological, rhetorical and hermeneutical relevance, producing an alliance between spirituality and reality, where indeterminacy and openness were constitutive of the term richness and complexity.⁷

The relevance of observing the mutations of the concept of figure is noteworthy not only because of the new icono-textual genres that appear, but also because of a more deeply new way of thinking, resulting from a refunding of figurative thought in terms of a humanist symbolism, which has been pervading all areas

⁵ ‘(...) numerous atoms are in constant motion; they move about in the void, combine and repel one another: a dance of figures,’ (Auerbach: 1959, 17).

⁶ The figural interpretation of history by the Christian Fathers, from Tertulian to Augustine, was then used as a mission from the 4th century on, combining the concrete and plastic meaning of *figura* as form, with a more abstract meaning of a ‘rhetorical image that conceals, transforms, and even deceives’ (Auerbach: 1959, 35).

⁷ Further on, the concept of *figura* acquired also a temporal and premonitory condition, and figural interpretation, or a figural view of history, became widespread up to the Middle Ages with a mixture of spirituality and a sense of reality, and proceeded through the first modernity of the XV-XVII centuries, with dislocations of senses in a semantic development that grounded some of structures that would be effective for many centuries and in different fields of knowledge.

of European culture. As in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, figure embodies this possibility of permanent change, while remaining the same, as the wax material that can be molded into different figures but keeps its materiality. Marlene Monteiro Freitas has often referred to how she is interested in the possibility of being other(s), while at the same time, remaining the same.

Dance is, in fact, a field of potentiality for witnessing the singular work of figures in movement, either in the configuration of choreographies, or in the transfiguring processes of metamorphoses of gestures and bodies, which have a virtual quality beyond the limited contour of an image. So, the figural work of dance exceeds the figurative tool, and extends towards the potentiality of a force to be transmitted through the unstable figurability of a body in movement.⁸

This potentiality inherent in the figure, expressed by its ambivalence between realness and abstraction, spirituality and concreteness, imago and metamorphosis, simulacrum and embodiment, or the representation of the unrepresentable has rendered the figure a prominent visual and material tool for choreography. On the wake of Freudian metapsychology authors like Aby Warburg, Didi-Huberman, Louis Marin, Hubert Damish ou Marie-José Mondzain, developed further on the dislocations of the concept of *figura* by the Christian iconography demonstrated by Auerbach, and how its 'tropes and ambivalences were comparable to one of Freud's dream-work processes (*Rücksicht of Darstellbarkeit*), or considerations of representability, or of figurability' (Bouvier: 2017). To this 'Freudian revolution is attached what is sometimes mentioned as *figural turn*' (Dumora: 2017, 13).

In the philosophical field, the concept of the *figural* coined by Jean-François Lyotard in his work *Discours, Figure* (1971) relates to those forces that make up

⁸ In the context of a research project by Manufacture, Lausanne (HES.SO) entitled *Le travail de la figure: que donne à voir une danse?* (2016-17), the project directors have expressed: 'Ainsi, loin de désigner un quelconque type chorégraphique, le mot de figure indique pour nous l'épiphanie sensible ou la voyance qui, au spectacle du geste, fait surrection dans le corps et effraction dans la forme, y réveille des survivances et des mémoires, anime l'oeil d'étranges excès de vision: une image virtuelle dans le mouvement, un rythme dans l'image, une force dans la forme, une dissemblance dans la ressemblance, lapsus visuel ou mirage sensible.' (Bouvier: 2017).

the unconscious operations, 'including condensation, displacement, second elaboration and all the drives that are part of the "libidinal economy", a title, precisely, of another Lyotard's essay (1974)' (Dumora: 2017, idem).

Gilles Deleuze in his work *Logique de la sensation* (1981), in order to analyse the painting of Francis Bacon, adopts the concept of *figural*, which he opposes to the figurative and to representation. Remaining a pregnant zone of indiscernibility, for Deleuze, the *figure* allows a sense beyond logical and rational signification, one that follows the forces of unconscious drives (Deleuze: 2017, 61).

If Lyotard analysed Cézanne's and Klee's painting to 'faire voir que voir est une danse', 'dance will probably be the privileged art form where to analyse the *visions of excess* [Bataille] that reside where the eye sees itself seeing' (Bouvier: 2017).

Guintche – or the incoherence of all matter

Guintche (2010), the first renown solo work by Marlene Monteiro Freitas, departs from the experience of a jazz concert by Archie Shepp, followed by the need to draw this experience, and then to endow the drawn figures with life. This methodological gesture opens some questions for reflection. Firstly, how to draw the contours of an experience? Secondly, how liveable, changeable and animated can the contours of those figures become? Thirdly, how to translate and transform (in the sense of metamorphosis) a drawing into a dance?

According to Marlene, a drawing can be alive, allowing for transformation by the single action of erasing the mouth, or redrawing the eyes differently. Thus, a face can easily acquire a different appearance, intensity or force, and this potentiality for metamorphosis was transposed from the drawing to the dance figure. What do drawings want, then? Or, as would W. J. T. Mitchel asks in his homonymous book, *What do pictures want?*

The animism of a drawing

Departing from the wish to animate a drawing, or the belief on the liveable power and intensity of this register, Marlene crosses the thin modern divide of animism. 'The idea that pictures want something', refers Michael Taussig, 'evokes the belief that pictures are spirits', and the 'colonial response' as we know it, 'was to be suspicious of such a claim' (Taussig, 2009: 263), regarded as an animist superstition held by others, but not by the Western moderns. In his book that proposes pictures to be alive, W. J. T. Mitchell advances the concept of the 'metapicture', as 'a figure that helps to explain the often-observed uncanniness of images, their ghostliness or spectrality, their tendency to look back at the beholder, or seemingly (...) to "want something" from the beholder.' (Mitchell: 2006). 'To properly understand images' Mitchell continues, one would need to recur to 'vitalism and animism', not in the sense of a regression to a primitive thought, but '(as Levi-Strauss so often insisted) a taking account of the persistence of the "savage mind" at the dialectical heart of whatever we mean by the modern.' (Mitchell: idem).

For moderns, animism was the confluence and mixture of all the differences they had established, namely, the dissolution between subject and object, resulting in images of strangeness and fantasy, which questioned the control that the Cartesian subject had over the representation of reality, causing anxiety and, ultimately, the loss and destruction of that same Cartesian subject and his superiority over nature and all other reified (colonised) subjects. Anselm Franke has traced a brilliant diagnosis of animism as a 'ghost that haunts modernity', together with all the other negatives, such as the imaginary, the unconscious, and all otherness that existed on the other side of the Great Modern Divides. The task, the curator underlines, will be to bring these negatives back into history as the only way to 'account for the relational constitution of the present' (Franke, 2012).

To embark upon this task is thus to understand these [negatives] are never given "universals" of the modern, but its very relational products. They are the sites that modern history is silent about, to the extent that

the very narrative of the “the modern” is built upon this silence as its fundament. The narrative-imaginary vacuum of the present is the direct outcome of this silence. This silence tells us that it is actually not animism, but modernity that is the ghost – halfway between presence and absence, life and death. And the future grand narratives of modernity may well speak of this ghost from the perspective of its other, from its “animist” side. (Franke, idem).

In her choreographies, Marlene traverses back and forth all those modern divides, not only by conveying unconscious and dream-work processes as choreographic tools, but by evoking a wide range of those negative beyond modern Western positivity.

Coming back to *Guintche*, it can take several forms: from the concert, to a drawing, then a dance that is also a circus show, a metamorphic wax figure. However, notes Marlene, between all these there is no resemblance, only the same intensity, the same nature (Freitas, 2013). As a word in Cape Verdean creole, *Guintche* has several meanings: a bird that builds his nest with whatever he finds in his surroundings, a prostitute, a woman or a man that has several partners, or it can also generally refer to someone who lives his/her life making neither logical nor coherent choices.

Guintche, the dance, is in fact the embodiment of incoherent oppositions and immeasurable excesses. Propelled by an exultant force, Marlene embodies the potentiality of simultaneous contradictions, the fury and strangeness that challenge not only the duration of her movement, but also a rational comprehension of the *Guintche* figure.

Her body is divided in two: the lower limbs rooted in the ground follow the repetitive mechanics of her hip movement, with a movement and rhythm reminiscent of Cape Verdean dances. The upper limbs and face express a kaleidoscopic array of modes and states, as a drawing that is permanently redrawn, recalling bird like gestures, animalist and clownish postures, bringing into relation fear and parody, irony and indifference, excitement and sadness, cannibalism and eroticism. Marlene’s face expression gains prominence in her

eyes, the proper locus of the subject's identification, and the mouth, one of the most symbolic body openings. Thus, these polymorphic distortions aim at disorganizing the stability of this figure, a figure that traverses and transfigures some of the modern divides, such as, of human versus puppet, human versus non-human animal, rationality versus animism.

Circus music with drums set the tone, and the piece unfolds in two parts: in more than half, Marlene dwells in this indomitable split movement; in the second part, with a slower pace, Marlene starts wandering through space, in what could be related to circus entertainment scenes. With clumsiness, mechanical puppet movements or virtuosic gymnastics, Marlene embodies transitional and contrasting figures that combine delusion and hopefulness, comic and sadness, indifference and fragility, always unfinished, incoherent, initiating a path that ends up going nowhere.

"This wax figure", Marlene adds, "melts, solidifies, hides, changes form (...) and the sequence of transformations produces distinct images: circus, cannibalism, ectoplasm, rituals, gymnastic, puppets" (Freitas, 2013). However, *Guintche* always keep its matter, which lies in its imponderability and counter-intuitive structure.

An atlas of eclectic references informed *Guintche*, namely, Goya's drawings, *The Character Heads* by Franz Xaver Messerschmidt by the face disfigurement, the film *Les maîtres fous* by Jean Rouch by the intensity of the trance performance, among others.

The documentary *The Statues also die* (1953), by Chris Marker and Alain Renais, that traces not only the uprooting of African art by the colonial power, but also its annihilation from liveable symbols within a culture of objects deprived of life in Western context of museology and consumption, is a general reference to Marlene's work. Along the colonial power, refers the film narrator, the figure of the black slave progressively acquired other roles: "the black-puppet" for entertainment, and in modern Western context, "the black-sportsman" or the "black-boxeur". In the bareness of *Guintche's* blue scenario one notices a boxing bag hanging from the ceiling. A possible remark, not directly to Cape Verde's

heritage as a former Portuguese colony, but probably, or from the eye of the beholder, as a symbol of strength and struggle. A boxing bag and a figure of permanent incoherence which, haunting the Western theatrical apparatus, return the gaze to the (European) spectator.



Figure 1. *Guintche*. © Laurent Paillier (cortesia da artista)

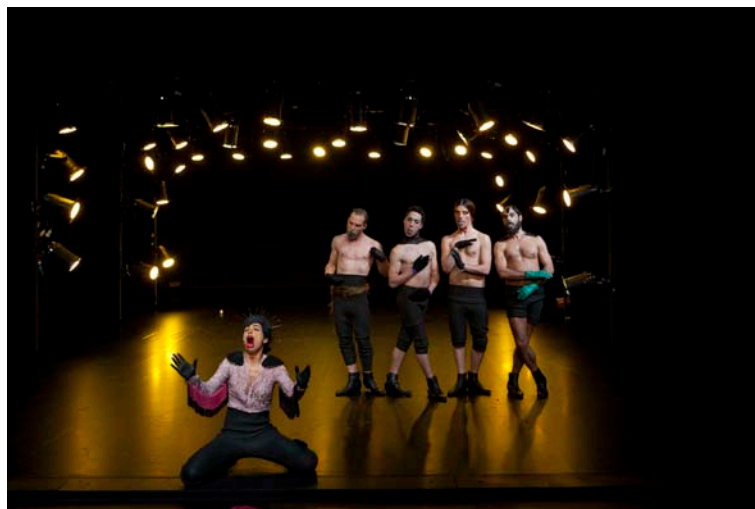


Figure 2. *Paraíso – coleção privada*. © Hervé Véronèse. (cortesia da artista)



Figure 3. *de marfim e carne – as estátuas também sofrem.*
© Hervé Véronèse. (cortesia da artista)

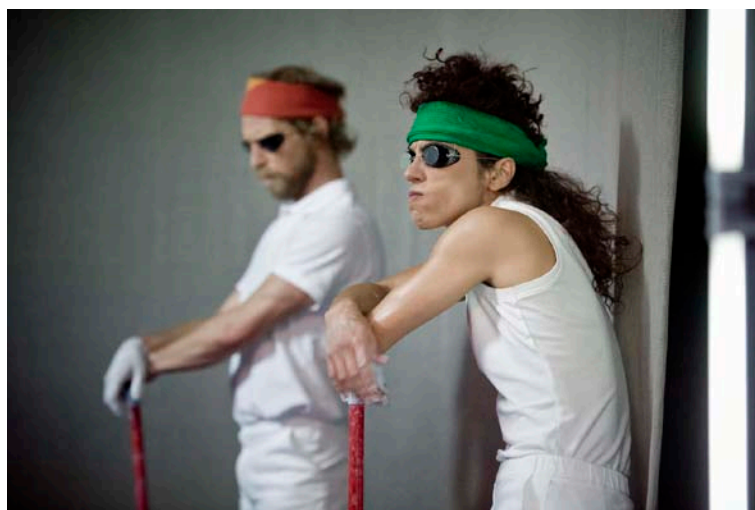


Figure 4. *Jaguar.* © Hervé Véronèse. (cortesia da artista)



Figure 5. *Bacantes – Prelúdio para uma purga.* © Filipe Ferreira. (cortesia da artista)

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Author identification

Alexandra Balona is a researcher, writer and independent curator based in Porto. Curator at Rampa, she is PhD student at the European Graduate School & Lisbon Consortium, with a research on the Political Potentiality of Marlene Monteiro Freitas' Choreographic Work, supervised by Samuel Weber and Isabel Capelo Gil. With Sofia Lemos, she co-founded PROSPECTIONS for Art, Education and Knowledge Production, co-curated *Metabolic Rifts*, and co-edited *Metabolic Rifts Reader* (2019). She curated *Migratory Images – Thinking Lab on Performative Arts* in Porto City Theater, is a member of SINAIS DE CENA scientific and editorial board, and publishes regularly on performing arts

EUROPE OUT OF THE PICTURE

Francisco Rui Cádima

Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa / School of Social Sciences and Humanities – New University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract

The history of Europe in recent decades, in particular as regards the information and communication strategies of the European institutions for the Europeans in general, has been the story of a misconception that has greatly penalized the consolidation of the European project. This means that if, on the one hand, the European institutions have generally sought to promote and disseminate an idea of progress for Europe, their public media, including broadcasting media, which are heavily funded by the budgets of the Member States, collapse in general. In fact, this results from the subservience of public broadcasting media in general to the dictatorship of the audiences and market strategies, with the 'agrément' of the European Commission itself, contributing not to the affirmation of the Idea of Europe, but to its destruction and the emergence of times of political regression such as we are experiencing at this end of the second decade of the century.

Keywords: Europe, democracy, television, politics, regression.

"The sofa is up against the door, she's not leaving"
Iain Duncan Smith
Tory MP (22/5/2019)

The quote above from Brexiter Duncan Smith refers to the crisis arising from the resignation of British Prime Minister Theresa May on the eve of the European Parliament elections in the United Kingdom on 23 May 2019. The perfectly surreal nature of the current situation and of this quote are perturbing enough in themselves. Not only do they reflect the degradation of politics in Great Britain and the European Union, but they portray a schizophrenic image of Brexit itself.

They achieve this by way of a mordant satire of contemporary politics in real time, at a time when comedy is rapidly transforming into tragedy and into something that portends to be fatal to the European project.

It has long been foretold that the idea of a great European house has been slowly wafting away as the international order in consequence risks collapse. If we wanted to explain to an alien recently arrived on Earth, we could do so in a simplified manner, with two or three questions and one answer: What has led to the strong resurgence of the far right in Europe in recent years? Who supported the war in Iraq and triggered Islamic radicalism and the appearance of Daesh? Who mortgaged the concept of Europe and the European cultural identity? Who has been leading the European project in recent decades in its descent into caricature? There is a common denominator in these questions: The European Union.

Which leads us to a true paradox. Being pro-European today most likely means pulling support away from those who, while professing to hold the same position, have been spending the whole of recent decades governing Europe and simultaneously stifling it and even silently digging its grave. In Europe, today, particularly but not exclusively in the countries of the south, a serious democratic crisis took place during the years of economic crisis. Distrust in institutions has risen sharply as have negative opinions on the part of citizens of the democratic, social and political experience in the post-crisis period of 2007-2008 (Fernandes, 2019).

Might the only option for these European citizens be to opt for an active non-alignment intended to help save this European project from rigor mortis? Or is it already too late? Today we are witnessing the disintegration into new "superdiversities" and a potential interculturalism which are turning us into a community of strangers, even zombies, both European and non-European. The streets of Europe have been abandoned and the "community of destinies", solidarity and cohesive belonging have been deregulated (Giddens, 2014:8). All of this has led us to a sort of dead end whose final wall carries a plaque reading

"RIP EU". António Barreto's description (2019) of Europe as a "construction of nothing" seems to make sense to me.

For Barreto, in this strange community, the emergence of the new despotisms, "of irrational and nationalistic populism" is clearly seen: "Both will be able to demolish the Union and destroy freedom." Today, critics of this Europe without an idea, with neither head nor legitimacy, far surpass that predicted by George Steiner in 2004, in his essential reflection - *The Idea of Europe*. The future had been delineated: Europe has traded in its values and even worse, its cultural heritage, to the "despotism of the mass market and marketed stardom" (Steiner, 2005: 54). All we receive in return is the mere threat of the continual "weariness" that Edmund Husserl warned us that European man was subject to. The irony of the current situation, as Jan Zielonka (2018) pointed out, is that "those who have led to the chaos are being tasked with restoring order."

Fatigue

In fact, within recent decades, the West and Europe have allowed a political and social paradigm to arise that is equivalent to a kind of neural pathology: a society of fatigue (Han, 2010). Society is suffering from extreme levels of attention deficit regarding what is taking place. We have collective amnesia. We are depressed, made up of a community of strangers who are either engaged in mobbing, or are burnt out, who can no longer tell memory from forgetfulness, and cannot even recognize their own cultural heritage. In short, Europe tripped up at a crossroads, perhaps running the risk of engaging in assisted suicide without even realizing it.

Within the throes of death, something still stirs. The Other (the immigrant or the refugee) has ceased to be the stranger. Otherness is now seen, rather, as just different, more as "a burden to society than as a threat" (Han, 2010: 12). This late-modern, post-disciplinary contemporary society, anchored in production, work, and hysteria, has created its monsters, who live the paradoxical freedom of being recognised for their contributions to production, but that, in practice,

turn the individual into a productive subject, into a depressed and violent person, an *animal laborans*, an "exhausted soul" (Han, 2010: 21). The new economies of attention – ranging from media and political pollution to the toxicity of social networks, in addition to all the related multitasking, are nothing more than a regression based on hyperattention that bewilders and distracts, nothing but a fateful hyperactivity / passivity. In this context, time, the *vita contemplativa*, resonance, reciprocity, serenity, are the elements of deceleration, only they can avoid "the depressive fatigue of the Self" (Han, 2010: 47), its acceleration, or the "alienating fatigue" and the exhaustion of the system.

Kukutani (2018) cited Hannah Arendt and her work *Origins of Totalitarianism*, in regards to the resurgence of the beast in the monster's belly, the womb of the so-called western democracies, which had earlier been identified by Arendt when looking at the crisis of citizens' rights and by extension at the very concept of the late nineteenth century nation-state. From that point to the restriction of freedom, rights and pluralism, to the imposition of propaganda and bureaucracy as a form of domination, where administration gradually replaces or limits in a prophetic fashion the power and legitimacy of the executive, is one small step. Now is the time, above all, to reflect deeply and seriously, to think in an unfettered manner, without fear or preconception, about what is at the origin, where the monster is truly born, where it is recycled and reborn. This place is the state of deregulation, of iniquity, of the spread of corruption and of special interests, of corrupted information and data, of the kidnapping of the field of mediation and of the media, in short, the field of the failed democracies, the belly where the beast reproduces once again.

This cyclical rebirth of the monster, and the potential horror associated with it, takes place when the populist fiction overrides the precarious (dis)equilibrium of Western democracies. It comes about in a well-publicized fashion and lending a certain amount of legitimation to proto-totalitarian political models that are continually rising up throughout the world. It invokes narratives that are unrecognizable by civil experience, yet are propagated by the media and now, especially, by social networks, and which are dragging societies back to the

unpredictable. Among the various causes contributing to this reversal are, in particular, a progressive weakening of the media as the traditional guardians of information, the marked diminishment and precariousness in the field of journalism along with the rise of the algorithmic model of gatekeeping, the associated phenomena of polarization and political regression, as well as the yielding of civil virtue to fatigue.

There is no doubt that democratic fatigue (Appadurai, 2017) has taken root. The question that arises, at a certain moment, especially in the post war period, which is considered to be the media era par excellence: Has there ever been democracy without fatigue, democracy with a capital D, with full civil virtue and full citizen participation, with full transparency and scrutiny of public affairs and of the *Res publica*, within a state built on the model of parliamentary democratic representation? For example, when we look at the history of the relationship between the media and democracy in recent decades in the West, the balance is critical. In Portugal, we need only retreat back to the period immediately following the 25th of April and the heated summer that followed. The media at that time had clearly been hijacked by partisan politics and from that moment forward, nothing extraordinary or radically different might have taken place had it not been for the spread of those groups who hijacked to new, national and foreign interests, economic powers, etc.

The democratic experience, as we know it, generally includes within its own genesis, construction and development, its own corruption, its self-degradation, and its own fatigue. This happens, first of all, as a result of mechanisms inhibiting self-evaluation and external scrutiny, while they also restrict transparency. Then, for this reason, it pulls into itself, phenomena of occult powers, of traffic of influence, partisan cronyism, political and economic patronage, corruption, in short, the slow, cyclical and continuous corrosion and decrepitude of the democratic system.

And all has become even more complex in the age of the networks. In her article "Hell after Paradise", Zeynep Tufekci (2018), based on her investigation into the entanglements between big data and social media from the political and

sociological points of view, posed the key issue in a preliminary fashion. In a short space of time, between the so-called Arab Spring and the arrival on stage of Cambridge Analytica, we have switched from an age of hope for social networks and for political change that might deepen the experience of citizenship and we have been forced to recognise multiple cases of the subversion of the very principles of democracy.

The famous cover of the MIT Technology Review of January 2013 following Obama's 2012 second election announced, "Big Data Will Save Politics". Yet it was already definitely outdated by the same strategies of microtargeting that the same candidate had used in 2008 and 2012. Tufekci argued that the new technological and political experiment was, however, to become a "fatal combination" for dictators as well. They redefined options that now surpassed the level of proto-deliberativism to achieve a state of post-truth, dedicated to the tracking of vulnerabilities, polarization, and the disinformation of voters. She posits that there are several causes for this reversal, namely: i) the "weakening" of the media as traditional guardians of information; ii) the clickbait era of the new gatekeepers; iii) the enervation of local journalism; iv) the phenomenon of polarization and echo chambers; and, v) the exploitation of "weak digital security in the U.S". In her words, "It was not Russia that created conditions for social mistrust, weak institutions and distant elites ..." (Tufekci, 2018: 48). And she listed the main mistakes of the U.S.: the Iraq War, the 2008 financial collapse, health system and insurance, responses to the climate crisis, Congressional lobbying, tax havens, and the fragility of internet anti-trust measures, etc. Another issue might be worth adding: Facebook's mission to make the world more open and connected, yet more dependent on the platform's most important asset, the resale of users' attention (and private data).

Regression

From the paradox between the acceleration of technology and the regression of both politics and the democratic experience, a new "disinformative" order is

arising together with the complex phenomenon of polarization which has been created by counterintelligence centres with the intermediation of the so-called "alternative media" (Horaczek, 2019) of the far right. Great digital platforms have arrived as well. They were introduced into Western politics at the beginning of the new century and have gone on to dissuade debate and freedom of information, to restrict and fence in critical public spheres, and repress any hint of civil virtue or diversity of cultural expression. Thus, in addition to the model of reciprocity and to the forms of relationship that provoke a resonant response, we are now witnessing most of all empty, or mute forms of relationship or those that only reinforce people's current convictions.

Hartmut Rosa (2010) pointed out that the acceleration of time and technology, the control of the virtual and the new systems of mediation, contain in themselves the embryos of a new form of totalitarian domination by way of the web they weave. They recenter the post-modern condition exactly around a new "nature" based on data bases (Lyotard, 1979), social acceleration, models of inequality and uncertainty (Innerarity, 2018), and regression, all of which may lead to "democracy fatigue" (Appadurai, 2017). All this takes place amid the late capitalism of globalization, in which culture is diluted by economics. The "disintegration of the social" takes place along with the unregulated acceleration of technology. The association between the creation of wealth and the growth of inequality can also be seen as a consequence of asymmetric and deregulated technological development.

On the other hand, classical models of pluralism and of contradiction in the media are now at a new crossroads. The new situations of the rise of the far right-wing media seek to recenter processes and to lead to new principles of exclusion, new strategies for conquering ethno-national sovereignty by smothering intellectual and cultural dissidence. With the populist reversal, the Other is rejected, and this syndrome of democratic fatigue is imposed in a context sometimes referred to as "post-democratic" (Appadurai, 2017).

Mediarchy

It is patently obvious that the fields of communications – media, news media, and advertising – have become superimposed within in this complex global crisis. Alternative facts and fake news have added a new ideology – that of clickbait – and its replicants: bots, chatbots, and all the troll factories in the world that use Twitter and Facebook as surrogate mothers, such as terrorist platforms, political mafias and cyberwarriors, which make use of strategies to attract attention and destabilize geopolitics. Those who make use of clickbait have no concern for either content or ethics. What matters to them is to maximize the quantitative effect of this unscrupulous click economy.

Against all expectations, fifty years after the creation of the Internet, politics and fraud have rediscovered each other in more highly complex technological environments supported by sophisticated algorithmic models and Artificial Intelligence. They are colliding with classical democratic values, in particular with the transparency of democracy, freedom of expression and information, and pluralism. Hence, the fears of the critics of technological acceleration – from Orwell (1949) to Mumford (1963), from Ellul (1964) to Rosa (2010) – and their warnings about the potential emergence of technological tyranny over humanity are perhaps more current than ever before.

Stiegler (2011), for example, taught us that mass culture is mainly at the service of capturing and destroying attention. It seeks to disseminate the everyday censorship of the plurality of voices and cultural expressions. It serves as a regime designed to deter communication and normalize consensus by way of a "mediarchy" (Citton, 2017) intended to maintain a permanent state of denial and manipulation of information. It was the model of manufacturing consent that was dependent on dominant interest groups, and it led to the degradation of the democratic experience and evolved into our recent examples of political polarization and proto-fascist populisms now in the midst of our digital age.

The concept of "mediarchy", was proposed by Yves Citton. He argued that the performative power of the media prevails over democracy. It encompasses the

models of perception of the world included within these systems of mediation and the accumulation of power and capacities to act. Moreover, it also reconfigures the specific structure of the media in a prescriptive dimension of this performative device that controls expression and representations of the world. The media, thereby, shapes our view of facts and events and conditions our perceptions and behavior. Today's mediated conditioning has reached a worrisome dimension, especially in the digital sphere, with its so-called filter bubbles, the echo chambers that have created the greatest phenomena of political polarization in history.

This is how the risk that the media might evolve into tyranny is coming back under debate in the West, along with a reflection on potential new holocausts. Take a look at the post-truth question. As Timothy Snyder (2017) rightly pointed out, post-truth is largely the announcement of pre-fascism. It is a growing model of communication for this digital age that is based on denying both memory and the event, in favor of false narratives constructed and disseminated automatically by the new populisms, in order to denigrate facts, political opponents, or history itself. Around the contemporary issue of truth and the media, the author focuses on another central theme of his work, that alternative facts and the persecution by the populists of both the transparency of information and the ethics of journalism together with post-truth "reestablish(es) precisely the fascist attitude to the truth" (p. 57). Snyder is also highly critical of the system of the media. He argues that the media basically "go along with the real events of the present day" (2017: 73), subscribing to a contemporary critical lineage – from Steiner to Habermas – that associates the media with the democratic crisis.

In addition to the fatigue of European citizens in relation to the EU bureaucracy, as demonstrated both by recent electoral abstention and the fact that the same bureaucracy failed to take up identity issues and defend cohesion and European cultural heritage, Europe and the European media also failed to deal well with the 2015 migrant crisis (Georgiou, 2019). Moreover, they have also failed to respond to the trend towards populism, from Orbán to Kaczynski, from Brexit to Trump, notwithstanding all the previously mentioned issues (i.e. the invasion of

Iraq, the subprime crisis, etc). Hence it has been said that "what fuels populism today is a crisis of the traditional media" (Sousa, 2019).

Europe out of the picture

Gianni Baget Bozzo (1986), a former Italian member of the European Parliament and author of one of the first reports on the communications strategy of the EEC at that time, pointed out as early as the 1980s that Community initiatives were being received by Europeans with indifference and mistrust. He argued that European institutions were underestimating the common cultural ties among European citizens and suggested as a possible solution that greater reliance be placed on the European "message" rather than random news and that the most appropriate means of communication should be used (Aldrin and Utard, 2008). The essential question, from our point of view, might be that pointed out by Valentini and Nesti (2010: 59) who stated that it was decisive that the "ifs" and "how" of EU initiatives "take into consideration cultural factors in setting up communication strategies that foster dialogue within and outside Member States and whether culture can be seen as a vehicle for mutual understanding, trust and a common sense of belonging. In this respect, a shared culture could be the paradigm that boosts citizens' support for the EU project."

Perhaps under the influence of Gianni Bozzo, European deputy Francisco Lucas Pires (1992) issued a similar opinion shortly thereafter. The former Portuguese Member of the European Parliament remarked in his booklet that European integration was coming together in the material and moral fields but was far from the achieving any unity "in terms of political discourse and the multinational dialogue about itself. In regard to journalism, (...) the European community is still more news than message (...)". He concluded by pointing out that it would be good for the EEC "to have the means and the capacity to start by representing itself to itself".¹

¹ Francisco Lucas Pires, *A Imprensa e a Europa*, Lisbon, 1992, Author's edition.

As European Commissioner for Relations with Parliament, Culture and Audiovisual, João de Deus Pinheiro was one of the first European leaders to search out solutions, as early as the 1990s, to the EU's crisis of communication with its citizens. In response to his proposal, the Commission acknowledged the need to remedy the problem "as a matter of utmost urgency" considering that "the information deficit is part of the democratic deficit", and taking a position regarding its new information and communication policy, identifying the following main problems:

"The weakness of the overall strategy and the lack of coordination; failure to appreciate the importance of information and communication policy; lack of proper identification of the specific requirements of individual audiences; to surfeit of information but of insufficient quality not always suited to the needs of the public".²

Subsequently, on several occasions, the European Parliament called on the Commission to set up a common strategy for information and communication, by way of resolutions on Information and Communication Policy in the European Union (14/05/1998) and on the Information and Communication Strategy in the European Union (14/03/2001). In mid-2001, the Commission Communication on "A new framework for cooperation initiatives in EU information and communication policy" was published (CCE, Brussels, 27.6.2001.COM (2001) 354 final). It set out the main strategic guidelines for EU communications, including cooperation between the institutions and the Member States, establishing the Commission's Interinstitutional Group for Information and Communication Services (Commission and Parliament), arrangements for monitoring and assessing impact, and finally the means for providing information and communication activities. Television and radio broadcasts and information for journalists were highlighted as "one of the priorities of the European institutions", in order to inform citizens by audiovisual means. Cooperation with Euronews was set up so that various information programmes might be produced, and this cooperation was to be renewed for a period of three years. Finally, Europe by Satellite (EBS) was to provide live coverage of the institutions'

² See: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-93-538_en.htm

work and news briefs. This European information and communication policy was created in 2002 to "close the gap between the Union and the public ... to create a Europe that is close to the people, that is familiar and meaningful to them" (COM (2001) 354:3). To some extent the aim was also to facilitate the process of building Europe, as was mentioned in a Community guideline that advocated the dissemination of information that might be more qualitative and strategic than quantitative (COM 281 (2002)).

A crucial new moment for the definition of policies was the Commission's new Communication about the implementation of the information and communication strategy for the European Union (COM (2004) 196 final). Information and communication strategy was meant to refer to the framework for communicating with the general public (rather than all the Commission's information measures), as set out in the Commission's communication of 2 July 2002 [COM(2002)350 final]. The main objectives of this strategy included improving the image of the EU and its institutions, as well as disseminating the knowledge and understanding of its missions, and, above all, establishing a dialogue with citizens. The fact is that in the Communications of 2001 (354 final) and 2004 (196 final), the Commission appeared to remain unaware of the existence of a public European audiovisual system. This last communique said that (p. 17): "The great growth in radio and television broadcasting (only EUR 15 there were more than 1,100 national television channels and 1,900 local or regional ones...makes it more cumbersome to use." Would the Commission consider that in order to reach a "large audience" with the "limited resources relative to the costs of achieving such goal" would imply "using a critical mass of means aimed at multiplier targets". There was no acknowledgement of the existence of the highly relevant European public television and radio services, which, curiously, have always been side lined relative to European information and communication strategies.

In their 2004 study "In Search of Europe - A Cross-National Comparative Study of the European Union in National Television News", Claes H. de Vreese and Jochen Peter carried out a cross-national comparative content analysis of the coverage of European Union politics in British, Danish, Dutch, French, and

German television news. The goal was to establish a baseline for television coverage of the EU in a non-event context. In most of the countries studied, EU politics were marginally represented on national television news. They found that "public broadcasting outlets did not report more frequently about the EU than did private outlets. However, the EU was more prominently covered in public than in private television. In other words, the visibility of EU affairs was equally low in both public television and commercial television, but public outlets attributed more importance to EU affairs than did commercial television." (P.16). The most significant conclusion, however, was that the Europeanization of television news coverage is more illusion than reality. The findings also suggested that there is no European public sphere in mainstream television coverage.

A year later (2005), Commission Vice-President Margot Wallström, head of Institutional Relations and the Communication Strategy, met European broadcasters, asking them to "put Europe in the Picture". Two hundred broadcast editors and correspondents from all over Europe gathered in Brussels for a two-day consultative conference entitled: Putting Europe in the Picture. At that time, this was the main picture, there was limited exposure of the EU in bulletins, but with significant differences between European broadcasters:

"It's time to get away from the old approach of putting out the same dull and uniform messages to everyone in Europe. It's time to find out what people actually need to know, and to start giving them the information they need in lively language that makes sense to them, using the media they are familiar with. You the broadcasters are crucial to the success of this strategy."³

Wallström proposed regular meetings between the broadcasters and EU institutions to assess the changing needs of both sides and to highlight the best TV concepts to deal with European affairs. She sought to encourage the development of European TV by using attractive formats for putting the message across about Union policies. The objective of the conference was to establish

³ "Europe in the Picture", IP/05/461, Brussels, 20 April 2005.

how the EU might help broadcasters report European affairs more effectively.⁴ Some of the conclusions and recommendations of senior broadcasters and online editors, participants in the conference held in Brussels (2005) were as follows:

“What Europeans want is what they get: i) 67% of Europeans want more TV information programs about Europe; ii) 77% of Europeans consider TV information programs about Europe superficial and of poor quality. What do most Europeans expect from TV information programs about Europe? They also want to see information that is relevant to their daily lives, put into perspective in relation to the broader context. They do not want to see politicians' faces...”⁵

Several years later, the Commission published "A citizens' summary" (2008)⁶ where they conceded that "One of the factors currently undermining genuine citizens' information and debate on the European Union is the very limited coverage of EU information in the audiovisual media. Most Europeans are interested in news about the European Union (64% according to the Eurobarometer of March 2007). Figures indicated that they would prefer to receive this information on their favourite TV and radio channels. However, the EU-related information provided by national audiovisual media currently takes up less than 10% of the time allocated to national news."

To address this deficit, the Commission Vice-President Margot Wallström presented an audiovisual action plan, which sought to provide more information on European issues to the citizens by way of the audiovisual media. In response to the problem, the Commission launched the Communicating Europe through Audiovisual Media initiative. Brussels drew up a three-step approach to achieve this goal. Firstly, it aimed to contribute to greater and more sustainable coverage of EU affairs by providing audiovisual media professionals with quality information and material. To that end, the EU information services were to

⁴ It was conducted in collaboration with the main European broadcasting associations, including the EBU – European Broadcasting Union.

⁵ PUTTING EUROPE IN THE PICTURE. Findings and recommendations of senior broadcasters and online editors, participants in the conference held in Brussels on 20-21 April 2005, p. 2. <http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/pdf/recommendations.pdf>

⁶ Annex to the Communication to the Commission "Communicating Europe through audiovisual media" SEC(2008)506/2, 24.4.2008.

increase the coverage of EU affairs to help broadcasters supply more information about the EU on European screens and to reinforce the role of the Commission's audio-visual library and audio-visual portal. The services should also encourage audiovisual media professionals to create and take part in European audiovisual networks which would bring together resources to create and broadcast EU-content, while retaining full editorial independence. By supporting co-operation and exchange between broadcasters and offering audio-visual material on major EU events free-of-charge, the Commission was convinced it would be able to bridge this gap. Somewhat later, Margot Wallström (2008) in a talk entitled "Communicating Europe - Mission impossible?" was very clear:

"Communication is a tool for democracy. In democratic societies, citizens need to know what the decision makers actually do and they must have the means to scrutinize them. The right to vote is clearly cornerstone to democracy, but the right to know should be just as important."

Wallstrom laid out the main issues regarding some of the biggest challenges for Europe. Even as she espoused the importance of democracy, transparency and openness, for instance, she challenged her colleagues to think about how to communicate all this efficiently:

"Do we have an information deficit? I do not think so. There is plenty of information on the EU and how it works. (...) Communication does not happen in an isolated vacuum, but in the public sphere. It is the public sphere of 27 Member States and of 23 languages. And to make it even more complicated: it is the public sphere of 3660 TV channels in Europe, of 25,000 journalists and 480 million citizens. (...) I think that there is a successful way to communicate Europe. It is not a "mission impossible", but a challenge and a task not to be solved via a simple Brussels directive. For me it is 'mission irresistible' – and a never-ending task."

In his paper "European Public Spheres and the EU's Communication Strategy: From Deficits to Policy Fit?" Markus Thiel (2008) spoke about his analysis of the communication and information deficits between the Union's institutions, the national governments, and the mass media. He made several suggestions as to

how the Union might improve its communication policy. "The Union is well advised in localizing news coming out of Brussels in the already existing and popularly used national media channels. Unfortunately, the efforts of Commissioner Wallström do not indicate that important mass media outlets are considered necessary by the Union."

Against this background, Thiel proposed supporting public television as a means to forward these goals. If the European Public TV, since the TSF Directive (1989), had not served to promote the identity / diversity of the great European house, the European cultural heritage, and the idea of Europe, what role did a European public service television fulfil? Speaking on the subject "Putting Europe in the Picture", Schwarz argued that programmes dedicated to EU affairs alone were not effective: the European dimension had to be integrated into thematic programmes and domestic news (A. Schwarz, RFI). However, what was truly incredible was the lack of a clear commitment on the part of public European broadcasters to put Europe in their picture. How might Europe, after so many years, sacrifice the implementation of its communication strategy, its main forum, the fundamental network of public radio and television broadcasters?

European Parliament resolutions and the principles laid down in the Green Paper on Audiovisual (1984) and the Audiovisual Directive have set up the European system of public television as a strategic platform for the assimilation of the European project and the idea of Europe. The main issue, however, is that the Brussels bureaucrats have never conceded this fact. The strategic goal of the Audiovisual Directive was clear. In order to reverse the predominance of North American television shows and films on European screens, Europe needed: (i) freedom of movement of European television programmes in the internal market, and (ii) broadcasting quotas that would require European operators to allocate more than half of their broadcasting time to European content.

As we have pointed out previously (Cádima, 2007: 11-12), European audiovisual policy, as regards public audiovisuals, and in order to follow key principles of the Directive, should be based on the primacy of culture over market forces and on European cultural heritage and diversity as a fundamental cultural strategy for

the consolidation of the idea of Europe, in particular through the widespread and consistent dissemination of the European audiovisual sector in the Member States. However, the European Parliament itself has found the opposite to be true: '(...) the share of European works is mostly filled by national works'. No assertive monitoring of European operators' adherence to the TVSF Directive has been undertaken, as was explicitly stated in the European Commission's own assessments of the application of Articles 4 and 5 of the Directive (PE 2004).⁷ Nevertheless, no substantive changes have yet been put into practice.

The European Parliament has more recently taken up the topic again. A report from the European Parliament of 2013, about the implementation of the Audiovisual Media Services Directive (PE 2013)⁸, regarding the promotion of European audiovisual content, called attention to the following (paragraph 31): "(...) while the majority of Member States respect the rules on the promotion of European works, priority is still given to national works, and the percentage of independent works broadcast on television is declining. "In paragraph 33 of the same document, the European Parliament also requested that "the obligation to provide information on European works must include at least a breakdown by category (cinematographic works, television productions of fiction and non-fiction, shows and entertainment programs) and means of distribution and calls on Member States to provide relevant data on this subject."

As has been pointed out previously, this question is fundamental and has been brought up by multiple European researchers and / or parliamentarians over recent decades: Batz, Barzanti, Garcia, Cádima, Thiel, Janssen, and others. Thus, it is hard to accept that, on the one hand, the Commission has abandoned assessments⁹ and, on the hand, that the European Parliament has apparently

⁷ European Parliament resolution on the application of Articles 4 and 5 of Directive 89/552 / EEC "Television without Frontiers", as amended by Directive 97/36 / EC, for the 2001-2002 period [2004/2236 (INI)].

⁸ Report on the implementation of the Audiovisual Media Services Directive (2013) (2012/2132 (INI)), Committee on Culture and Education, 2013.(2012/2132(INI)), da Comissão da Cultura e da Educação, 2013.

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+REPORT+A7-2013-0055+0+DOC+PDF+V0//PT>

⁹ See:

http://ec.europa.eu/archives/information_society/avpolicy/reg/tvwf/implementation/reports/index_en.htm

dropped the issue of European production quotas in its monitoring of the Audiovisual Media Services Directive. The EU's own communication strategy is now subsumed under the "European Single Market Strategy". The position closest to the original concept is the action plan on misinformation within the strategic communication working group for the East (East StratCom), a EU and NATO initiative dealing with strategic communication in crisis situations and the "reaction" to cybercrises. There is, as well, a social media network campaign about the European Citizens' Initiative¹⁰. What is more, the EU Strategic Communication Plan (2016-2020)¹¹, while recognizing that "communication does not take place in a vacuum, but in a complex environment of 28 national public spaces and an emerging European Public Space" (page 4), fails not only not mention the PSM (Public Service Media) of the Member States as it equally ignores the traditional public television service in Europe.

Meanwhile, a new revision of the Audiovisual Directive was launched in 2015¹² aimed at updating the existing rules for the provision of audiovisual media services in Europe. In so far as the promotion of production is concerned, the new document required on-demand service providers (such as Netflix) to promote the production and distribution of European works, stating that at least 30% of their catalogues would have to be made up of European content. Articles 16 and 17 of the 2010 Directive requiring "television broadcasters to reserve a majority proportion of their broadcasting time" were maintained. However, the Commission also insisted on doing away with key requirements that such works are from third States, and not from national programming in each Member State. National content thus counts statistically as the production / distribution of European content, leaving national broadcasting operators and their audiences to focus in on their own national production, which is basically television broadcasting, or in other words "teletrash" to a large extent. The EU thus continues its solitary path, outside the potential of its Public Service Media

¹⁰ A UE em 2018 — Relatório Geral sobre a Atividade da União Europeia. (2019). Comissão Europeia. Direção-Geral da Comunicação. <http://europa.eu/general-report/pt>

¹¹ Strategic Plan 2016 – 2020. DG Communication.

https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/strategic-plan-2016-2020-dg-comm_april2016_en.pdf

¹² EU DIRECTIVE (EU) 2018/1808 OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL 14 November 2018 that amended Directive 2010/13/UE. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/PT/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32018L1808&from=EN>

system, giving credence to the critics of this model, who, thirty years after the first audiovisual directive (1989) continue to think basically like Garcia (2007: 2): "There exists a profound anachronism between the EU's chimerical vision of television as a unifying force and what actually takes place in the audiovisual market".

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Author identification

Francisco Rui Cádima. *Is Full Professor at the Department of Communications Sciences – School of Social Sciences and Humanities – NOVA University of Lisbon. He is also Coordinator of the Doctoral Programme in Communication Sciences at the same Department, and Principal Investigator (PI) of NOVA Institute of Communication – ICNOVA research center – <http://www.icnova.fcsh.unl.pt>*

THEN AND NOW:

Cultural Europe in Agony on Zambrano's Thought

Paulo Alexandre e Castro

Instituto de Estudos Filosóficos / Institute of Philosophical Studies, Coimbra, Portugal

Abstract

In 1945, Maria Zambrano came out with the book The Agony of Europe (although it had initially appeared as an article in 1940) delivering some major ideas about what she considers to be an agonizing Europe, that is, the crisis in which Europe is steeped. Those writings are mainly about what is happening in Europe between the years 1940 and 1945, and three elements can characterize that scenario given by the philosopher reflection: 1) the malaise of civilization, 2) the construction of Europe as a history of violence, and 3) the interference of religion at the European cultural crossroads. She proposes, as a way of overcoming this agony, the need for a new man, an inner man. If it is true that her critical thinking remains current and helps us understand the phenomenon of the European crisis, does her solution remain current? This paper will reflect on the agony of Europe nowadays and his social, political and cultural problems with Zambrano's thought in the background.

Keywords: Europe. Maria Zambrano. Religion. Philosophy. Violence.

Thinking Europe is an urgent task today as it was at the time of Kant. The main concerns we find today, except for a few minor differences, seems to be the same: from Hegel to Denis de Rougemont, from Edmund Husserl to Victor Hugo, from Saint-Simon to Proudhon, arriving at Ortega y Gasset and his disciple Maria Zambrano, culminating in a George Steiner or in a Peter Sloterdijk, the agony (of a (de)construction) of Europe seems evident. In this sense and because many of the reasons for this cultural crisis (which are in line with the social, economic and political ones) are already thought of in these authors, it makes sense to recover the thought of Maria Zambrano for this purpose.

One might initially think that María Zambrano's works are just poetic philosophy but in fact, they sink into the heart of political philosophy. In Zambrano's philosophy, man is at the heart of reality (which means that he is always making the world happen), and therefore he also emerges in his political circumstances. Man is in a world of relationships, in a world where his participation unfolds and is marked by historical and political events. Zambrano is aware of the place of politics in the active life of man, and it will not be by chance that his first book, dated from 1930, is *Horizontes del Liberalismo* (Horizon of Liberalism), where the beginnings of the philosophical-political thought begin to be drawn, according to the concepts of life, man and reason (Zambrano, 1996, p. 207). It begins in this book defending a third way or 'revolution', which can be translated into a sort of readjustment of the liberal economy - with a critique of capitalist liberalism and bourgeois individualism - so that greater social justice can be possible. This criticism of liberalism will also serve as a motto in the *Agony of Europe*, precisely to reveal a decharacterized Europe). Note that Zambrano warns, however, to safeguard what liberalism has the best, ie, freedom in culture, freedom of thought, freedom to investigate and educate.

This commitment of the philosopher with her historical time - of which we find the record in the author's biographical works (Martínez and Muñoz, 1997, p. 14), is thus well self-evident in her demand for a serious reflection on the crisis of the West, which as we all know, begins by establishing the basic principles of a democracy: freedom and solidarity. Therefore, it is not surprising that reflection on Europe arises as a natural consequence in the attention of our Philosopher.¹ Zambrano is aware of the cultural and political movements of Europe and the world at large: the consequences of World War I were still happening and political ideologies were already boiling in a second phase.

The book *The Agony of Europe* appears in 1945 (although it first appeared as an article in 1940, and Zambrano classifies it a few years later as a set of essays of unpretentious fragments) that the philosopher wrote moved by the impulsiveness of feeling (Zambrano, 2012, p. 21). This impulsivity and/or

¹ J. Moreno Sanz in the "Introductory Study» of (cap. III- "El Templo del Pacto", 119) *Horizontes del Liberalismo*, points out that the philosopher's trajectory is reflected in this consonance of political thought with the formation of his general philosophy.

emotional courage lies in the summer of 1940 with the unfolding of the new war and in concrete, with the Nazi invasion of Paris (where Zambrano has some her family living). With this emotion, Zambrano starts a political dialogue with her time. Our author begins with a commonplace which is the affirmation of the decadence of Europe, not to subsume itself in this premise but to highlight the ethical unconsciousness that has been reached (Zambrano, 2012, p. 23).

In this framework of hidden social and political consciousness, resentment, rancour, the cult of success (Zabrano, 2012, pp. 24-25), and some currents of thought, have placed Europe at the point where it finds itself, that is, in its agony. As our author points out, during troubled periods, during periods of crisis, man appears in the open, putting his life in the open because *every disaster gives people the possibility of manifesting themselves in all their raw reality - it is the means of a more exact revelation of all who are known* (Zambrano, 2012, p. 23). This idea is present throughout her reflections, that we find an echo in a work published five years later, *Hacia un saber sobre el alma* (Zambrano, 1987, p. 37).

This crisis of Europe can be translated into a civilizational malaise, that is to say, in the realization that European thought moves in an enigmatic and mysterious climate, where terror and fear reigns, in an excessive trust in an unknown monster. A monster created by naturalism, which generates a passivity dictated by the facts, which leads to a destruction of the capacity for abstraction, to the distance from truth (Zambrano, 2012, pp. 26-27), to blind trust in the given world; and a social monster, who in the path of naturalism, settled through liberalism (Zambrano, 2012, pp. 28-30), not knowing how to safeguard the human person nor the power of creation; the blindness of both the critics and the defenders of liberalism also contributed to the fragility and paralysis of European thought (Zambrano, 2012, 31), which had born so noble in the Greeks, as Husserl had advocated in *Die Krisis der Europäischen Wissenschaften und die Transzendente Phänomenologie* (1954), (Husserl emphasizes the importance of Greek cultural tradition and the role of philosophy in the constitution of spiritual Europe). However, philosophy allowed the evacuation of subjectivity and the lack of lost unity of philosophy have contributed to the crisis

of science and to the European crisis. So, the German philosopher defends a return to subjectivism in his early conference entitled "The Crisis of European Humanity and Philosophy" in Vienna in 1935, echoing in the work of Maria Zambrano (although Greek philosophy occupies a different place in history). European thought would have defined its own roots, which means that philosophy itself (like literature and painting) has become an agonizing place, that is, a place where art betrays itself, where its principles are forgotten and embrace the "black empty".

In such a scenario, the philosopher recognizes that where there is life, there must be hope. This is probably one of the key concepts of the author's thinking, and in 1953 she wrote in *Delirium and Destiny* that "agonizing is not being able to die because of hope" (Zambrano, 1987, p. 244). This agony thus appears as a sort of revelation of the inner feeling which is hope and which 'animates' man, as he would also declare a few years later (Zambrano, 1994, p. 20). The philosopher tells us: *But even in the midst of terror, love does not resign itself and continues to ask if this historical reality of life and culture has died, this tradition we call Europe, which has already emigrated from its scarce territory* (Zambrano, 2012, pp. 36-37). So, the question then will be: what is irrevocable in what constitutes/constituted Europe, or, *what was Europe? From its complex and very rich reality, what cannot be renounced?* (Zambrano, 2012, p. 37).

Zambrano claims the impossibility of the death of Europe, *because Europe is perhaps the only thing - in History - that cannot die totally, the only thing that can be resurrected* (Zambrano, 2012, p. 49). How to resurrect Europe from its (transient) death? The philosopher, not falling into the temptation to embrace nostalgia, responds with the painful lucidity of knowing that it is necessary to recognize what constituted it (what allowed the creation of the European lifestyle in its density, multiplicity and wealth).

Zambrano asks about the origin of violence in Europe. In the question is already contained the answer: in the constitution of Europe violence has always been found (as she says, *violence was in every aspect of his life*, Zambrano, 2012, pp. 54-55), and with this answer also raises another fundamental question for the

philosopher that is about the domain of religion: the European God is a unique god with unique characteristics, *the God of a "elected people" by himself to save the whole universe.* (Zambrano, 2012, p. 56). This placement of a people glorified by the Creator God would make the European people a people with a thirst for divinity - unlike the Oriental who would be incapable of such violence (Zambrano, 2012, p. 66), but also the people who would make Christianity triumph (Zambrano, 2012, pp. 56-57).

This relation of transmutation of the creative God to the creative man (Zambrano, 2012, p. 59) involved the European in his excessive reliance on judging himself in the image and likeness, and for this, St. Augustine is called to debate, to give us the dimension of the agreement between religion and philosophy, in order to situate ourselves in the framework of understanding the immense decadent difficulty that Europe has reached (see Romero, 2003, p. 134); but, according to Zambrano, the conflict *that Europe has arrived at its violence is religious and philosophy cannot solve it on its own. Before a new philosophy emerges, in this European tradition, the conversion of man must take place, there must be an acceptance of reality in a revealing way* (Zambrano, 2012, p. 72). Only with the appearance of a 'new man', the philosopher tells us, can Europe resurrect. Or rather, only with hope and mercy (the "confession" that St. Augustine introduces is decisive for the realization of the interiority of man), we will see the way out of the agony of Europe, and that is why the European man is the protagonist of History, is the man who can in his duplicity, embrace the rebirth of Europe and open the way to the transparency of the heart, that is, to restore lost dignity (Zambrano, 2012, p. 90). Zambrano announces to us the new man as the inner man (almost in an Nietzsche way), the man who has regained his interiority, who embraces life in its novelty: *The European man was born with these words. The truth is within: it realizes, for the first time, its interiority and therefore it can rest in it; so it is independent, it is free. Recover his interiority* (Zambrano, 2012, p. 92).

This man of "unfathomable interiority" opens hope to the resurrection, to the purity of heart, to the end of the conflict between himself and the world he manages; the Christian person is the incarnation of these values:

The Christian person, on the other hand, has no limit, neither for his strength, nor for his life nor for his death. There is something in man that transposes and transcends everything: to be a man is to possess this inabarcable interiority. That is why a person, a Christian, is like an infinite perspective that is never exhausted in any of his acts, not even in all of them together: it is what is always beyond - it is deep, deep (Zambrano, 2012, p. 93)

The concept that marks Zambrano's philosophy begins to be drawn here, and perhaps as Ana Mendonça points out, the author puts (in the future) the thought into a *poetic reason* as a possible figure and a framework for a new rational discourse (see, Mendonça, 2004).

Given Zambrano's reflections and plunging into the reality of today's Europe, how to reconcile the humanitarian sense of help and union with the growing fascist ideological movement? How to be supportive in an Europe that is caught up in the rise of extreme right-wing parties? Could the new Zambrano man be a solution to this continued crisis in Europe? As Zambrano realized, the ghosts of the past - violence and terror - that built Europe are the same ones that today threaten the solidarity and humanitarian sense that should characterize a real European Union. Maybe art and culture can be a solution, as Nietzsche said only art can save us from ourselves. To deal with different cultures it is not a sign of fragility but instead a sign of recognition of humanity; to accept differences is to build a richer world, even if this world is constantly changing, in agony.

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Author identification

Paulo Alexandre e Castro. *Is a research member of IEF-Coimbra University. PhD in Philosophy of Mind (UMinho), Master in Phenomenology and Hermeneutics (FLUL), Bachelor in Philosophy (FLUL). Author and co-author of several books (literature and essay) and director of Uncanny – Philosophy and Cultural Studies Journal. Find more info about the author at: pauloalexandreecastro.webs.com*

EUROPEAN DREAM

“Keep bangin’ on the wall”

Carla Cruz

Faculdade de Belas Artes da Universidade do Porto - I2ADS / Faculty of Fine Arts from
University of Porto - I2ADS, OPorto, Portugal

Abstract

This paper discusses ideas around European identity, the ideal of free movement, and the building of ‘Fortress Europe’ through artistic work I was developing between 2005 and 2006, and endorses feminist theorist Rosi Braidotti’s idea of “becoming minoritarian” as an antidote to building an European identity based on old and new xenophobic and racist ideas, supported through my experience of leading the feminist exhibition project All My Independent Wo/men between 2005 and 2013, as a similar project of operating from the margin as a place of potentiality.

Keywords: Europe, art, immigration, nomadic subjectivity, becoming minoritarian.

European Dream. “Keep bangin’ on the wall”

In 2006, I did a residency in Finland – VAASA, where I set myself the goal to better understand what is to be European, and what better way to do it than to travel to a faraway European country and try and understand if we share the same vision of what it is to be European. 4,000 km away from home, what I found was the same generalised fear that our comfortable lives would be taken away by foreigners – nearby neighbours or those crossing the Mediterranean. After living for nine years in the United Kingdom, with Brexit looming, I am back in Portugal and thinking how those arising concerns have come to occupy a central stage in Europe in the midst of a humanitarian crisis.

In this paper, I will be revisiting my queries about European identity and the ideal of free movement, and the building of ‘Fortress Europe’ through artistic

work I was developing between 2005 and 2006, and calling upon feminist theorist Rosi Braidotti's idea of "becoming minoritarian" as an antidote to building an European identity based on old and new xenophobic and racist ideas.

Fortress Europe

Keep bangin' on the wall
Keep bangin' on the wall
of fortress europe!

– Asian Dub Foundation, *Fortress Europe*

At the turn of the twentieth century, political theorist Chantal Mouffe (1993, 3) affirms that "our societies are undergoing a deep process of redefinition of their collective identities and experiencing the establishment of new political frontiers." If, according to Mouffe, before the collapse of Communism in the east, western democracies could position themselves as us – democrats – against them – communists – without that defined 'them', the necessary "friend/enemy frontier is taking a multiplicity of new forms linked to the resurgence of old antagonisms – ethnic, national, religious and others." (Ibid.). Moreover, if, for Mouffe, it is very difficult for the moderate right and the left to redefine a 'them', the radical right, has already found its enemy. "It is provided by the 'enemy within', the immigrants, which are presented by the different movements of the extreme right as a threat to the cultural identity and national sovereignty of the 'true' Europeans." (Ibid., 4).

We're the children of globalisation
No borders only true connection
Light the fuse of the insurrection
This generation has no nation
Grass roots pressure the only solution
We're sitting tight
'cause assylum is a right

– Asian Dub Foundation, *Fortress Europe*

In 2003, as the UK electronica band Asian Dub Foundation (2003) was releasing their fourth album, *Enemy of the Enemy*, the European Union (EU) was celebrating 10 years of the Single Market and its 'four freedoms', freedom of movement of goods, services, people and money. (europa.eu). However, for my

generation, free movement within the EU, felt to be more about commodity circulation than people's. As the EU took down barriers between its member state's borders, the borders to the outside world were growing. Moreover, as Rosi Braidotti (2004) affirms, "the redefinition of European boundaries coincides with the resurgence of micro-nationalisms at all levels in Europe."

Keep banging on the wall of fortress europe
Keep banging
Keep banging on the wall of fortress europe
– Asian Dub Foundation, *Fortress Europe*

The 2005 incident at the Melilla Wall¹ – the physical barrier between Morocco and Spain, built specially to contain immigration – which saw hundreds of sub-Saharan African migrants trying to climb over the fences, some to die at the hands of Moroccan security forces, exacerbated that feeling of living in Fortress Europe. In the same year, I was making the sculpture EUROPA (Cruz, 2005), fig 1.² The sculpture, resembling an illuminated shop sign, fails to switch on permanently, commenting on my feeling of a failing European Union, that forsakes people in need, as a threat to internal prosperity and peace.

¹ Built in the 1980s after the entrance of Spain to the then CEE, improved and extended in the 1990's, the Melilla wall consists of 11km of parallel 6m high fences topped with barbed wire, with regular watch posts and police patrol. Underground cables connect spotlights, noise, and movement sensors, and video cameras. Its height was doubled after the 2005 incident. (European Commission, 2005, 70).

² Presented for the first time at the exhibition *16 salas 16 artistas* – Laboratório das Artes, Guimarães, 2005.



Figure 1. *Europa*, light-box, 51 x 71 x 13 cm, Carla Cruz, 2005. (Photo by Carla Cruz, courtesy of the artist)

Who doesn't run when they're feel the hunger
From where to what to when to here to there
People caught up in red tape nightmare
– Asian Dub Foundation, *Fortress Europe*

Following theorist and activist Franco Berardi (2010, 3), "Europe is wealthy because it has historically managed to valorize competence, and not just competition, to welcome and integrate other cultures. And, it must be said, it is also wealthy because for four centuries it has ferociously exploited the physical and human resources of other continents." Europe, wealthy because it integrated/exploited other cultures, in its endless attempt to become, and us, its newly moulded citizens wondering what is to become European, are we moulding to its image? And what image is that?



Figure 2. *Europe – where are you?*, photography, Carla Cruz & Ângelo Ferreira de Sousa, 2006. (Photo by Francesco Ventrella, courtesy of the artists)

In 2006, fellow artist Ângelo Ferreira de Sousa and I sent a call to other European based cultural workers:

Dear friend

We invite you to take part of the project "Europe – where are you?"

For the project we ask you to take a picture of yourself or others hitchhiking to Europe.

1. write EUROPE on a cardboard
2. place yourself holding the card on the side of a road, as if hitchhiking.
3. document it on photographic form.
4. send it with good printing quality to:

euro_pa@megamail.pt

At the time, the suspicion was that most European citizens felt Europe was elsewhere, or at least the Europe signified by the EU. Berardi goes on to affirm

that there is an aesthetic of the European Union, which is a cold one. "The European Union was born in the aftermath of World War II with the goal of overcoming old nationalist and ideological passions, and here lies its progressive and pragmatic nature. Lately, however, this founding anti-mythological myth seems to have been blurred, confused, forgotten." (Berardi, 2010, 4). The prosperous and peaceful image of the European Union, with its glass and concrete buildings, whitewashed history, has also played a more conservative, and perhaps dangerous role, according to Braidotti (2004, 135), which is "the European Union project as a self-appointed centre, which universalizes its own reading of 'civilization'."³



Figure 3. *European Dream*, installation with Moroccan Carpet, 142 X 220cm, and Sound Piece in collaboration with Marta Von ÓiÓai, Carla Cruz, 2006, private collection. (Photo by Carla Cruz, courtesy of the artist)

³ See current discussions in Portugal on the superiority of European cultures as a proof of this central role and its dangers. The sociologist Paulo Mendes, wrote the following for the Portuguese newspaper *Público*, in response to a polemical and racist article, for the same newspaper, by Maria de Fátima Bonifácio: "Of the whole web of prejudice of the article of MFB, I would highlight its only positive point: it helped to bring the subject of racism and discrimination out of the closet to be discussed by the Portuguese society and made us leave behind that unrealistic idea that there is no racism in Portugal or, alternatively, that our racism is milder than in other countries." [my translation] (Mendes, 2019).

In the same period, I made the installation piece, *European Dream* (Cruz, 2006a)⁴, fig 3, which comments on the idea of the American Dream transposed to Europe, and on the arising of the migration crisis. The piece is composed of an altered Moroccan carpet, European blue, that conceals the text EUROPEAN DREAM, and a sound piece that includes audio recorded on the ferryboat between Algeciras and Tangier, and on the streets of Tangier, mixed with radio samples from European radio stations and European Baroque, Trance and Flamenco music, alluding to the crossings between the two continents.

As the 'them', as Mouffe (1993) argues, is transposed from the former eastern European bloc, to the right populist vision of the uncivilized immigrant, the vision of a welcoming nature of Europe is fading. Europe, the promise land of milk and honey, of entrepreneurship, where you could reap the fruits of your labour, is shedding its robe and showing its uglier face, Fortress Europe, where, as Braidotti (2004, 133) warns, Eurocentrism is being replaced by Europism – "i.e. the belief in an ethnically pure Europe."

Ângelo Ferreira de Sousa (2006), wrote for our 2006 exhibition *Jusqu' ici tout va bien*, fig 2, the following:

... This land above geography, this Guantánamo, a territory between two walls is, as it is well known, the worst place to be. The walls are older than skyscrapers. Nonetheless, both sketch the dances of fear, marking the Earth with this or that, temporary, political power. Let's have a look at some examples, the Wall of China (c. 16m height, 8m wide, c. 2500 km long), intended to stop the entrance of the Mongols; Hadrian's Wall (c. 4.5m height, 3m wide and 118 km long), to prevent the entrance of Barbarians into the Roman Empire; ... Israel West Bank Barrier (438 km long, reaching at some points 8m height), security for some segregation for others; Mexico-United States Barrier (a non-continuous structure of 930 km and 7m height), intended to reduce the entrance of illegal immigrants from central and South America into US territories. Barriers

⁴ Made for the exhibition *Cityscapes*, curated by Miguel von Haffe Pérez, Plumba Gallery, ARCO Madrid Art Fair, 2006. The carpets used to make the piece were bought in Chefchaouen – Morocco, 2006.

for barbarians. [...] On the grounded perspective of the nomad, or the new barbarian, the challenge of the wall is to overcome it.

'Them', these constitutive 'others', as Braidotti (2004, 132) explains, "constitute respectively: the second sex or sexual complement of Man; the coloured, racialized or marked other that allows the Europeans to pass off their whiteness as the defining trait of humanity." Today, as Europe is struggling with multiculturalism and specially at a time of increasing racism, the myth of whiteness and the assumption of monoculturalism in Europe must be challenged. Braidotti (Ibid., 136) states:

European history at any point in time provides ample evidence to the contrary: waves of migrations from the East and the South make a mockery of any claim to ethnic or cultural homogeneity in Europe, while the persistent presence of Jewish and Muslim citizens challenges the identification of Europe with Christianity.



Figure 4. *Welcome*, performance, Carla Cruz, 2006, (Photo by Carla Cruz, courtesy of the artist)

In 2006, I wrote the following to accompany my solo exhibition *Fear+Desire*, at Platform Gallery, Vaasa:

Every year thousands of people leave their home towns, their countries, in search for a better life, a bearable life. These people normally travel from countryside to bigger towns, from poorer countries to richer countries, from countries at war or with totalitarian regimes to democratic and peaceful countries. These people – migrants – are the motor of several high income developed countries that wouldn't be able to maintain the level of production and quality of life without them. After having been primarily countries of emigration for more than two centuries, many countries within the European Union gradually became destinations for international migrants. [...] in this millennium Europe is a continent at peace, at least within its borders. But that hasn't been so for the last centuries. [...] This apparent peace is kept alongside a constant state of fear. But what are we most afraid of? Loosing someone dear to us or one's life, surely, comes first, but apart from that, what are Europeans afraid of? We are afraid of the unknown, uncertain and insecure. We are afraid of those who want the same as we do. Those who desire security and peace. We are afraid of those who invade our borders to live our ways, but not quite the same way. [...] (Cruz, 2006c).

Welcome (Cruz, 2006b), fig 4, is a performance piece, made during the artistic residency in Vaasa, where I created a live sized cake, in the shape of a 'racialized' human body, as if it was washed ashore, and invited the visitors to welcome him by singing the Swedish version of the happy birthday song, before joining in in eating the body-cake. The Swedish birthday song says⁵: Yes, you must live, yes, you must live, yes, you must live a hundred years.⁶ The performance was accompanied by Finish mourning music. Both a wake and a welcoming party, *Welcome* was made to make those who joined in uncomfortable.

⁵ Swedish is the second official language in Finland and spoken by the majority of fins living in Vaasa.

⁶ My translation of the original: Ja, må du leva, Ja, må du leva, Ja, må du leva uti hundra år.

Waves of past migrations, exchanges with Northern Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Asia, count for multilayered identities in Europe. Nonetheless, the myth of cultural homogeneity and whiteness is crucial to the tale of European nationalisms. How can we counter the building of the European identity based on old and new xenophobic and racist ideas? And which aesthetics can represent this identity?

On "becoming minoritarian"

Marginalized though we have been as women, as white and Western makers of theory, we also marginalize others because our lived experience is thoughtlessly white, because even our 'women's cultures' are rooted in some Western tradition. Recognizing our location, having to name the ground we're coming from, the conditions we have taken for granted – there is a confusion between our claims to the white and Western eye and the woman-seeing eye, fear of losing the centrality of the one even as we claim the other.
– Adrienne Rich, *Notes Towards a Politics of Location*

Rosi Braidotti (2004, 132) proposed a look into the feminist theory of location as a conscious raising method, which allows us to make sense of diversity. Unveiling the power of locations which one inhabits as the site of one's subject position is thus a project of political accountability. Braidotti, arrives at this argument about the European identity from her feminist philosophical theory of nomadic subjectivity as a process of "becoming minoritarian". Braidotti (Ibid., 133) clarifies, that "black women's texts and experiences make white women see the limitations of our locations, truths and discourses"; allowing for a practice of accountability, of relational and collective activity of undoing power differentials. Braidotti goes on to clarify that a location is not self-appointed, "it is a collectively shared and constructed jointly occupied spatio-temporal territory." (Ibid.). Following her reasoning, acknowledging our embodied and embedded location can challenge Europe's self-appointed centre position and reposition it as a periphery among many other peripheries. Just as black feminists work, like the one of bell hooks,⁷ has challenged the self-appointed

⁷ hooks (1984, 15) in her seminal book *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*, states, criticising white feminism, "As long as [...] any group defines liberation as gaining social equality with ruling

centre of the white feminist experience. Braidotti's nomadic subjectivity project to redefine what is to be-gendered-in-the-world, applied to the European Identity, proposes the possibility of re-locating it, of undoing its hegemonic inclinations. Thus, being "a nomadic European subject means to be in transit within different identity formations, but sufficiently anchored to a historical position to accept responsibility for it." (Ibid., 137).

Understanding European identity as a 'location', could open up space for a different form of subjectification. If the construction of otherness constructs sameness, nomadic subjectivities as a constant critique to a centre – sameness – also disrupts otherness. Thus, the redefinition of the European identity poses the question of difference – same and other. In the sense of difference, not in different from, but difference as in making a difference, changing and challenging the perspectives. Braidotti goes on to say that becoming minoritarian allows for a grounding perspective and possible flexible forms of citizenship that can disconnect nationality, citizenship and cultural identity, opening up for new symbolic representations and narratives of what is to be/come European. For Braidotti, the practice of accountability (for one's embodied and embedded locations) as a relational, collective activity of undoing power differentials is linked to two crucial notions: memory and narratives. "They activate the process of putting into words, that is to say bringing into symbolic representation, that which—being so familiar—escapes self-consciousness and only be empowered in interaction with others." (Ibid., 133). Likewise, together with becoming minoritarian we need new narratives and memories of what is to be European in a post-nationalist, decentered sense of the term.

Curating locations

The artworks I was making in 2005 – 2006 did not propose a new aesthetics or symbolic representation for Europe, European identity, or the EU. The different

class white men, they have a vested interest in the continued exploitation and oppression of others."

artworks attempted to bring to the fore a sense of unease of being/becoming European. Europe, as something that endlessly tries to actualise itself, to become, without accomplishing it – *EUROPA* (2005), fig 1. European identity, as something which always exists elsewhere – *Europe – where are you?* (Cruz and Ferreira de Sousa, 2006), fig 2. The EU, as the 'El Dorado' of Europe's others – *European Dream* (2006a) and *Welcome* (Cruz, 2006b), figs 3 and 4.



Figure 5. *Conjugar no plural*, poster, Carla Cruz, 2012, (reproduction, courtesy of the artist)

Following Braidotti's nomadic subject theory, I came to understand the potentiality of becoming minoritarian through the feminist exhibition project *All My Independent Wo/men* (AMIW), which I led between 2005 and 2013. In 2005, I positioned AMIW in a larger feminist art historian project of visibility, that is, of inserting neglected artistic practices by wo/men in the art canon. AMIW participant artists are people who identify as woman, man, and transgender, and who use their embodied position to produce artistic gestures. These are artists who see their artistic practices marginalised/or consciously marginalise their practice because of its subject matter and approach, but who also search for a

different way of creating and circulating within art worlds. I used curatorial strategies to question the (in)visibility of these artists in the mainstream art world. From my located perspective, the mainstream art world was overlooking their artistic practices and AMIW was a means by which to fight for their recognition. Through my experience of organising AMIW, I was increasingly confronted with the following question: what does it mean to want to inscribe radical art practices within the 'visible' art arena, i.e. the mainstream art world, knowing that the very construction of what is rendered visible and what is not, is what actually needs to be challenged? I then understood that reclaiming a form of visibility without it being transformative of the structures in which it aims to operate runs the risk of absorption into the visible, that is, the art canon, without challenging it. I understood that in line with broader neoliberal procedures, in which differences are transformed into anodyne characteristics and quickly absorbed into an ever-growing pluralist yet commodified society, these practices of moving the invisible towards the visible centre could be cancelled out their political potential. Thus, after 2010, I became less interested in promoting individual artists and inserting them into a given visibility logic, and more interested in subverting that logic by recollectivising our practices. This is visible in my artwork *Conjugar no Plural* (Cruz, 2012), which attempts to represent AMIW's network of artists, fig 5. It was then that AMIW's situatedness – in what can be perceived as the margins of the mainstream art world, to which I initially thought we had been relegated – became the place we wanted to inhabit. It might have been a marginal position if viewed from a mainstream logic, but it was the centre of AMIW's counterpublic, and from there it allowed us to imagine new and uncommodified possibilities of being and making, not just within the art sphere but in relation to the world itself.⁸

Recognising the potential of the margins – Braidotti's notion of becoming minoritarian as an always changing and changeable position – allowed me to understand AMIW's situatedness as a source for critical artistic practice which

⁸ A counterpublic is, in essence, no difference from a public, in the sense that both are constructed through the same means, such as self-organisation and reflexive circulation of discourse. However, the counterpublic is capable of transforming political landscapes and creating space for voices that are marginalised and not heard (Warner, 2002).

challenges reducing constructions of what is commonly seen or experienced to be a wo/man and what 'good' art is. The experience of coming to understand AMIW as a location, as defined by Braidotti, a "collectively shared and constructed jointly occupied spatio-temporal territory", leads me to believe that Braidotti's vision of the becoming minoritarian of Europe is an effective/affective way to difuse the growing European xenophobic tendencies.

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Author identification

Carla Cruz. *Is an artist, researcher and teacher, living in Porto. Cruz has a PhD in artistic practice by Goldsmiths University of London, with the support of FCT. In 2016 she was an Associate Researcher AHRC Cultural Engagement fund, focusing on the Northeast London community hub, The Mill. Since 2011, she develops in collaboration with António Contador the internationally exhibited project Finding Money. Since 2007, she develops with Ângelo Ferreira de Sousa the critical project Associação de Amigos da Praça do Anjo (AAPA). Carla was a co-founder of the Feminist Collective of Artistic Intervention ZOiNA (1999-2004), Associação Caldeira 213 (1999-2002); and All My Independent Wo/men (2005-2013)*

“EUROPE” IN LITERARY SOURCES: A Political Ideal, and a Strategy

Carmen Di Meo

Faculteit der Letteren, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen / Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen, Department of European Languages and Culture, Groningen, The Netherlands

Abstract

In response to the growth of scholarly interest and research in the field, the present contribution tracks the work done by eminent cultural historians, like Federico Chabod (1962), in the course of the Twentieth century on the occurrences of the word “Europe” in past literary sources, starting with the Middle Ages. On the basis of a trans-historical perspective, the contribution shall draw conclusions on the historical reception of “the birth of Europe” – both as a “Corps Politique”, and as a strategic concept. It is possible to extend this conceptual frame to the development of a European culture, in order to see how this idea, borne out of Medieval epics, might have contributed in good order to shape a European identity, and had exercised at the same time its “agency” under a political and military strategy, to be seen as a counterpart to the more universal idea of a “Christendom”. The phenomenon here discussed is especially rooted in the birth of vernacular cultures and languages, and the discussion throughout the paper will contextually match the reading of European history made up to present times with the analysis of Early romances and novels. In doing so, a critical approach is pursued.

Keywords: Europe, Historiography, Vernacular Literature, Political Theory, Identity

1.1 Introduction

In an article appeared on the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, July 17th 1969, the poet Eugenio Montale shared his own opinion on the possible consequences that the forthcoming landing on the Moon by the man might have had on the traditional “poetic attractiveness” of the Moon as a source of literary inspiration. Among other reflections, Montale’s response dwelled over the simple truth that, up to date, the man on earth had already made discoveries much

more important than the urge of conquering the sidereal space, starting from his impressive attempts to reconduct under his main influence the entire life of the Planet. '*His discoveries and inventions*' – writes Montale – '*have changed the face of the Earth; the world has come under his rules*' (Montale, 1969).

Lifting himself up on his knees, the man has covered the long distance that divides our origins from us, from a moment in history when not even languages existed. This contribution has much to deal with the formation of "our" identity, and of that of languages, especially the "vernaculars". To start with the first topic, let us focus on the history of our Continent getting back to its roots, and to the birth of the idea of "Europe".

In several of his academic prolusions and scholarly contributions dating back to the early 40s, the eminent historian Federico Chabod tried to sum up the history of the idea of Europe starting from its early manifestations in Medieval sources. In 1947, Chabod (1962) defined the whole issue as a historiographical problem closely linked to the challenges of present times, in terms of knowledge, inquiring "when do we started to build up a collective *European* conscience". As many others will point out later, the boundaries of Medieval 'Occidental' Christendom might have been corresponding somehow to an early circumscription of the concept of Europe, but this has to be explained way better than in simple, general trends. The distinction immediately opens up to other couples of opposing concepts, such as Roman world/barbarism, faithful/unfaithful, crusaders/Saracens, Western world/Orientalism, the majority of which have entered our collective consciousness – especially since vernacular literatures started to appear – also in the form of old legends, tales, and novels. As well as it happened with modern historiography, the idea of Europe as we know it has made a certain effort to be seen as a subject of thought on the part of Medieval authors, except for geographers, and a small group of learned people (Ortalli, 2008). In Medieval times, its use is mainly connected with the records of the military success achieved by the Franks, starting with the person of Charles Martel, Mayor of the Palace. In fact, a notorious occurrence in light of this discourse is the use of the word "European" made by an anonymous chronicler – maybe a clergyman – from VIII Century who had continued the

Historiae written by St. "Isidore" of Seville (d. 636). In the records from the battle of Poitiers (or Tours, 732), the author describes the household troops as being the *Europeans*, '*Europenses*', as they approached the Arabic encampment in order to thwart the enemies' advance, led by Abderrahman, from the Iberic peninsula (Chabod, 1962, p. 25; Ortalli, 2008, p. 3).

Seemingly, he had followed the footsteps of his grandfather, Charlemagne has been principally connected by the scholars to the birth of a European identity, thanks to the actual extension of his territories, and supported by the literary homages that the intellectuals called as ambassadors to his Court have been paying to him, the king of the Franks, and of the Lombards, destined to be crowned as Emperor. After the relatively easy conquest of the Lombard Kingdom of Italy in 774, in his famous *Letter to Charlemagne* (775), the Irish priest Cathwulf adduces eight reasons to prove the goodwill of God to Charlemagne, and praises him, for God himself had raised him upon the others, for the glory of Europe, '*in honorem glorie regni Europae*' (Gandino, 2007, p. 43). Similarly, in the letter written by Alcuin of York to the Northumbrian clergyman Colcu in 790, Charlemagne is praised for his achievements, and especially for the work of conversion made with regard to the Saxons and the Frisians (Garrison, 1995, p. 72), '*Nam antiqui Saxones et omnes Frisonum populi, instante rege Carolo [...] ad fidem Christi conversi sunt.*' (Ussher & Elrington, 1631). In the same letter, a reference to the keeping of wealth and peace in Europe is to be found.

The sense of powerfulness, the contagious fascination emanating from the historical figure of Charlemagne is to be seen also as a by-product of the contributions wrote by his contemporaries, who were effectively fostering and sustaining his leadership all over Europe¹. Starting with the imponent work begun by his predecessors with the emanation of the so-called *Lex Salica* (in 763-764 with the *Prologue*), time had come with him for a reunification – under his influence – not just of the several physical entities occupying the early European soil, but also of the political, and the religious administration of the former 'barbarian' populations. In fact, many Medieval sources from the VIII

¹ A brief, but nonetheless exhaustive portrait of Charlemagne, and of his life, is given in the accounts written by Beryl Smalley in chapter five of her book (1974) dedicated to *Royal Biographies c. 800 – c. 1150*, and by Indro Montanelli (Montanelli & Gervaso, 2018, pp. 257-267).

Century, such as the notable anonymous poem *Karolus magnus et Leo Papa* from Paderborn (799), as well as other coeval documents, will preserve forever the memory of Charlemagne as '*Europae venerandus apex, pater optimus*', '*rex pater Europae*' (Bullough, 1970, p. 105; Barbero, 2000, p. 5, 127; Ortalli, 2008, p. 4), and '*dominus terrae*' (Gandino 2007, p. 44, n105). Clearly, as many notable scholars have highlighted many times over the last Century, the imprinting of Charlemagne's courtly life was rooted in its sacred nature and legitimation. The presence of learned men and scholars coming especially from the English, and the Irish ecclesiastical *milieu* – as teachers to the King himself – is a distinctive trait of this strong political and earthly governmental structure, of the so-called Carolingian *Renaissance*, that restored a Holy, Latin *European* Empire over the far "Greek" Roman Empire. Accordingly, the history of the Franks was seen by contemporary chroniclers as the history of '*Gesta Dei per Francos*' (Galasso, 2017, pp. 12). Christendom and the concept of Europe are so far closely interlaced, and interdepending with each other.²

In his ground-breaking historiographical studies, Giuseppe Galasso (2017) has noticed the essential narrowly-oriented, and chronicling character of Medieval historical narrations (from V-VI Century), made by authors mainly inclined to compile records of the events connected to their own context of provenance, and to interpret them on the basis of a Christian philosophy of history. For instance, like Isidore before him, Bede "the Venerable" saw the official governance of Byzantium, and its *Basileus*, too far away to interest him, and he also believed that the unification by religion begun with Christianity was actually transcending the extension of the political unity of the Empire. Bede wrote an *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (up to 731), dedicated to a Northumbrian King. And so, '*the deep sense of the direction, and the inner meaning of the birth and foundation of Europe is missing*' from the historical records (Galasso, 2017, p. 10).

² This specific aspect is to be seen in connection with that of a 'Frankish' narration of European history, especially developed to lead to the identification of the Franks with the biblical 'chosen' people destined to protect the Roman Church from the Pagans – as well as from the Germanic populations, and above all from the Lombards, formerly converted to Christianity in the Arian form. The viewpoint is illustrated with full detail in the contribution by Germana Gandino, 2007. The theme has been also often fully clarified by Professor Alessandro Barbero in his conferences, and in written contributions on the topic (2000).

1.2 The Quest for “Europe”, and Modern Historiography

Getting back to the words written by Federico Chabod (1962), Europe has been mostly defined in negative, in opposition to what could not be considered – from a cultural viewpoint – Europe. The “Birth of Europe” as historiographical problem has started very recently in history. It is possible to distinguish at least three main components mixed up within “European” identity and culture: a) the culture of ancient Greece and Rome; b) Christianity; c) the culture of the Germanic populations invading the Roman Empire. The first studies in the field were made between 1928 and 1933, then with the rising of conflicts between the Nations towards the II World War, research will be only reprised at the end of the ‘40s until nowadays.

The first occurrence of the idea of “Europe” intended not as a mere geographical expression, but also as a political community of territories, is reconducted by modern historians to the writings of the Italian author Niccolò Machiavelli (1469 – 1527). Machiavelli was a Florentine erudite that exercised also the role of diplomatic agent for the *Repubblica* among the major Italian Courts of his own time. He is renowned for the famous political treaty titled *De principatibus* (composed after 1513), best known as *The Prince*, as it was printed in Rome in 1532. As noticed by Chabod (1961), what distinguishes Machiavelli's thoughts on Europe is the total absence of the two main ideas always connected to the identity of the Continent before him, *Christianitas*, and the Empire.

In Machiavelli's opinion “Europe”, as distinguished from “Asia”, is a separate political entity, divided in *Principalities*, each one ruled by a Lord and by an oligarchy of barons, whose power is legitimated by their noble ancestry and blood. In Machiavelli's opinion, Europe – and not Christendom – consists of individual political entities, and in this is diverse from the Oriental provinces, in which the ruling setting is based on “despotism”. Those concepts expressed by Machiavelli, would have undergone a process of divulgation very determinant for the formation of the current comprehension of the political and administrative reality, either within and outside Europe (for instance, see Juan Luis Vives' *De Europae dissidiis et bello turcico*, 1526). His ideas will be also important as a

basis for the development of the conception of political and civil freedom professed by the Illuminists in the course of the eighteenth Century. Echoes of his doctrine considering Europe as a State made of several Provinces, have been kept alive in subsequent political writings by Montesquieu (1689-1755), Voltaire (1694-1778), Frederick the Great (1712-1786). Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the "Idea of Europe", for the first time in Modern History (and from Chabod's perspective alike), is discussed also from a moral viewpoint, and not simply in terms of a geographical entity. Such a statement of a certain paradoxical nature – if the lay independence of Machiavellian political thoughts from the inference of any religious filter is considered – has possibly come out because Machiavelli was the first to use the word "State" ('*Stato*') in the modern sense, extending its influence to an entire civil Nation, based on the example of the Italian cities-state (Florence, Rome, Naples, Venice, Milan). And, in fact, proceeding on with his thorough reconstruction of the history of Europe, Chabod calls into question the image of it as a *corps politique*, as a political force functioning more or less as a human body, a system made of very interconnected, but separately working components. And the idea of the State, and of Europe as a political body is of Machiavellian import. At least, sticking to what Hannah Arendt taught to her American students in her lectures on the *History of Political Theory* (1955).

What could represent in a good way the intrinsic European character within Machiavelli explanative arguments, is the idea of sovereignty applied in the Frankish (Carolingian) kingdom, with a "Rex" surely seen as a charismatic guide to his people, but surrounded by a strong community of powerful people alike; alongside, the logical calculation of the wars of expansive manoeuvre sustains the parallel. The "modern" administration of the State – the prodrome of Europe – associated with the Carolingian *Renaissance*, is however responsible for having allowed the Roman Church to be at the basis of the legitimation for such a political dominion. Writes Hannah Arendt in her notes on Machiavelli's political know-how: '*What is the State: the French did not understand the "State", otherwise they will have never let the Church acquiring such a powerful influence*'. (Arendt, & Pansera, 2017, p. 64). It is clear that, if human life, and

the civilization start and perish on the Planet, the State is where they develop; and, if true human life is just afterlife, as professed by religion, the moral is totally changed. It is also clear that the peculiar political and institutional asset of the “italic” territories (the northern *Regnum*, Saint Peter’s patrimony, the duchy of Benevento, and the central and southern roman-byzantine outposts), and later on of the trading centres and city-States, has influenced the political thought borne out from that soil. It was not a case, in fact, that Jacob Burckhardt started his *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860) explaining exactly this, how and why Italy had distinguished itself from the other Occidental *European* states in being an expression of political plurality, and effectively divided partially between the Occidental, and the Mediterranean and Oriental mentality at once. In Burckhardt’s conception of the State “as a work of art”, resound the words written by Machiavelli centuries before: ‘*It is impossible to dominate with a quiet temper such ordered States as that of France*’ (Machiavelli, 2005, p. 28).

Although disseminated, and maybe lost in a heap of factors, and of contradictory elements, the primeval and original identity of Europe lies in the history of those fragmentary States; in the constitution of the historical centres and municipalities that had partly marked the “modern” spirit that the Middle Ages have left to us to be preserved, and developed. A spirit that, so far, has reached our metro-*polis*.

In this general historiographical recapitulation and picturing, seen from the present perspective, of the geopolitical asset of European history, a last aspect has to be recalled. In a very recently published book by Paolo Rumiz (2019), the extraordinary expansion of the Benedictine order from the hilltops of Norcia throughout Europe, seen as a ‘*fundamental vehicle of Medieval civilization*’ (Galasso, 2017, p. 12), fairly disputes also the general commonplaces linked to the idea of Christianity, and of the works of conversion done in Medieval times. The subtitle of the book states ‘A JOURNEY AT THE ROOTS OF EUROPE’, while in a newspaper article this same journey is announced as a ‘*research into the monasticism where Europe is born*’ (Bianchi, 2019, p. 37). The idea is that of recovering a European uniqueness, not only cultural, but also spatial in this case, after the disasters caused by the earthquakes that kept shaking Italy in

the last couple of years (from August 2016). The natural catastrophe is, therefore, ideally paralleled to the devastations caused – since 410 when the Visigoths plundered Rome under the guidance of Alaric – by the Goths, and the Lombards (V-VI Century); Saint Benedict reached Montecassino in 529. Another similitude made in terms of power and influence, gives the measure of the phenomenon: '*Between a Montecassino Abbot, and a Lombard Duke there is no difference. Both of them are the absolute authorities in States more or less expanded, and equally independents.*' (Montanelli & Gervaso, 2018, p. 226). From this book, has then come out that Christianity pierced Europe not just by power, law, and investiture, but also through the characters of a "counter-culture", based on the strongest of human factors: the perceptions of the five senses, with the aid of spellbinding forces such as beauty, art, architecture, music, lyrics, food, beer, reception, and conviviality, and so of values almost totally new to the nomad barbarian tribes. The threadlike ramification of Benedictine geography appears as a pilot example of interculturality, in which *Latinitas*, and Barbarism do coexist.

1.3 "European" Epics: from *Europa* to *Roland*

Vittore Pisani had written once that to speak about a Linguistic Europe, and so of a European "type", it would rather mean talking about a European culture or a European civilization, so as to recognize the common traits as a reflection of common mental and spiritual inclinations over the differences (Pisani, 1943, p. 95). The etymology of the word Europe is not clearly detected, but scholars have been inclined to recondit its origins to the Assyrian word for the "West", '*ereb*', opposed to '*açu*', the "East" (Pisani, 1943, p. 93). To paraphrase the very shareable sentence written by Indro Montanelli in his *History of Italy*, '*The story of Europe begins in China*' (Montanelli & Gervaso, 2018, p. 9), it is possible to say that the history of *Europa* begins in Asia, and precisely in Lebanon. The Latin poet Ovid³ in his *Metamorphoseon Libri* (8 a. D.) tells the myth of Europe,

³ A comprehensive study, and overview of the literary and iconographical history of the myth of Europa can be found on the website for the following digital project: <http://www.iconos.it/le-metamorfosi-di-ovidio/libro-ii/giove-e-europa/>, with citations from the major classics, and from

narrating that the virgin daughter to Agenor king of Tyre, and Telephassa, named *Europa*, once had naively joined a beautiful white bull for a ride. And it happened that, being that bull actually the father of all the Gods, Jupiter, he abducted her escaping via the sea (Ovid, II, 847-875, pp. 160-163). A reference to continental Europe is to be found also in the introducing of Triptolemus by Ovid, '*Europen sublimis et Asida terram*' (Ovid, V, 648, p. 324).

The present talk was inspired by some lines written in a contribution devoted to the study of literary culture in the Middle Ages written by Fritz van Oostrom (2009), stating: '*Literature had been instrumental in shaping the nation and in demonstrating and displaying the nation's identity.*' And, in addition, in all likelihood it is to the unity, and the circulation of literary models of narration, and of the several "national" epics and stories, that we must turn our eye in order to find the Medieval '*Europenses*'. In a series of seminars held the present year at Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, devoted to the theme of a shared '*Literary Culture in Premodern Europe*', this point of view had consistently been emerging from the collegial conversations, and reflections occurred between the author of the present study and her students. The challenging node of searching for the prodrome of Europe in linguistic and cultural aspects, has been that of looking at Medieval culture from a given European perspective, focusing on the very relevant expressions and elements of connections in the literary civilization of the Middle Ages, in every single "modern" Country. Starting from a careful reading, and a critical exploration of the primary and secondary sources – both textual and visual – in which germs and hints of European culture are disseminated, the history of the "birth of Europe" – from its mythical representations in the Greek pantheon to the mentions of it in Medieval chronicles – acts as a filter to the processing, and the analysing of the literatures. Particularly, the attention of the students has first turned to the operative concepts of the word "Europe", as it is perceived nowadays as a transnational political entity formed by a group of Nations cooperating on crucial

medieval and renaissance sources. For a discussion of the medieval reception of Ovid's Metamorphosis, with special regard to the Rape of Europa, see the introductory chapter to Panofsky, E. & Pedio, R. Previtali, G. (1999). *Studi di iconologia: i temi umanistici nell'arte del Rinascimento*. Torino: Einaudi, pp. 35-37.

themes – today, alike in Medieval times – such as borders and immigration regulation, trading and legislative agreements, and above all, monetary unification. Through the examination of Medieval sources in the shape of Maps as, for instance, the illustration of Europe contained in *The Liber Floridus* (1121) by Canon Lambert of Saint-Omer (Ghent, University Library, ms 92), it was noticed that, while being parts of the Carolinian Empire, recognizable kingdoms and duchies of Italy ('*Magna Grecia*' as well as '*Italia*'), France ('*Gallia*', '*Aquitania*', '*Burgundia*'), Germany ('*Germania*'), Spain ('*Hispania*') and the Low Countries ('*Flandria*'), resulted in a civil morphology, both physical and cultural, very reminiscent of the territories occupied by the Europeans also at the present time. Or, at least, looking at a "Western" Europe. What it can be interestingly pointed out here is that, to look at European identity from a literary point of view allows for a deep scrutiny of the formation of an "international" story-telling, and also on the circulation and overcoming of cultural syncretism. From an overall viewpoint, it was seen how – from the moment when the blocks of the Romance languages, and of the Anglo-Saxon dialects started to differentiating themselves in the tenth, and the twelfth Century onwards – in Medieval times literary genres and the tales of peoples echoed each other. From VI to IX Century, in the wake of Latin literature, primitive forms of medieval historiography articulated *per annum* appeared, providing the general methods for the birth of the histories of the independent barbarian kingdoms, and throwing light on the origins of the modern States after the fall of the Roman Empire, and the change of its centre from Rome to Byzantium. The Medieval annals were a '*state enterprise*' (Smalley, 1974, p. 67). The model of the lives of the illustrious Roman Caesars had surely inspired the lives of the Oriental Caesars, but had also contributed to shape, for instance, Charlemagne's historical memory. Hagiography acted as an essential paradigm for the development of a secular history, from the Popes' deeds (*Liber Pontificalis*) to the deeds of Abbots and Bishops (for instance, Paul the Deacon in his *History of Metz*, 784), down to local stories of the deeds performed by Princes and Royals. It is possible to envisage here a nucleus for the future development of the cycles of *chansons de geste*. If, in Bede's fictional words, the Angels, the Saxons, and the Jutes descended from the Northern Gods, so does their

literature, as well as that of the Germans. Characters such as Siegfried (Sigurd), Attila the Hun, and the Burgundian chieftain Gundahar (Gunther) can be found also mentioned in the Icelandic-Scandinavian *Poetic Edda*, (Copenhagen, *Codex Regius*, late IX Century). The epic of the Nibelungen (*Nibelungenlied*) retains something of the metric lyric forms employed by the Norse chanters, the so-called Skálds (active from 872 to 1300) in their *kenningar*. Magic, the monstrous, and the pagan attitude of the Nordic pantheon is also present in the battles of *Beôwulf* (about VIII, X Century). The display of *prosopopeia* acted by natural living beings and objects in the approximately hundred *Riddles* collected in the Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library, ms 3501, X Century) resounds in the elegiac tone of the account of Christ's Passion, given by the Cross itself, in *The Dream of the Rood* (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms CXVII, X Century). It is, exactly, in an early version of a *Riddle* scratched on the borders of a page in an ancient Mozarabic prayer book (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Codex LXXXIX, f. 3 recto), that the prodromes of Italian language are to be found, a material testimony that connects the Hispanic March, Visigothic language, Latin, and the vernacular in the history between VII and IX Century. It is not only notorious that the Greek and Latin epic matters have inspired the earliest compositions of novels in the old French languages (*Roman d'Alexandre*, *Roman d'Eneas*, *Roman de Troie*), but also that the Old English legends, and the historiographical sources regarding the Bretons and the Normans would have later vitally nourished the French epos in its earliest phase (Wace's *Roman de Brut*, c. 1155, and Marie de France's *Lais*), creating a space for the configuration of the Arthurian cycle. And, speaking of courtesy, chivalry, and love ideals, how not to think of the Trouvères, Troubadours and Trobairitz, whose spirits, styles, and subjects will in every other native poetry in Europe: the Italian, made by the "*Rimatori*" (rhymers) from Sicily and Tuscany, the Galician-Portuguese, played by *Trovadores* and "*xograres*", the German, sung by the Minnesänger.

The first model for a French epic written in the Old literary French language is the *Chanson de Roland* (XI Century). Its influence on European soil was widespread, and vulgar translations of the poem exist in the other languages. The original manuscript version of the *Chanson de Roland* is lost, and the oldest

known copy of the text survives in the *Manuscript O* (ms 1624) of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (XII Century). While this version consisting of 3998 decasyllable verses is distributed in "laisses" with assonance, two groups of a rhymed version of the *Chanson de Roland* are known under the name of *Roncevaux*. A battle was lost on the 15th of August 778 by the Frankish rearguard against a Basque contingent in the course of the Spanish campaign, attempted by Charlemagne to re-establish order in the Muslims provinces over the Pyrenees. Since Medieval times, the event has become, on a symbolical level, the most famous representation and celebration of the virtuous work of the paladins of Christianity, especially in the person of the National hero *Rollant* – Charlemagne's adored nephew and "heart", in the poem. The deeds at Roncevaux were seen as Saints martyrs; diversely from the others, Roland had not found his death in the enemies' hands. He was wounded by the Saracens, but not indeed mortally slain by one of them. While he dies, Angels from heaven descend to him to bring his soul up to the heights of the Paradise, and this emphasises the parallels between his character and that of a Saint.

'*E Franceis crient: «Charlemagne, aidez!»*', so says the Song. And, in fact, even though "*Li quens Rollant*" and his fellows paladins are seen as the main characters in the legend, they are projections of the only one who – regardless the actual defeat of which the impact has been so anachronistically enlarged – has protected the Christian communities in premodern Europe, "the Emperor". It is indeed possible to stress the inner meaning of this national French epos, and to conclude that it might be also seen as a sort of 'European' epos, if a broader sense is attached to the quintessential nature of the word "Frank". The Franks descend from a confederation of Germanic tribes at first settled closely upon Rhine, and soon become the strongest over the other Barbarian populations encountered in their progressive moves towards South, in Gaul, where they later coexisted and mixed with the local Romans speaking Latin. So, the Franks were not only the secondary incarnation of the biblical 'chosen' people, but also the 'free' people, as their name reminds. In light of this, if possibly, the actual influence of their national epics in a general reconsideration of the historiographical traces of the idea of Europe can be seen as crucial. In the

Middle Dutch translation of the *Song of Roland* (*Roelantslied*), for instance, on the whole true to the French text, there is an interesting substitution of *li Franceis* (the French) with *die kerstenen* (the Christians). ‘*In other words*’ – comments van Oostrom – ‘*on foreign soil the “national” French epic poem was elevated to the more universal and recognizable level of an epic relating to the whole of Christendom.*’ (van Oostrom, 2009, p. 21). Or, in other words, on its own soil the “national” French epic poem was elevated to the more universal and recognizable level of an epic relating to the whole of a European – cultural, as also religious – identity. That is, in the end, the intellectual ideal connected to the total administrative and educational reform of the “Frankish State”, as similarly as what happened with the work of letters done under the influence of King Alfred of Wessex (d. 899) in the British territories, for the rescue of a common *Latinitas* at the service of the development of a “high” vernacular culture.

1.4 Conclusions: on European mentality, stereotypes, and identity

The present effort done in interpreting the literary origins of premodern Europe, seen as simultaneously in accord with the historiographical reading of the birth of its political unity, puts an essential focus on the cultural representation of the “European traits”, as well as on the presence of “stereotypes” born to present, and to distinguish the various “European” people. In fact, ideas of distinctions and stereotypes do not configure themselves only in relation to the couples of opposing concepts already presented in the course of this paper⁴, but do also appear at the heart of Occidental Europe. It happens, for instance, with the

⁴ In light of this, it is interesting to draw here attention to the account given by Prof. Barbero, in his book on the history of the Ottoman Empire (2015), about the rise of the exotic ideas of “Orientalism” in early Europe, somehow already consolidated in the first half of the *Cinquecento*. Getting back to the writings of a writer already mentioned in this paper, and fundamental for the discourse here made, the author analyses the dual horror and fascination caused by the “Turkish” menace on the European (Occidental) mentality, as it was clearly addressed also by Machiavelli, and the historian Francesco Guicciardini (1483 – 1540). Also, at the end of this book, an open solution is left, in order to stimulate the reader’s own conclusions about the legitimate place of the whole Ottoman history within European history, which could be also fairly connected to the sentence by Indro Montanelli here quoted, about the commencement of the European history in China. In a way, the history of the Mongolian, and of the Ottoman Empire help the understanding of the cultural origins, and history of Europe, as it is seen nowadays.

cultural distance negatively drawn between the Welshmen and the Arthurian courtly knights portrayed in *Perceval*, the *Bildungsroman* written by Chrétien de Troyes for the Count Philip of Alsace in about 1185. But then, besides the actual presence of such sorts of conventional prejudices, in Medieval works of letter and historiography, authors and copyists have been anyway able of sketching and transmitting the contours of a geographical entity that now and then drifted away from the physical and cultural limits of the heartland of a Christendom. In addition to the specific reading here proposed of the French *Song of Roland*, it might, in fact, be useful to think of another epic matter, in order to get at the very heart of the tales of European origins and identity, somehow possibly "mystified" in their later reception. The National "Iberic" hero, called in Arabic fashion the *Cid*, meaning "Sir", while being a typical chivalric hero, and valorous warrior celebrated through the subsequent epochs as a paladin of the Spanish *Reconquista*, was practically a free commander at the service, on occurrence, of the Christians, as well as of the Moorish Spanish reigns. The poem *Cantar de mio Cid*, is based on the literary and poetic remake of the latest phases of the life of the "Cid Campeador" Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (1044/49-1099), a courtly knight to Sancho II of Castille (1065-1072), and to Alfonso VI of León and Castille (1065-1109). The literary history sung in the poem refers to historical facts happened after the exile of Rodrigo Díaz, commanded by King Alfonso VI in 1081. Alike many other soldiers, and also Lords of his time, the Cid turned its services and protection to the Moors in Zaragoza, helping Muslim Emirs in their domestic fights against each other for the ruling over other cities, like Barcelona. Between 1093 and 1094 the Cid had taken the government of the Moorish city of Valencia, after having rescued it from an Almoravids' attempt of conquest. Under his guidance Valencia had become a Christian city, but right after his death, it passed on again to the Moors. The work was transmitted by a manuscript of the 14th Century of more than 3700 verses (ms. *Vitr/7/17*), scribed by Per Abbat (c. 1207), collected in the National Library in Madrid, Spain. In the Poem, a reflection on the actual society is made: there is no real conflict between the «Cid» and the King, but among the exponents of the noble élites (García Ordóñez, Vanigómez). Now, the status of the word "nobility", such as that of "courteousness" is particularly controversial to be defined in relation to

its acquisition by ancestry or education, and it is not the scope of the present contribution to embark upon a discussion of its possible meanings in Medieval times. The main idea that emerges from the analysis of the vernacular narrations of our common origins is that, in a few words, the necessity of a trans-historical transmission, and of the singing and celebration of the diverse battles fought by our common ancestors against an enemy now and then designated as an “other”⁵, has consequently favoured a common identification of the “*Europenses*” under the same shield. At least, on a literary ground, and between the lines. The same is true also as it is perceived “from the otherness”: as it is recalled by Prof. Barbero (2015), the echoes, and the memory of the Crusaders still allows for a designation of the Europeans as “the Franks” in the modern Middle East. Eventually, the true historical identity of the man – as he allegedly was, in his capacity as governor of the Breton March, the count Roland – has never counted much confronted to his literary function. Surely, to pay a closer attention to our literary roots might help us understand what the “idea of Europe” really represented in the past, and in what actually consists its identity.

⁵ There have been scholarly studies in Medieval literature and mentality that apply the perspective of the “alterity” – or, better, of the *alter ego* – to the exploration of the intrinsic possibilities of development of the social order and establishment, allegedly alluded in the novels by Chrétien de Troyes. The main hypothesis is that of uncovering, and reading the passages in which the possession of *Sovereignty* is directly contested to King Arthur by his Paladins, opening up to a new era, and to new generations. This interesting point of view is maintained in a series of essays written by Professor Andrea Fassò since 1972, and collected in the anthology published in 2003, titled *Il Sogno del Cavaliere. Chrétien de Troyes e la regalità*. Roma: Carocci (see, especially, pp. 133-135).



Figure 1. Anonymous Florentine artist, *The Rape of Europa*, front of a chest (cassone), tempera on wood, XV Century, Sotheby's Auction (1965) © Fototeca della Fondazione Zeri, Bologna

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Author identification

Carmen Di Meo. Carmen Di Meo, PhD, is an Art Historian based in The Netherlands. This year, she has been teaching Literary Culture in Pre-Modern Europe at the Faculty of Arts, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Dr. Di Meo obtained her PhD in the History and Theory of Art at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Rome "La Sapienza" in 2017. Subsequently, she has been appointed as Joint Post-Doc Fellow at the Department of Art History in Groningen, and as Visiting Research Fellow at the Netherlandish Institute in Florence (2018-2019). She is currently developing a research project on the formation of libraries in Premodern Europe

EURORENOVATION (EUROREMONT): The art of concealing

Kateryna Filyuk

Chief Curator / IZOLYATSIA. Platform for Cultural Initiatives, Kyiv, Ukraine

Abstract

Soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the phenomenon of Eurorenovation emerged ready to help numerous citizens of the newly established Ukrainian state to get rid of their gloomy past. The movement, disguised as the reorganization of the private space of one's own home, actually functioned as a face-lift and a cover-up of all sorts of problems instead of the much-needed search for solutions. Plastic euro-windows and euro-doors, dropped ceiling and plastic paneling flooded Ukraine, mimicking European design and eventually the lifestyle while effectively ignoring massive infrastructural problems, poverty and the immense gap between a devastated country in transition and a seemingly flourishing Europe. In 2010, R.E.P. group initiated a long-term project called Eurorenovation aiming at identifying symptoms of this process and consequently apprehending Eurorenovation in its complexity in order to be able to describe similar socio-cultural relations in other countries. Over the following years the artists created a series of installations, where they literally copied recognizable trends in the popular interior redesign of Soviet apartments using cheap imported materials. Strange as it may sound, but Europe – Ukraine's role model – may have fallen into the very same trap. A tendency towards the cosmetic concealment of problem areas and patching up instead of coming up with problem-solving methodologies characterizes European governance in recent years. With that said, the Ukrainian know-how could be of practical value as well as the R.E.P. group visual research that convincingly demonstrate the dangers of the Eurorenovation approach.

Keywords: Eurorenovation, mimicry, architecture, decommunisation.

The fastest empirical way to learn about Eurorenovation would be to browse numerous Ukrainian apartment rental websites, where one would find quickly diminishing category of granny's-Soviet-style Khrushchevka, a relatively small category of modern apartments and the seven seas of eurorenovated flats.

Built in the 60s during Khrushchev's rule, ugly cookie-cutter Khrushchevkas visualized the Soviet idea of equality and unification under which differences were not only inadmissible but also barely impossible to achieve due to the limited market. These cheap block buildings conceived as a temporary solution of housing problem were not meant to last more than 25 years, however, to this day most Khrushchevkas have never been replaced and, as the saying goes, there is nothing more permanent than temporary. Understandably, time left its mark on them and already in 90s a prompt renovation has been required. This is one of the reasons why Eurorenovation became a predominant architectural and interior design style in all post-Soviet countries. Initially as a temporary solution in anticipation of overhaul maintenance. Aesthetically after the fall of the Iron Wall thirsty for changes and striving for Western way of life those who failed tried to imitate the latest at any costs. But they didn't know very much about real Western life, so they created some strange copy, which to Western people seems like a bit of a caricature. The hallmarks of Eurorenovation are cheap materials, replaceable surfaces, drywall and plastic, plastic euro-windows and euro-doors, fake stucco molding, dropped ceiling, predominant colour – beige. It was an embodiment of a cheap dream, the temptation of advertising, physically displacing an unworthy reality. At the same time these techniques served to conceal unrepairable and uneven walls – the results of rushed mass-production of the 60s.



Figure 1. Cherepanova U. (1960s), *Doppelganger*: Krokodil (Crocodile) magazine. The series of caricatures illustrating Khrushchevka's paradoxes. Even at the moment of their construction block buildings were heavily criticized and ridiculed for poor soundproofing, ugly design and the low quality of used materials

Eventually, the plague of Eurorenovation has become a lifestyle or even an operational paradigm, not just an interior design solution of practical matters. It invaded TV programs and fashion as much as public politics. Gimmick mimicry, false façades with no foundation, and cosmetic renovations instead of drastic actions were exercised in various fields characterizing a new era. Although Western and namely European values had always been triggering, the Eurorenovation processes owning a debt of its name to Europe. As in many other cases and disciplines in Ukraine, initially good intentions of catching and grading up with Europe turned out to be a sheer imitation of reforms, democratisation of society and adoption of the Euro-integration path. The omnipresent corruption still intoxicates multiple sectors of the economy and private life of the people, but, thanks to the art of camouflage, the country looks quite modernized and “European”.

With time, the former Soviet Union countries drifted apart, irretrievably pursuing each its own path, however it would not be too much of a generalization to say that they are still by and large governed by double standards – a glossy façade often contradicts the back stage hideousness.

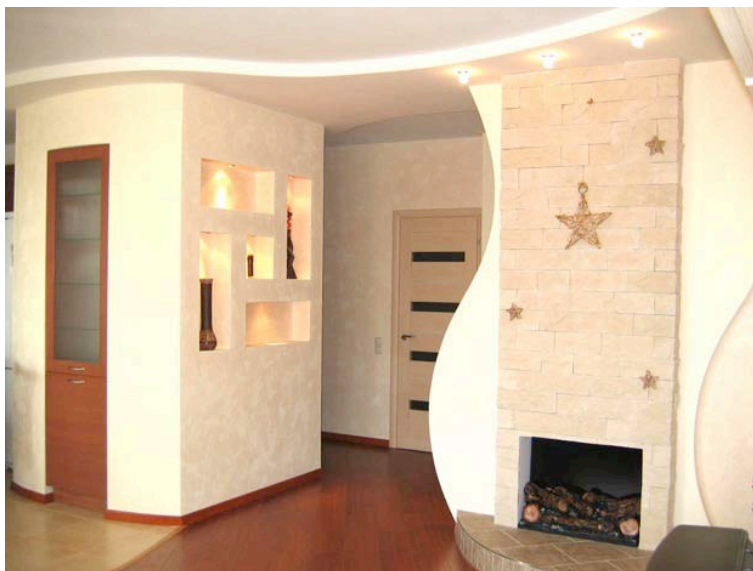


Figure 2. An example of Eurorenovation interior taken from an interior design website. The title of the article is *What is Eurorenovation?* and it briefly explains what the term means. Source: <https://dom.ria.com/uk/articles/chto-takoe-evroremont-173890.html>

Arguably infamous decommunisation can be analysed through the Eurorenovation prism too. The laws of decommunisation had been adopted by the Parliament on April 9th, 2015, and, ever since its legalisation, the witch-hunt has been fully embraced and put in practice by Ukrainian bureaucrats and activists. At first, with the wiping out of Lenin's monuments, the prosecuting pursuit soon touched upon everything that contained Soviet symbols and could be supposedly classified as Communist propaganda. The cities, villages, and streets received new names, such as one of the most populated cities in eastern Ukraine – Dnipropetrovsk, which was renamed Dnipro. The second part of the compound word had referred to the name of the Bolshevik and Soviet Communist Party leader Grigory Petrovsky, who became one of the masterminds of the Holodomor artificial famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933. Hence in their pursuit of the new, stripped of dubious past identity, Ukrainians resorted to violent, uncivilized and expectedly thoughtless methods suspiciously resembling

those of Eurorenovation. It's only the façade that has to be face-lifted and covered-up, although the Soviet mindset doesn't go away that easily. As of spring 2019, over one thousand settlements were renamed and approximately 2,5 thousand communist monuments dismantled.



Figure 3. The equestrian statue of Nikolay Shchors, Kyiv (2016). Ukrainian authorities decided to camouflage the monument by wrapping it up with enormous bicolour — blue and yellow — fabric, resembling the national Ukrainian flag. As the turn of events follows, the cover-up was done in order to eliminate the allegedly displeasing monuments during the Independence Day celebration (!), while, at the same time, to decorate the city with a much more cherished and pride-inducing national symbol. Four years later, the blue and yellow semi-transparent cube, with the easily recognisable equestrian silhouette inside of it, is still there. Photo by Yevgen Nikiforov

It comes as no surprise that the phenomenon of Eurorenovation caught the attention of the back-then-young members of R.E.P. group, which formed during social protests and whose collaboration was forged by the Orange Revolution (2004). Accordingly, socio-political issues have been the core of their artistic practice, which, at the very beginning, they also successfully combined with activism.

In 2010, R.E.P. initiated a long-term project called *Eurorenovation* aiming at identifying symptoms of this process and consequently apprehending Eurorenovation in its complexity in order to be able to describe similar socio-cultural relations in other countries. Over the following years the artists created a series of installations, where they literally copied recognizable trends in the

popular interior redesign of Soviet apartments using cheap imported materials. For the first iteration of the project at Kunstraum in Munich, R.E.P. invited and interviewed a professional decorator who deals with Eurorenovation all the time. Ultimately, the work consisted of the video in which the decorator described the style and provided some historical background as well as an interior designed by her. Since then, the group has produced more than five iterations of the project, always tuning it to the current political situation or commenting on working conditions in cultural sector etc.



Figure 4. R.E.P. (revolutionary experimental space) *Eurorenovation. Cut*, 2012. This installation explores the ways post-Soviet spaces are converted following an aesthetic that from an old soviet perspective appears to be in a Western style

According to group member Nikita Kadan, by scrutinizing various manifestations of Eurorenovation, they seek to analyse genuine Ukrainian context but also:

By putting the accent on the subjectivities of post-Soviet space, we argue that it is not merely some caricatured and grotesque object for observation and that it has its own perspective on the West. And we want to show the West (in the West) the East's view of the West. So we put up not one mirror, but two. And they reflect one another. One is located in post-Soviet space, the other in the so-called free, united Europe. And we create a situation of innumerable reciprocal reflections that with every change of context reveal new images (Kadan, 2011).

Thus for R.E.P. group the phenomenon of Eurorenovation applied to the analysis of social life opens up a broader discussion on the process of Ukraine's post-Soviet transformation into a western neoliberal state. In a conversation that took place in 2015, the group members expressed hope that after the Revolution of Dignity, which is undeniably one of the most important political events in the history of Modern Europe, the phenomenon of Eurorenovation will subside. Resorting to the language of architecture, which is the framework of this paper, the barricades on Maidan Square symbolized pure, genuine aspiration for freedom and negation of all-permeating hypocrisy. Made of found materials and serving exclusively utilitarian goals, the tents and barricades were supposed to cancel the Eurorenovation forever.

But from the Kyiv city center, the front line moved to Eastern Ukraine, where war with the Russia-backed terrorists is ongoing. The clear example of Eurorenovation mindset there is the so-called Minsk Protocol – an agreement to halt the war in the Donbas region, signed by representatives of Ukraine, the Russian Federation, the Donetsk People's Republic and the Luhansk People's Republic on 5 September 2014. The agreement, signed under the auspices of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), has totally failed to stop the fighting. And yet, it is constantly being referred to by the Russian Federation as a viable solution. The Steinmeier Formula is a more recent example of this illusion at play. Steinmeier's formula calls for elections to be held in the separatist-held territories under Ukrainian legislation and the supervision of the OSCE. If the OSCE judges the balloting to be free and fair, then a special self-governing status for the territories will be initiated and Ukraine will be returned control of its easternmost border. In this case again, in accordance with OSCE rules and regulations, elections cannot take place in territories where regular troops are stationed. However, OSCE is ready to neglect the rules in favour of Russia, showing capitulating instead of principled stance.

Allegedly these, as much as many other recent actions of Europe, are doubtful and problematic as well as hypocritical. They are merely directed toward fortifying the spirit and creating a feeling that everything is alright, building up the false façade of welfare and justice. And so the process and purpose of

Eurorenovation is a powerful metaphor for the aforementioned geopolitical positioning of contemporary Europe. This early post-Soviet phenomenon rooted in the admiration of a just as well culturally and economically superior Europe has made its way back to the founder.

It remains unclear what is to be spotted in this situation of innumerable reciprocal reflections Kadan referred to describing Eurorenovation project's aim.

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Author identification

Kateryna Filyuk. *Is a curator and art critic and currently serves as the chief curator at Izolyatsia. Platform for Cultural Initiatives in Kyiv. Prior to joining Izolyatsia, she was the co-curator of the Festival of Young Ukrainian Artists at Mystetskyi Arsenal, Kyiv (2017). She has participated in several internationally renowned curatorial programs, including Young Curators Residency Programme at the Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo, Turin (2017); De Appel Curatorial Programme, Amsterdam (2015–2016); International Research Fellowship at the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art (MMCA), Seoul (2014); and Gwangju Biennale International Curator Course (2012). She was the catalogue managing editor and discussion platform coordinator for the First Kyiv International Biennale of Contemporary Art ARSENALE 2012. She holds an MA in philosophy from Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University*

MENTAL HEALTH IN PORTUGAL AND EUROPE

Rosa Gonçalves

Centro Hospitalar Conde de Ferreira / Conde de Ferreira Hospital Center, Oporto, Portugal

Abstract

For decades mental health has been the poor relative of health, but it is now increasingly recognized as a global priority for health and economic development. Disorders and problems related to mental health have quietly become the leading cause of disability, morbidity and premature death in both developed and developing countries. Initially these problems were underestimated because the impact of disease is calculated on the basis of mortality and not on the number of years lived with the disorder and consequent premature death. As the quality of life and years of illness started gaining priority, diseases such as schizophrenia, anxiety, and depression began to have significant weight. These diseases have been a constant concern for all countries, both economically, socially and publicly. Mental illnesses are very common and have a negative effect on personal and professional quality of life (accounting for 22% of the disability burden); they represent more than € 450 billion annually in direct and indirect costs (medical care, absences from work, etc.); only about half of the severely mentally ill in the EU have access to adequate treatment. The Spring 2019 Report revealed that Portugal is far behind in the prevention, treatment and monitoring of mental illness vis-à-vis other European countries. Despite some advances in this area, it is clear that our ability to legislate far exceeds what is actually implemented. The extremely well-designed National Mental Health Plan has long pointed to several weaknesses in the Portuguese mental health system, highlighting the chronic underfunding of this area (only 5% of health funding is dedicated to mental health), given the impact these diseases have in society. The still very hospital-centric model prevailing in Portugal hinders the community approach currently advocated and can be partly explained by the poor involvement of Primary Health Care. We will also address the issue of deinstitutionalization in Portugal and its difficulties and constraints. Throughout history, people with mental disorders have experienced many injustices because they were considered threatening, both to themselves and to society. They were excluded from life, deprived of liberty and withdrawn from their dignity. Stigma associated with mental illness is one of the most recurring because illnesses are not recognized as such, being frequently associated with personal or character weakness and therefore generate shame and fear. Stigma creates a vicious cycle of social exclusion and discrimination, constituting a huge barrier to the life quality of people with mental illness and their families, sometimes becoming more important than the disease itself. In this struggle it is important to distinguish between having a mental illness and being a mentally ill patient, a seemingly subtle but very important difference, because the individual is so much more than his illness.

Author identification

Rosa Gonçalves. *Psychiatric doctor at Conde de Ferreira Hospital Center since November 2002. She was responsible for the therapeutic component of the “Porto Feliz” Programme, created with the purpose of social inclusion of drug addicts, homeless and car-park attendants of the city of Porto (abolished in 2008). For 13 years she was responsible for the Inpatient Services of the Addictive Disorders Unit at Conde Ferreira Hospital Center. For about 3 years (between 2010 and 2014) she was responsible for the Psychiatry Consultation at the Santa Cruz do Bispo Special Prison. On February 1, 2016 she was appointed Clinical Director of the Conde de Ferreira Hospital Center, a function which she currently holds. Since 2001 she has been responsible for the practical component of the Adult and Elderly Diagnosis subject of the Porto Psychology Course at the University of Psychology and Educational Sciences. She collaborated in 2019 with the Catholic University of Porto, in the Mental Health Nursing and Psychiatry Specialization*

EUROPE'S ONSET AND THE UNIVERSALIZATION OF WESTERN CULTURE. Philosophy, antihumanism and colonialism according to Michel Foucault

Orazio Irrera

Université Paris 8 / University of Paris 8, Paris, France

Abstract

In this contribution we will focus on the way in which, according to Foucault, both colonialism and decolonization can not be dissociated from the importance that modern Europe has given to "The idea of man" and its fundamental vocation to universalisation. We will thus highlight how, from this angle, the anthropological structure of modern philosophical discourse that has unfolded since the 19th century is for Foucault the sign of a European culture in the process of changing geopolitical scale and erasing of all limits (both geopolitical and cultural) that until then was attributed to it. The aim is to analyze how the Foucauldian conception of colonization and decolonization, which conveyed the universalization of European culture based on the idea of man, finally succeeded in imposing it as a sort of historical and geopolitical a priori in which we are today still wrapped in, as if on its basis any other non-western or extra-European cultural specificity can be defined or define itself, or even as the historical and geopolitical condition of who we are and what we can know about ourselves through a diagnosis of our global present.

Author identification

Orazio Irrera. *Maître de conférences in Philosophy at Université Paris 8 Vincennes-Saint-Denis and member of the Laboratoire d'études et de recherches sur les logiques contemporaines de la philosophie (LLCP, EA 4008). He is also programme director at the Collège international de philosophie, a member of the Centre Michel Foucault and co-director of the journal "materiali foucaultiani". He co-edited the collective works Foucault e la genealogie del dir-vero (Cronopio, 2014); Foucault and the Making of Subjects (Rowman and Littlefield, 2016); La pensée politique de Foucault (Kimé, 2017). He is currently engaged in projects of unpublished texts by Michel Foucault, including his Cours et manuscrits de Tunis (1966-68) for Seuil / Gallimard ("Hautes Études") and a volume gathering texts, most of which unpublished, on crime, confinement and justice (1972-80) for Vrin (coll., "Philosophie du présent"). His research also focuses on postcolonial and decolonial studies and on theories of ideology*

KOTSANAS MUSEUM OF ANCIENT GREEK TECHNOLOGY

Panagiotis Kotsanas

Museum of Ancient Greek Technology, Katakolo, Greece

Abstract

The Kotsanas Museum of ancient Greek Technology includes approximately 500 operating models of exceptional ancient Greek inventions reviving the ancient Greek technological marvel from the robot - servant and the "cinema" of Philon to the "automobile vehicle" of Heron and from the automatic clock of Ktesibios to the Antikythera Mechanism. Their exhibits are based solely on the thorough study of the ancient Greek, Latin and Arabic literature, vase painting information and minimal relevant archeological finds and cover the period from 2000 B.C. until the end of the ancient Greek World. The aim of the museum is to highlight this relatively unknown aspect of ancient Greek civilization and to prove that the technology of the ancient Greeks, just before the end of the ancient Greek world, was extremely similar to the beginning of our modern technology. The robotics and computing, automotive and automatic navigation, steam mobility and jet propulsion, automation and programming, telecommunication and cryptography, geodesy and mapping, the use of hydraulic and wind power, the application of belt drive, chain drive, gear drive and many other sciences and techniques were invented in Greece demonstrating that the course of the western technological culture was not an ascending linear evolution, as we usually know, but a rapid development and culmination during the 3rd c. B.C., a decline and loss of this technology during the following centuries and a gradual recovery, with the 14th c. A.D. balancing the cutting edge technology at the beginning of the 2nd c. B.C.. The exploration of this age, when ownership for peak technology was not claimed, demonstrates how much more (than we think) the modern Western Technological Civilization owes to the Greeks. It is unfortunate that the social, economic and political circumstances during the years that followed, led to the regression of this technological revolution and mankind lost so many centuries of evolution.

Author identification

Panagiotis Kotsanas. Was born in 1993 in Patras, Achaia. He studied in the Department of Chemical Engineering at the National Technical University of Athens (Greece). He has given several speeches regarding ancient greek technology at International Conferences in Greece and abroad (University of Salzburg-Salzburger fruhlings Symposium, National Science Museum of Korea-ISSM etc). He is conducting his research in Ancient Greek Technology, a relatively unknown aspect of the Ancient Greek Civilization and is the head of the educational department at the Museum of Ancient Greek Technology

TO DRAW BORDERS AND THE AESTHETIC MIND: Reviewing Europe with Almada Negreiros

Maria de Fátima Lambert

Instituto Politécnico do Porto – Escola Superior de Educação / School of Education –
Oporto Polytechnics, Oporto, Portugal

Abstract

At the beginning of the 20th century, Almada Negreiros considered that Portugal had urgently to step into Europe and the only way to achieve it was through cultural performing, affirming the straightness of modern thought. Almada acted in several paths of creation what might diagnose his profile as a “polychrome artist”, following Edward T. Hall in The hidden dimension (1966, 173). Let's underline the principle of a South European polychrome person that shaped the unique (but multiple) direction of Almada's achievement in his multidisciplinary artistic and thinking roles. Nowadays, a century after reviewing his writings concerning Europe (from his modernist period), how can we understand his obsession? Let's analyse what involves the title “Portugal in the Map of Europa” published at SW – Sudoeste, the magazine he kept for three numbers during 1935. And, on the other hand, considering his multiple achievements as an artist and performer thinker, how did the idea of Europe – its utopia survived all those decades until the Portuguese 1970's? And let's add Almada's compulsive quest for the universal language before writing – the antegraphy developed as an inner and essential thinking. How do it connect with the urge for modernity? Can it be reasoned in a two highways pursuit: the European assumption of Portuguese nationality versus that Universal visual writing which existed since the early age of humanity? Are those anthropological, philosophical and aesthetic/artistic proposals by Almada deeply linked or/and setting forth gaps, even paradoxes' aims? And, mainly, when regarding his African ancestors, that apparently he never emphasized too much, should it be considered the link of his demand for antegraphy the universal visual language present in all continents? Maybe that concept of polychrome artist is a key for shaping Almada's solo utopian identity with a www anthropological geography. Was he a true paradigm of a polychrome artist?

Keywords: Almada Negreiros, Polychrome artist, European (aesthetic) Utopia, Antegraphy



Figure 1 – Panel “Mapa-Mundi [Great Planisphere]” at the building of the Daily Newspaper *Diário de Notícias* – Lisbon, 1940

1. Europe < human being + collectivity > humanity

By that time in Europe arose Romanticism which was a kind of liberation for everyone, those whom had life to be lived with it legitimacy, the hour of enchained Prometheus. (Almada, 1990, p. 45)

How can we figure today the borders of European Culture compared with the authors that performed avant-garde in the beginning of the twentieth century? By that time the nucleus of cultural emancipation in Europe was located in Wien, Berlin (and Munich) and mainly in Paris for the Portuguese elite. The center of the European Map was there, a kind of imaginary point, a new geographical cosmogony.

In 1940 Almada Negreiros conceived a mural with a *Mappamundi*, painted in the walls of the building of the Newspaper *Diário de Notícias* (*Daily News*) Lisbon. The painting represents the continents reviewing the morphology and character of the ancient maps. He drew trees, persons, animals, shaped the coasts and the oceans alongside with the Zodiac's characters. It's a modern-ancient cosmogony reviewing the symbols and the visual signs that explore the definition of archaic knowledge, myths and poetry outspread towards the eternity of mankind. That's the imaginary-real way of presenting time and space, where borders and frontiers occupy a different epistemological category. Where was, in 1940, the center of a world falling apart and how did Almada deal with it? He was obsessed with the mythical terms since an early period of his career. How did he

emphasize the reality of places and countries subsumed into the seduction of a great European Metropolis?

At the beginning of the 20th century Almada Negreiros lived in Lisbon and rehearsed himself at an imaginary Paris, built upon the guidelines told by those which were living there. Nevertheless, when he travelled to Paris in 1919, he was very much disappointed. However he enjoyed a remarkable stay in Madrid, from 1926 to 1932. It was his real merge into life as he cherished for his last longing life. By then the Lisbon Portuguese Modernity was already established and the 1st *Modernism* failed apart. Nonetheless, modernist aesthetic would last along Almada's creation and life, though taking different rhumbs.

As early as 1915, Almada proclaimed that Portugal was, not only the most backward country in Europe, but from the entire world. However, he believed that *Portugal 'will open its eyes one day - if its blindness is not incurable and then it will shout with me, at my side, the need that Portugal has to be something of a clean thing!'* (Almada, 1993 b, p.23) His point of view about Portugal borders included the colonial territories. It's curious to recall that Almada descended from an Angola' Woman Slave and his mother was a *Creole* from S. Tomé. But his African Heritage was never assumed in a country living under a fascist regime.¹ So he was much more focused in Europe, trying to cope both with Iberia and afterwards with the search for the primitive forms of Humanity.

In 1915 *Orpheu*², a privileged organ of cosmopolitan Europeanism set in Lisbon, presented itself as the magazine that would correct the Portuguese case with the chronological time of Europe, by means of the action of culture and arts.³ Fernando Pessoa wanted a *cosmopolitan art in time and space" adapted to the*

¹ Thought, as I remarked at a Conference held at the National Museum Soares dos Reis, in Porto, in April 2018, we can find several clues and even some clear underlining of the proud in his Race.

² I am referring to the Magazine, project by Fernando Pessoa, Mário de Sá-Carneiro, Luís de Montalvor, Armando Cortes-Rodrigues, among others. They published only two numbers in 1915 and a third one was ready but they were not able to finance it. Almada was present since the first number, publishing a group of 15 short stories untitled *Frisos*.

³ After the episode of the magazines *Centauro* and *Exílio*, in February 1915, Fernando Pessoa intended to publish a review called *Europa*, which gave place to *Orpheu*.

time (Pessoa, 1966, P.113)... in which all countries, more materially than ever, and for the first time intellectually, all exist within each one, in which Asia, America, Africa and Oceania are Europe, and there are all in Europe. (Pessoa, 1966, P.113) After the episode of *Orpheu*, Almada engaged himself with *Portugal Futurist*, a single number published magazine, where he presented his *Ultimatum spread to the Portuguese Generations of the 20th Century* and the *Ultimatum* by Álvaro de Campos⁴. Both authors were stressed by the need of update into Europe, although under specific patterns. Suddenly with the 1st World War, the borders changed and became mental maps of desire for his individual identity and also a search for an updated collective one for Portugal.

In the twenties and the thirties, Almada's ideas proliferated in several texts, culminating in his own editorial project, whose title clearly located the Portuguese geography - as territory - in Europe: *Cadernos de SW/ SW's Notebooks* (Almada, 1982a). Almada's three notebooks confirmed his genius and intellectual consistency. The artist developed essays that corroborated his ideological-mythical convictions about Nationality, in contrast with the notions of Homeland, Europe and World / Humanity.⁵ From his verve emerged fictional and mythological figures and the circularity of his esoteric thinking arose, converging towards *Prometheus*, the hero reactivated as the symbol for Europe. On the other hand, his "Theory of Opposites" bore the key to his aesthetic paradoxes, and the significance of his doctrine concerning the condition of Humanity, Art, and the individual human person, became quite explicit. The opposites were: Portugal *versus* Europe, sometimes underlining the Iberian relationship.

⁴ Álvaro de Campos is one of Fernando Pessoa's heteronymous.

⁵ Almada's project, as it had been announced in previous texts, was that of the collectivity of Portugal, recognizing the necessity of its assumption.



Figure 2 – Covers of the 3 numbers of the Magazine *SW Notebooks* – 1935

Almada written presence in *SW* reinforced the support of his historical-philosophical view, mainly articulating social and political frames, anthropological and cultural thinking. These multiple focus were closely linked in special geography of his own, being the basis for his further speculative argumentation. He related through different artistic and literary procedures the same subjects. The main connection was his aesthetic thought.

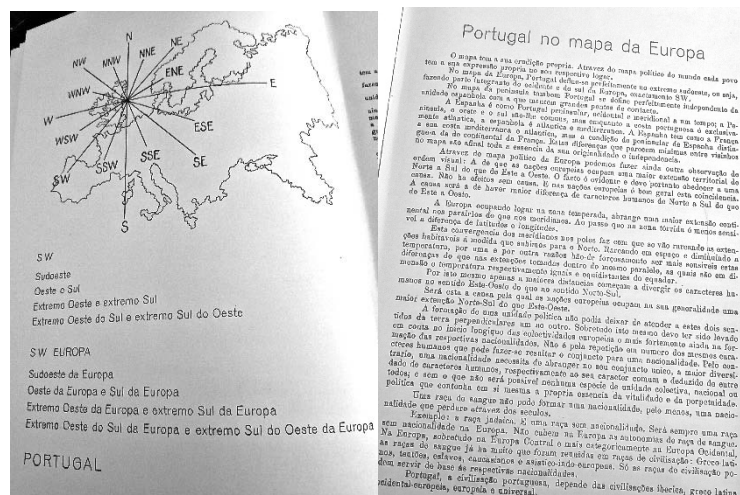


Figure 3 – Images of double page from *SW 1* – “Portugal in the Map of Europe” – copyright by the author

In the diagram (fig. 3 left) the center located in UK and the lines irradiate from that point surrounding the perimeter of Europe. Portugal is placed at Europe’ extreme *SW*, almost escaping from the continent! Spain is also pointed as *SW*.

Almada lived in these two countries from South Europe and he considered that this Continent, in each of its nationalities and as a whole, housed notable protagonists and historical circumstances that represented the heterogeneity of the collectivity. Although his preference was settled from a Mediterranean point of view, after the idea of Iberia, he intended to reach the World. He projected the real landmarks as a conceptual matter. Acts and decisions helped to emancipate the faith arising from a religious European diverse whole, constituted together. He was convinced that the various nationalities and religions assumed through human individualities, had been guarantying unity along the flow of time. Different collectivities and dissimilar persons occupied assorted geographical positions in the whole of Europe. These heterogeneity defined territorial obsessions, remaining in a shared time.

In Europe, and in each of its constituent nationalities, the individuality of each member in the collectivity was safeguarded, which was a main substance for these universal consciousness. Between the two conscious, the balance of humanity became possible: *'In the political map of Europe the same process of classification by selectivity in the interpretation of the political whole is repeated. This emancipation forms the various nationalities, and nationalities are the function of the political whole of Europe.'*(Almada, 1990, p. 100)

By that time, he underlined that all human people in the whole universe should recognize the order and scale of human values. Each of the terms - individual and collective - should be given to each one; allowing the individuals' capacity for knowledge. That would promote the encounter with newer collectivities. Almada wanted the Portuguese to assume their full nationality, before each one, before the homeland collectivity, before Europe and before the world: *'We want the Portuguese community to live up to itself, seen from all sides of the earth. That each Portuguese, inside or outside our land, is the perfect individual of our own community.'* (Almada, 1990, p. 54)

Almada believed that Art was fulfilled by creation and the enjoyment of the artist language, being able to communicate life⁶. Art was a common language for the whole Europe, insofar as it is possible for everyone to know the rules of such Art as a common heritage, if they so desire. Because Art considers the common heritage of humanity, in the plurality of creations, what would preserve individual and collective memory, serving as a dynamic impulse: '*Art is above all a universal attitude of the human person.*' (Almada, 1965, p. 14) It seeks unity encompassing diversity in its manifestations, under a common denominator: the human individual as the whole humanity. On the other hand, achieving unity supposedly in Art '*is not a mystery to some, but it is a secret that is kept in the secret of every artist.*' (Almada, 1990, p. 131)

Almada was able to reach and act in several paths of creation with almost the same emphasis and conviction, what might diagnose his profile as a 'polychrome artist', following Edward T. Hall in *The hidden dimension* (1966: 173)⁷. All that diversity, really was the quality of his excellence and unique presence in such a long Portuguese century of his. Let's underline the principle of a South European polychrome person that shaped the unique (but multiple) direction of Almada's achievement in his multidisciplinary artistic and thinking roles.

The artist must preserve coherence, performing a work that contemplates the human attitude which art represents (Almada, 1965), namely, in the ethical position consigning the act of creation; ethical responsibility is plural and does not mean restriction of freedom of act of creating or expressing, supposing the unity of the individual himself. To the cultural and artistic intervention, he added the ethical-social conscience to promote a civilizing mission, recovering the sense of national collectivity, of the ideological return to the ascending Homeland - that would be achieved if with the Portuguese would accompanied

⁶ Almada's perspective approaches the personal notion, when he attributed to the Art the need to vitalize; it is related to António Mora [Fernando Pessoa heteronymous] in "Art and Nature", *Works in Prose*, p.233.

⁷ "Polychrome people, possibly because they are so much involved with each other, end to keep several operations going at once, like jugglers. Therefore, the monochrome person often finds it easier to function if he can separate activities in space, whereas the polychrome person tends to collect activities. If, however, these two types are interacting with each other, much of the difficulty they experience can be overcome by the proper structuring of space."

the time of the century in the Europe of the World. Art, in his perspective, performed the recovery of national identity, the demanded maturity of its deepest symbolic incorporation in personal identity, resulting from the presence of the collective in the universal. Art belonged to a social mission that should not be puzzled with submission to other values and impositions.

Almada clarified the basis of his own performance, enunciated the terms of his relationship with the community, imposed the civic and virtuous conscience that *paideia* had implemented as a guideline essential to valorization of man in the *polis*. Expanded and withdrawn circles - systole and diastole - between the projection for all and the return to each-self in demand for the genuine person - through the aesthetic acting that generated a work, able to concentrate a unanimous effort of creation. Moreover, Art would regained consciousness of universal dominion as in cosmogony. By the demand of Creation as a Whole, Order and Number consigned the principles for the present time, modernity vivified in the archaic.

Art possessed the genuine sense of the individuated in the collective, thus assuming an aesthetic meaning perpetuated in the visual communion - the visible and the invisible; holder of universal meaning, based on the principle of continuity of the human - allowing the understanding for everyone.

The unity of Europe was in the consciousness of its approximation, in the consciousness of the common force, especially of a spiritual order. From this spiritual force came the impulse to define nationalities: '*The union of Europe is in the bond of all by the same geographical and telluric faith.*' (Almada, 1990, p. 116) At the origin of the nationalities in Europe, it was a question of conceiving the different nationalities; of forming the particular civilizations from the general civilization of Europe, recovering the idea, then to maintain the fragmentary unity of the separation; to keep the profile of each individual national case on the borders and borders of Europe. And Europe was obliged, throughout its territory and time, to maintain the root of faith and strength, progressively handed over to self-responsibility. Without a single head to keep it together,

Europe was united by the diversity of nationalities, at the hands of the heads of all its nationalities.

Europe's tragedy, like personal tragedy, would be the loss of its unity: each nationality thinks only of its own way, disengaging itself from all - collectivities and individuals. To preserve the unity of Europe as a whole, the unity of collectivities and the unity of each individual human person, people should collaborate without betrayal, not annihilating their peers. The fundamental condition would be collective education, reigning over the savagery of civilization. The secret to achieve it was a joint effort and a pre-conscious awareness of the whole, in order to overcome the community and affirm nationality in Europe: *'We, the Portuguese, may already begin to be aware of our collaboration in Europe as a whole. And it is fatal, because the general movement of the world sends much more at home than some think and want.'* (Almada, 1990, p. 109)

The Portuguese artist considered the avant-garde movements, a sort of drivers towards a universal language surpassing time and providing free thought to all. The primordial meaning of modern art consisted in a universal language able to surpassed personal languages, spaces and times; to generalize communication among all and the acceptance by each one. Abstractionism responded to the demands of all, and of one, the collective and the individual, all elements in nationality, in Europe, in the Universe, following their mythical and utopian projections.

In Almada Negreiros' concept of Europe, the modern European citizen which had been progressively isolated from their personal unity and from their collectivities, were facing the aggravating traits of a crashed Humanity. The dialogue between nations might be achieved through culture and art: *'Nations do not touch only the exchange of commodities, but especially that of their special affinities in the common mental and sensuous, which will be the foundation of the social whole.'* (Almada, 1965, p. 14)

2. Prometheus - Synthesis of humanity, synthesis of European culture

The mythical figure of Prometheus was doubly evoked by Almada as the universal symbol for man and mythological synthesis of Europe. Prometheus in a retaken myth in the history of European culture, due to the circumstances that condemned him. He was a paradigm for human emancipation through knowledge and will. He was Almada's myth of reference in the sense of Lévi-Strauss, as an increased transposition of other myths, either proceeding from the same culture, or from distant ones. Almada studied several versions of the myth, drawing his doctrine on a Prometheus adjusted to his thought. The poetic remitologization of Prometheus, admitted by Almada comes from: Goethe's *Prometheus (Dramatic Fragment of Youth)*, the historical reference of Aeschylus⁸ — *Prometheus Chained* and the first literary manifestation by Hesiod two centuries earlier (Trousson, n/d).

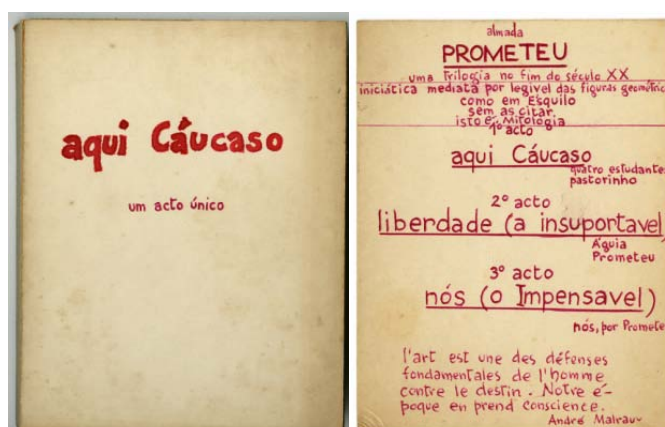


Figure 4 – Cover of the play *Here Caucasus*;
Manuscript of the play *Here Caucasus*;
Project board for a possible trilogy of Prometheus composed
of plays: '*Here Caucasus*

In "Prometheus - Spiritual Essay of Europe" Almada reestablished the narrative of the myth, resumed in later texts, namely in "Here Caucasus".⁹ He emphasized the common version, considering that '*If at any time the gods were stolen by*

⁸ Aeschylus, poet of the fifth century, his activity is known after 475 BC.

⁹ "Why? Prometheus? Why you here? Why in the Caucasus you, the friend of Man? Why not beyond in the East? Why not beyond in the West? Why not beyond in the North? Why not beyond in the South? Why here that is not the East, which is not the West, which is not the North, which is not the South? Were you Prometheus, the friend of Man, who chose this place for you? Or were the immortal gods who chose you for your perpetual punishment?"

Prometheus, it was in his pride of divine as if there were no other natures other than his.’ (Almada, 1993b, p.247)

Fixing a topography of punishment (rather than on its mythical geography), Almada settled a kind of atopy - a location for the individual human being, nowhere situated - relative to the divine *proxemia*: ‘*Only here could you keep the which thou hast taken from the immortal gods: Out of the east, out of the west, out of the north, out of the south. Out of every one of the peoples of the four parts of the earth. Out of the immortal gods.*’ (Almada, 1993b, p.245)¹⁰ The circular reference to the determination of the space itself, as belonging, legacy or appropriation - besides the coordinates - is also found in the poem ‘Wind Rose’, being the first condition for the human, in a mythical-autobiographical sense, analogical to the figure of Prometeu-Almada:

It was not by chance that my blood came from the south crossed with my blood that came from the north. It was not by chance that my blood came from the east it crossed my blood that came from the west. It was no chance that I am now. (Almada, 1984, p. 216)

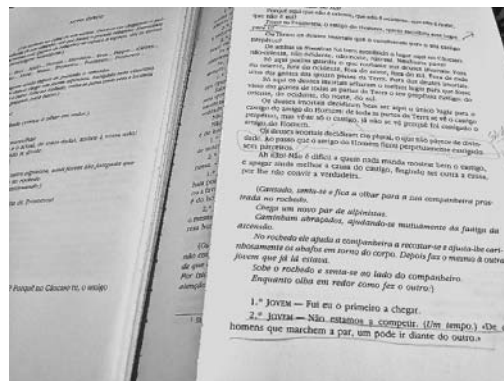


Figure 5 – Pages of “Here Caucasus” [1965] – copyright by the author

Prometheus was chained in a place, beyond human conception of survival. Almada, by fiction and analogy, decide to locate his birth place in “Wind Rose”, the space to where the reminiscences of all civilizations and peoples gather. Almada/Prometheus was “chained” in Portugal, despite the mental journeys held

¹⁰ And he continued: “Because the idea of Man is not born soon with man, but it is this one who has it later in relation to the different natures of his.” Let’s remark that the four young characters in the play signify the sign of the human Quaternary.

by avant-garde - experience the mythical, symbolic-psychic time as a polychromatic figure, located in a place that was out of contemporary time/space. Symbolically, Almada recognized in Prometheus the example of his personal case, transposed to the Portuguese "world"; the principle of human condition. According to Prometheus' achievement, the responsibility of each one would decide destiny on Earth, following the challenge that provoked the wrath of Zeus. *Prometheus*, according to the latest speculations of his dramaturgy, was not a man: *It was an idea before the idea. A deity of Olympus.* (Almada, 1984, 247) Through his divine condition he acted upon the nature of man without interfering in it, inasmuch as *on the contrary he warned the divinity of man's own powers, which seemed not to pass through the heads of gods. Prometheus is the friend of the humans, for the love of the gods.* (Almada, 1993a, p. 247)

Some years before writing/publishing the Theater piece - end of the fifties and early sixties - Almada collaborated with the Architect Pardal Monteiro in the project of the once new buildings for University City of Lisbon. He conceived engraving and painted panels for buildings of the Law Faculty, the Letters Faculty and the Main building of Lisbon University, representing both historic, literary, philosophical, artistic and mythological characters, such as for the case of *Prometeus* [Letters Faculty].



Fig. 18 – Prometeu agrilhado, gravura incisa, 1961.
Fotografia: A. M. Pascoal, 2009.



Fig. 19 – Prometeu agrilhado, desenho, sem data.
Fotografia: Horácio Novais, sem data. Secretaria Geral do Ministério da Educação, Núcleo do Arquivo Técnico das Construções Escolares, Saco 2 «Faculdade de Letras».

Figure 6 – Images of an engraving and a drawing, both representing *Prometheus enchained* at the Faculdade de Letras - Universidade de Lisboa, Ana Mehnert Pascoal (2011) “As Figuras Greco-Romanas de Almada Negreiros na Cidade Universitária de Lisboa”. *Boletim de Estudos Clássicos* — 55. Coimbra: Instituto de Estudos Clássicos.
URI: <http://hdl.handle.net/10316.2/30359>

The angle, under which Almada faces the figure of the hero, recalls the terms in which the other Prometheus - Goethe's - affirmed in his rebellion, faces the gods, faces the stars: *Prometheus: The circle that fills my activity! / Nothing more, nothing less!* (Almada, 1993a, p. 248)

The reckless wonder of the hero, projected in all geographies of time/space, embodies the true "discovery" of the semi-human by the human, interfering in other Mythology narratives: *'The sacred fire it is not exclusive to the immortal gods. The sacred is not exclusive to the Divinity, and on the contrary, the sacred is the only one truly common to the different natures, such as the divine and human.'* (Almada, 1993a, p. 248) The fire is subsumed to concatenated meanings, an obsessive image that affirms the life-generating condition, capable of annihilating it: a clear manifestation of the dual convention that frequently pervades Almada's work, concluding in the formula $1 + 1 = 1$ as he explained in *Unique Direction*.

For Gaston Bachelard (1992), fire is the sexual symbol for excellence, it dynamizes primordial drives, recovering the sense of the promised complex: daring to steal the fire of the senses, of those who inhibit it. To do what is more important than the promulgated, according to the psychoanalytic way: *'To know and to manufacture are needs that can be characterized in themselves, without necessarily relating them to the will to power. There is in man a real will of intellectuality.'* (Bachelard, 1992, p. 26) According to the philosopher, Prometheus' complex was the Oedipus complex of the intellectual path. So, it was legitimate that Prometheus is sometimes associated with the Myth of Creation, and not only in Greek Mythology, for he decided on the irrevocability of the qualities and conditions for the human. *'Prometheus realized a utopia. He attained an unprecedented achievement, when he realized human power surprised by the universal at the hands of the gods of Olympus and, after the surprise, it is impossible for him to agree.'* (Almada, 1982b, p. 130) It was the main interpretation of Prometheus for Almada: his act of civilization, the effectiveness of utopia, the individual force that constitutes culture: *'Now this dream of Prometheus is European, and, today is Europe's dream at least in the West.'* (Almada, 1990, p.94)

Prometheus' dream did not fade away when the tragedy overcame him, nor did he fade away with the impregnable punishment. He knew how to mock¹¹ the situation, for in the final instance both men and God were part of the same chain: they were bound to violence, to illusions of victory, to inevitable defeat. When Prometheus perceived the wars among the gods, he recognized the provocations of the men: he could endure his fate, for there were no cases of exception in the Cosmos. His daydreaming is eternal, since it persists in the Universe by knowledge as by number. A secret that contained in itself the tragic and fatalism of the human: *'Not a tragedy that unfolds fatally forever without solution, but the eternal tragedy of Man to conquer the World, the tragic action of this heroic conquest.'* (Almada, 1990, p.94)

Considering the intimate and primordial terms of the Human-sacred, Almada underline the antithetical terms symbolized in Prometheus and Io. It's a sort of *Coniunctio Oppositorium* as he wrote in "Heraclitus weeps and Democritus laughs" (Almada, 1950). He established the distinction between what *'would be the half-blood of divine and human'* and Prometheus, which would separate the divine from the human, and only with this would open the way, against the divinity if it were necessary... (Almada, 1950, p.100). According to the legend, the confrontation between the two - Prometheus and Io – would remain possible as long as each respected their destiny, excluded from each other. They symbolize the Divine-human bi-presence, the marriage between Heaven and Earth, unified in Number.¹² *'Prometheus confers the universal unity, through this finding which he gave to men: the Number. This is a quotation taken from Prometheus Chained of Aeschylus quoted by Almada: I gave [men] the beautiful find of arithmetic.'* (Almada, 1982, p. 179) The Number is the supreme knowledge.

Longing to redeem Portuguese from atavism, he cried out for the force of Myth and its polychromic understanding. He was able to produce knowledge in art and

¹¹ In the literary twentieth century, consider the version of André Gide, *Prométhée Mal Enchaîné*, an exercise in sarcasm, whose end culminates in a feast in which Prometheus delights in savoring the flesh of those who, in time almost without end, devoured his liver.

¹² Also see Almada Negreiros, "Heraclitus weeps, Democritus laughs".

established a peculiar thought, being able to use several expressions, strategies and achievements *viso-verbico-performatic*. Capable of a greater conceptual agility, he circumvented conventions, stereotypes, counteracting the tragic in his present, exercising elusive and assertive simultaneously, crossing chronology and space. Through his capacity and impulse he conceived the inclusive binomial, without dissolution of the terms: LIFE-ART. Almada was demanded in Art (and in Life) as a worthy individual case. Using exemplary ideas and acting's, maybe Almada wanted to reach the level of that perfect individuality he recognized in Goethe: '*the first individual among all individuals in Europe.*' (Almada, 1993b, p.82) He synthesized "his" literary and philosophic references gathering Platonic aesthetics and Neoplatonic revisions in which he incorporated the aesthetics of number (Pythagoreanism); concealed the aesthetics of light (aesthetic theophany) and the aesthetics of symbology (structured mythification). Almada verified that each one of those sides had an inclusive circumstance, capable of autonomy due to the overcoming of symbols, in time to accede to the simple and universal visual sign, which was a guarantee and constant presence in humanity.

The obsession of Almada thought obliged him to wonder largely in circular convictions, almost paradoxes or at least extreme riddles. His ultimate goal concerned the harmonic dialogue between human individuality and collective authority. During his lifetime a fatal disruption was present: an apathetic and mute obedience between the individual and the collective. His mission consisted in alerting each one and the collectivity in order to admit the crisis. The crisis was caused by the failure of collectivity. People no longer were able to encourage or valuing the collective condition for individuality and alienated human personality. The resolution would only be possible for the individual who rushes to fight because '*he does not resign himself to die in life, nor to live in blank.*' (Almada, 1993b, p.100) One cannot be dissolved by the passiveness of others in the collectivity. To each one is destined the effort and the wisdom undertaken, aware of its capacities. The gifted individual is surpassed by the reinvigorated understanding, by the conscious force of its social dimension in the collective. Here is the answer to proceeding one by one: '*The individual of the*

community fully informed about the individual of nature, is up to you to prepare your new place and arm yourself with your best sense.' (Almada, 1993b, p.73)

Almada's demand fixed the matrix of humanity in the sacred terrain bordered without borders, but keeping up with the reason of the location, the geography of his country in the Map of Europe. He followed the argumentative clues of conciliation that the Myths strangely imply. Almada felt he should point out Prometheus as a European synthesis. In Homer's personality and in the effectiveness of Greek civilization, he recovered the collective [inspiring] source for Europe: '*Civilization is a collective phenomenon. Culture is an individual phenomenon.*' (Almada, 1990, p. 77) Homer, founder of civilization according to Almada, was the Poet that respected positive values both in Tradition and in '*the individual initiative of the present ones of the same civilization*' (Almada, 1990, p. 77). That union of times/spaces was the condition for strengthen the future civilization. And secondly, because '*The whole act of civilization is closely linked to an advance of the order of culture and its continuation.*' (Almada, 1982, p. 129)

His pursuit for a utopian Europe overwhelmed the real frontiers and countries. As an artist from the SW, and remembering his African roots, Almada spent his lifetime searching for Humanity. He was able to reduce his points of view into the essential one, which was the ultimate belief in those simple geometrical shapes that exist since the beginning of Mankind. Almada's final abstract-geometrical black and white paintings (1957) can be understood as the fusion of all his research and still are one of his greatest landmarks of heritage for the future generations. Which achieved the late conquest in the large seminal mural for the main building of the Gulbenkian Foundation – *Beginning (Começar)* his last work.

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Author identification

Maria de Fátima Lambert. *Is based in Porto, where is a Full Professor at the School of Education – Oporto Polytechnics since 2000. She is Master in Philosophy (1986) and Doctor in Philosophy [Aesthetic] 1998, Faculty of Philosophy – Catholic Portuguese University. She is a senior investigator for several research projects at InED (Reserch Center for Education Innovation and Research) and has been its director during two years. She is the director of several Courses, Departments and Projects and Invited Professor in Brazil and European Universities. She acts as an Art Critic and independent Curator. She danced at Pirmin Trecu Dance Company*

EUROPE'S ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY

A Visualisation Method of Ideas

Dominik Lengyel

BTU Brandenburgische Technische Universität Cottbus-Senftenberg / BTU Brandenburg
University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg, Cottbus, Germany

Catherine Toulouse

Lengyel Toulouse Architekten / Lengyel Toulouse Architects, Berlin, Germany

Abstract

Europe is also architecture. When Jacques Derrida counts philosophy, democracy and the Enlightenment, architecture is an essential gap. There is a number of artistic expressions, but amongst them architecture, as the space that we live in, plays an exposed role. Architecture is a criterion, a tradition that truly belongs to Europe. A debate on the architectural artistic representation of Europe from the past to the future will consolidate a place for Europe in the world. And this place does not, at least not in the principal sense, yield to the imperialist tradition. On the contrary, Europe's architecture consists mainly of civilian or clerical buildings. Built architecture though is subject to its deterioration, while the intellectual achievement of architectural projecting and design are what will be left of Europe's history. Architectural ideas are almost timeless as they always negotiate ourselves in our environment. But ideas are rarely acknowledged as deserved. In most cases, architecture that does not meet today's needs is considered as part of building archaeology. But there is much more in historic architecture, a wealth of inspirations. Architecture has always been more than buildings. This artistic surplus needs to be exposed, to be presented as a timeless intellectual achievement that goes far beyond its original historical intention. For this we have developed a method that visualizes architectonic ideas. The presentation aims to demonstrate and illustrate this method by several projects developed by the authors in cooperation with archaeological research institutions like Cologne Cathedral and its Predecessors (by order of and exhibited in Cologne Cathedral), The Metropolis of Pergamon (within the German Research Fund Excellence Cluster TOPOI, actually exhibited in Leipzig as part of Sharing Heritage, the European Cultural Heritage Year 2018), The Palatine Palaces (by order of the German Archaeological Institute, both latter exhibited in the Pergamon Museum Berlin).

Keywords: Architecture, Design, Visualisation, Uncertainty, Knowledge

Introduction

Europe is – among a large number of artistic expressions – also architecture, the space that we live in. But built architecture is subject to its deterioration, while the intellectual achievement of architectural projecting and design are eternal. Architectural ideas are almost timeless as they always negotiate ourselves in our environment. But ideas are rarely acknowledged as they deserve. In most cases, architecture that does not meet today's needs is considered only as a matter of building archaeology. But there is much more in historic architecture, a wealth of inspirations. Architecture has always been more than buildings. This artistic surplus needs to be exposed, to be presented as a timeless intellectual achievement, that goes far beyond its original historical intention. This leads to a shift in perception. Apart from architecture that has been built or is even still standing, there is also architecture that has only been conceived. This is of course a matter of hypotheses as only built architecture is certain. Still, in its uncertainty, hypothetic architecture can consist of qualities that persist over time, that is apart from construction and material mainly a matter of composition, proportion and rhythm. Based on hypotheses by building historians and archaeologists, we established a method for visualising architectural ideas and concepts as if they had been built.

Visualizing ideas

To solve this ostensive dilemma of hypotheses versus vividness, for architectural topoi we have developed a method that explicitly respects the scientific content and still offers an immersive spatial impression. Contrasting the geometric abstraction of the model, that is strictly based on the verbal hypotheses, our way of visualising hypotheses uses, transforms and rearranges traditional methods of realistic architectural photography. By this reference on visual traditions our images enable their recipients to immediately engage with the content, as both archaeology and architecture have always dealt with and visually mediated spatial.

In archaeology, knowledge does not only contain what we call certain knowledge, but also what we call uncertain knowledge. Uncertain knowledge ranges from interpolated findings to even contradictory hypotheses. In general, visualisations are regarded as reconstructions, neglecting the lack of knowledge in favour of speculative additions. This approach is widely used in the games and film industry. Visualizing uncertainty on the contrary necessarily leads to abstraction.

There is a common understanding of the meaning of the terms “uncertainty, knowledge and hypotheses” while the term “uncertain knowledge” seems to be contradictory at first. Also, the expression “design of abstraction” seems ambiguous since design usually describes the concrete shaping of forms while abstraction is rather a matter of the fine arts.

If archaeological hypotheses are transformed into abstract forms up to the archaeologists' accordance, the design of abstraction creates images of architectural ideas without adding more to the hypotheses than necessary.

The expression “uncertain knowledge” underlines the wide range in the midst of knowledge and lack of knowledge by pointing out the states of knowledge in between. It takes into account incomplete knowledge, e. g. if some parts of a structure are known while other parts are unknown, but also contradictory knowledge, that is if the deduction of prerequisites allows contradictory yet equivalent conclusions. Incomplete and contradictory knowledge is then summarized as uncertain knowledge.

The major task is architectonic design. This design is performed in two steps. The first step is the creation of abstract representations of the hypothetical architectonic entities in different scales from buildings via building parts to ornamental details. Every single element undergoes an individual design process until the cooperating scientist attests at least a state that we call free from contradiction. The second, complementary step is the projection of the model, the depiction, or the “virtual photography” as we call it according to its intention and importance. It means, that the abstract geometry is treated as if the

architecture and the photographer were real, and it underlines the importance of the photographic design in the visualisation of hypotheses.

Both tasks are not trivial as they cannot be fully formalized. Their intention can be described, and there are a number of targets that can be achieved accordingly. But there is still a critical need for design, the search for a formal composition, a synthesis of diverging necessities.

The presented work focuses on architectonic structure. There is a number of aspects that are not represented, such as the use of space. But this emphasis enables the visualisation to focus not only on the hypothetic structure itself but also to open its interpretation towards a general understanding of architectonic space, apart from its historical procedural and habitual meaning. Urban space, spatial relations in general or the recontextualization of sculptures may be interpreted as architecture, apt to be transferred onto today's perception and planning processes. Impressive building like Cathedrals have a strong visual, spatial and social impact independent from their religious context and the religious attitude of their visitors. The focus on the architectural structure reveals more of architecture than a realistic simulation. The transition from architecture to its structure is primarily a matter of abstraction.

Abstraction is the traditional way of choice for visually expressing ideas but also interpretations, that is in particular fictional designs or scientific hypotheses. Abstraction is often used in multiple degrees simultaneously, that is, while some parts are defined at a high level, others are left less defined or even undefined. In this way spatial abstraction is similar to sketch drawing. In sketches certain aspects are emphasized while others are left away. Sketches depict an idea rather than a realistic vision.

Physical modelling works similarly, in particular historic architectural plaster models have always focused on geometry. Materiality but also many other aspects are left away, in favour of the better understanding of the architectonic structure and shape. Just as in drawings, abstract models define structural ideas and leave details undefined. Abstraction does not pursue imitation or simulation, but explanation and argumentation. Abstract representations are capable to

mediate hypotheses as well as knowledge, and this among scientists as well as towards the general public. Of course, the public has to be willing to deal with abstraction in general as if going to a contemporary art exhibition.

The commitment to stay as close to the scientific hypothesis as possible while at the same time to provide an immersive vision seems to be a dilemma at the first glance. Indeed abstraction and attraction do complement each other, if the design of abstraction is performed on design, architecture and photography simultaneously.

The visualisation of ideas continues the works of abstract architecture and the tradition of architectural model work and defines a range of methods for designing abstraction. It concerns two reciprocal transformatory processes from the original hypothesis to the mediating visualisation, that is the shape and its projection, that we call virtual photography as we take the abstract geometry as if it was built architecture. Both aspects are described as references to traditional architectural modeling respectively traditional architectural photography.

Geometric simplification is the most intuitive way to represent uncertainty. In circumstances other than archaeology abstract forms may be misinterpreted as contemporary design, but in the archaeological context this should not happen. Geometric contrasts demonstrate the different degrees of certainty, that is when findings and hypotheses are shown directly next to each other. Here also it is the context of archaeology that excludes a misinterpretation as a contemporary architectural design sketch. Transparency on the contrary as a solution of representing an uncertain object does not help mediating its spatial impact, since transparency suppresses and distorts the natural spatial impression.

If there are contradictory hypotheses, it is impossible to maintain the spatial qualities and the ambiguity at the same time. In this case the hypotheses should be presented separated next to each other, so it is clear, that all hypotheses are equally significant. Transparent objects represent neither of the two possible spatial solutions that is being there or not being there. Instead of visualizing two options, transparency visualizes neither of them, but represents the uncertainty

in a non-spatial, but schematic way. Only solid objects ensure that if a shape is part of the visualization, it will also be perceived as an object. Transparencies contradict this and hinder the understanding of a spatial situation. The spatial representation then would not focus on spatial perception, but on abstract information, just as the verbal hypothesis does. This way *la raison d'être* of a visualisation, that is serving as a supplement for the verbal description of the hypotheses, is undermined.

The proximity of a visualisation to its verbal hypothesis is indispensable for their acting as mediators of science. This influences, among others, the decision of black and white or coloured images. As colours always win over geometry, in cases where the certainty in knowledge concerning the geometry outstands the knowledge about the single colours, monochromatic representations mediate a certainty far higher than a polychromatic image would. Colour is decisive, that is, an image can only be monochromatic or polychromatic, there is not any way in between. If objects whose colour is undoubtedly known – like a blue sky – were shown in colour, in this example blue, the image would inherit a new dimension that is the colour dimension. Immediately every gray surface would also represent this new dimension and transport the information of being gray. In other words, the blue sky would paint the buildings white. Only a black and white photography leaves the buildings' colours completely unmentioned. Only if the knowledge suffices, colours may be applied (Hardering 2016).

The proximity to the hypotheses also concerns the need for a photography that despite its design and composition aims at a projection that does not distort the geometry but makes it unambiguous and reliable to ensure its appropriate interpretation. Unambiguity in eye level means a clear distinction of human eye level or bird's eye view. Unambiguity in tilt means either a horizontal view direction – leading to a vertical image plane that again leads to a vertical depiction of vertical building edges – or a clear tilt view used for example as a view into a steep spiral stair case.

The differentiation between the simulation of built architecture and visualised hypotheses or ideas make uncertain visualisations an issue of imagination and

creativity. The design of abstraction intuitively explains this by clearly demonstrating that the idea of architecture is created in the spectator's mind and imagination. Just as the design process requires creativity, visualisations of uncertainty – abstract ideas – also induce individual creativity at the recipients. But only as long as – and this is an important point to consider, since the design of abstraction is a substantive profession – the creational process of virtual modeling and virtual photography is performed professionally as qualified architectural design.

Major projects

The project of the metropolis of Pergamon (Fig. 1 and 2, by Lengyel and Toulouse, Laufer et al. 2011) including 3D Digital image acquisition for the re-contextualisation of 3D scanned sculptures in their hypothetical original architectonic context was funded by and elaborated in cooperation with the German Research Fund Excellence Cluster TOPOI. Its last monographic exhibition took place in Leipzig in 2018 as part of Sharing Heritage, the European Cultural Heritage Year 2018. Our visualisations are published in major scientific architectural works about Pergamon as well as in the main museum catalogue of the antique collection of the Pergamon Museum Berlin and in a survey of research in museums by the German Ministry of Culture and Science (Hauser et al. 2012).

Since 2008 scientists in archaeology and building archaeology work with the geometric accuracy of this first three-dimensional overall model of the metropolis. The model does not only evaluate spatial relations, it also reveals unforeseen visual phenomena. The re-contextualisation of antique sculptures furthermore allowed for the first time to visually present and prove the positioning of a number of antique sculptures that were exclusively scanned three-dimensionally for this project.

The project of the Palatine Palaces in Rome (Fig. 3 and 4, by Lengyel Toulouse Architects, Martin & Wulf-Rheidt 2012) was funded by and elaborated in

cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin and was first exhibited in the Pergamon Museum Berlin in the major exhibition of the Excellence Cluster TOPOI – a cluster lead by the Freie University Berlin, Humboldt University Berlin, German Archaeological Institute, Zuse Institute Berlin and others, funded by the German Science Foundation DFG – and in many other exhibitions since.

The project of Cologne Cathedral and its Predecessors (Fig. 5, by Lengyel Toulouse Architects, Lengyel et al. 2011) was funded by and elaborated in cooperation with the cathedral hut. It was first exhibited in the major annual archaeological exhibition of the federal state Nordrhein-Westfalen and has been exhibited in the entrance area of the archaeological zone in the cathedral since 2011. In 2012 an illustrated book enriched the film's information by plans and sections of the building phases and an explanatory text by the Cathedral architect of the time, Prof. Dr. Barbara Schock-Werner. On the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Cathedral's choir ensemble, we also visualized the interior of the building's choir at its state around 1856, that is shortly before the demolition of the wall that separated the choir from the future nave (Hardering 2016). The visualisations have been used in other publications of other authors for illustrative purposes (Dietmar et al. 2011) as well as for questions of authenticity (Rheidt 2017). The diagrammatic character of the changes of the urban context of the churches lead to a dedicated treatise about diagrammatic architecture (Lengyel et al. 2013).



Figure 1. Bird's eye view of Pergamon around 200 AD

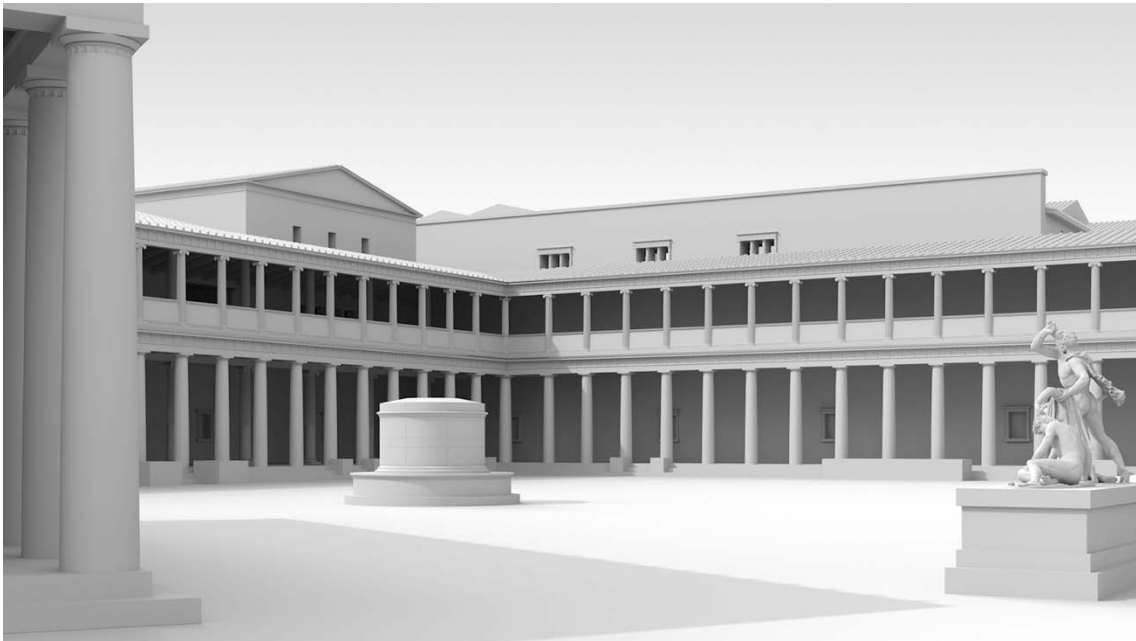


Figure 2. Sanctuary of Athena in Pergamon around 200 AD with Dying Gaul and Ludovisi Group on the right postament. In the back Palace V and on the left side the library building. At the front on the left some columns of the actual temple of Athena

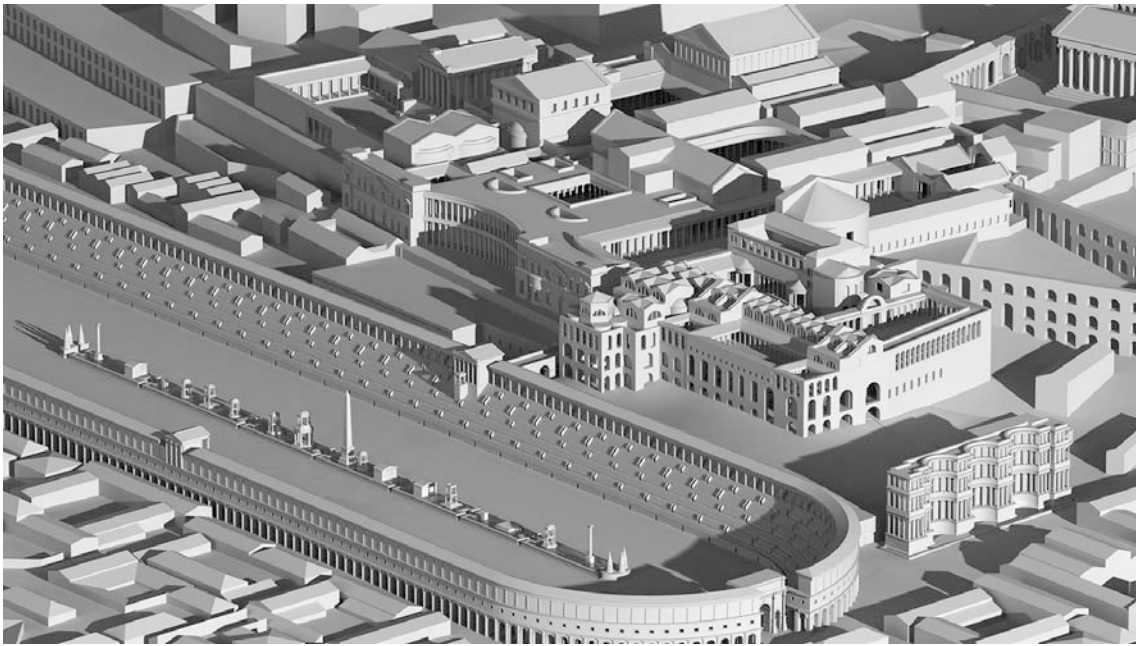


Figure 3. Bird's eye view of the Palatine Palaces in Rom under Emperor Maxentius



Figure 4. Courtyard in the Palatine Palaces in Rom under Emperor Maxentius



Figure 5. Cologne Cathedral around 1540 AD with its iconic construction crane

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Author identification

Dominik Lengyel. Studied Architecture at the Universities of Stuttgart, Paris-Tolbiac and ETH Zürich. After working as architect at Prof. O. M. Ungers he founded an office for architectural visualisation with Catherine Toulouse. Teaching as first substitute and then regular professor at the University of Applied Sciences in Cologne. Chair for Architectural Representation as full professor at the BTU University Cottbus. Major research area is the visualisation of archaeological hypotheses. Associated and later regular member of the DFG research program Exzellenzcluster TOPOI. Since 2018 he is a member of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts in Salzburg

Catherine Toulouse. Catherine Toulouse studied Architecture at the Universities of Stuttgart, Paris-Tolbiac and ETH Zürich. After working as architect at Prof. O. M. Ungers from 1997 to 1998, she founded an office for architectural visualisation with Dominik Lengyel. From 2006 to 2018 she worked as assistant professor at the Brandenburg Technical University of Cottbus at the Chair for Architectural Representation. Her major research area is the visualisation of archaeological hypotheses. Since 2007 she is associated and since 2012 member of the research program Exzellenzcluster TOPOI

EUROPE: Univocity or Equivocity?

A reading between Gilles Deleuze and Jacques Rancière

Luís Lima

CEAA/ IC.NOVA/ UAL, OPorto-Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract

At the end of his book, La Chair des Mots, politiques de l'écriture (1998), Jacques Rancière evokes a wall, a frontier, in the nomad and plastic thinking of Gilles Deleuze. The approach is twofold: on the one hand, literary, summoning affections and concepts but, above all perceptions, these conceptual characters that Deleuze inaugurates in a between-two of philosophy and literature, «philosophiture», he would say, or «litasophy»; on the other hand, it is political, evoking the horizontality and verticality, equality and difference of a people to come. In both cases, Rancière envisions the possibility of a Deleuzian wall, which would be something of the order of the frontier. We know how Deleuze abhorred frontiers and, at least, among it, he would agenciate cracks and lines of passages, lines of escape, lines of flight. To retake the idea that Jacques Rancière explores in his text entitled Deleuze, Bartleby, and the literary formula, there would be a wall in Deleuze's thought, a limiting barrier of his own thinking. The end or the cut of the flow, according to Rancière, is stated as it: «The strength of any strong thought is also the ability of disposing itself its aporia, the point where it no longer passes». Now, Deleuze avoid the point, «to make the point» repulses him, always preferring the line. So this wall-end-point could not be a strong aporia in the bosom of a strong thought without also being a line of escape, a passage, an opening or a pause before gaining speed again. A wall of slowness to better accelerate. Here is what this article proposes to enunciate: from the characters that Deleuze extracts from the novels of the authors and the literature he appreciates to reach the haecceities, these a-subjective singularities that are not identities but are perfectly individuated, to assure them a territory and a voice, the possibility of the univocity of an European people to come.

Keywords: Deleuze, Literature, Ontology, Rancière, People-to-come.

*Where life clogs us, intelligence opens a way,
because if it is true that there is no remedy for an unshared love,
the truth is that we escape the verification of a suffering,
let alone be his by drawing the consequences it entails.
Intelligence doesn't know these closed situations of dead end life*

Marcel Proust

Opening

This article is an attempt to conclude what seemed to us an unconcluded text by Jacques Rancière about deleuzian proposal of a literary formula in Melville's *Bartleby* novel. At the end of his book *La Chair des Mots, politiques de l'écriture* [The Flesh of Words: the Politics of Writing] (1998), Jacques Rancière evokes a wall or a barrier in the nomadic, open and fluid thought of Gilles Deleuze. The approach is twofold: on one hand, it is literary, calling upon affects and concepts but above all percepts, those conceptual characters that Deleuze inaugurates in an 'entre-deux' (or in-between) of philosophy and literature – philosophiture, he would say, or literasophy¹; on the other hand, it is political, evoking the horizontality and verticality, the equality and difference, of a people to come. In both cases, Rancière sees the possibility of a Deleuzean wall, which would be something similar to a border. We know how Deleuze abhorred borders unless it was to open up gaps in them as well as lines of passage, lines of flight.

To return to the idea that Jacques Rancière explains in his text entitled *Deleuze, Bartleby et la formule littéraire* [Deleuze, Bartleby, and the Literary Formula], there exists a wall in Deleuze's thought, a barrier-limit to his own thought. It is the end or the cutting of the flow, according to Rancière: "the strength of any strong thought is also its ability to arrange its aporia itself, the point where it

¹ Deleuze, Gilles: *Littérasophie et Philosophiture*, interview with Hélène Cixous; in *Dialogues*, 13 November 1973, p. 30. The title comes from the text transcribed from a radio programme of Roger Pillaudin on France Culture. The creation of concepts, through voluntary excess, so dear to Gilles Deleuze especially in his works with Félix Guattari, is clearly evident in the title of this programme in which philosophy and literature dance around, changing position, in the different zones of the written word in order to compose and re-compose themselves, expressively different, but with a force that is the same, that of the differentiation of the majority pattern of these two disciplines. It is in the 'entre-deux', the in-between, that the movement (of thought) accelerates and intensifies to create the concept.

can no longer pass". However, Deleuze detests the point; he always prefers the line. Therefore, this wall-final point could not be a strong aporia within a strong thought without also being a line of flight, a passage, opening or resting place before picking up speed again. A wall of slowness to accelerate better. What this article proposes is to start from the characters that Deleuze extracts from novels by the authors and of the literature he appreciates, as is the case of Charlus (Proust) or Bartleby (Melville), in order to reach the haecceities (Duns Scot/Simondon), these a-subjective singularities that are not identities but are perfectly individuated to ensure them a territory and a voice, the possibility of the univocity of a people becoming, a people to come, fleshed out by haecceities in individuation.

So, could we conceive such a Deleuzean wall as being a murmur of Rancière's instead, which might be knocked down and transformed into a wall of free stones, in an intifada that knocks down the univocity of the wall to counter it with the equivocity of the stones? But will it still be possible to find one single voice, that European voice, for all the modes that, in the difference, repeat it? It would be necessary to revisit Spinoza and the procedure of modes to find this European immanence for a people to come.

Let us rather think about cutting the flow at the end of this line of flight as if a line with an end did not immediately become a segment, a line segment that can be remounted, enchained and provide material for the reconstruction of continuity and new lines of flight. Ultimately, the wall that Jacques Rancière builds at the limits of Deleuze's thought could be constituted, or not, as the element where the shock of heterogeneous elements produces light. Does that light here illuminate the path that is always to be trodden by a [European] people in permanent (re) construction?

Attempt at concluding a text to be concluded: about the formula

To return to the idea that Jacques Rancière develops in his text *Deleuze, Bartleby et la formule littéraire* (1998) in which, based on an excerpt where

Gilles Deleuze discusses what a world “in process” or “an archipelago” would be like, which is one of fraternal individuals – “a wall of loose, uncemented stones where every element has a value in itself but also in relation to the others” (Deleuze *apud* Rancière, 1998, p. 199²) – he defends that a Deleuzian wall will therefore exist that is a barrier-limit to his own thought: “And this is exactly what Deleuze does here when, in one single gesture, he clears the way of Deleuzism and sends it into the wall” (idem, p. 203). The end or the cutting of the flow of all Deleuze’s thought, according to Rancière, clashes with this aporia: “the strength of any strong thought is also its ability to arrange its aporia itself, the point where it can no longer pass” (ibidem).

However, Deleuze detests the point, he does not like to point, either in the numerical sense or in the sense of the French expression *faire le point* or “to take stock of a situation”. He always prefers to trace a line, a line of flight, by dint of the vital movement of all the lines of life. This geometric aversion is sufficient to refute the forced reading that Jacques Rancière makes of the extract regarding the Melvillean brotherhood in *Bartleby, ou la Formule*, this wall-final-point-of-Deleuzian-thought; it could not be a *strong aporia within a strong thought* without being, simultaneously, a line of flight, a line of exit or a line of passage, a passage and opening, a resting place before once again taking up, at great speed, the movement of thinking. If we are attentive to this wall of loose stones – without succumbing immediately to the dictum of the mental image that shows us piles of granite stones in the open fields of southern Europe where mammals (goats, sheep, dogs and men), reptiles (lizards and snakes), birds and plants (brambles, blackberry bushes and moss) open up cracks and climb over with the greatest ease and naturalness of their animal and vegetable and mineral vitality – slowly so as to accelerate more quickly.

This is what we propose here: to start from the characters that Deleuze extracts from the tales, novellas and novels of North American authors, and to forget Antonin Artaud (*body without organs*), Henri Michaux (*multiplicities* and *properties*), Franz Kafka (*minorities*) and a biased appreciation of Proust by the

² Translator’s note: All the references in this article refer to the French editions in the bibliography.

simple reading that Rancière applies to the commentaries that run through all Deleuzian thought, would be to once again cement Deleuze's free thinking that, above all else, is made up of the creation of concepts – those loose stones that produce thought in their movement in an autonomous and heteronomous league (the “crowned anarchy” of which Deleuze speaks at the end of *Différence et Répétition*, 1968). Let us remember that through both French writers and American ones, Deleuze passes from romanesque characters to conceptual characters and, from there, to singular forces, pure *relata*, which are the haecceities³. This occurs in the case not only of the Baron de Charlus, who in the curvature of his voice and the elevation of his nose embodies the features of a whole blood-related people, a genetic brotherhood that circulates through the arteries of his literary and literal body, but also in the pure affirmation of Bartleby's non-affirmation, which is the expressive voice of the immanence of a singular, but not subjective or, rather, a-subjective, voice: that is to say, individuation *by* haecceity. In order to reach the haecceities, to reach individuation through the text, what Deleuze does is not build a wall but rather the composition of an ontographic plane⁴, where the lines of text are lines of life and where the writing plane is a vital plane of composition between the autonomy and the heteronomy of the characters who emit signals (more than signs); we can talk of an ontonomy. A being of the names that are, like in Proust, like in Nietzsche, a wind.

Rancière further disagrees (using the argument of Alain Badiou that reduces Deleuzian univocity not to an expressive modal multiplicity like Spinoza's but to an original unicity that is contrary in every way to Deleuze's theories of differential multiplicity) that this wall is a wall of non-passage, a total wall where “we do not go on, from the multitudinous incantation of Being, toward any political justice. Literature opens no passage to a Deleuzian politics” (Rancière, 1998, p. 202). After the Rancierian terms, the argument: “There is no Dionysian

³ Cf. 1730 – *Devenir-intense, devenir-animal, devenir-imperceptible* in Deleuze, Gilles & Guattari, Félix. (1980). *Capitalisme et schizophrénie 2: Mille plateaux*. Paris, Minuit.

⁴ Cf. Lima, Luís (2013). *Ontografias da Imanência (de Deleuze a Proust e volta), respigar, compor, expressar*. PhD thesis in Aesthetics. Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa. DOI: <https://run.unl.pt/bitstream/10362/10188/1/luislma.pdf>. Accessed on 15/07/19.

politics". And "as loose as its stones might be," this wall "is that in front of which the joyful expansion of the philosophers children of Dionysus is halted" (ibidem).

Why would children stop in front of such a wall of loose stones instead of climbing over it as all children do, as goats, sheep, brambles and lizards do? The reason, concludes Rancière, is that the philosopher did not want disciples; Deleuze, like Dionysus, like Nietzsche, did not want disciples. To say, as Jacques Rancière does, that Dionysus did not appreciate philosophers but only asses is to forget that Zarathustra, in the cave at the top of the mountain with his animals, knew the answer the ass would always give him, his "Ye-a", the affirmative consent characteristic of the German people. Zarathustra was seeking other actors, other flights, coming out from his cave at the top of the mountain where he established himself on a plane of free thinking: a plateau. What is the top of a wall but a micro-plane, a mountain plateau? But, naturally, without asceticism.

Let us then look more closely at the wall of loose stones of Bartleby, of Melville, of Deleuze, and at the context from which the passage cited by Rancière was taken:

It is first of all an affirmation of a world in *process*, an *archipelago*. Not even a puzzle, whose pieces when fitted together would constitute a whole, but rather a wall of loose, uncemented stones, where every element has a value in itself but also in relation to others: isolated and floating relations, islands and straits, immobile points and sinuous lines – for Truth always has "jagged edges." (Deleuze, 1993, p. 110)

What force does the term "wall" have if it is made of loose, uncemented stones? Is it not just one more Deleuzian oxymoron, one more topological object like the Möbius strip or Klein's Bottle, more than surface and less than volume, or an object with n dimensions in the Riemannian space which is the topological space by nature of the vitalism of Deleuzian ontology? We read "process", "loose stones", "uncemented", "relation", "floating relations", "islands and straits", "immobile points", "sinuous lines", "archipelago"; Jacques Rancière wants to read "wall", despite the warning Deleuze gives later on in the same paragraph: "But to reach this point, it was also necessary for the knowing subject, the sole

proprietor, to give way to a community of explorers, the brothers of the archipelago, who replace knowledge with belief – or rather with ‘confidence’, not belief in another world, but confidence in this one, and in man as much as in God [...] Pragmatism is this double principle of archipelago and hope” (idem, p. 111).

However, the archipelago is everything except the community. And this is what Rancière fears. The crowned anarchy of Deleuzian politics is incompatible with the emancipating programme of the community to come. Even though the master might be ignorant, he *knows* that he must emancipate. Nor is it a pedagogy, and this is why Deleuze is the friend of children, of the children-philosophers or indeed of philosophy’s childhood, its happiness and sense of humour, as in Nietzsche. And this is why we can look at the “wall of loose stones” of the Melvillean brotherhood, of an anarchism of becoming, in the light of another formula, not that of Bartleby’s “I would prefer not to” but rather of the Deleuzian formula for the univocity of being.

There is an aesthetic line inaugurated by Gilles Deleuze. But it is a line that is traced much earlier than is usually mentioned. It is not then with *Francis Bacon* (1984) or with the two volumes on cinema (1983 and 1985), or even with *Critique et Clinique* [Critically and Clinically] (1993) that the philosopher dedicates to literature. It is, for us, in the movement of his philosophical plane, in the movement that draws abstract lines that become lines of thought that become concrete, material and aesthetic, and that seek to affirm an ontology of univocity through movements of expressivity, difference, individuation. Everything was pointing in this direction ever since his commentary on expressivity in Spinoza (1968). After this date there is a dance that involves the works *Différence et Répétition* and *Logique du sens* [The Logic of Sense], and, to a certain extent, *Capitalisme et schizophrénie 2: Mille plateaux* [A Thousand Plateaus] and *Qu'est-ce que la Philosophie?* [What is Philosophy?] since in these two works written with Félix Guattari, expressivity changes and the *ritornello* movement appears intermittently. To be more specific, let us think of the number of phrases constructed with the same expressive rhythm in *Différence et*

Répétition and *Logique du sens*. True refrains, or *ritornellos*. Here are two examples:

The univocity of Being signifies that Being is Voice that it is said, and that it is said in one and the same “sense” of everything about which it is said. That of which it is said is not at all the same... (Deleuze, 1997, p. 211)

Being is said in a single and same sense of everything of which it is said, but that of which it is said differs: it is said of difference itself. (Deleuze, 1968, p. 53)

The first is taken from *Logique du sens* and the second comes from *Différence et Répétition*. What we want to say is that the movement of thought immanent to its expression is the force of aesthetic individuation, the unique feature of a style that Deleuze had never abandoned, not even in his partnerships with Félix Guattari. The style changes. It becomes, however, faster, more peopled with concepts; it has accelerations and de-accelerations that are much more intense than in his first solo books. But this winning formula, because it is hypnotic like a refrain, a *ritornello* (which is, let us not forget, a force of affectation and aesthetic production by its very nature, according to Deleuze and Guattari), emerges uninterruptedly here and there. Years and years on end until the final text. The formula for defining univocity serves to define all the concepts that are inscribed within Deleuzean ontology – plane of immanence, body without organs, haecceities, rhizome, transcendental field, event. And there will be more. The expressive formula of the notion of ontology in Deleuze may be reduced to ‘all minus 1’ as long as it is expressed in the same differential movement of the formula of the univocity of the being. In other words, One is equal to everything that is unique, but that which is said to be unique differs, the unicity is the difference itself. And if this is the Same, it can only be the Same in its Multiplicity. First, then, is the difference, which is pure Multiplicity. Hence the immanence of the multiplicity to the one. Hence the perverse turn that makes the transcendental a field of pure immanence. Hence the transcendental empiricism hailed by Deleuze. Now, in aesthetic terms, to reduce Deleuzean expressivity to this formula does not seem much, but it is precisely

following this same formula that one can argue: this singular movement of thought has an imperceptible becoming that makes it a pure multiplicity.

Each stone only has a value as an autonomous element in that it is relational: internal autonomy of elements, internal heteronomy of the whole, external autonomy of the wall, which is an archipelago and a 'plage d'immanence' [expanse (or zone) of immanence]... Is not sand more than a wall of loose grains, a wall fallen near the sea, that other moving mass where all the drops have one single movement for all the differentiated waves?

A single and same voice for the whole thousand-voiced multiple, a single and same Ocean for all the drops, a single clamour of Being for all beings: on condition that each being, each drop and each voice has reached the state of excess – in other words, the difference which displaces and disguises them and, in turning upon its mobile cusp, causes them to return [author's italics] (Deleuze, 1968, p. 389).

If a certain movement of Deleuzian thought is taken up again, it becomes clear that the wall, lying down, becomes the path, a plane, a Möbius strip, more than a point and less than a line, more than a line and less than a surface (because it is full of holes, it contains fissures, cracks, intervals released by the absence of cement, which allows the two sides of the surface of this wall of loose stones to be reunited), a wall with fissures. A plane of composition that at times re-erects itself vertically (a white wall since verticality is white and horizontality is black) to constitute a longitude and, with a latitude, form a body that establishes the necessary cuts so that the whole ontological project avoids falling into madness, or the void into death. This wall, then, will be prudence. Michaux calls it the awakening: "... at last, with no warning, no preparation, there comes into the cage of the enormous and enormously empty edifice of bone and fog, there comes into me with no further delay a vertical surge" (Michaux, 1999, pp. 51-56). Repose of the vague nomadic body that becomes a wall, like the prow of a ship so as not to founder in the smooth or striated waters of an ocean of flows.

White wall, black hole. White vertical and black horizontal. Coordinates are needed to make a body. Extension and intensity. And prudence to avoid falling

into madness, into excess, into chaos. It is a wall of loose stones, a wall of fraternal freemasonry, loose blocks or stones of an apocryphal church (a crowned anarchy), the followers of a Christ free of the cross, which is equivalent to the immanence of the moribund and is the sign of a life, pure indiciality: *ecce* for *haecceity*, as in *ecce homo*⁵. Multiplicity and haecceity which, singular, crucified without a cross and moribund is always newborn, neutral, thus becoming univocal; the univocity of the being that is voice: “the unique being with a thousand voices”, a path made up of one thousand stones.

Blocks of literary, poetic, expressive intensities, the crowned anarchies correspond in the Deleuzian ontological *dispositif* to the principle of neutral individuation and to the haecceity of the moribund and the newborn⁶. The stones of the Palestinians⁷ correspond to the moving wall, the wall of resistance and affirmative production of the negation or a-affirmative – *I would prefer not to* – of individuation of a people. A wall of stones for prudence still, to counter the hegemony of the open flow that can be imported for the current model of European construction. Can Europe include walls of loose stones, uncemented borders both within itself and on its edges?

Autonomy, heteronomy and ontonomy

To try to respond it is necessary to specify even more: between autonomy and heteronomy, it is necessary to push, apply pressure, go further and force through the middle so as to be able to intuit in practice what value Deleuze's words have – he defended that it is necessary for the wall (theory) to become opening (practice). It is in the practice of writing and literal reading that the aesthetic forces come to life. It is necessary to make the ‘entre-deux’ flow, a

⁵ On the concept of *haecceity* and its etymological genealogy and for a clarification on the quiddity of the term *haecceitas* in contrast with the indicial character of *haecceity* Cf. Lima, Luís (2008). *Estética da Ecceidade*, Coimbra, MinervaCoimbra.

⁶ Cf. Deleuze, Gilles (1995): *L'Immanence: une vie...*, in *Gilles Deleuze – Philosophie*, n.º 47, ed. Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris.

⁷ Cf. Deleuze, Gilles (2003): *Les Pierres*, in *Deux Régimes de Fous*, ed. Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris.

pure haecceity: that is the ontonomy of an individual and collective life, multiplicity and becoming of Europe.

To open up a path here walking over a fallen wall, a plane of consistency with no cement, in which the link is that of the loose affinities of the crowned anarchy [anarchy of loose stones, non-monarchic crown of the link between heterogeneous elements, once again, the differential movement of the univocity of the being], will be, for literature, a voice that becomes a path. It will be a life that becomes written, and returns, since the movement is always reversible like the double face of topological surfaces – and this is a Möbius wall. And if we follow Deleuze's advice, and if we make grass grow between the stones, make what is vegetable grow between what is mineral, the rhizomes will grow in the middle, a link of heterogeneous elements like the citizens of a Europe always to come.

Returning to another criticism that Jacques Rancière formulates regarding Deleuze's text on Bartleby – *how can he [the philosopher] simultaneously reject the structure of the narratives and the subjectivity of the characters and set up his own discourse through the words of these characters* – let us pay attention to these characters. And to what they are. With Deleuze we are dealing with conceptual characters, not with literary subjectivities. They are percepts, in other words, blocks of perceptions, cuts and captures in the continuous flow of aesthetic perception⁸. Since the haecceities are singular but impersonal, they are blocks of affects and concepts, intense fragments of percepts; they are in a constant relation on the plane of immanence which is a wall of loose stones.

Therefore, one could say that it deals with a people to come in this ontonomy of the literary walls of loose stones. Thus, Deleuze's wall is revealed to show what it has that is the most dense: its passages and lines of passage, its links, its ontonomies that are also ontonymies. Proper nouns, singular blocks, which in relation one with each other and one to each other effect a composition of Europeans to come.

⁸ Cf. Deleuze, Gilles, Guattari, Félix (1991): *Qu'est-ce que la Philosophie?*, ed. Minuit, Paris.

They are signs more than signals, whether they be signs of percepts (conceptual characters), moved by heteronomy, or affects (impersonal intensities), moved by autonomy, or concepts (ideas turned into expressions), moved by ontonomy. A whole economy of the signs of becoming are established by means of a univocal attraction of the multiplicities in this wall of loose stones, ruled by the laws of hospitality of a *nomos* with *n* dimensions. Heteronomy, autonomy and ontonomy: the three terms of the economy of the signs of a people to come who are sometimes moved by form, sometimes by the material, sometimes by the composed. But *nomos* is also name, the name of a force, of an individuation and event, as can be read in the writings of Deleuze: Molloy, Charlus, Swan, Bartleby, Achab, Alice and so many other names of conceptual characters in a multitude of ontographic writing, a bio-writing. Let us also speak then with Fernando Pessoa of heteronymy, orthonymy and ontonymy. The multiplicity of all the voices that repeat the difference of one single voice: univocity of the being that is expressed and expresses its differential multiplicity, a wall of loose stones.

Let us imagine them all for a moment: Charlus, Achab, Bartleby, Molloy, K., Alice, Roberte (from Proust, Melville, Beckett, Carroll and Klossowski). They are a whole people. The people of whom Jacques Rancière speaks, paraphrasing Gilles Deleuze, when of them it is said they are to come, a missing people or a people who are coming. To imagine is not the most appropriate term since it does not concern images but rather names of forces. Let us then not imagine a scenario peopled with characters; allow us rather to capture, or let us capture the forces immanent to these events-names, in a collective assemblage on the surface that is the wall of loose stones of literature-life: ontography. It concerns therefore a free thought that moves concepts, since the stones are loose, to find a textual or textuated people, composed of affectual-signs, perceptual-signs and conceptual-signs, all on the same plane, a plane of immanence of literature on thought and of thought on life. This people of ontonymy, ontography and ontonomy is not made of characters with a formed identity but rather they are haecceities, proper nouns, hurricanes; they are inopportune on a bio-writing plane. Life writing, which is auto-biography, hetero-biography and onto-

biography, would thus be the right place or the environment or the art to assemble haecceities for the expressive composition of an inaudible textual life. The voice thus opens up, precisely, through the wall of loose stones, channelling a multiple voice for the univocity of being: a people.

From equivocity to univocity

The whole of life is expressed by lines that are voices lying down. It is never about the narration of a life lived, the recounting of facts that happened in the time of *the* chronological life of a certain subject or author, but rather of *that* life that affirms – through the force and movement of the digital chronicle he writes, inscribes, annotates – that it prolongs itself better in others and is able to constitute an autonomous being who, linked by autonomy, is heteronomous, because modal; univocal, because singularly neutral; immanent because affirmative; a pure difference, a haecceity.

Multiplicity, for heteronymy and heteronomy, univocity for autonymy (or ortonymy) and autonomy, and haecceity for ontonymy and ontonomy. In a final analysis, the voice of ontography for the immanence of the expression of the being that is voice. The force of a strong thought is in the multiplicity of the forces that compose it. When univocity merges into difference, equivocity is one of its modes of expression. Thus, the voice of univocity is equivocal, but it is the equivocal that affirms the unique difference of that voice.

What Jacques Rancière accuses of being a wall where all *Deleuzism* thinking no longer passes is in fact the composition plane of loose stones which create a planomenon, a plateau, a surface that is a plane of immanence and thus delimits the interior from the exterior of the language of individual or collective identity, of a haecceity or a multiplicity, in other words, of a people always to come. This wall is always a topological wall, which can therefore be conceived without cardinal points, tributaries of Euclidean geometry. It is a plane that can be simultaneously vertical and horizontal, an oblique plane of n dimensions, in

which are inscribed the lines of life, the expressive lines of force. It is a pure plane of difference where all communities and peoples can individuate as loose stones without a cemented wall, establishing differential individuation and actualising all the virtuals, all the to-comes in an unstoppable becoming constitutive of an inclusive frontier between the various territorialities. Not the wall where the thought of a certain Deleuzism collides, but rather a plateau that embraces the multiplicities of a people (literary, artistic, philosophical but also social, political, aesthetic) to come and already there.

At the end of his text *Deleuze, Bartleby et la formule*, Rancière formulated an equivocation based on the aporias of the force of a strong thought that, just like his own, is an exercise of articulation of free ideas in a movement of singular thought. Hence, therefore, the force of Deleuzian thought, and not of a [which?] *Deleuzism*: one single voice for all differences – “Being is said in a single and same sense of everything of which it is said, but that of which it is said differs: it is said of difference itself” (Deleuze, 1968, p. 53). Is there a better definition for the idea of a European people? Is it not possible for the Europe of today to think of this wall of loose stones where borders exist only to be crossed?

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Author identification

Luís Lima. PhD in Philosophy – Aesthetics, at FCSH/ New University of Lisbon, under the guidance of José Gil (UNL) and Antoine Compagnon (Paris 4 Sorbonne), as a Fellow of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. He was also a Fellow of the Portuguese FCT in the Master in Communication, Contemporary Culture and New Technologies from the same university. He collaborated as a journalist in several publications and is currently a professor at the Autonomous University of Lisbon and at the Polytechnic Institute of Cávado and Ave, where he teaches Image Theories, Creative Writing and Communication and Digital Storytelling. He also works as a freelance translator in the field of contemporary aesthetics and poetry and is a researcher at the IC.Nova and CEAA

COSMOPOLITANISM, POPULISM, AND DEMOCRACY

Andreas Michel

Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology, Terre Haute, Indiana, USA

Abstract

The topic of my paper is the attack on cosmopolitanism ever since the Great Recession. Since 2008, populist reactions to the ill effects of globalisation have sprung up in many Western countries. Their target is the post-WW II political consensus—at least as far as Europe is concerned—of an 'ever closer union,' a policy based on 20th century history and a new cosmopolitan sensibility. This sensibility is now under attack—Brexit being only the most visible sign—and calls for a new nationalism have returned to both sides of the Atlantic. For a West-German citizen born after the war, such a focus on the nation was out of the question for all the well-known reasons. In this paper I engage with the critics of cosmopolitanism, exploring both populist and liberal objections to it. As a result, I arrive at a more nuanced position that takes stock of the negative effects of globalization. I suggest that the road forward—at least for the foreseeable future—might well be a division of labour between the European nation states and a cosmopolitan sensibility.

Keywords: Cosmopolitanism, European Union, globalisation, nationalism, populism.

I would like to start with a quote from *After Europe*, Ivan Krastev's 2017 meditation on the future of the European Union. Krastev's book is not a swan song to the European Union. Rather, he tries to find an explanation for the rising disenchantment with this institution as felt in many of its member states. In the process, he submits the following bifurcated observation on cosmopolitanism, which I will use to set the stage for my reflections on the challenge that today's populist movements pose to my own cosmopolitan beliefs. The bifurcation alludes to the different ways Western and Central Europeans conceive of transnational, or cosmopolitan, ideas. Krastev suggests that:

the German drive for cosmopolitanism was [...] a way to escape the xenophobic legacy of Nazism, while it could be argued that Central Europe's anti-cosmopolitanism is partially rooted in an aversion to a communist imposed internationalism [...] (In Western Europe, 1968 symbolizes the endorsement of cosmopolitan values, while in the East it stands for the rebirth of national sentiments). (Krastev, 2017, p. 57)

What I find so instructive about this statement is that the move towards internationalism or cosmopolitanism—is either welcomed or rejected on the basis of a nation's history. Not only do these diametrically opposed reactions to a post-national Europe help explain the gap in the European handling of refugees in Western and Central Europe (Merkel: thumbs up; Orban: thumbs down); they point, in addition, to the cultural and political roots for these divergent policies. Krastev's remark thus provides a first indication that the populist challenge to cosmopolitanism needs to be taken seriously rather than to be rejected out of hand as undemocratic intervention. In what follows I will pass in review recent challenges to the view that cosmopolitanism represents the arrow of history. I will use the term cosmopolitanism in the way Krastev understands it: namely, as the underlying drive of a European post-World War II vision to build a united Europe, an 'ever closer union,' in which, ideally, and eventually, national sovereignty gets dissolved in European sovereignty.

In no country, perhaps, was this drive for a European unification stronger than in West Germany. The burden of the Nazi crimes committed in the name and with the support of the German people, prohibited, after 1945, a patriotic focus on the nation. In the West Germany I grew up in, not all, to be sure, but a large majority of politicians and citizens rejected expressions of nationalist sentiment in any shape or form. In its stead, they espoused a European cosmopolitanism or, at the very least, multilateralism. Led by the vision of a united Europe that would see no more wars, cosmopolitan-minded Germans, even after the fall of the Wall, were Europeans long before they received European passports. Looking back from today's vantage, the decision in favor of cosmopolitanism as a bulwark against nationalism was a very successful undertaking.

What we are learning the hard way today, however, is that, along with nationalism, cosmopolitans rejected the nation state in general. Not in reality, of course, but potentially. For, as is quite plain to see, not only do the European nation states still exist but they also wield political power commensurate with their economic strength. In other words, nation states continue to exist alongside the cosmopolitan project of the European Union. Yet, in theory, the goal of a truly cosmopolitan vision is to step by step merge these nation states into one sovereign European state—whose citizens would eventually agree with Emmanuel Macron’s exclamation “Brussels is us”—made during his *Initiative for Europe* speech at the Sorbonne in September 2017. Today’s populist movements, however, most ardently the supporters of Brexit, are opposed precisely to this endgame of cosmopolitanism.

As a German, born in 1955, it was “natural” to be a defender of cosmopolitanism and of European integration. But given the recent populist attacks on cosmopolitan elites as well as the claim of a democratic deficit in the governance of the EU, I feel the need to re-examine my own premises. In a first step, I will pass in review the *political* objections that recent populist movements have leveled against Europe’s cosmopolitan aspirations. In a second step, I will interrogate the *theoretical* arguments leveled against cosmopolitan democracy even by some defenders of cosmopolitanism. I will then suggest that a re-conceptualized cosmopolitanism is nevertheless indispensable for European integration and a peaceful world.

I. The Populist Challenge

Populism itself is not an ideology, if by ideology we mean to designate a particular set of beliefs as they are for example enshrined in religious doctrines or party platforms. Populists, rather, in the words of Ernesto Laclau, ‘construct a political frontier dividing society into two camps and calling for the mobilization of the “underdog” against “those in power”’ (quoted in Mouffe, 2018, pp. 10-11). Populists therefore display an ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ mentality, with ‘us’ being the people, while ‘them’ refers to a perceived elite. This formalist conception of

populism does not exclude that, at any particular point in history, a populist revolt has a precise political content, purpose, or agenda when it erupts. All we need to do is look to Brexit for confirmation. But because the populist moment has no core set of beliefs, is not attached to any party platform, the revolt of the underdogs or 'left-behinds' (Goodhart, 2017) is more easily co-opted, even high-jacked, by demagogues who fill the populist outrage with anti-liberal and anti-democratic content.

In the recent literature on populism, if we zoom out far enough, we can discern two schools of thought when it comes to the legitimacy of populism as a democratic tool. For some, populism is seen as a political means to protest an elite's neglect of their vital interests: Goodhart (2017), Judis (2016), Koppetsch (2019), Manow (2018), and Mouffe (2019) are in this camp. For others, however, populism poses a direct danger to liberal democracy because of its anti-pluralist stance: see Galston (2018), Krastev (2017), Mudde (2017), and Müller (2016).

For the first group, populism emerges as a legitimate political reaction to real existing inequalities that are not on the radar of ruling elites. Populism here represents the pressure from below without which important changes to the political landscape will never happen. It is therefore seen as a democratic counter weight. If handled without giving in to authoritarian, nationalist, or nativist seduction, such a form of democratic populism could even be helpful in stabilizing the political system. The field of those who see populism as a legitimate activity includes defenders of national populism (Eatwell and Goodwin, 2019) as well as leftist populism (Mouffe, 2018). Both camps see populist interventions as the honest expression of a disadvantaged section of the population voicing legitimate complaints against an elite, while staying within the bounds of liberal democracy.

The second school of thought considers populism an undemocratic, and therefore illegitimate, tool of political change—in spite of the fact that its representatives also recognize the validity of the populist complaints against the elites. However, they consider the populists' political demands as but a smokescreen. For them,

populist rhetoric is anti-pluralist in orientation and the real danger comes to light once populists are in power (as in Central European countries today), for then they start to erode liberal institutions. This is because populists assume their voice is the authentic voice of the people, which makes all other political positions not just different but inauthentic. Their authenticity, they argue, gives them the right to curtail or abolish fundamental institutions of liberal democracy, such as the state of law (*Rechtsstaat*), the division of powers, and the freedom of the press. In the words of Ivan Krastev:

What characterizes populists in power are their constant attempts to dismantle the system of checks and balances and to bring independent institutions like courts, central banks, media outlets, and civil society organizations under their control.

Populists and radical parties aren't just parties; they are constitutional movements. They promise voters what liberal democracy cannot: a sense of victory where majorities—not just political majorities, but ethnic and religious ones, too—can do what they please.

The rise of these parties is symptomatic of the explosion of threatened majorities as a force in European politics. They blame the loss of control over their lives, real or imagined, on a conspiracy between cosmopolitan-minded elites and tribal-minded immigrants. They blame liberal ideas and institutions for weakening the national will and eroding national unity. They tend to see compromise as corruption and zealotry as conviction. (Krastev, 2017, pp. 75-6)

Thus, while both schools of thought agree that the populist revolt stems from opposition to elites, it is the second for whom the true nature of populism surfaces in the anti-democratic slippage that occurs when legitimate complaints of a loss in political solidarity take the form of anti-liberal, authoritarian politics. For the danger is that, for the loss of solidarity to be regained, populists often make use of ethnic or religious nationalism.

Thus, while populism of the first kind looks to establish *political* solidarity in democratic fashion, the second—potentially—conceives solidarity on the pre-political level of the nation as ethnic or religious community where, at least potentially, non-national others may be persecuted. John B. Judis (2016) refers to the first kind of populism as dyadic (people/elite) and to the second as a triadic (people/elite/other to blame]. This debate about the true nature of populism is in full swing and both sides have serious arguments on their side.

What is interesting for my purposes is that, in both cases, whether as animus against the reigning elite or as threat to the institutions of pluralist democracy, cosmopolitanism finds itself in populism's line of fire. This is so because cosmopolitans are seen as lacking, even as challenging the kind of solidarity populists want to reclaim.

II. Cosmopolitanism, Globalization, and the Problem of Solidarity

In order to see if this assessment of cosmopolitanism is justified, we need to dig deeper. Since the mid-1990s, a great number of books and essay collections on cosmopolitanism have appeared, among them Archibugi (2003), Brock and Brighouse (2005), Brown and Held (2010), Breckenridge (2002), Cheah and Robbins (1998), Robbins and Lemon Horta (2017), and Vertovec and Cohen (2002). These different collections interrogate cosmopolitanism from all points of view: systematic, historical, philosophical, ethical, political, sociological, and Eurocentric.

One of the reasons for this busy publishing activity is the challenge to which the idea of cosmopolitanism has been put in the wake of what Dani Rodrik (2019) has called hyper-globalization—an economic trend which itself is the result of drastically changed political circumstances since the early 1990s. After the fall of communism, the economic and political alternatives to Western-style liberalism and capitalism seemed exhausted. Some even suggested that History, understood as the sequence of economic and political formations, had come to an end. Buoyed by this sentiment, laissez-faire capitalism and neoliberalism

underwrote the liberalization of world markets including the free flow of people, products, and capital across international borders.

As it turns out, hyper-globalization while it contributed to economic growth during the last 25 years, has also brought about immense inequalities. The reason for the failure of hyper-globalization, as Rodrik sees it, is two-fold: a first failure consists in the fact that since trade will produce comparative advantages for some and disadvantages for others, the international community should have taken care of the losers of the liberalization of markets. That did not happen. Rather, a broad section of the middle classes in the US and Europe were left behind; blaming the elites for their fate, they have lost all trust in the system. A second failure of hyper-globalization is to be seen in the fact that multi-national companies and international organization were allowed to dictate rules and regulations across international borders that clashed with deeply held values about regulatory diversity or national autonomy. For Rodrik, the trouble started when hyper-globalization, rather than serving the broad economic interests of the world community, came to be seen as an end in itself.

The flow of people across borders—this is where cosmopolitanism comes in. For the globalization of trade included the rise of a new class of professionals and technocrats without national roots, whose values, interests, connections, and identification are not with their immediate environment, but rather with “rootless” people like themselves, be they in faraway places or in the neighborhood. David Goodhart (2017) who researched this phenomenon in the case of Brexit, labeled this new class the Anywheres. What unites them is that their values and identifications are not rooted in the nation. On the contrary, they pride themselves on having a broader view because they are no longer attached to a national community. They are the new cosmopolitans, the winners of globalization, who are affluent, able to move to a different place when times get hard. The Somewheres on the other hand, are the locals, those who cannot and do not want to leave their local attachments. Many of them have been losers of globalization who feel that their livelihood, their traditions, their country, and their nation is in danger of being transformed by policies and ideologies designed by a far-off European Union for the benefit of the rootless Anywheres. In

Goodhart's view this is the reason why the Somewheres voted to leave the European Union. Thus, the effects of globalization are here identified as the culprit that fueled the populist explosion leading to a nationalist backlash in England as well as in other liberal democracies.

This is the first point I concede to the populist challenge. I find it hard not to agree with this critique of an economic cosmopolitanism that as a result of hyper-globalization has led to economic hardship for those who cannot compete with the new cosmopolitan realities. I am convinced that globalization contributed to this state of affairs, and the lack of national and EU attention to the fate of certain segments of British society has led to a loss of a sense of solidarity that gets expressed in populist anger.

Yet the critique of cosmopolitanism does not only come from the populists. A similar critique of cosmopolitan democracy comes from the discipline of political sociology that, on a more theoretical level, shares some of populism's principal complaints. I am thinking in particular of the work of Craig Calhoun. As it turns out, the crux here, as in populism is the notion of solidarity.

III. Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and the Nation State

"Nationalism is not a moral mistake" (Calhoun, 2007, p. 1). This first sentence of Craig Calhoun's collection of essays published in 2007 under the title *Nations Matter* really hit me when I first read it. It hit me because—as a proponent of cosmopolitanism—this is precisely how I thought about nationalism—as a moral mistake. Since this is the first sentence of the book, I assume I was not the only one to think so.

The sentence is worth repeating along with the paragraph that follows:

Nationalism is not a moral mistake. Certainly it is too often implicated in atrocities, and in more banal but still unjust prejudices and discriminatory practices. It too often makes people think arbitrary boundaries are natural and contemporary global divisions ancient and inevitable. But it is also a

form of social solidarity and one of the background conditions on which modern democracy has been based. It has helped secure domestic inclusion and redistributive policies even while it has inhibited cosmopolitan attention to the needs of non-nationals. Nationalism helps locate an experience of belonging in a world of global flows and fears. Sometimes it underwrites struggle against the fantastically unequal and exploitative terms on which global integration is being achieved.

We should approach nationalism with critical attention to its limits, illusions, and potential for abuse, but we should not dismiss it. Even where we are deeply critical of the nationalism we see, we should recognize the continued importance of national solidarities. Even if we wish for a more cosmopolitan world order, we should be realistic enough not to act on mere wishes. (Calhoun, 2017, p. 1)

After much soul searching, and in spite of my personal convictions, I tend to agree with Calhoun that abstract cosmopolitanism, as in the case of my “natural” support for the EU, has a hard time providing a sense of belonging as long as national populations in its member states do not feel that their interests are represented. As long as that is the case, they will—rightly—fall back on the national solidarities they are used to and feel supported by.

I am also in agreement with Calhoun's point that national solidarities are providing the background conditions for liberal democracy to function. His main point is that, historically speaking, democracy does best when it is linked to a nation state that provides the framework for the growth of social solidarity as well as a sense of belonging. Through shared tradition, religion, and culture, the nation guarantees and fosters meaningful identifications. Here laws are created and enacted, policies are made, and the balance between the free market and the welfare state is worked out. As John B. Judis remarks in *The Nationalist Revival*: ‘Democracy needs a “We.”’ People make sacrifices (e.g., pay taxes, go to war) only if they identify with the community that demands them. That is to say, people act this way only if they feel they have a voice in the community; hence the link between democracy and nationalism.

These are two additional points I concede to the critics of cosmopolitan democracy and actually existing cosmopolitanism. Yet, despite my general agreement with Calhoun's remarks, I feel uneasy when it comes to his broad support for nationalism. For me to agree more wholeheartedly with him, nationalism has to be qualified as liberal and distinguished from illiberal nationalism. I therefore much prefer to speak of allegiance to the *nation state* rather than of nationalism. For not all nationalisms are the same, and it makes a huge difference whether or not the nation state is defended on the basis of liberal ideals or on a brand of ethnic, nativist, or otherwise exclusionary forms of nationalism. To me, it makes all the difference on what the sense of belonging is based.

It is for this reason that I am following Harvard historian and New Yorker staff writer Jill Lepore, rather than Calhoun, when it comes to a sense of national belonging. In 2019, in a series of shorter pieces on the nature of American nationalism in *Foreign Affairs*, the *New York Times*, and a small book entitled *This America: The Case for the Nation*, Lepore (2019 a,b,c,) puts forward an interpretation of American nationalism that entertains a close relationship to a liberal sense of belonging. In these texts, she reminds her readers that the first nationalists in the US called themselves federalists, that is to say, their nationalism found expression in the political confederation of states that led to the writing of a constitution. US national sentiment therefore co-originate with the founding of the state. Because the political union, the state, is at the basis of American nationalism, Lepore calls the United States a state-nation rather than a nation-state.

What this means in the context of my argument here is that the sense of belonging to this new nation was based on a liberal creed rather than a pre-political national sentiment. (John B. Judis [2018], by the way, holds the opposite view, namely, that American nationalism stems from the ethno-religious community of Anglo-American Protestantism.) In order to counter the resurgence of illiberal versions of American nationalism today, Lepore exhorts her fellow historians to retell the history of American nationalism as the contest

between liberal and illiberal forces and to side with the liberal national sentiment as it was articulated by Frederick Douglass and W.E. B. Du Bois, among others.

What Lepore describes as American nationalism here, post-WWII German thinkers labeled constitutional patriotism—an allegiance to a liberal creed with cosmopolitan dimensions. The hope was that the European Union could be founded on such a creed as well, turning into what Lepore calls a “state-nation,” and that the idea of constitutional patriotism could function as a blueprint for European cosmopolitan democracy. But as we know the proposed European constitution was not ratified by all member states and was subsequently transformed into the Lisbon Treaty—dealing a crushing blow to the hopes for a cosmopolitan democracy. Furthermore, today’s populisms, as shown above, allege an essential disconnect between cosmopolitanism and democracy. Some of this development is to blame on the confusion that because of its underlying universalism (love of humanity rather than nation) cosmopolitans see their ideals as superior to national sentiments and can therefore introduce their ideas by fiat. But as Calhoun rightly states with respect to actually existing cosmopolitanism: ‘cosmopolitanism is not universalism; it is easiest for those who belong to a social class able to identify itself with the universal’ (Calhoun 2012, pp. 106-07). The mistake of real existing cosmopolitanism was to assume that it represents a superior loyalty rather than a different one.

Real existing cosmopolitanism merely targets a larger, transnational, audience as opposed to a local, regional, or traditional one, and the solidarities it offers are largely based on interactional and rational, rather than cultural, ethnic, or religious grounds. My personal preferences lie with this ‘larger loyalty’ (Rorty, 1998) offered by cosmopolitanism. I feel closer to people who have moved beyond their local communities and inherited cultures, who embrace a broader outlook. But I have learned that cosmopolitan democracy is a particular political stance, not a superior one, and like any other political position, in order to become implemented, it needs to find a majority.

And it is here that, for example, EU cosmopolitanism runs into trouble with its democratic deficit. Unless and until the EU convinces the populations of its

member states of the benefits of an ever-closer union, cosmopolitan democracy will not be attractive. Because of the democratic deficit, the question has resurfaced as to whether or not the long-term cosmopolitan goal of the overcoming of nation states is the best way to go. Calhoun and most of the critics assessing the rise of populism maintain that for theoretical and practical reasons it would be a mistake to try to overcome the nation state and national attachments at this point in history.

Having passed the arguments against cosmopolitan democracy in review, I conclude by agreeing with Calhoun when he says: 'Cosmopolitanism – like NGOs and civil society—makes much more sense as a complement to states, and sometimes a corrective to state politics, than as an alternative to them' (Calhoun 2012, p. 117). I am therefore, at least for now, left with cosmopolitanism as corrective. What precise form this is to take, remains to be explored at another time.

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Author identification

Andreas Michel. *Is professor of German Studies at Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology, Terre Haute, Indiana, USA. He has published a wide range of essays on the intersection of critical theory, literature, and political philosophy. He served as president of the Carl Einstein Society/Société Carl Einstein and of the Humanities and Technology Association. He is co-editor (with Michael Baumgartner and Reto Sorg) of Historiografie der Moderne: Carl Einstein, Paul Klee, Robert Walser und die wechselseitige Erhellung der Künste (2016) and (with Darrell Arnold) of Critical Theory and the Thought of Andrew Feenberg (2017)*

FROM PERIPHERAL TO COSMOPOLITAN

The Crisis-Images in Miguel Gomes ARABIAN NIGHTS

Luis Miranda

Assistant Lecturer (invited), Escola Superior Artística do Porto/Porto's Higher School of Arts, Porto, Portugal

Abstract

*The ever-elusive essence and idea of Europe are once again questioned and debated because of its most recent crisis, which began with the sovereign debt crisis of the peripheral Eurozone economies. This article intends to be a reflection on what it is to be part of Europe as subpart/division/peripheral border of it, developing it around two levels of analysis: firstly, the artistic response to the events and social disruptions that took place on the European crisis and, in particular, through the way some cinema has looked at them; and secondly, one in which this cinematographic artistic response is created from the European periphery, and in this singular case, Portugal. Its object of analysis is the film *The 1001 Nights*, by the Portuguese filmmaker Miguel Gomes and divided into 3 volumes: *The Restless One* (2015), *The Desolate One* (2015) and *The Enchanted One* (2015).*

Keywords: Europe, Portugal, crisis, artistic response, cinema

Part 1 - Doubt of Europe. Portugal: part-crisis of Europe-crisis

Between the closure and the opening, and since 2010, nine years-crisis have passed and nine years-crisis have been made, of a decade that has stood as the mobile transfiguration of the doubt about what Europe is as a figure of itself, transnational form and idea of a land, a set of nation-states and a multiplicity of peoples, citizenships and identifications. In his book *Penser l' Europe/Thinking Europe*, Edgar Morin wrote about this doubt of *the being Europe*, not forgetting to make explicit the dualities that shape it, since if we seek the essence of Europe, we will find nothing more than an evanescent and aseptic "european spirit". Believing to unveil its authentic attribute is to hide an opposite attribute,

not less European. Thus, if Europe is the law, then it is also the force; if it is spirituality, it is also materiality; if it is moderation, it is also *hubris*, the excess; if it is reason is also the myth, included in the idea of reason. Europe is an uncertain notion, born of the mess, with indefinite boundaries, of variable geometry, suffering slips, ruptures, metamorphoses. It is therefore a matter of questioning the idea of Europe precisely in what it has to be uncertain, hazy, contradictory, in order to try to extract its complex identity. (Morin, 1988, p.33) A binary balance and an apparent fragile equilibrium between impossibility and possibility of defining an *essence* and of it an *idea* of Europe are also underlined by Peter Sloterdijk in his *If Europe Awakes*, when he states that, in spite of everything,

the question of the essence of Europe is not mysterious or unanswerable. The answer will jump in sight, as soon as we stop worrying about sterile questions about Europe's true frontiers and ethnic entities. There is no doubt that Europe has neither a substantial popular base, nor strong borders to the east and the southeast, nor an unequivocal religious identity. But it has a typical "form" and a very own dramatic motif that, for most of its history, is imposed through unmistakable scenes. It suffices to adopt the optics of a playwright in order to discern clearly the broad lines of the European play. The question should not be: who, according to what criteria and traditions, belongs to a "true Europe"?... but: what scenes do the Europeans play in their decisive historical moments? What are the ideas that animate them, the illusions that mobilize them? How has Europe achieved its driving history and by what means does it keep moving? Where does Europe's power and unity run the risk of failing? (Sloterdijk, 2008, p. 34)

and, even more historicizing, he lists a major group of historical figures who acted in the *European drama* to which he refers, writing that

if to be European means to present in the theater of the improvisation of history post-Roman imperial entities, the generation to come will have to return to show how it behaves like the Empire. Even the last translation of

this impossible-to-reproduce Empire will necessarily be a chapter of the sinuous and extremely charged history inaugurated five thousand years ago by the transmitters of the Empire of the Old Europe: the early Roman bishops, the Carolingians, the Ottomans and, following these, the Hohenstaufens, the Habsburgs in their Austrian and Spanish lineages, as well as the missionary orders, the adventurous capitalists and other British human flesh merchants, the Bourbons and the Tzars, as well as the charismatic emperors and usurpers of modernity, Napoleon I, William II, Lenin and Hitler. (Sloterdijk, 2008, p.47)

To question Europe today, not only its word-name, but also its identity idea, is to recall, as a possible reflective starting point, Jacques Derrida's *Letter to Europe - Double Memory*, one in which he addressed himself to her as the "*old Europe*", but also as the "*old new Europe*", guardian of its double memory, "*the good and the bad*" (Derrida, RFC, 2014, p. 471) This (and his) New Europe, Derrida wrote, would be one that

guards its luminous memory: the philosophical, the democracy, the Lights, and even what is called, in a very dubious way, the "secularization". May she also keep her nightly memory, the memory of all the crimes she committed in her history, which were committed in her name, all these forms of hegemony, of colonialism, and in the course of this century all the monstrosities of European totalitarianism: fascism, nazism, stalinism. (Derrida, RFC, 2014, p.471)

Such a dual memory, positive and negative simultaneously, knowing and acting, would be and will be a matrix of questioning of what Europe is as space-identity and a social, economic, philosophical and political space-structure. And there will not have been a clearer moment for this questioning than the one that emerged in the course of the European sovereign debt crisis, a crisis that can be read and debated from the radical political-sociological matrix with which Maurizio Lazzarato criticizes the debtor/creditor relationship in his blunt *The Making of the Indebted Man: An Essay on The Neoliberal Condition*, and in which he states that

the debt economy has deprived the immense majority of Europeans of political power, which had already been diminished through the concessions of representative democracy. It has deprived them of a growing share of the wealth that past struggles had wrestled from capitalist accumulation. And, above all, it has deprived them of the future, that is, of time, time as decision-making, choice, and possibility. (Lazzarato, 2011, p.8)

and which brought with it the phantasmatic specters of nationalist deviations and a re-centering - which is at the same time a real decentering - to its "political-financial" central field, leaving even more peripheral those already on its sides, not only lines and but also land and citizens, economically fragile and disconnected from decisions that are more of the interest of the nations of European centrality than the almost continental whole that is called the European Union, since, for this center, what seems to be obvious is that *"the true causes of the repeated crises lie in the excessive demands of the governed (especially those of Southern Europe), who want nothing more than to laze about"* (Lazzarato, 2011, p.10) when, and more than ever, what seems to be reflected is its own mirror-face, that of a

neoliberal power bloc cannot and does not want to "regulate" the "excesses" of finance because its political program continues to be based on the choices and decisions that brought us the latest crisis. Instead, with its threat of sovereign debt default, it seeks to follow through on a program it has been fantasizing about since the 1970s: reduce wages to a minimum, cut social services so that the Welfare State is made to serve its new "beneficiaries" - business and the rich - and privatize everything. (Lazzarato, 2011, p.10)

Starting from these premises, this article intends to be a reflection on what it is to be a subpart of Europe as part/division/peripheral border of it, developing it around two levels of analysis: first, the artistic response to events and social disruptions that have resulted from the European crisis, and particularly from the way some cinema has looked at them; and secondly, one in which this

cinematographic artistic response is created from the European periphery, and in this singular case, Portugal.

Part 2 - Film analysis (search for crisis-images)

Thus, and for an artistic reflection on the crisis years of Europe and its part Portugal, the object of analysis chosen is the film *The 1001 Nights*¹, by the Portuguese filmmaker Miguel Gomes and divided into 3 volumes: *O Inquieto/The Restless One*² (2015), *O Desolado/The Desolate One*³ (2015) and *O Encantado/The Enchanted One*⁴ (2015). Ambitious, raw, delirious, social, the

¹ The film is a European co-production (Portugal / France / Germany / Switzerland), encompassing the producing companies O SOM E A FÚRIA, SHELLAC SUD, BOX PRODUCTIONS, AGAT FILMS and ARTE France Cinéma and ZDF/ARTE, with a production year of 2015. Its general synopsis is: "In Portugal — a European country in crisis — a film director proposes to build fictional stories from the miserable reality he is immersed in. However, failing to find meaning in his work, he cowardly runs away and leaves the beautiful Scheherazade to stand in his shoes. She will require enthusiasm and courage so as not to bore the King with sad stories of this country. As nights go past, restlessness leads to desolation and in turn to enchantment! Therefore Scheherazade organizes the stories she tells the King in three volumes. She begins like this: "It hath reached me, O auspicious King, that in a sad country among all countries..."

² The synopsis of the first volume is as follows: "in which Scheherazade tells of the restlessness that befell the country: "It hath reached me, O auspicious King, that in a sad country among all countries, where people dream of mermaids and whales, and unemployment is spreading. In certain places, forests burn into the night despite the falling rain; men and women long to set out to sea in the middle of Winter. Sometimes there are animals that talk although it is highly improbable that they are listened to. In this country, where things are not what they appear to be, men of power promenade on camels and hide permanent and shameful erections; they await the moment when taxes are collected so they can pay a certain wizard whom..." And seeing the morning break, Scheherazade fell silent." As it regards its technical specifications, the first volume has the following: Duration: 02' 05"; Exhibition format: DCP (Digital Cinema Package); Cinematographic format: 2:40 scope; Negative format: 16 mm, 35 mm, color; Sound: 5.1.

³ The synopsis of the second volume is as follows: "in which Scheherazade tells of how desolation invaded men: "It hath reached me, O auspicious King, that a distressed judge will cry instead of giving out her sentence on a night when all three moons are aligned. A runaway murderer will wander through the land for over forty days and will teletransport himself to escape the Police while dreaming of prostitutes and partridges. A wounded cow will reminisce about a thousand-year-old olive tree while saying what she must say, which will sound none less than sad! The residents of a tower block in the suburbs will save parrots and piss inside lifts while surrounded by dead people and ghosts; including in fact a dog that..." And seeing the morning break, Scheherazade fell silent. — "Damned tales! If things continue this way my daughter will surely end up with her throat slit!" — the Grand-Vizier, Scheherazade's father, thinks in his palace in Bagdad." As it regards its technical specifications, the second volume has the following: Duration: 02' 11"; Exhibition format: DCP (Digital Cinema Package); Cinematographic format: 2:40 scope; Negative format: 16 mm, 35 mm, color; Sound: 5.1.

⁴ The synopsis of the third volume is as follows: "In which Scheherazade doubts that she will still be able to tell stories to please the King, given that what she has to tell weighs three thousand tons. She therefore escapes from the palace and travels the kingdom in search of pleasure and enchantment. Her father, the Grand-Vizier, arranges to meet her at the Ferris wheel and Scheherazade resumes her narration: "O auspicious King, in old shanty towns of Lisbon there was a community of bewitched men who, with all dedication and passion, devoted themselves to teaching birds to sing.... And seeing the morning break, Scheherazade fell silent." As it regards its

film can be included in a contemporary trend of a very poignant European cinema

of the crisis [that] has produced an increasing number of films that share symbols, narrative strategies, and concerns, enriching post-2008 European cinema and contributing to the creation of a new image of Europe. A large number of recent productions are concerned with social issues (...) these films exert a veridical, pessimistic and disenchanting representation of contemporary European society; one that addresses social and political problems by representing a reality that is widely recognized as authentic on screen. (Kaklamanidou, Corbalán, 2018, p. 17 – 18)

What makes this film-trilogy particularly apt to illustrate the Portuguese crisis as part of the European crisis is the politics that its director Miguel Gomes follows. His politics is the translation of the figure-Portugal as a body of the periphery - economically, Portugal is a peripheral market in the ultra-financial market, it is sub-market in a concentric circle of a distant level - for a new embodiment as an artistic effort of approximation and as creator of a global mental and cultural sphere, since "*living always means building spheres, both on a small and a large scale, humans are the beings that establish globes and look out into horizons*" (Sloterdijk, 2011, p.28) and in which the fictional modes of the Other - of the East, the *1001 Arabian Nights* - are re-embodied in trans-relational modes of fiction, speaking of the Us, decentering of Europe-Space - while making use of the fabular structures of the Space-Orient. In the synopsis/note of intentions of the film, Miguel Gomes writes that

the narrative device in the storybook *The Thousand and One Arabian Nights* is relatively well-known and we count on being part of the popular collective imagination to focus mainly on the stories that Xerazade tells. And these will be different from those we know in the book. (Gomes, 2013, p. 1)

technical specifications, the third volume has the following: Duration: 02' 05"; Exhibition format: DCP (Digital Cinema Package); Cinematographic format: 2:40 scope; Negative format: 16 mm, 35 mm, video, color; Sound: 5.1.

The mention to the collective popular imagination is fundamental to Miguel Gomes' politics: there are no sharply divisive frontiers that cannot be overcome by stories that are common property and through which it is possible to operate spaces of creation that cluster together, allowing the exchange of forms and modes of fiction. That is why Miguel Gomes continues to write that

in the film, the stories that Xerazade tells will be spent in Portugal. Not in a contemporary Portugal to the tales of the book, but in Portugal today, in economic crisis and social boiling. The Portugal of 2013 and 2014, inhabited by rich and poor, powerful and insignificant, hardworking and unemployed, thieves and honest men. Marked by the consequences of the crisis, but also a delirious and excessive Portugal. What is wanted with this film is to do two things simultaneously: 1) to retake the deliriously fictional spirit of *The Thousand and One Nights* and above all to reaffirm with him and through him the bond that unites the king and Xerazade (the overwhelming need to tell stories), and (2) to draw a portrait or a chronicle of Portugal for a year (at a time when the country is subject to the effects of the "austerity" created by the Troika's financial assistance program). Fiction and social portraiture, flying carpets and strikes. Apparently dimensions that are not attached or at least that we get used to stow in different drawers. But imagery and reality could never live without the other (and Xerazade well knows). (Gomes, 2013, p.1)

To analyze the three volumes of the trilogy and to talk about the Portuguese crisis as part of the European crisis through them, is to look for some reflection of the human and socio-economic ills that affect Europe today: the excessive commodification of economic, social and labor relations, the disparity of income between the most and least well-off, the crisis of human values and the poor integration of migrants from other continents.

To this end, two sequences will be chosen from the three volumes that illustrate some of these problems - in the form of crisis-narratives and crisis-images - and those will be analyzed.

Analysis 1: from *The 1001 Nights, Volume 1 - The Restless One*, the sequence *The Bath of the Magnificent*. Between fiction and documentary, this sequence makes it liquid - it is not by chance that the sea and water are in it visual motifs - the most humane and personal face of the crisis, bringing the camera closer to the people who suffered from the economic and social shock caused by the Troika's financial assistance program.

The line that Miguel Gomes traverses, without any sorrow, between fiction and documentary, affirms a politics of reflection-mirror, intrinsic to a certain contemporary auteur cinema, one that configures a look, both graceful and crude, on its fictional forms/figures and that refers to a need to be piercing and displayer: the characters are that same characters, but also are the people who enter the movie as character-figures, but that quickly reconfigure themselves as characters-people, from the fictional form they pass to the real form and through it create a new figure-speech, the speech-crisis, which intrudes and weaves its own real fable on to the fictional film.

The fiction follows the vicissitudes of a syndicalist named Luís (Adriano Luz), a nervous man, explosive and suffering from tachycardia's, divided between the first need to calm his own heart rate - and his own imaginary, made of whale interiors - and a second one, to finance the feeding of the annual "Bath of the Magnificent", the first collective marine bath that takes place every January 1st. He is a sea-and-sand man, a thick sweater user with a wind-beaten face, a classist and vocalizer of all class struggles, but he is also taken by his apparent inability to pierce his own melancholy. The woes of others afflict him. He is the figure who guides us through the fiction and it is he who opens the door to the figures of the real, literally.

These persons, whom the film calls "Magnificent", knock on the door of the union headquarters. Luis opens it. To the first, he offers tea. He drinks it. Presents himself: "commercial director of profession, unemployed by condition". Soon one cuts from the character/actor to another regime of images, no more image-fable, but image-speech. He tells of his real story: the loss of employment in the

company that he helped to grow, the loss of savings due to the need to solve a loan he has endorsed, the delivery of the house to the bank and the return to the land of his parents, the difficulty in finding employment at the age of 50 years. As he speaks, the camera moves on from a long shot to an medium close shot, raw and clinical, wanting to show and approach the anguish, as real and clear as the record she films. Later, two more speeches of "Magnificent" she registers: that of a couple, also unemployed, forced to food assistance, to training courses, but certain of their mutual love and spaces of conjunction. And still another unemployed person of some duration, of broken health, but convinced of the necessity and truth of the realization of the human being through work.

The three discourses are three tracking shots, are shots and images-duration of words that are pungency and force. While filmic inlays of real stories, they shape this other need, that of leaving alive the memory of the suffering, of those who have lost what they had, all those who are beyond economic-financial calculations. This was the filmic and aesthetic politics of Miguel Gomes, in this sequence: to make it fluid and clear, because it is there, in what is said, the truth of what happened, the crisis that took everything away. There is, however, something profoundly positive and human about these discourses. Belief in something better.

When one arrives at the real "Bath of the Magnificent" and in it the actors are involved, no longer representing, but being between, the sound disappears, only the water and the bodies are left, looking and gesticulating towards the camera, breaking the line between the fiction and the documentary, showing more than just letting us see only a film.

Analysis Two: From *The 1001 Nights, Volume 2 - The Desolate One*, the sequence *The Owners of Dixie*. If the previously analyzed sequence referred to a hope, despite all its crudeness, these one already has a twilight imagery. Here, the figure that drives the connections and reconnections between the various characters is that of a small dog, named Dixie, who, throughout the sequence, moves from owner, from floor to floor, from tower to tower, in a Lisbon's

suburban neighborhood.

Once again, we have what we do not see: depression, melancholy, oblivion of a suburbanity to the top, shaped in the figure of the "Suburban Tower", high and divisive, made of cubes, parallelepipeds and other geometric solids that fit in order to separate and draw labyrinths, to enumerate and to name families by the number-letter of their respective apartments.

If the translation to the suburban is a phenomenon of economic migration and the form of a daily trek of wage-earners to the work-center and from this to the dormitory-spaces, made up of tiredness and repetitive alienation, it is not about them that this sequence speaks, but rather on those that are already permanently installed, crystallized and forgotten in the suburban tower. The forgotten suburban dwellers that these sequence follows are: an elderly couple, Humberto and Luísa, retired, sick and longing for older times and a young couple, Vasco and Vânia, former drug addicts and with very few means of subsistence. Through Dixie's races, they get to know each other and their lives are linked.

If clearly we still speak of crisis-images, made of low retirement pensions and total lack of income, the images that make this segment are images-melancholy, they are void lost gazes, repeated rituals, fumes, vapors, corridor curves, balconies too high. If Humberto hears the songs that are no longer heard, which had an "echo" placed in their voices and, therefore, so emotionally charged, he refers to the emptiness of making these other songs and albums, more current, now so digital and cold and no longer warm like his. The age gap and the disconnection of the generations are marked and creased in consumer products: the older ones advocate certain modes of manufacturing and reception and the young ones others. Humberto's vinyl will never be a teenager's digital file. Differentiation that equates to separation and this to oblivion.

In the end, Humberto and Luísa decide for the total oblivion. They kill each other. Before that, they offer Dixie to Vasco and Vânia. And the little canid - perhaps the only cheerful character in the segment - so soon loves his new owners as he forgets the old ones. Forgetfulness upon forgetfulness. The pact of

suicide, not said, but alluded, is perceived by the young couple. Despite their warnings, only 16 days after their death, the bodies of Humberto and Luísa are found. They were forgotten, in their geometric figure called apartment, the box inside the tower. Dixie ends up migrating to other owners. Runner, panting and happy, the positive denial of suburban negativity.

Conclusion

From the analysis of the two sequences, which sought to find some of the crisis-images, which are revealing of the real crisis-narratives, both the most apparently social and the most clearly personal, what can be left to a reflection is: first, the need for artistic responses that capture the meaning and the perceptions of the times, what Miguel Gomes seems to achieve, in his merging of the fantastic imaginary, of fiction and documentary; secondly, the ability to - always from the periphery, always from what is forgotten - achieve a *story of stories* that can be architected from and to a broad cosmopolitanism, as we understand it today, as a politics and an act of openness to the world; third, that in what concerns the European doubt, what this film presents as its political answer is one that stresses the need to return to a relational and social matrix that is such as to be pan-inclusive, a return to a *collective of persons*, one that makes in itself, the *collective-continent* that is a real union of Europe, since

as soon as Europe awakens, the questions of truth will return to the great politics. In the long term, Europe's success will depend on the ability of Europeans to believe in their rights to success. The formulation of human rights includes a cipher that designates the right to success and that they oppose to the whole world. When times change, the meaning of these rights must be expressed again. Europe's deepest thought is that one must resist contempt. If this reflection is inescapable, it is because it also remains true for the tired and defeated beings. In the last translation of the Empire in Europe, its refusal of the contempt of the human, contempt that inhabits all imperialisms, must thus assume a political form. (Sloterdijk, 2008, p.59)

The response through art is always one that aims at the creation of an aesthetic so that it is in the act of being in the world. The possibility of a political form here is that of a *politics of appreciation*, towards the other, European and non-European, especially cosmopolitan and multi-continental.

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Author Identification

Luís Miranda. Luís Miranda is a lecturer and film and video director. He is a Cinema and Video instructor at Escola Artística de Soares do Reis. He is an Assistant Lecturer at Escola Superior Artística do Porto's Bachelor's degree in Cinema and Audiovisual. Director of more than 100 films and videos, he holds more than 650 credits in film and video production and has multiple participations and awards at national and international film and video festivals. He holds a master's degree in Contemporary Artistic Practices (FBAUP), a licentiate's degree in Art and Communication – Audiovisual and a bachelor's degree in Cinema and Video (ESAP)

EUROPE WITHOUT ORGANS?

Opicinus de Canistris and the New Anomos of the Earth

Łukasz Moll

Instytut Socjologii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego / the Institute of Sociology, University of Wrocław, Poland

Michał Pospiszył

Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie / Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland

Abstract

*The on-going crisis of identity of Europe is related to deep transformations of European borders. Today's borders no longer lie at the limits of territorial order. We live in turbulent times of shifting and metamorphosing of the European borders. In this critical context new geopolitical imaginaries of Europe are much needed. We argue that in our situation analogous representational crisis of Europe which arose at the end of the Middle Ages is worth examining. The collapse of medieval vision of the world, in which "res publica christiana" played the crucial part, was followed by the revolution in mapping of space with portolans, scientific cartography and secularization of knowledge. One of the most imaginative and confusing cartographer of the passage from political theology of papacy and empire to modern territorial state system was the 14th century priest, Opicinus de Canistris. Our theoretical attempt is a part of renewed interest in Opicinus' work (K. Whittington, V. Morse). We propose the analysis of his maps in the light of medieval theories of political body. Rapid social changes enabled Opicinus to combine theological and secular arguments in order to represent deterritorialization of Europe (as understood by Deleuze and Guattari). Opicinus experienced new possibilities of mapping space before Eurocentric reterritorialization of the globe took place (as described by Carl Schmitt in *The Nomos of the Earth*). His discovery of forces of immanency and free flows of desire may be of actual relevance today when spatial order of Europe passes through profound transformations of unknown destination. Deleuzian reading of Opicinus' body-worlds could contribute to deepening our imagination into cartography of the anomos, of autonomous and mobile force of migrants who cease to be organized by paradigm of inhospitable European sovereignty.*

Keywords: Opicinus de Canistris, the idea of Europe, migration crisis, autonomy of migration, deterritorialization.

The on-going crisis of the European integration provoked theorists to define it as a crisis of dealing with non-European outside which is related to the inability of finding proper modes of representation of Europe as political idea (Esposito 2018: 4-10). It has been an especially visible and urgent issue since 2015 when the so-called “migrant crisis” dominated public debate in member states of the European Union. We argue here that it was not the amount of people on the move coming to Europe that worked as a main trigger for the rhetoric about the “migrant crisis” (New Keywords Collective 2016) – in fact, the crisis narrative was caused by hegemonic spatial or geopolitical assumptions that lie behind Europe as political entity. We know from many thinkers involved in studies on the European identity that it was from the very start, beginning from Greek antiquity, organized as a part of binary, hierarchical and highly arbitrary notions: the West versus the East, civilization versus barbarism or savagery, progress versus backwardness, enlightenment versus obscurantism or democracy versus despotism (Cacciari 2015; Guénoun 2013). The borders of Europe – always unclear and unstable – played a constant, but at the same time over-changing role in establishing Europeanness/inside vis-à-vis non-Europeanness/outside. That’s why the theory of Europe was homologous to the theory of orientalism – having its external Orient (Asia, the East, North Africa etc.) and internal Orient (Eastern and Southern peripheries, ethnic and religious minorities or lower classes) (Dainotto 2007).

Europe as Borderland

Nevertheless, even if the historical boundaries of Europe were always open to deconstruction, critique or transgression, for the most part of history they have delivered at least the provisional sense of fixity of the European identity. But every regime of representation of Europe is exposed to the experience of not only ordinary crisis of uncertainty but also the deeper rupture of its foundations (Whitfield 1997). It happens when the borders of Europe are not only shifting but when they change their character with the whole order of representation which maintains their temporary validity. We claim that it is highly possible that

today we are living in a phase of the one of such profound crises of acquiring the Earth and giving rational measure to it. The main reason behind our argument lies in the thesis that current moment of passage from one mode of geopolitical representation to the other – without certainty that it will ever find the new one for sure – is being provoked by deep and dramatic transformations of the borders as spatial devices in general and the borders of Europe in particular (Mezzadra, Neilson 2013: 4-9).

Today's borders lie no longer at the limits of territorial order of sovereignty (Balibar 2011: 75-104). We are living in turbulent times of off-shoring European borders to external – non-European – regions, outsourcing them to private companies, re-working them by new technologies or re-instituting them inside EU's territory (De Genova 2017). The multiplication, proliferation and differentiation of borders result in their conceptual implosion – border as an instrument of separate the inside from the outside cannot longer play its main function, liminality is not the line of division, it rather becomes the mechanism of deconstruction of any division in any place. In some paradoxical way, there are no borders of Europe anymore – Europe itself becomes a border. But it does not mean that borders simply vanish and give their way to free flows of people. On the contrary: the crisis logics behind border regimes forced them to act in even more arbitrary and oppressive way. Europe which was founded on the idea of duality between the inside and the outside, needs to re-establish its borders. On a limited scale it happens due to populist and spectacular erecting the new border walls and fences but the real come back to old sovereign notions and the Westphalian international order is impossible in the times of neoliberal globalization. That's why Europe not only re-draws its borders, but finds them anew: in detention centers in North Africa, in computer databases of Frontex agency, in biometric documents of migrants or in elastically re-inscribing liminality in spaces of flows like railways stations, highways or harbors.

This new border regime which we call, after many theorists, a “biopolitical” one (Vaughan-Williams 2017) – because it rests on the idea of separating the good life from the bad one and governing the political body in highly sophisticated, technology-driven way – is immune to representations in the traditional

cartographic realm with its objectivist, rational episteme and manifest inside/outside delineation. If the borders of Europe are changing not only their locations, but also – and even mainly – their conceptual character, new geopolitical imaginaries of Europe are much needed.

In what follows, we propose a detour to one significant epoch in the European history when analogous representational crisis of Europe provoked a fundamental shift in spatial visions of the continent and political visions attached to it. At the end of the Middle Ages when theologico-political complex of the Papacy and the Empire started to cease and when evolution of map-making and secularization of knowledge opened way to constructing new visions of the world, Europe experienced the crisis of certain similarity to the contemporary one. But before it finally found its new form of representation in scientific, objectivist cartography of the colonial, self-asserting subjectivity of “ego conquiro” (“I conquer, therefore I am”) (Maldonado-Torres 2013: 99), in the phase of passage from theological/Christian image of the world to the modern one, we could find extraordinary efforts of imagination which testified about the inability of grasping the monstrous state of decay of Europe. We propose to come back to the maps, images and writings of one of the most imaginative and confusing cartographers of the passage from political theology to modern territorial state system of sovereign powers: the 14th century priest, Opicinus de Canistris can help us understand the process of deterritorialization of Europe and the activity of mapping the space. Our reading of Opicinus’ work, inspired by philosophy of immanence of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari and also by the ideas of mapping developed by Fernand Deligny, takes us to our proposition of the geophilosophy of the anomos, of mapping the European space beyond the inhospitable paradigm of Eurocentric sovereignty. Opicinus’ discovery of immanence in cartography may be relevant for current debates on the future potentialities of political immanence in Europe as well.

Nomos, anomos and the Early Modern discovery of immanence

In his book *The Nomos of the Earth* a German conservative jurist Carl Schmitt (2006) famously tracked the historical establishment of earthly spatial regime of Eurocentric origins and functions. Schmitt noted how – together with colonial domination by Western European superpowers – progressed the appropriation of the globe and how Europeans managed to invent proper spatial order (or *nomos*, in Greek: appropriation, distribution or law). Schmittian *Nomos of the Earth* rested on division between European space, composed of sovereign territorial states and non-European New World whose fate was subjugated to European international politics. But the geopolitical stabilization which Schmitt described, supported – and rather idealized – was later phenomenon than the discovery of immanence that put the medieval image of the world into crisis. The process which Mezzadra and Neilson (2013: 30-37) called “the primitive accumulation of cartography” by European colonizers and scientists should be thus treated as reterritorialization of Europe and its new role in the extended space after the shock which was provoked by prior deterritorialization of older regime of representation. The discovery of immanence – in philosophy, in art and also in politics – refers to the 13th century’s tendency to question hierarchical, transcendent and theocentric order of being and to develop autonomous forces of creation of different, emancipating reality. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000: 70-71) describes this event as follows:

In Europe, between 1200 and 1600, across distances that only merchants and armies could travel and only the invention of the printing press could later bring together, something extraordinary happened. Humans declared themselves masters of their own lives, producers of cities and history, and inventors of heavens. They inherited dualistic consciousness, a hierarchical vision of society, and a metaphysical idea of science; but they handed down to future generations an experimental idea of science, a constituent conception of history and cities, and they posed to be the immanent terrain of knowledge and action. The thought of this initial period, born simultaneously in politics, science, art, philosophy, and theology, demonstrates the radicality of the forces at work in modernity.

We can locate Opicinus de Canistris in this revolutionary social, political, cultural and philosophical context before counterrevolution reinstituted transcendent order in new circumstances. And in his works we encounter the forces of immanence which fueled his imagination and creative cartographic efforts. Opicinus can be named the cartographer of free flows of desire which penetrates the open geopolitical horizon and struggles to build networks in expanded and unknown spaces of emerging (dis)order. In fact, there are not only good historical reasons to interpret Opicinus' work in this manner – there are also theoretical ones. As long ago as in Schmitt's times he was conscious – and thrilled – that forces of disorder, which he identified with sinful and anti-Christian figure of *a-nomos*, are active before *nomos* had been introduced and maintained. What's more, the forthcoming scope and strength of *nomos* is dependent on subjugation of its outside and that is possible due to subjectivities of *anomos* like pirates, trappers or whalers who are ready to test the limits of established order and to push them further (Schmitt 1997: 13). In that process liminal agents acquire new lands and new wealth that make the enlargement of *nomos* possible. But what truly worried Schmitt was the possibility that *anomos* would emancipate itself from *nomos*, then turn against it and disintegrate the spatial order. In the late phase of his life, Schmitt (2004) acknowledged that the state lost its role of true sovereign and that's why it is unable to play traditional Christian role of *katechon* – or power to restrain forces of *anomos* (barbarians, heathens, anarchists, pirates, mercenaries or terrorists).

The pejorative meaning which reactionary thinker like Schmitt attached to *anomos*, seeing with it only wicked forces of disorder and barbarism, was turned upside down by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. French authors proposed different origins of the concept of *nomos* than in Schmitt narrative. For him, Greek *nomos* derived from territorial and sedentary order of city (*polis*), of stable division of land through borders. Deleuze and Guattari in turn linked it up to different spatial organization: an active and nomadic one. According to them, the term “*nomos*” came from Greek “*nemo*” (to distribute) or “*nomas*” (to wander), so it is conceptually related to the mode of becoming, not being (Aldea 2014). Its meaning derives not from sedentary life, but from nomadism of

shepherds or gatherers. That would mean that *nomos* is first and foremost *anomos*. But it is important here to understand that *anomos* should not be conceived as opposition to *nomos* – as its outside, anomaly, pathology or breaking the law or order. *Anomos* defines itself in autonomous way, independently to *nomos*. For Deleuze and Guattari the appearance of anomic subjectivities puts into crisis not only this or that concrete territorial *nomos*, but the idea of *nomos* as such. *Nomos* and *anomos* operate on different assumptions. Every despotic, hierarchical state machine struggles to recruit and to smash the nomadic war machine. Nomads are able to bring with themselves what Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 380-385, 410-415, 474-500) called “smooth space” which is antagonistic to every hierarchy, every social stratification.

Having made crucial Deleuzian distinctions between sedentary *nomos* and nomadic (*a*)*nomos*, between deterritorialization and reterritorialization, we propose further on to interpret Opicinius’ cartographies as the records of experiences of fissure in the spatial representation of *res publica christiana* as mystical body of Europe (or *corpus Ecclesiae mysticum*) – a fissure which is worth analyzing today when forces of *anomos* once more question another organic image of united Europe.

Opicinus and deterritorialization of Christian Europe

According to Silvian Piron, the images created by Opicinus should be seen above all as symptoms of the crisis in which Christian Europe finds itself at the beginning of the 14th century (Piron 2015). We know that on the 31st of March 1334, Opicinus de Canistris fell ill. As a result, the clergyman was partially paralysed (he could not use his right hand) and lost his memory and ability to speak for a while. We know as well that the illness was a borderline experience for Opicinus. A year later, he began to see things he had not seen before. Strictly after his conversion, Opicinus started to depict his divine visions.

For a long time, most scholars believed that these unusual images were symptoms, not symptoms of the crisis of Europe, but only of the mental illness

of Opicinus (Salomon 1962; Salomon 1936; Kris 1952). As Piron, partly also Whittington (2014) and Camille (1994), have shown, Opicinus' anthropomorphic maps show much more than the effects of mental illness of the particular, individual body. We can see on them the disease of the political body which tried to constitute itself as a permanent and hierarchical organism.

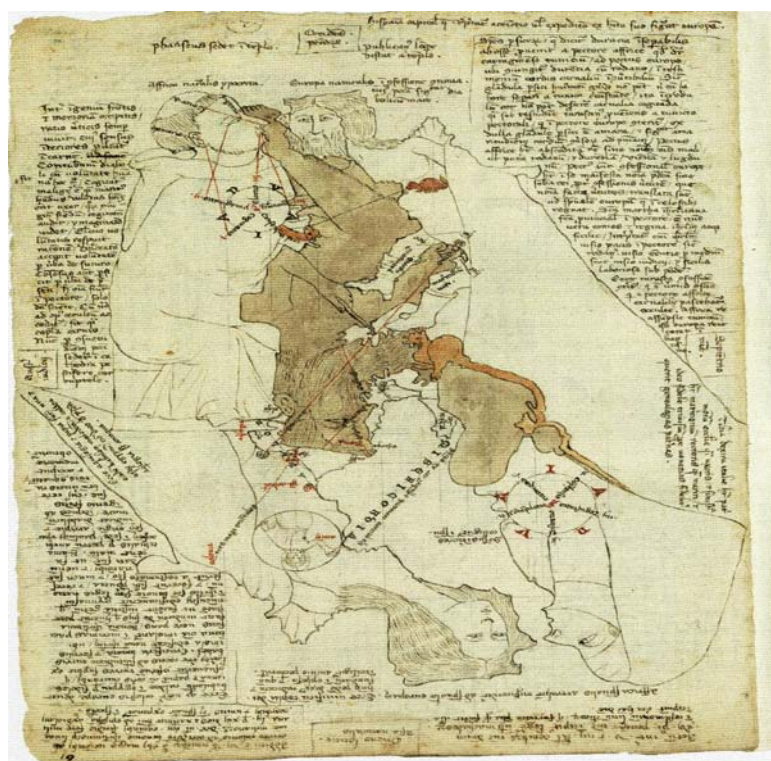


Figure 1. *Vaticanus latinus* 6435, fol. 61r. The map of Europe, Africa and Sea by Opicinus de Canistris

We should think about his notion of political body in contrast to theory of collective body which dominated at that time. It is well known that corporeal metaphors gained popularity in the late Middle Ages, as found in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury, and *De Regno* of Thomas of Aquinas. As shown by Ernst Kantorowicz (2016) and Henri de Lubac (1944) or Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), corporeal metaphors are essential for constructing the concept of the Church as a mystical political body. Also in cartography – during transition between the Middle Ages and modernity – continents, states and *res publica christiana* were often depicted as personifications of kings, queens or saints. In

the case of Europe we can mention her cartographic standard of representing Europe as *Europa Regina* (Queen Europe) – the most famous examples included Johannes Putsch's map from 1537, Sebastian Münster's version from his *Cosmographia* (1588) or the one by Heinrich Bünting from 1589. But if *Europa Regina* was supposed to emphasize the regained unity of Christendom (in the form of Habsburg Empire), its harmonious and organic geographical and political structure and also its privileged, almost heavenly location, then body played an entirely different role in the cartographic visions of Opicinus.

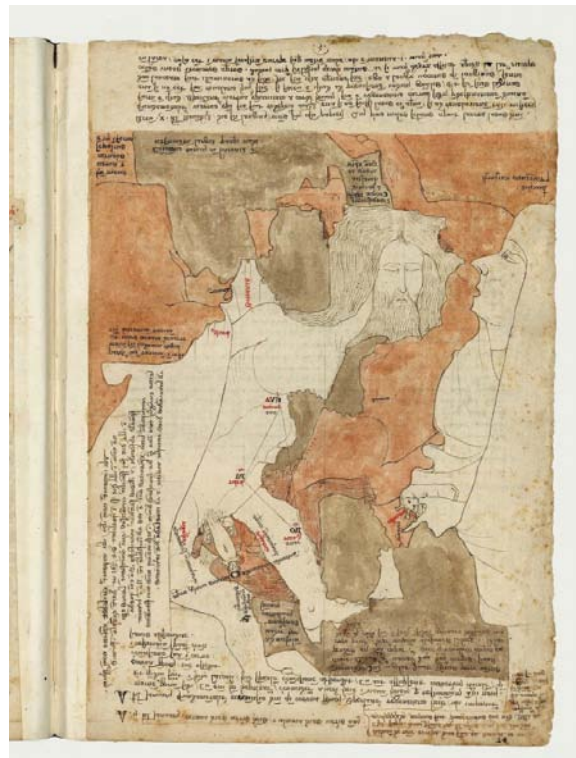


Figure 2. *Vaticanus latinus* 6435, fol. 78r. The map of Europe and Africa by Opicinus de Canistris

In contrast to theory of collective body and its later depictions by cartographers, Opicinus' maps rejected biologist and hierarchical metaphors which supported social and territorial hierarchy in the European order (prince as the head, knights as hands, peasants as feet etc.) and maintained clear boundaries of the political organism. On the other hand, the bodies from Opicinus' vision are not metaphors to organize the world. The state, the Church or Europe do not

resemble a body but simply are a body. Since it was a body, it was subject to the same changes and metamorphoses as individual bodies. That is why, when Opicinus depicted the body of Europe, he presented it as a model of his own body, with all of his lacking facilities and sickness, giving all imperfections specific political meaning. As Michael Camille noted:

For Opicinus the arrangement of pubic hair on his body signifies the arrangement of vineyards over the whole European continent. His farts and constipations warn of troubles in 'the belly of Europe' and a rheumatic pain in his arm which prevents him from touching his shoulder means the failure of a planned German attack against France. He does not recognise where he ends and the universe outside begins (Camille 1994: 88).

In Opicinus view, the political body is a body without organs, without borders, abstract norms, stable hierarchies (Deleuze, Guattari 1987: 149-166). This notion of collective body is legible if, instead of limiting ourselves to a single selected map, we follow all thirty. From this broader perspective, we can see that in subsequent representations of gender identity, gender is a subject of permanent changes (one time, Africa is represented by Opicinus as a woman; another time, Europe is a woman; the next time it is entirely impossible to determine the gender). A similar game concerns division between the earthly and the heavenly. In turn, on fol. 61 r from *Vaticanus Latinus* (Vat. Lat. 6435, fol. 61r)(fig.1), this crossing of identities seems to be the subject of one image, in which we can see mirror reflections of spiritual and carnal Europe on one side, and spiritual and carnal Africa on the other. Or when Opicinus portrayed himself as a penis of demonic Europe which is copulating with the probably heretical sea (Vat. Lat. 6435, fol. 78r)(fig.2). The deterritorialization of Europe which manifests itself in countless Opicinus' works had to be reorganized and synthesized anew under new unity by counterrevolutionary images, of which *Europa Regina* is the most obvious example.



Figure 3. The map of Europe, *Queen Regina* in Sebastian Münster *Cosmographia*

Opicinus' cartographic innovation was possible due to connection between two different traditions of map-making which he managed to establish. Two types of maps prevailed in the 13th century – both entirely different, and both serving completely different purposes. The first type of map was the so-called *Mappamundi* – symbolic maps which were never intended to guide travellers. Their goal was to present a religious image of the world, which is why the Earthly Paradise was placed in the East, and Jerusalem was placed in the centre; in turn, the representation of continents, seas, rivers or tracts, had nothing to do with reality.

The second type is the portolan maps. The oldest maps preserved to our times' came from the end of the 13th century. We do not know precisely where and when first such maps were created, and it is not clear either what methods were used to draw them. What we know is that they were shockingly accurate (very precisely reproducing the coastlines surrounding the Mediterranean Sea) and

that, contrary to symbolic maps, they had strictly practical application. We also know that a portolan map was never a finished composition: once it had been drawn, it was subject to constant changes and corrections by the sailors who used it. So, it was the work of many authors, the work of a general intellect collecting data from thousands of individual journeys, and the product of the collective work of a multitude of sailors. Although these maps were created thanks to multiple individual observations, their effect was to produce knowledge that is, in a sense, absolute or divine because it is unachievable through individual cognition. Simultaneously, the image of the world that emerges from the portolan maps is entirely different from the one known from symbolic maps. There is no Rome or Jerusalem in the centre of the map, only an empty spot in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea. While the *Mappamundi* had (for religious reasons) always been oriented to the Orient, the sea maps had no permanent points of reference. This was because the shapes of coastlines were constantly changing under the influence of new knowledge but also because the maps had neither a bottom nor a top, as the sailors who used them rotated them in all directions, depending on the needs and comfort of the observer.

The difference between a *Mappamundi* and a portolan map would be analogous to the difference between cartographical and geological thinking studied by Deleuze. While the effect of portolan maps was a process of continuous becoming of the truth, the effect of *Mappamundi* was to show an unchanging, geological and "deep" meaning of reality. As Deleuze noted:

Maps are superimposed in such a way that each map finds itself modified in the following map, rather than finding its origin in the preceding one: from one map to the next, it is not a matter of searching for an origin, but of evaluating displacements. Every map is a redistribution of impasses and breakthroughs, of thresholds and enclosures, which necessarily go from bottom to top. There is not only a reversal of directions, but also a difference in nature: the unconscious no longer deals with persons and objects but with trajectories and becomings. (Deleuze 1997: 63)

The same difference was articulated by Deleuze and Guattari in pair of concepts map/tracing. As was explained by Jakub Zdebik (2012: 41):

Whereas tracing repeats, mapping shows new possibilities. The tracing generates the same through analogous repetition but a map is not something that necessarily represents what is there; it rather marks the process of discovery. What is not there originally – as in the case of cinema – grows, overflows, must be mapped anew.

How are the maps created by Opicinus placed against this background? On the one hand, Opicinus drew his images using portolan maps as the basis (Pal. Lat. 1993, fol. 5r; Whittington 2014: 25-59). On the other hand, unlike normal maps of this type, Opicinus maps were filled with religious and astrological symbols, full of political and autobiographical allusions. What is more, Africa, Europe, and on several maps also the sea, were presented as human or demonic figures. If these maps were not to be used for travel, but to create a story about the world, why did Opicinus not use the well-known formula provided for such purposes, that is to say *Mappamundi*? Symbolic maps presented a very static vision of the world. Firstly, because they were always oriented towards the East, but also because they were supposed to reflect a strictly theological concept according to which carnal life has no meaning and is only a background for the history of salvation. However, Opicinus, like many other philosophers of the 13th century, treats creation quite differently. The carnal world is an active reality, full of meanings that should be subject to constant interpretation. Opicinus believed that the truth about the world is not static. Cognition sort of resembles the travels of Mediterranean sailors, each of whom increases their collective knowledge of the world by adding further corrections to the maps (Whittington 2014). Procedural, dynamic and collective map-making which Opicinus privileged, borrowing it from naval techniques, enabled him to discover and depict forces of *anomos*.

From organic festung Europe to Europe without organs?

What could be the benefits of studying Opicinus de Canistris today, in the times of crisis of European borders? Our answer is prepared by the scholars engaged in developing autonomy of migration perspective. As Federico Luisetti, John Pickles and Wilson Kaiser (2015: 4) argue in the introduction to their co-authored book *The Anomie of the Earth*, a rising range of authors search in current migration flows and social movements the new forces of *anomos*, of contesting recent form of organic and closed European identity. Today's European Union had been criticized by migrant activists as fortress Europe which limited external migration after new phase of enlargement of the union to the South and the East. This *anomos* had been conceptualized by proponents of autonomy of migration as collective and productive subjectivity which seeks for line of flights from oppressive border regime and whose resistance and creativity forces sovereign power to invent new techniques of control and to establish new locations and new types of borders (Papadopoulos, Stephenson, Tsianos 2008). Migrants – just like sailors in the epoch of Opicinus – are involved in constructing non-representational but functional maps which open new forms of collective living that Vassilis Tsianos, Dimitris Parsanoglou and Nicos Trimikliniotis (2014) called “mobile commons”: their shared and militant knowledge is able to help to find escape routes and to imagine more fair world.

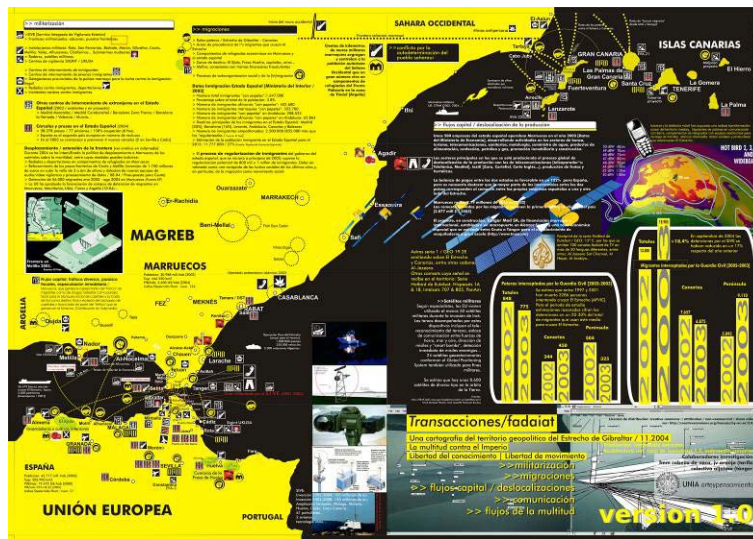


Figure 4. Hackitectura's map *Cartografía Crítica del Estrecho* (Cartography of the Straits of Gibraltar) creates an alternative understanding of the Spanish-Moroccan border region

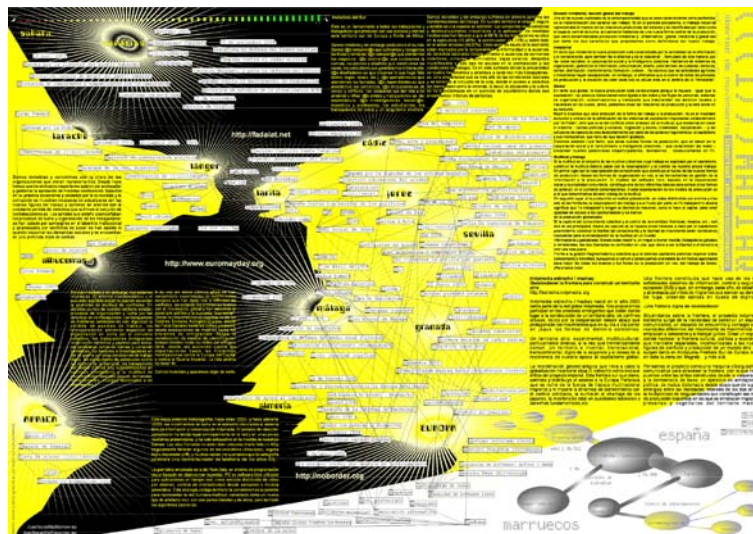


Figure 5. Hackitectura's map *Cartografía Crítica del Estrecho* (Cartography of the Straits of Gibraltar) creates an alternative understanding of the Spanish-Moroccan border region

And just as in the times of Opicinus, their embodied and mobile knowledge provokes new methods of extraction and codification of data which serves preparing the post-sovereign image of the world. Unmanned drones, satellite

photos, heat sensors and other apparatus are brought into work in order to spot, measure and represent migrant's forces of immanence. They try to trace new maps constructed by migrants and to make mimetic representations of deterritorialized movements in the service of biopower from them. Europe without organs is continuously, time and time again, grooved as more sophisticated organism which cannot suppress and block *anomos* anymore, but needs to govern and steer flows of people. It is like European body without organs which in *Opicinus* still served as an alternative to collective body of *corpus mysticum*, has now become a reality in which biopower tries to remain operational. This on-going struggle between map-making from the bottom up and tracing movements, between becoming-imperceptible and being captured by apparatus is going to decide which antithetic scenario would come out victorious: new *nomos* or new *anomos* of the Earth.

Acknowledgments

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Author identification

Łukasz Moll. His dissertation in philosophy at the University of Silesia in Katowice (Poland) was devoted to nomadic European identity and borders from the perspective of poststructuralism. Currently, he works as an adjunct at the Institute of Sociology, University of Wrocław. He is also a principal investigator in "The Idea of Europe in the context of migration crisis" project, which he realizes at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. He participated as fellow in the seminar with Étienne Balibar at the New School of Social Research in New York. He is an editor for "Theoretical Practice", the peer-reviewed journal on critical theory. Main interests: the idea of Europe, theories of the common, political philosophy

Michał Pospiszyl. An adjunct at the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences and visiting fellow at The Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) in Vienna, In 2020 he is co-curator of the cycle of seminars "Plebs, commons and alternatives to capitalism" organize at Biennale Warsaw. His dissertation was devoted to medieval concepts of the collective body. He is an author of a monograph on Walter Benjamin's minor materialism and philosophy of history and co-author (with Katarzyna Czeżot) an anthology on romantic anti-capitalism. He is an editor for "Theoretical Practice", the peer-reviewed journal in critical theory. Main interests: history of biopolitics, political theology, visual culture, philosophy of the masses

DEPROVINCIALIZING AND DENATIONALIZING EUROPEAN FEMINISMS

Mara Montanaro

Université Paris 8 / University of Paris 8, Paris, France

Abstract

To rethink European feminisms on an international scale requires a powerful theoretical reworking of space. It is a question of thinking the materiality of its borders not as something fixed, given once and for all, but on the contrary, as a dimension where the feminist struggles, the new subjectivations that come out of it, the changing gender relations, constantly reformulate and rebuild its limits, its borders.

Hence, the need to consider a geography capable of making space the object of a critical problematization, to show how this space - and its historicity - is affected in its geographical and cultural materiality by the postcolonial and decolonial feminist struggles.

In this talk I will focus on showing how "denationalizing European feminisms" following Dipesh Chakrabarty's invitation to provincializing Europe, means to interrogate genealogy, the very story of European feminisms, through this denationalization. If belonging to the women's movement does not require the blind adherence to a dogma or a definite and valid representation of all times, then re-politicizing European feminisms means inventing new ways of being together, by choosing according to which priorities and by what means to tinker with fragmentary theories, or even how "to move" to implement a plural and multilingual dialogue - in short, it is a question of imagining a radically international feminism.

To rethink European feminisms on an international scale requires a powerful reconceptualisation of space. To think the materiality of its borders – not as something fixed, given once and for all, but rather as a dimension where feminist struggles, the new subjectivations they entail and changing gender relations constantly reformulate and reconstruct its boundaries, its borders.

This explains the need to envisage a geography capable of critically problematising space, to show how this space – and its historicity – is affected in its geographical and cultural materiality by postcolonial and decolonial feminist

struggles. In this paper, I will focus on showing how «denationalizing European feminisms», following Dipesh Chakrabarty's call to provincialize Europe, means to question, through this denationalization, the genealogy, the very narrative of European feminisms. If belonging to the women's movement does not require blind adherence to a dogma or historically determined and valid representation, then re-politicising European feminisms means to invent unprecedented modes of being together, by choosing according to which priorities and by which means to patch fragmentary theories together, or how to «move» in order to open a plural, polyglot dialogue – in short, it is about imagining a radically international feminism.

As the philosopher and feminist Rada Ivekovic rightly maintains, the political and epistemological task of «undoing the national framework of knowledges¹» is essential.

To «move» and «decentre» our gaze become the general assumptions of all critical thinking, as geographical disparities and interruptions in time throughout the history of postcolonial societies challenge the universality of the categories of Western feminism, the meaning of differences (of gender, class, race) and their importance as a key issue for our political modernity. In this presentation, I propose to do so with regard to Western feminisms, by pointing out their limitations and opening them up to other feminist histories and temporalities. Other feminist stories need to be told. Feminism is, in fact, a travelling theory, it is and must be in motion, in a constant movement of displacement. Western feminist movements have had the tendency to produce a political subject – *We women* – that evens out the diverse experiences of sexism, turning the experience of being a woman into a stereotypical one.

As Elsa Dorlin states:

«The problem is not so much that the *We* expressed speaks abusively in the name of all women: the problem lies instead in the fact that this *We*

¹ Ivekovic R., «Introduction au numéro: Défaire le cadre national des savoirs. Karma, dharma et nation: une tentative de traduction», *Revue Asylon*, no. 10, July 2012-July 2014.
<http://www.reseau-terra.eu/rubrique280.html>

that speaks addresses the Other women as if they were objects of discourse².»

This concern is at the heart of Chandra Talpade Mohanty's feminism without borders. It is, in fact, from the political urgency to form strategic coalitions, moving beyond barriers of class, race and nationality, that she raises the problem of *We, women* and criticises Western feminism.

I would now like to explore this «displaced figuration of the *third-world woman*», as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak³ calls it. To do so, I will concentrate on the reflections of Chandra Talpade Mohanty, still very little known in the Francophone world, and on the analyses by Françoise Vergès, focusing, in particular, on her latest work *Le ventre des femmes. Capitalisme, racialisation, féminisme*.

Moreover, to produce a true and accurate map of the insurrectionary feminists, I will show how the reflections of Mohanty and Vergès echo, come into dialogue with those of Audre Lorde, Françoise Collin, bell hooks, Amina Mana and Awa Thiam.

Chandra Talpade Mohanty. Decolonizing *We, women*

Mohanty, heiress of Indian feminism, was one of the first to conceptualise the Orientalist tendencies of Western feminist thought. However, her definition of Western feminism does not consist in reifying it into an ahistorical monolithic bloc, but questioning instead what she terms «writings... [that] discursively colonize the material and historical heterogeneities of the lives of women⁴.»

Now, for Mohanty the problem is not so much the *We* expressed in the name of all women; the problem lies instead in the fact that this *We* that speaks

² Dorlin E., «Vers une épistémologie des résistances», in Elsa Dorlin (dir.), *Sexe, Race, Classe. Pour une épistémologie de la domination*, Actuel Marx Confrontation, Paris, Puf, 2009, p. 10.

³ Spivak G. C., *Les subalternes peuvent-elles parler?*, Paris, Amsterdam, 2009, p. 89.

⁴ Mohanty C. T., «Sous le regard de l'Occident: recherche féministe et discours colonial», in Elsa Dorlin (dir.), *Sexe, Race, Classe. Pour une épistémologie de la domination*, Actuel Marx Confrontation, Paris, Puf, 2009, p. 150.

addresses other women as if they were objects of discourse - namely, women in the third world.

Mohanty draws attention to the fact that terms such as 'third world' and 'first world' are very problematic: both because they suggest oversimplified similarities between the countries they refer to and because they reinforce the existing economic, cultural and ideological hierarchies that this terminology evokes. Therefore, she uses the term 'third world' with full awareness of the problems it poses, using it critically.

In her seminal article published for the first time in 1984, *Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses*, she shows, first of all, how the term 'colonization' always implies a relation of structural domination and the – discursive or political – suppression of the heterogeneity of the subject(s) in question.

In 2003, she writes "*Under Western Eyes*" *Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles* ⁵, where she re-examines her work published seventeen years earlier, explaining the historical context of the time and the need to now update her goal and its political significance. In 1986 she had denounced the hegemonic practices of Western feminism, which made use of an assumed universalism to consolidate forms of discursive colonization of women in the third world. These women were reduced to victims of male violence, victims of the colonial process, victims of familial structures or religious beliefs and, consequently, considered objects and viewed as such. So, her purpose was to analyse the way Western feminists produced this singular, monolithic subject: the third world woman. Her definition of the term 'colonization' was a discursive one, i.e. showing how analytical categories adopting feminist issues as their main point of reference, just as they were formulated in the United States and Western Europe, enable a certain mode of appropriation and codification of scholarship and knowledge about women in the third world.

⁵ Mohanty C. T., «Sous les yeux de l'Occident revisité: La solidarité féministe par les luttes anticapitalistes», in Christine Verschuur (dir.), *Genre, post-colonialisme et diversité des mouvements des femmes*, n. 7, 2010, Paris, l'Harmattan, pp. 203-214.

Feminist scholarship, she maintained, as in fact all scholarship, is not only a production of knowledge about a particular subject; it is a discursive practice with direct political impact insofar as it has a purpose and defends an ideology.

Her critique fell upon three assumptions that underlie Western feminist discourse on women in the third world, though it also applies to anyone else using these analytical strategies. In other words, her critique addressed any discourse that sets up its authorial subjects as the implicit referent, as a standard allowing them to encode and represent others.

This is where power is exercised in discourse. I will now show you the three assumptions: 1) the first concerns the strategic location or specific situation of the category 'women' in the context of analysis. To postulate the category «women» as an already constituted, coherent group, without taking into account class or race specificities, implies a notion of gender difference or even patriarchy that is both universal and cross-cultural; 2) the second is the uncritical way of showing «evidence» of universality and cross-cultural validity; 3) the third is that the first two necessarily imply a homogeneous notion of the oppression of women.

In short, she shows five different ways in which Western feminist discourse on women in the third world uses the category of analysis 'women' to construct the group 'third world women': 1) women as victims of male violence; 2) women as universally dependent on men; 3) women as victims of the colonial process; 4) women as victims of familial systems; and 5) women as victims of religious ideologies.

What seems interesting to analyse is how Mohanty identifies a colonialist move in Western feminist scholarship and, as a result, its political consequences. To advance the idea of a common struggle of all women in the third world, regardless of their class or culture, against a general oppression (essentially stemming from the group in power, i.e. men) implies the assumption of what in the 1980s Michel Foucault called the 'juridico-discursive model of power', whose main features are: an insistence on the rule (which determines a binary system) and a uniformity of the apparatus functioning at different levels.

As, in turn, Françoise Collin, a Belgian feminist and philosopher, founder of the first feminist journal in the French language in 1973 – *Les Cahiers du Grif* (feminist research and information group) – also always insisted, the commonality of oppression does not suffice on its own, since this oppression does not take the same forms across different cultures and periods in time. This concept should be constantly reactivated, re-examined and readjusted to specific, historical and contingent circumstances.

Oppression, in the strictest sense of the term – namely, that of the materiality of practices – always intimately touches each woman in a singular way.

Audre Lorde, one of the leading figures of the struggles of black feminists and lesbians in the 1980s, also points out in *Sister Outsider*:

The oppression of women knows no ethnic nor racial boundaries, true, but that does not mean it is identical within those differences. [...] Certainly there are very real differences between us of race, age, and sex. But it is not those differences between us that are separating us. It is rather our refusal to recognize those differences... [...] today, white women focus upon their oppression as women and ignore differences of race, sexual preference, class, and age⁶.

The crux of the problem lies in this initial assumption that women form a group or homogeneous category («the oppressed»). What happens when this assumption of «women as an oppressed group» is used in Western feminist literature about third world women? This is where Mohanty locates the colonialist move, which I believe is interesting to analyse. By comparing the representation of women in the third world with Western feminists' self-presentation in the same context, we see, Monhanty tells us, that only Western feminists become the true «subjects» of this counter-history.

Third world women, in turn, never rise above the debilitating generality of their object status. From this it follows that, by applying the idea of a homogeneous category of women to women in the third world, we colonize and appropriate the

⁶ Lorde A., *Sister Outsider. Sur la poésie, l'érotisme, le racisme, le sexisme...*, Genève, Editions Mamamélis, 2003, pp. 76, 126-127.

pluralities simultaneously experienced by different groups of women within their social class and ethnic group; in the end, we rob them of their historical and political power to act.

In other words, Western feminist discourse, based on the assumption that women form a coherent and already constituted group, placed within kinship, legal and other structures, defines third world women as subjects outside of social relations, instead of studying the way women are constituted as women through these very structures.

Legal, economic, religious and familial structures are treated as having to be judged according to Western standards.

By defining these structures as «underdeveloped» or «developing» and by placing women within these structures, we produce an implicit image of the average third world woman.

We see the 'oppressed woman' becoming the 'oppressed third world woman'. The category 'oppressed woman' is created, according to Mohanty, by only taking into account gender difference, whereas the category 'oppressed third world woman' has an additional attribute – «third world difference».

'Third world difference' implies a paternalistic attitude towards women in the third world. 'Third world women' as a group or category are automatically and necessarily defined as religious (i.e. not progressive), family-focused (i.e. traditional) and lacking in legal knowledge (i.e. they do not know they have rights).

This is how «third world difference» is produced. All we do is reinforce the assumption that the third world is still lagging behind the first world. This mode of analysis, Mohanty maintains, by homogenising and systematising the experiences of different groups of women in these countries, erases all marginal modes and experiences and reinforces Western cultural imperialism. The comparison between the self-presentation of Western feminists and their representation of third world women is telling. Without the 'third world woman', the particular self-presentation of Western women would be problematic. bell

hooks, the African American feminist and a colleague of Mohanty's, also looks closely at the limitations of Western feminism, particularly with regard to the interplay between the social relations of class, race and gender within the «patriarchal, racist, capitalist and imperialist» American society. hooks stresses the extent to which feminist theories, developed in the United States by white women, reflect their own class and race values. «...when 'women' were talked about – she tells us – the experience of white women was universalized to stand for all female experience⁷». As Nassira Hedjerassi rightly asserts in her preface to the French edition of *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*, much work needs to be done on deconstructing the category 'woman', in order to show that gender is not the only factor influencing the construction of 'women'. And we could add: neither is it the only factor contributing to their oppression within a system that is phallocratic, patriarchal, imperialist and capitalist.

Nevertheless, according to bell hooks, these efforts to deconstruct the category 'woman' led to: «a profound revolution in feminist thought⁸». In Françoise Vergès's words, we ought to take into account that patriarchy is racial, that we cannot deny the privileges of white women during slavery or colonialism and that we cannot universalise all female experience based on the experience of white Western women. Mohanty is one of the first to criticise the construction and use of categories such as «third world women» as a singular, monolithic subject. Mohanty, bell hooks and Audre Lorde therefore all reach the same conclusion regarding the limitations of Western feminism for analysing the different and multiple experiences of women. If we move from the United States to Africa, we find that Awa Thiam reaches the same conclusion. In *La parole aux négresses*, this Senegalese anthropologist and feminist states:

«...the plight of the Black woman is very different from that of her White or Yellow sisters... Where Black women have to combat colonialism and

⁷ B. Hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*, London, Routledge, 1994, pp. 120-121.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 63.

neocolonialism, capitalism and the patriarchal system, European women only have to fight against capitalism and patriarchy⁹»

In fact, due to this hegemonism and the racist, classist implications of the term 'feminism', along with the stereotypes it conveys, the relevance of the term *feminism* in Africa was challenged by many who refused to accept this Western import and imposition. From the early 1980s, the Nigerian feminist Amina Mana, as Nassira Hedjerassi recalls in the preface to bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*, criticised these hegemonic feminist readings by coining the term *imperial feminism* to signify the historical participation, however denied or unquestioned, of white women in the colonial and racial domination of black populations, even at the height of their struggle for their own liberation as women. What Amina Mana has to say on the silence of white women during the colonial catastrophe can also be found if we now move to the island of Réunion, more precisely in June 1970.

Françoise Vergès. Remapping a mutilated geography of the women of Réunion

In her latest book, *Le ventre des femmes. Féminisme, capitalisme, racialisation*, Françoise Vergès shows us how in June 1970 a scandal broke in the island of Réunion: apparently thousands of unauthorised abortions were performed by doctors who claimed they were carrying out harmless operations in order to be reimbursed by the social security. Many women filed a complaint, although they were barely heard. During the trial, the accused declared they had been indirectly encouraged by the state's anti-natalist policies put in place in the overseas departments and directly encouraged by the state representatives on the island, when, as we know – these were the 1970s – contraception and abortion were criminalised and harshly repressed in France. Due to this criminalisation alone, a million women risked their lives every year by having abortions in deplorable conditions.

⁹ Thiam A., *La parole aux négresses*, Paris, Denoel, 1978, p. 76.

The contradiction is only apparent. Vergès shows how the same control over the bodies of women is targeted in France and the overseas departments. However, it is not practised the same way in both places. One of the many reasons for the strength and power of this book – as Vergès herself says – is:

«[...] To introduce dissonant voices in the narrative of Western feminism, since women overseas – whether they are slaves, engaged or colonized – barely exist in the studies of Western feminists, who treat them as victims of various oppressions but never as people whose singular words will challenge a universalism that masks a particularism¹⁰.»

However, what is more, she shows very clearly how the commonality of oppression does not suffice on its own, since this oppression does not appear in the same forms across different cultures and periods in time.

This is why this concept, as we saw when looking at the positions of Chandra Talpade Mohanty, bell hooks, Françoise Collin, Audre Lorde, Awa Thiam and Amina Mana, ought to be constantly reactivated, re-examined and readjusted to specific, historical and contingent circumstances.

The idea of a shared oppression prevents us from grasping the differences between the types of oppression experienced and Vergès's analysis of the blindness of the MLF (the French Women's Liberation Movement) shows it very clearly.

In this regard, she states:

«The MLF feminists do not take into account the part played by racial patriarchy or French imperialism. By neglecting what slavery and colonialism brought to white supremacy – and, therefore, to white women – this radical 1970s feminism contributes to the fabrication of oblivion¹¹.»

Now, before this absolute debarment, Vergès affirms we should look instead into the inescapable, undeniable fact that sexism, sexual exploitation and sexual

¹⁰ Vergès F., *Le ventre des femmes. Capitalisme, racialisation, féminisme*. Paris, Albin, Michel, p. 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

oppression cannot be separated from racism, colonialism, slavery and capitalist exploitation. Her view evidences in the critique of this oblivion a certain relation between feminism and a form of temporality that I find, first and foremost, in Walter Benjamin's thoughts.

This form of temporality helps us grasp a set of relations between feminism and the geopolitical space where its political impact is greatest. It is, in fact, an «interrupted temporality», politically reactivated within a space made of displacements, hiatuses, ruptures, but also reunion, confrontation, interaction and, above all, resistance to the constantly eluded traps of power.

What lies at the heart of this question is how to think feminism from its insurgent, heterogeneous pluralism, within a wider geopolitical space issuing from the colonial experience and, therefore, racially segmented. And, from here, we could also return to Mohanty's statements analysed above. Statements aimed at producing a feminist map of the insurrectionary thoughts rooted in the need to de-Westernize the world or, as Vergès puts it, to «develop a global, cross-cultural connected history, rather than the national history of the French colonies¹².»

This is also in line with the task of «denationalizing feminism» in order to better re-politicise it, as Vergès maintains, following Dipesh Chakrabarty's call to provincialize Europe – i.e. to question, through this denationalisation, the genealogy, the very narrative of French feminism and the plural European feminisms.

According to this view, to be a feminist, to live a feminist life, means above all to take an interest in the multiple experiences of subordination that give a central place to the way race is gendered, the way gender is racialised and, finally, to the way these movements are connected to the persistence and the social and political transformation of multiple geographical spaces.

If belonging to the women's movement does not require blind adherence to a dogma or historically determined and valid representation, then re-politicising

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

feminism means to invent unprecedented modes of being together, by choosing according to which priorities and by which means to patch fragmentary theories together, or how to «move» in order to open a plural, polyglot dialogue – in short, it is about imagining a decolonial feminism.

Feminism is not an engagement that can be suspended when it is not convenient. However, this does not mean that feminists always agree on what to engage in or on the forms and strategies their engagement should assume. The work of Vergès helps us, in this sense, to re-elaborate, to reinvent what Benjamin called 'political messianism'. The form of temporality to be highlighted is not an interrupted temporality (i.e. one that refers back to a time that is neither linear nor homogeneous); instead, it is a time made of ruptures, hiatuses, interruptions. The irruptive, explosive, revelatory power – or, as Benjamin called it, the messianic power – was entirely bestowed upon the future by Western modernity. In his *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, he said: «To articulate what is past does not mean to recognize “how it really was”. It means to take control of a memory, as it flashes in a moment of danger¹³.»

Vergès's book shows us the redemptive power of the past in action; without it, no insurrectionary politics is possible. In other words, it seems that, where Vergès rescues the forced abortions in Réunion from the oblivion of history, we see what Benjamin said about reinventing the past crop up: «Only by reinventing the past can we restore to it its irruptive and redemptive power¹⁴.»

In fact, the redemptive power of the past lies in this possibility of unexpectedly emerging as a political source of nonconformity. It is about fighting for another concept of the past, a past revived by the suffering and oppression caused by slavery and colonialism.

This epistemological and political attitude thereby seems to tally with that of Françoise Collin, who states that: without movement, there is no liberation. Therefore, in order to imagine and produce new insurrectionary maps, we need to move our gaze and decentre it. To constantly set our thinking and daily

¹³ BENJAMIN W., *Sur le concept d'histoire, Thèse VI*, Paris, Puf, 2001, p. 50.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

practices and political strategies in motion. At the beginning of the last chapter of *Repolitiser le féminisme*, Vergès states: «one of the unavoidable strategies of liberation movements is to make the history of the oppressed, the forgotten, the marginalised women re-emerge in order to question the dominant narratives and break with their linearity¹⁵.»

Once again, Benjamin's dotted presence comes to mind. As we know, he observed that:

«...there is a secret protocol [Verabredung: also appointment] between the generations of the past and that of our own. For we have been expected upon this earth. For it has been given us to know, just like every generation before us, a *weak* messianic power, on which the past has a claim¹⁶.»

In this way, the book by Vergès seems to connect two aims: on the one hand, to do justice to the women who were forced to have abortions, bearing witness to their story; and, on the other hand, through that very story, to develop a new feminist, decolonial map – not, as she says «by adding chapters to the national history, but by questioning the framework and denationalizing it¹⁷.»

This move is in fact essential, considering that even the choice made by the MLF to symbolically elect the Arc de Triomphe as its place of birth is not insignificant. As she states:

«Their gesture also outlines the space of their struggle: the Hexagon and the nation and the temporality of the national history [...]. By choosing this place, this group of women proposes a geography and temporality that do not erase women but that, nevertheless, continue to erase non-white presence¹⁸.»

¹⁵ Vergès F., *Le ventre des femmes*, op. cit., p. 213 [In French: «une des stratégies incontournables des mouvements d'émancipation consiste à faire resurgir l'histoire des opprimé-e-s, des oublié-e-s, des marginalisé-e-s pour questionner les récits dominants et rompre leur linéarité»].

¹⁶ Benjamin W., *Sur le concept d'histoire*, Thèse II, op.cit., p. 25.

¹⁷ Vergès F., *Le ventre des femmes*, op. cit., p. 218.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

In this way, it actually becomes possible to, among other things, crack the linear, cumulative history by tracking its discontinuities and seeing, through this gesture, as Vergès says in the afterword to *Nègre je suis, nègre je resterai. Entretiens avec Aimé Césaire*, that «history cannot be linear, for colonial history made exile and displacement its organising principles¹⁹».

That is why it is important to reapproach the Benjaminian question of temporality, though this time by inscribing it within a feminist, decolonial framework. It is within this framework that we should criticise a linear and theologically-oriented concept of history, where the *continuum* of time would actually serve to continuously reaffirm the subalternity of a given number of subjects - in this case, racialised women or, to use Vergès's words, «the forgotten of the forgotten». From this angle, to re-politicise feminism means to reconnect this form of interrupted temporality to multiple places geographically marked by the superimposition of gender, race and class inequalities. However, for the same reasons, to re-question the temporality that is, among other things, the subject matter of *ventre des femmes*, also seems to invoke a subsequent and logical passage, i.e.: the feminist problematisation of the concept of space, which should be understood both as the framework of experience for diverse struggles and the decolonial horizon of their possible recomposition. As Vergès points out in this regard:

«Decoloniality is a space of enunciation, not of origin or geography. It draws counter-geographies, in the knowledge that republican postcoloniality produced a mutilated geography – the centrepiece of the apparatus of oblivion²⁰.»

Conclusion. Interrupted temporality, new insurrectionary maps

To rethink the space of feminist struggles as a product of a complex interplay (slavery/colonialism/imperialism) is today a task of undeniable strategic

¹⁹ Vergès F., postface à Aimé Césaire. *Nègre je suis, nègre je resterai. Entretiens avec Françoise Vergès*, Paris, Albin Michel, 2005, p. 85.

²⁰ Vergès F., *Le ventre des femmes*, op. cit., p. 219.

importance. In the context of a decolonial feminism, this means to do away with the idea that the space of the West continues to be «the» spatial and geopolitical condition for the possibility of those feminist discourses and practices that belong to our present: there are many other relations and stories to be told in a space that should be mapped according to multiple experiences of feminism. This means to move away from a Western feminism that claims to be universal, to imagine new feminist maps that cross the different struggles of women and thus rewrite the history of women's liberation struggles, based on other time periods and territories. It also means to think together an interrupted temporality and a space made of displacements, hiatuses, ruptures, but also reunion, confrontation, interaction and, above all, resistance to the constantly eluded traps of power. For, as Awa Thiam wrote, and with this I will conclude:

«WE MUST. Actively resist all plans. Actively resist. Effectively resist. All oppression. Wherever it's from – at all times. Only multiple voices. Multiple resistances. Multiple sums of desires to change. A countless sum of good will. The will to live something else might change the current face of the world. [...] The strength will lie in the multiple voices, people, consciences determined to radically change all social structures that at this point in time have crumbled; otherwise, it will not be²¹.»

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²¹ Thiam A., *La parole aux négresses*, op.cit., p. 13.

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Author identification

Mara Montanaro. PhD in philosophy, associate researcher at Laboratoire d'Etudes de Genre et Sexualités (LEGS/CNRS/UMR 8238) at Université Paris 8 (Gender studies department). She works on contemporary French philosophy, gender studies, postcolonial studies, contemporary feminist philosophies, in particular the work of the feminist philosopher Françoise Collin (1928-2012), whose archives she is the scientific manager (ATER, Philosophy Department, Université Paris 8). She also was programme director of Collège international de philosophie (2019-2025 - Paris). Montanaro is the author of Françoise Collin. *L'insurrection permanente d'une pensée discontinue*, Rennes, PUR, coll. "Archives du féminisme", 2016

TWO EXTREMES AT THE EUROPEAN PERIPHERIES: Baltic and Iberian post-industrial cultures

Inês Moreira

Instituto de História da Arte da NOVA-FCSH / Institute of Art History of NOVA/FCSH,
Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract

‘Two extremes at the European peripheries: Baltic and Iberian post-industrial cultures’ departs from a precise title and essays grasping distant and, to a certain extent, unrelated contemporary cultural conditions of two extremely diverse regions in the periphery of Europe, one facing the Baltic sea and the former USSR, the other facing the Atlantic and its former empires. Undergoing dissimilar historical and political processes, the Baltic region and the Iberian Peninsula relate to recent XXth and XXIst Century history differently: the resignification of past events, sites and stories can be extreme, whether celebrated or remembered, other times actively suppressed and effaced. The spatial strategies towards the (industrial) past and the new unbound contemporary cultural practices are diverse and may not be represented in a single overarching map. This written essay aims to bring forth examples of resignification of the past and memory through new contemporary and spatial cultures by posing a set of questions: which pasts are celebrated and effaced through spatial intervention? Are new cultural projects altering historical narratives? The document sits in observations taken from fieldwork and research activity in three different sites – Tallinn, Chernobyl/Prypiat and Porto - and assumes a fragmentary and grounded position, inscribing the annotations and a posteriori conceptualization on a possible dialogue between the conditions and the contrasting cultural approaches.

Keywords: architecture, contemporary culture, post-industrial cultures, european periphery, projecting memory

Fieldwork mapping

The conference *‘Notes on Europe. The dogmatic sleep’* poses wide questions on cultural and historical heterogeneity within European territories, the conflicting past and present geopolitics, along Europe’s shifting internal and external borders. These fundamental and founding questions resonate with the concerns

underlying the fieldwork research which I have been developing in the last three years on the the resignification of former iconic industrial sites through new contemporary cultures, practices and narratives¹.

Under the precise title - ‘Two extremes at the European peripheries: Baltic and Iberian post-industrial cultures’ - lays the will and attempt to grasp distant and, to a certain extent, unrelated cultural conditions of two extremely diverse regions in the periphery of Europe, one facing the Baltic Sea and exiting the former USSR, the other one facing the Atlantic and its former empires. The dissimilar historical and geopolitical circumstances, changing boundaries, nationalities, identities, and languages in the Baltic region, contrast with the stable national borders of both former head/metropolises of the Atlantic Empires – Spain and Portugal. As in the past, the two regions relate to history and contemporary culture differently.

In the last three decades the historical, political and cultural history of the regions have changed significantly, it was the period of de-industrialization in the South and of withdrawal of the communist state from the Eastern countries/borders. Recent history has conditioned the ongoing post-industrial processes and, what matters specially to our argument, it affects different cultural readings and approaches to the remains of industry: was it the “heroic” gesture of philanthropic entrepreneurs who brought progress and modernity to rural and poor countries? Was it the imposition of a state machine run by a central management system dehumanizing workers and exhausting resources?

The resignification of past sites and stories can be extreme, whether hyperbolically celebrated and rebuilt, or actively effaced, the spatial and cultural strategies deployed in each location can hardly be represented in a single overarching mapping of Europe, or in a single written text. Therefore, our aim is to bring forth examples of resignification of the past, memory and space through new contemporary and spatial cultures by posing a set of questions: which pasts

¹ This paper is part of a wider Post-Doctoral Research titled: ‘*Curating and revitalizing buildings – intervening in postindustrial spaces in Europe in the 21st century*’ and includes a short passage previously published in a book on fieldwork trip to Estonia: Moreira, Ines (2019). *Estonia 2016-2018*. Porto: Circo de Ideias.

are celebrated and effaced through spatial intervention? are new cultural projects altering historical narratives?

Relying on a selection of extreme post-industrial sites which I have visited between 2016 and 2019, the text presents observations on three sites: the first site, considered the most extreme site in Europe, is Chernobyl Exclusion Zone, Ukraine; the second site is the old Waterfront of Tallinn, in Estonia; the third site is the Eastern Riverside Slope of Porto, Portugal.

To provide the complexity of the textures and contradictions within the specific cases, instead of presenting a totalizing single argument, a final sharp synthesis, or an exhaustive study with detailed comparative charters, the approaches deployed are tentative and case study based, inscribing the annotations taken during individual fieldwork observation.

Extreme site 1: Chernobyl Exclusion Zone



Figure 1 – Prypiat 1970. Monument celebrating the new city of Prypiat and marking the entrance to the area. Today it sits within the exclusion zone of Chernobyl, in Ukraine. Photo by the author, May 2019

Addressing the contemporary condition of inherited techno-cultural systems in Europe and the relations between collective memory and the physical remnants pushed towards an extreme site which encapsulates the tensions, contradictions and risks inherent to post-industriality: the exclusion zone of the nuclear disaster of Chernobyl².

The exclusion zone is a post-industrial conundrum within extreme conditions where the former Eastern and Western European blocks were split. This secluded territory is today situated in the border of Ukraine and Byelorussia, in a wider scale in the triangular area of Ukraine, Byelorussia and Russia, which were together until 28 years ago as the Western area of Soviet Union.

The exclusion zone of Chernobyl encapsulates extreme tensions and meanings, initially at the time of the nuclear accident, in 1986, those political tensions between eastern and western at the time of the nuclear accident with the immediate consequence of international propagation of nuclear radiation due to the lack of political admittance and measures to restrain and evacuate population³. Immediately after, the physico-chemical tension between the radiation of the “invisible enemy” and its penetration in the bodies of humans, animals, vegetation, the objects and its deadly atmospheric presence first in local settlers, then in the bodies and minds of thousands of liquidators collaborating in sealing, cleaning and stabilizing the after effects, and now in the debris, the dereliction and the remnants of the abandoned buildings. All these events occurred while the nuclear powerplant kept operating. The visible and invisible enemies, nature and technology, human and non-human continuities, recalling of past events and progressive destruction as problem-solving are embedded in the many layers of the last 33 years.

² The visit to the exclusion zone of Chernobyl took place in May 2019 and was made possible within the period of international academic exchange financed by Mobility Plus 3, with University of Porto and Pavlo Technical University of Uman, in Ukraine. Therefore, the fieldwork observations regarding the site and the cultural practices at stake refer to that period.

³ Chernobyl disaster, facts and events, have recently gained global popular attention through the television series produced by HBO and directed by Johan Renck. The series is a fictional reconstruction providing and insight to the events leading to the nuclear disaster, its immediate response, risks, consequences and remediation and was filmed in a decommissioned nuclear powerplant in Lithuania, Ignalina.

In 2019, the actual conditions on the ground are a complex material and semiotic reality, where dissimilar agents operate their actions and produce new narratives. As an “exclusion zone” Chernobyl is an extreme militarized post-industrial site, where life runs in new unforeseen tensions between recalling the accident and radiation as it remains an exclusion zone while the effects of the accident shall not be ignored, and remembering its consequences, as the trauma of its impact and consequences affects collective memory – Ukrainian and former Soviet.

In a time when Ukraine undergoes a process of decommunization of its politics and national identity through the destruction of Soviet and Communist symbols such as mosaics, sculptures and other symbolic references, the exclusion zone of Chernobyl mirrors even more complex images, as it constitutes an horror set where mosaics, sculptures, inscriptions and other random objects can be mistaken for nostalgic paraphernalia.

The exclusion zone of Chernobyl is wrapped inside/outside a few shielding layers which create contradictory readings and understandings, pointing the complexity at stake: it is an untouchable radioactive time-capsule which must be kept still and, as a consequence, became a new wild infested forest, a visible and invisible nature-culture.

Prypiat was a “nuclear” city built to support Chernobyl power station, its names, trade logos and symbols, the sculptures and forms point to the atom, to Prometheus and to a bright nuclear future. Materially constituted of buildings, objects and elements static as in the moment of the 1986 evacuation, even though derelict, it celebrates the iconography and toponomy of a heroic nuclear soviet past. Nonetheless, the radiation keeps the nuclear city unliveable.

Unlike the sites of war and collective trauma, where the perpetrators were identifiable “other”, in Chernobyl the enemy was invisible – radiation – and those responsible were not “other”, they were a malfunction and/or part of the same state. The narrative of the accident is transmitted through careful taken care memorials, and a small military museum, celebrating the heroes, the fire workers, militaries, miners and liquidators who gave their time and lives. These

memorials have a small scale and presence when compared with the vast extension of the wild woods which took over the territory and host wild fauna, all living with radiation.

If in Chernobyl the enemy was the power plant, the paradox is that it is still operating and generating nuclear energy. One of the monuments celebrating the communist heroic extinction of the fires and radiation created by the nuclear explosion is in front of the still functioning power station. If human presence was reduced to a minimum, first with the evacuation, now working by short shifts, the techno-cultural invisible enemy has double manifest presence. The monument, in front of the same operating plant, celebrates the heroes of the past nuclear explosion, unavoidably evoking with eloquence the danger of future threats.

The exclusion zone is a fenced, restricted and militarized area, where access is permitted, and highly controlled, to registered visitors. It is not a park, a public space, nor a museum, a memorial or a historical site, at best, it is all together, plus its new openness to the touristic entrance, following the military rules. The writing of memory is articulated around monuments devoted to heroes, with a memorial referring the names of civilian villages and towns evacuated since the accident. By now, collective civilian memory and subjective testimonies were left outside the zone, as the voices of its former residents published by Nobel Prize winner Svetlana Alexievich⁴.

⁴ Individual testimonies and partial subjective stories are published in the book by Byelorussian author Svetlana Alexievich, *Voices from Chernobyl: The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster*, 1997.

Extreme site 2: Old Seafront of Tallinn



Figure 2 – Old seafront of Tallinn. Former military and industrial area by the Baltic Sea. Today it is a landscape promenade connecting cultural institutions occupying several recuperated buildings, in Estonia. Photo by the author, November 2016

Post-industriality is a systemic reality, and not a mere memory of the past. In Estonia, most power networks, mining operations and urban settlements that were instruments of the soviet industrialization of the Baltic States remain functional today⁵. Wandering through its physical territory from the period of great industrialization, between identities and remnants of soviet technology, is both an anachronic and individual experience⁶.

The reconfiguration or dismantling of those vast spaces calls for a new relationship between society and its environment – the Soviet Union was not a protector of its natural territories. Electricity networks, fossil fuel pipelines, nuclear plants, geological sections, minerals, relevant structures, insulation materials and landscape operations are part of this context and of the new

⁵ A version of the fieldwork visit to the seafront of Tallinn fieldwork visit was previously published in: Moreira, Ines (2019). *Estonia 2016-2018*. Porto: Circo de Ideias.

⁶ The visit to the Estonia and the Baltic region took place in December 2016 and was made possible with the support of Air Baltic and of The Baltic Pavillion at Venice Architecture Biennale 2016 - the fieldwork observations regarding the site refer to that period.

architectural commitments faced by Estonia, whom affirms itself as the most digital European country, the one that invests the most in information technologies and its post-industrial condition.

The post-industrial imaginary of the last decades is marked by facts and fiction. *Stalker*, the apocalyptic science fiction film shot in the late 1970's by director Andrei Tarkovsky, is a paradigm of the influence of science fiction on global collective imaginary. The film foresees the chaos of a strongly built, polluted and industrialized territory. The contaminated environment, invasive nature and toxic atmosphere offer context to the metaphoric dimension of the dialogue that occurs within architectures and infrastructures with strong signs of degradation.

The actual industrial contamination of the locations of the film, some of which in Tallinn, near the Baltic seafront, proved fatal for a significant part of the actual filmmaker's team. In a harsh connection between reality and fiction, much of the team would die, intoxicated by the radiation and chemical composts present on the sets. In the film, *Stalker* says: "*The Zone wants to be respected. Otherwise it will punish*".

Tallinn's old seafront is scored with large trees and fragments of prefabricated concrete slabs, a bucolic path between city, industry and ruins. Soviet prefabrication allowed for the mass construction of facades, slabs and coverings for housing, industry, *kolkhoz* and public buildings. It also drove the construction of access ramps to the water used by people and boats, which today, corroded by the saltpetre and temperature variation, appear as a second nature, profoundly artificialized, where torpedoes, ships and other military pieces from the Maritime Museum are displayed. Further away, new ferries and cruises make the connection with Scandinavia. In the future, these will be substituted by the underwater train tunnel that is being planned.

In the film, Tarkovsky's character, *Stalker*, tells us: "*The Zone is a very complicated system of traps, and they're all deadly. I don't know what's going on here in the absence of people, but the moment someone shows up, everything comes into motion. Old traps disappear, and new ones emerge. Safe spots become impassable. Now your path is easy, now it's hopelessly involved.*"

*That's the Zone. It may even seem capricious. (...) But everything that's going on here depends not on the Zone, but on us!"*⁷. The site resonates with the film, and back: the apocalyptic film was shot here, and the present abandonment recalls the apocalyptic fiction.

Between the Maritime Museum and the Linnahall, the abandoned soviet sports center, emerges a site of traumatic collective memory, the area of Patarei Prison. Robust walls stretch out towards the Sea, folding over a fortified bastion and enveloped in fences of barbed wire. The vermilion of the imperial brick and the rust of the gates contrast with the grey of the sky, the sea and the concrete slabs that artificialize the seafront. The air is dry, the humidity freezes and falls while it snows. In silence, under the snow, rests the gutted enclosure, partially covered in artistic drawings and interventions.

Patarei Prison building encapsulates the horrors of political history: created in 1840 as a Russian Imperial fortification, it was a Russian and German military garrison, a Russian maximum-security prison, taken over by the Nazi's in 1940 and a soviet prison for the subsequent decades. Its stories are horrifying, it was overcrowded and had rooms reserved for executions and medical experiments. It was closed one year after Estonia joined the European Union, in 2005. Today it is a place that embodies the memory of the fight for freedom, but, since August 2016 it has been closed to visitors. Its present circumstances are also tense, it is in danger and awaits heritagization. (I was not allowed in.)

Celebrating the period of soviet occupation is certainly not the approach of Estonian identity politics, neither is it part of the current sentimental mood, as can be seen in the former prison of Tallinn, the Patarei. It is important to understand that the memory of the soviet past is still fresh, as independence was only achieved in 1991 and many citizens still bitterly remember these times – there is no nostalgia, although it exists some *memorabilia* of the time left for visitors and *hipsters*.

It is also important to recognise that the cinematographic atmosphere of Andrei Tarkovsky was one of the imaginary guides to this territory, both in the fieldwork

⁷ Film: *Stalker*, 1979, directed by Andrei Tarkovski.

trip, and to our imaginary of the Baltic region. Almost 40 years after the shooting of *Stalker*, it is possible to gauge the transformation of its sets, real buildings in different states and situations, while also looking at an apocalyptic Estonia represented in science fiction from the 1970's, which is today somewhat maintained both in reality and fiction. Capturing the non-melancholic post-industriality that embraces the present and incorporates its contradictions is a great challenge: reality beats fiction.

Extreme site 3: Eastern Slope of Porto Riverside



Figure 3 – Eastern Slope of Porto Riverside. The riverside is a vast area of the city marked by severe geographical, economic and social contrasts, split and crossed by layers of infrastructure - electricity, water, sewage, train and highway -, aside poor workers houses, several abandoned industrial buildings and empty plots, spotted by high-end housing blocks, mansions and a five-star hotel by the water. Photo: Miguel Oliveira

The eastern slope of Porto's riverside extends from the abandoned XIXth century Dona Maria iron bridge, designed by Gustave Eiffel, and a XXIst century tunnel linking Porto to the next city, Gondomar. For most of its 1500m river long

length, the slope consists of empty land, wild vegetation and abandoned builds, part of which rural, having a vast extension covered with post-industrial buildings and sites, originally privately owned, with few exceptions. Industrialization was led by bourgeois families, its traces are many, but not of State scale.

Neglected and dilapidated until very recently, the upper level of the slope is punctuated by small industries in a very populated area where workers housing, the islands (ilhas), are still inhabited and private. These small infra-human structures, where families live in individual one floor houses about 16sqm, with no modern facilities, hide behind the bourgeois façades. The area undergoes real estate investment and transformation, having several buildings converted as new hotels, hostels and other tourist related business.

Paradoxically, the privileged lower level of the waterfront, with its wide river access, Gustave Eiffel Avenue, is abandoned except for a few functioning structures: a gas station, a magnate's farm mansion, the headquarters of his construction company, two high-end apartment blocks, and, to the extreme east side, the Press Museum and a recent five-star hotel in a baroque palace by the marina waterfront.

The empty mid-slope, between the waterfront and the upper town, occupies most of the area, it is a complex zone, split and crossed by several layers of infrastructure: the former electric power station, its ruins and abandoned structures, where water canals run along rural alleys, train tracks, tunnels, viaducts and bridges (highway, train), all punctuated by minor workers' neighbourhoods. The slope has privileged river views, there are rumours of future construction plans bringing new intensive housing to the area, as in another couple of unsuccessful attempts in the 1990's and in the 2000's. Today, it remains a "terrain vague" of promised future plans, occupied by poor families, and by temporary nomadic groups⁸.

⁸ From 28th September to 4 October 2019, I had the opportunity to co-organize and mentor with Aneta Szylak, the advanced course Post-Nostalgic Knowings, organized by the City Hall of Porto, with the invited guests Anton Kats, Elena Lacruz, Jonas Žukauskas, Jorge Ricardo Pinto, Solvita Krese. Post-Nostalgic Knowings is a course on culture and critical thinking which aims to look at

Further east, at the eastern vertex, and apex, of the eastern slope of Porto riverside, in Freixo, sits a convoluted historical complex which encapsulates stories as convoluted as its baroque architecture. The baroque aristocratic palace by the river, designed in the XVIIIth century by the Italian architect Nicolau Nasoni, was throughout time reconverted in style and function, later augmented with other less noble functions during the XIXth century. After the original construction as a pleasure house and garden of Távora family, the site of the palace hosted a soap factory which, after a fire, was seconded by a distillery, and decades later, the palace became the headquarters of a flourmill company – Harmonia – which built a 45m high industrial iron cast building in the palace's main terrace, in front of the main façade, resuming the nobility of its origins. Later, Harmonia Company built modern facilities across the road, abandoning the complex, which was dilapidated during XXth century.

Freixo Palace and Harmonia Flourmill embody a set of conditions and decisions which reflect Portuguese history, from a transient aristocracy to the unstable succession of bourgeois industrial production, its long period of abandonment and resurgence as a classified heritage site, a National Monument, and posterior privatization. After decades of neglect, the Palace and the Flourmill were abandoned ruins. Its daunting spatiality and peculiar location were used initially as venue for a site-specific contemporary art exhibition in 1993, Walter Benjamin's Briefcase⁹, which revealed the modular iron structure of mill, the spatiality of the building and its existing machinery, opening the possibility to become in 1998 the new Museum of Science and Industry of Porto, to preserve and expose the history and memory of the industrialization. The life of the

different places in Europe which contain collective stories in disappearance, scanning the potency of recent curatorial and artistic research and intervention. The course presents a variety of "post-nostalgic" approaches by authors addressing places in Ukraine, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Spain, to understand how contemporary knowings allow for reading, intervening and may contribute to resignify those places, whether in its relation to past memories and, most specially, as redefining new contemporary narratives. Trying to overcome the strictly preservationist and conservative approaches, the course will focus on a specific location in Porto, the Freixo hillside, characterized by the simultaneity of industrial history and the current pressure of real estate interests on the buildings and the land. Program: http://www.plaka.porto.pt/ficheiros/projectos/190827_PLAKA_PLK_PTENG_programa_1.pdf

⁹ The exhibition "Walter Benjamin's Briefcase" took place at the premises of the Harmonia in Freixo, between 6 November and 15 December 1993. Curated by Andrew Renton, it included works by artists: Christine Borland, Andrea Fisher, Douglas Gordon, Graham Gussin, Caroline Russell, Janet Wilson / Louise Wilson. Fernandes, João. *Walter Benjamin's Briefcase*. Porto: Porto City Hall, 1993.

Museum was brief, and in 2006 the newly reconverted building was emptied, the collections stored, and the building let to the private company Pestana. The Museum was closed so to be converted into rooms of a luxury hotel.

In the other side of the terrace, after the careful restoration work¹⁰ led on the public building by the Portuguese Architects Fernando Távora and son, José Bernardo Távora (2000-03), the recuperated baroque Palace became the social area of the private hotel. When in the late 80's of the XXth century the Portuguese state bought Freixo palace the intention was to instal public education services in its premises. The ambition was set to recuperate it closely to the original, under an experienced architect who was a direct descendent of the same noble family or original owners.

It was part of the recuperation plan to erase the industrial past from the baroque complex, dismantling the industrial mill and rebuilding the surrounding park, roads and access. The plan envisaged that the modular cast metal system of the old factory would be reassembled as a different pavilion at the nearby marina. It did not occur, the flourmill and its chimney have remained in place, while the palace, the redesigned gardens, park, main roads, and a new tunnel created to diverge the traffic, when through major reconstruction.

Around 2006, the renewed public Palace and the neighbour Museum of Science and Industry of Porto were emptied and together let to the private company, Pestana Group, to be transformed into the exclusive luxury hotel. The group has added several modern facilities and amenities to the National Monument. Freixo Palace celebrates the ostentatious baroque past through luxury tourism. The collection and documents of the Museum remain stored and packed in a warehouse, suspending the memory of industrialization.

The tensions around Freixo reading as National heritage and the several failed stories in/around the industrial building embody the celebration of erudite architecture and the suppression of industrialization, its technical remnants and artifacts. From the palace we see a complex, convoluted, contradictory

¹⁰ During 2000/2001 my academic internship took place at the construction site of the recuperation of Freixo, as an intern to the architects. This period was rich in terms of understanding and contributing to the work of interdisciplinary teams working on the monument.

succession of stories, as the ones that span along the 1500m length of the slope: old empty land and abandoned builds, part of which rural, having a vast extension of land covered with post-industrial buildings and sites, private, or privatized, with few exceptions.

Going through these three visited and described sites - Chernobyl, Tallinn and Freixo - reveals the impossibility to compare or establish common grounds. All of which are peculiar in its past and present processes, and radically different, therefore, understanding its conditions, decisions, processes and affects was the strategy embraced, instead of comparison, which would reduce the sites to specific relatable traces, reducing its singularities.

On one extreme, the cautious classification and preservation of a relevant historical site, classified as National Monument, and active suppression of its industrial past, creates a strangely polished and time-specific baroque object, while its surrounding context is a post-industrial zone severely abandoned. This approach promoted the definition and celebration of a meaningful historical period and its reconstruction through an object over the intervention on the systemic condition of life in the area. On the other extreme, the environment and territory are the main preoccupations, whether for decontamination, safety or access to infrastructure, the resignification of the objectual buildings and past is a preoccupation lesser related to heritage and more with the actual conditions of life, resulting in architecture, buildings and sites in different states of consolidation and destruction.

If in Freixo, Porto, the history and memory of the past is celebrated and its heritagization is desired and promoted, even if effacing the industrial construction and past, in Estonia and in Chernobyl, we perceive the active preoccupation with the present and of the possibility of forgetting. Eventually, film fiction, contemporary art exhibitions, or television fiction, are some of the most stable references and protections to part of the memory of the sites. Paradoxically, through the examples we perceive how both the active and the passive suppression of past buildings and sites – through selective preservation

or nonchalantly disaffection – overall results in a progressive erasure of the industrial past and, therefore, a careful rewriting of historical narrative.

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Author identification

Inês Moreira. Post-Doctoral researcher at Instituto de História da Arte [NOVA FCSH], developing the Post-Doctoral research: “Curating and revitalizing buildings – intervening in postindustrial spaces in Europe in the 21st century” (funded by FCT). Coordinator of the new research cluster Curating Contemporary Cultures: on architectures, territories and networks. Work group leader at Cost Action network -European Forum for Advanced Practices. Guest Auxiliary Professor at Fine Art of University of Porto (since 2014). Holds a PhD degree in Curatorial Knowledge (Goldsmiths College, University of London, 2014), a Master's degree in Architecture and Urban Culture (Metropolis, UPC/CCCB, Barcelona, 2003), graduated in Architecture (FAUP, Porto, 2001). + inesmoreira.org

EUROPE'S SICKNESS

Alberto Ruiz de Samaniego

Facultad de Belas Artes de Pontevedra – Universidade de Vigo / Fine Arts School of Pontevedra – University of Vigo, Pontevedra, Spain

Abstract

Is Europe sick? Has it always been? More than a hundred years ago, Nietzsche wrote: "Europe is a sick man, and an incurable sick one." If so, we would like to diagnose what such a disease consisted of and still consists, and if it has a cure.

“A decline which is not understood loses its poetry in the
ridiculous.” (Emil Cioran)

More than a century ago, Nietzsche wrote that Europe was a sick man, and an incurable patient. That disease that affected Europe, as is known, was nihilism; the *most unsettling host*. The values that had sustained civilization were exhausted and, now, the continent lacked tragic culture, and it had plenty of... reason. A reason that, furthermore, was less itself than its cult. But, even after a century and a half, Europe has not yet been able to think about its fatality. It has not been able to think, affirmatively, on its own lack of values, so that, from that point, it is be able to generate new ones. Thus, it has not been able to surpass itself. That is why it is an incurable patient.

Europe, therefore, has been unable to plunge itself, with tragic Nietzschean joy, into the unknown. The torment of the unknown, the a-rational or radically random facet that always governs the becoming. It has always wanted to reflect itself in a false Greece that stood out for its harmony and serenity, but from which all the abysmatic potency, whose tumult and passion were setting fire to the Greek garden, was hidden.

Europe, so to speak, has lived happily amidst its abstract intelligence, its maxims, its notes and paradoxes. That is why its world is only assumed as the world of the understandable, the rejection of mystery.

The greatest mystery, as Nietzsche himself noted, is precisely that God has died... by our hands. Here is one of Nietzsche's substantial concerns, especially in the last years of lucidity, when he can, nevertheless, be masked under the figure of the mad speaker who seeks God in the midst of men's misunderstanding, urged only by necessity, with their backs turned to everything divine: "Where has God gone? - he exclaimed -, I will tell you. We have killed him: you and me! We are all his murderers. But how could we have done it? How could we have drunk the sea? Who lent us the sponge to blur the horizon? What have we done, when we unleashed the earth from its sun? What path will it follow now? Where will we ourselves go? Away from all suns? Will we not be continuously falling? Forward, backward, sideways, everywhere? Is there by any chance an up and down, nevertheless? Do we not err as through an infinite nothing? Doesn't the breath of empty space rub against us? Isn't it colder? Isn't there always night and night again? Do we not have to light up beacons at midday? Do we not still hear the noise of the gravediggers who bury God? Do we not feel, however, any odor from divine rot? Gods also decompose!" (*La Gaya ciencia*, § 125).¹ In this passage, Nietzsche nevertheless contemplates the death of God as the dramatic overthrow of traditional metaphysics. There is no possibility of revitalizing categories and values that nowadays are only ruins: there are no hopes. It corresponds with the decline of the world of god, but also to that of man's domain (equivalent to the downfall of truth and, with it, also that of appearances). This black point of infinite nothingness or void, an authentic terminal episode, can only be assumed as the necessary prologue to the culmination of nihilism, the possibility of overcoming god, but – beyond that – man himself.

Hence, further on, in the *fifth book*, at the sight of God's throne vacancy and in the text with which precisely this begins (entitled "We, the Fearless"), he

¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *El gay saber o la gaya ciencia*, ed. and trans. Luis Jiménez Moreno, Espasa, Madrid, 2000.

addresses this important subject again – he even calls it ‘spectacle’ - as "The greatest of last events - that 'God is dead', that the faith in the Christian God has become untenable." What Nietzsche will be unfolding, now without any ambiguity, is an idea that works in the manner of a crucial caesura between the past and his time, which is ours. "The new - he will write in a posthumous text in the spring of 1880 - in our current position on philosophy is a conviction that no era has had yet: *that we don't hold the truth*. All men in past times 'had the truth': even the skeptics. "But now Nietzsche does not fall into despair and, even referring perhaps to the plastic Jean Paul-like descriptions of an abysmal world, an orb taken by the most absolute devastation and the black sun of melancholy, he uses them as a pathetic scenario on which to operate his radical transformation of everything, an exercise of *disorder* embodied first of all in himself: "This wide plenitude with its rupturing, destructive, collapsing, overthrowing consequences that we now have before us: who would be able to guess enough of all this today, to become the master and preacher of this enormous logic of horror, the prophet of deep darkness and eclipse of the sun, the like of which has probably never before existed on earth? [...] We ourselves, riddle diviners by birth, who wait, so to speak, on the mountains, located between today and tomorrow and lying in the contradiction between today and tomorrow. [...] We may still be too under the immediate consequences of this event, and these immediate consequences, its consequences, are not sad and dark for us at all, contrary to what we would expect, but are rather as a new kind of light, difficult to discover, as happiness, a relief, a recreation, a sustenance, an aurora [...] Indeed we, philosophers and 'free spirits', before the news that the 'old God has died', feel as if enlightened by a new dawn; our heart overflows with gratitude, admiration, premonition and hope".

There was a good reason for that. After the eclipse, the existential horizon presented itself without any obscurity, finally free, open for a new journey to be started. Soon Heidegger, precisely in his writings on Nietzsche, will be very clear about this: nihilism "is to begin taking the 'occurrence' that 'God is dead' seriously". So that the lack does not bring with it the lament, "but is, instead,

greeted as a liberation, touted as a definitive conquest and perceived as fulfillment." (*Nietzsche II*).

This is similar to the hope of someone like Hölderlin, for whom, although Christ had died, at least he endured, until the day of his return, through earth's gifts in the species of bread and wine. That is precisely why we had to remain faithful to the earth. But these verses on the impetus that Nietzsche puts in Zarathustra's mouth are placed even further, in his speech about the donkey's feast. Let us remind it: "While you don't become as little children, you will not enter that kingdom of heaven. (And Zarathustra pointed it with his hands up). But we do not want to enter the kingdom of heaven in any way at all: we have become men - *and that is why we want the kingdom of the earth.*" The will to fulfill this purely earthly desire can easily lead to a process of self-divination of the individual self, as expressed, with gloomy resonances, by Müller/Schubert's *Winter Journey Lied*:

Let us enter the world happily

against all odds!

Since there is no god in heaven,

we ourselves will be gods!

If - as *The Gay Science* states (§ 125) - we are the murderers of "the holiest and most powerful that the world has hitherto possessed", if "he has bled out under our knives", then, before such an enormous fact - "too big for us" -, there is no alternative but to "become gods ourselves" to "appear worthy of it". That is why this event is truly supreme, a caesura that will mark a new cycle in the history of men: "There has never been a greater deed; and whoever is born after us, for the sake of this deed he will belong to a higher history than all history hitherto."²

Unfortunately, this Nietzsche was not heard, and the decline of Europe has been manifested in the obvious inability to recreate new values that drive precisely the will of creation itself, and even the will of existence. We Europeans have lost

² *Ibid.*

vital contacts with the world, we have sunk for more than a century in a fatal absence. Our time is that of extreme lucidity... an absolutely boring one. Tired people living in inert clarity. Jean-Luc Nancy, for example, makes a truly distressed diagnosis of our contemporary West, albeit difficult to refute: "The West is no longer recognized as having a worldview or a sense of the world that would follow its globalization [...]. Globalization seems to be reduced, essentially, to what Marx had already perfectly discerned as the production of the world market, and the meaning of that world seems to consist only in the accumulation and circulation of capital, followed by a clear worsening of the distance between rich dominators and the dominated poor, as well as an indefinite technical expansion that only occurs very modestly, and with disquiet as well as anguish, purposes of 'progress' and improvement of the human condition. Humanism leads to inhumanity, that can be – according to Nancy - the brutal summary of the situation. And the West does not understand how it came to this point."³

But Europe was not this. The active Europe that emerges from the maritime polis, from the thalassocracy of Asia Minor, was a thought that was driven by the constant desire for material conquest and spiritual time, by the novelty of an intelligence that continually exceeded itself. It developed century after century, and reached a good part of the rest of the globe, because it circulated some stories and attitudes in which it believed. No continent but Europe has been so present in the construction of the modern era. We would say that it now pays that presence with its decline.

We are, to a large extent, expiating our triumph. Dried or dead those values, we live more or less comfortably in intellectual desiccation. Reduced to triviality, to the lack of risk. We are paralysed by any thought that tries to remove the functions from the possible; that is to say, to penetrate into a truly dynamic, disturbing reality, with the ability to remove the categories of its pale stupor.

Our time is that of the triumph of narrow thinking and mediocrity. Mediocrity has reached its continental, European, dominating style. The average European - it is

³ Jean-Luc Nancy and Juan Carlos Moreno Romo, *Occidentes del Sentido / Sentidos de Occidente*, Anthropos, Barcelona, 2019, pp. 34-35.

difficult not to find anything other than this *mediocratized* individual - lives happily surrounded by insignificant things. Cioran has sometimes talked about the refinement of triviality. Of the polishing of tiny things and the maintenance of a little intelligence in everyday accidents. That is, making natural nonsense as bearable as possible, by wrapping it in grace and giving it the luster of finesse.

The decline began when we stopped believing in our stories and were unable to replace them with new beliefs. The lucidity of nihilism has led us to abulia. But, in fact, the whole history of Europe is nothing more than that of its ideals, or its values. Europe believed, successively, in classicism, the Enlightenment, the Revolution, the Empire, the Republic. It had the ideals of the aristocracy, of the Church, of the bourgeoisie, of the proletariat, and suffered for each of them. It proposed its efforts, transformed into formulas, to the continent and, with it, to the world; who imitated them, perfected them, committed to them. Europe, then, created ideals and wore them out, experienced them until the end, *ad nauseum*. And, now, the sources of the European spirit have been exhausted. And now, indeed, we woke up facing the desert, arms folded, terrified before the future.

In the name of what could Europeans still be moved? What to propose to our community? Even Europe's own idea, as an aspiration, seems old and anachronistic, bland, not producing even the slightest chill or emotion. We lack fictions powerful enough for us to believe in them again. Cerebral skepticism has become organic. *No future*. The lack of future is the essence of the present. Nietzsche - let's go back to him, although he was never abandoned - argued that a nation was creative as long as life was not its only value. For its values were its criteria. To believe in fiction, for example, of freedom and to fight and dance for it. The crucial question now is this: What belief is to be invented that can sustain life again?

I would like to believe that it is up to art to open this possibility. "A work of art is one capable of facing a danger," Rilke said. What often seems to be forgotten today is that the truth of a work of art must be interpreted and valued according to the forces or power that determine it to exist, and that lead to doing one

thing instead of another. Robert Musil argued that one of the basic characteristics of the artist is the smell of the possible. This could be understood as the way in which he is capable of tracking the multiparametric and complex, his competence to raise other possibilities, other connections and travels within the affective and cognitive map. Therefore, when we are told about the work of art in the abstract, or of the artistic as it is in itself, or for itself, we must always ask what forces are hidden in the thought of the work, i.e.: what is its meaning and what is its value for a subject, or for a given community. One must, therefore, face the complexity of the piece of art, so that it is capable of reconnecting with the multiple contents of the vital reference. Then, it would mean generating organs of perception/action that illuminate new sensorial fields of the real, that would allow us, experimentally, to extract evidence from new statements, symbols and stories. The artist must therefore be required to create new life possibilities.

But, unfortunately, it is true, as Deleuze also thought, that today the image does not cease to fall into an unfortunate state, which is that of the topic. The image is inserted in absolutely predictable chains, or it inclusively generates, organizes or at least induces them itself. But in reality, we never perceive what is in an image, perhaps because it is precisely made for that: so that we do not perceive everything, so that the topic hides the image itself [...] the strength or power of the image. More than a civilization of the image we should then speak, truly, of a civilization of the topic or cliché. And this precisely in a world where all powers have an interest in hiding the image from us. Or better: in *hiding something* from us through or in the image.

That is why, at the same time, art has the very precise function of tackling the topic through the image itself, of getting out of that narcotic, stupidifying inertia. It is not known - Deleuze also wrote - how far a true image can lead us into: the importance, for example, of becoming visionary or seer. However, it is also very clear that an awareness or fraternal affection towards the disadvantaged one(s) is no longer enough. Sometimes you need to restore the lost parts, find everything that is not seen in the image, everything that was stolen from it, to make it, for example, *fashionable* or "interesting." And sometimes, on the

contrary, it is convenient to make holes, create gaps and interruptions in that perversely accessible and maternal *techno-imaginal* circuit. The image would have to be rarified, suppressed from many things that had been added, to make us believe that *we saw everything*. The hard part is also knowing in what way an image is no longer a topic itself. To fight especially with oneself so as not to collaborate in this epidemic of amnesia and insignificance. And, of course, to win, it is not enough to *parody the topic* itself, as many today might think or seem to usually think. It is not even enough to make holes in it or empty it. It is not enough to disturb it or simply break organizations and chains. Rather, one must unite to the specific image that one creates immense forces that surpass mere subjective or personal singularity. Immense forces, panoramic ones, as onslaughts that arrive in block, co-rhythmic, we would say, and that are not of course those of a simple cultural, intellectual, or even social, conscience, but those of a deep *vital intuition* that relocates us in the immemorial *rest* of the species. There is a very interesting confidence that Mozart made to Röchlitz. He said: everything comes in block, at once, without unfolding. All this greatly fatigues both the brain and the body of the composer, who then must have the courage to write it down. If not, he is not at all a composer, just a harassed man.

To suffer the onslaughts of vision, its violence. But even that would not be the essential thing in art. It would take the additional courage to return from that transport and write it down. But, for now, we lack the unconscious, and power, and risk, and the ability to jump, to ignite oneself dionisiacally. A land without myths is in the process of depopulation. The desert of Europe's fields is the overwhelming sign of the lack of everyday mythology. We feel burdened by the total lack of life, rhythm, children, future. That emptiness is evidenced in the desperate search for *distraction* at all costs. But neither can we content ourselves with being melancholic, leaning on the threshold of our definitive absence. Our past - or even our soporific opulence - cannot be our excuse. It is, then, about being again able to transform concepts into myths, into stories, into living substance. Being able to pour vitality into fictions.

"For the past year I have never been awake more than five minutes in a row," Kafka wrote in his 1911 diary. We must also read this as a password, a symbol of our own precarious and always strange condition. Spectral time in which the apparitions are not installed in the past, but in the present, forming the closest test to us of a future in suspense. Perhaps because of this, contemporary art seems reduced so many times to pathetic confessions of sad pretended personal stories. Too often it has practiced a poetic of self-condescension and banally transgressive literalism that has not really done more than to deepen the stupor's paralysis (i.e.: the passivity of a conscience that believes it sees everything but can no longer do nothing) and the nostalgia of a presence as hysterical - and unlikely - as supposedly decisive. Likewise, let us note the insignificance of its ridiculous or precarious events; there, where sense plunges into stupidity, the overdose of terror or the traumatic syncopation of fear. It would be necessary to separate all these preachings of disenchantment and *victimhood*. Rather, we need to turn this desert into the joy of what is to happen, while restoring at the same time the vitality of vertigo and of the unprecedented. To reinvent the real. As one who raises a fundamental fiction, a supreme fiction, a new cartography through which a powerful enough imaginary circulates. "We call imaginary - wrote Lyotard - to every procedure that tends to make bearable what is not bearable. Desire is unbearable. Giving courage to endure the unbearable is imaginary."⁴

I.e: to transform success, however small it might be, into the most delicate thing in the world. To try to keep the promise, after all. This also means: not even seeking the substance of our absence, but the fringe where that absence is linked with *what it is*. It is urgent to incorporate – and even more: to support, install - the energy of intermittence, the search of routes without guarantees, crossings between images that trigger all the resources of estrangement. In *The Gay Science* Nietzsche already provided a way out for Kafka's collapse: "Either you don't dream, or you dream in an interesting way. You have to learn to be awake in the same way: either not being at all, or doing it in an interesting way."

⁴ Jean-François Lyotard, "El imaginario postmoderno y la cuestión del otro en el pensamiento y la arquitectura", en *Pensar-Componer/ Construir-Habitar*, Ed. Arteleku, San Sebastián, 1994, p. 36.

Finally, it would be worthwhile to meditate on the idea of *Being and Time* of the daily inauthenticity of our life. We are all as we are and nobody is himself, Heidegger argued. This existence of *nobody* or as *nobody* also represents a somewhat ghostly role. It is a mask behind which there is really nothing or nothing is there. To the extent, precisely, in which there is no *it-self*. And, for that reason, it would no longer be a question of searching for it or after its realization, as if someone looking for a lost jewel. No. *Inauthenticity is the original form of our existence*, not the mark of an alienation or its decline. The *dasein*, the *being-there* is therefore not immediately and regularly with himself, but outside, *out there*, with his affairs and with the others⁵. Always with another and the other. Never at home, *not at his home: Unzu Hause*.

Nothing would be worse than trying to compensate for this fundamental dispossession of individuals with the abnormal proliferation of representations, without this implying, of course, the stupid condemnation - so current - of fiction as a mere detestable simulacrum, or the fall in the typical deconstructivist critique, determined to show that what we experience as reality is always a construction of symbolic procedures. In this way the only outrageous conclusion reached is that there is no reality, everything is text or – a misfortune that can not get worse - fiction. There is nothing that can be done about it. This criticism will never allow you to *experience the real*. It always ends up unmasking it as a mere falsified projection. We believe - precisely with Žižek - that we must choose just the other way around: always trying to recognize - to riskily restore - the Real in what - never as simply as you think - appears as a mere symbolic fiction. Let us remember: a work of art is one capable of facing a danger. It consists of a cutting and transversal operation that penetrates beyond or more deeper into the background of the fantasy of reality, of the ghost that *is* reality. To open a domain where the subject can externalize and stage that unbearable, inobjectifiable Real. Due to the hard core of the Real, that rest, we are, indeed, only able of bearing it if we turn it into fiction.

⁵ Here, I am following R. Safranski, *Heidegger y el comenzar*, Círculo de Bellas Artes, Madrid, 2006, trans. Joaquín Chamorro, pp. 17-18.

Author identification

Alberto Ruiz de Samaniego. *Professor of Aesthetics and Art Theory at Vigo University. He was director of Fundación Luis Seoane, La Coruña. Cultural critic and curator, he has published the books Maurice Blanchot: una estética de lo neutro (2001), La inflexión posmoderna: los márgenes de la modernidad (2004), Belleza de otro mundo. Apuntes sobre algunas poéticas del inmovilismo (2005), Ser y no ser. Figuras en el dominio de lo espectral (2013), Negro teatro de Jorge Molder (2015), Las horas bellas. Escritos sobre cine (2015), Cuerpos a la deriva (2017), Alegrías de Nada (2018) y La ciudad desnuda. Variaciones en torno a 'Un hombre que duerme', de Georges Perec (2019). He was also co-director of the film Pessoa/Lisboa (2016)*

EUROAMERICANISM

Subject & Chaos

Marcus Steinweg

Staatliche Akademie der Bildenden Künste Karlsruhe / Art Academy Karlsruhe,
Karlsruhe, Germany

Abstract

Philosophy always unites the divided: the finite and infinite, fathomable and unfathomable, created and creator, Man and God. Whenever I think, my thought unites what must remain divided: immanence and transcendence, consistency and inconsistency, European originality and American horizontality. Art and philosophy indicate the contingent nature of reality. They generate resistance against established realities and the dispositives that organize them. Their aim is not to flee from reality but rather to intensify contact with reality by maintaining a distance to it.

Keywords: Happiness, Confinement, Enlightenment, Courage, Pathos and Stinging Eyes.

Happiness

François Jullien demonstrated that the idea of happiness was among the least questioned premises in Western thought. As long as this idea remains tied to a vision of a goal in order to inscribe itself in a teleology with a happy ending, it will belong to the Europeanism of the happy life, which “singled out the idea of happiness from the continuity of process and set it forth as ‘the desirable’ par excellence.” As always, Jullien approaches the deconstruction of one of the core categories of the European history of ideas from the outside, taking a detour through China, which did not undergo the separation of day-to-day living and the desire for happiness in order to nurture life independent of happiness. Nurturing life away from happiness means living it without any particular idea of happiness, beyond the dramaturgy of unfulfilled desire, without the

romanticization of happiness. One thing that's notable about this comparison between European goal-orientedness/purposefulness and Chinese purposelessness/goallessness is that it leaves unmentioned the emergence of a conception of happiness within the field of Western philosophy that is freed from the categories of sense, from determination, and from telos. Nietzsche reactivated the antique and Spinozistic heritage of an immanence of *beatitudo* in the materialistic horizon of existence. Spinozistic/Nietzschean affirmationism, saying yes to life in its unliveableness, would be another strain of Western thought that locates happiness within its incommensurability—instead of construing it as beyond life. Being happy simply means living. There is no life beyond life, beyond its violence and unliveableness.

Confinement

Has anyone ever done more violence to *logos* than to confine it in the prison known as logic? And what if the speech, language, or reason known as logos were convicted of the inconsistency of its promise known as logic? Among heretics, an exactingness caused by excess is proper to thought, which tempts logos to break with its principles. Thinking means showing logos its own fragility.

Enlightenment

Should we call enlightenment the thing that spreads “trace elements of reason ... through the world,” or is it “trace elements of chaos ... that bring forth enlightenment”? Alexander Kluge directs this question at Heiner Müller, who recognizes that it is the “purpose of intelligence” “to create chaos” in order to “question all illusions, all coalitions, and all alliances.” Ultimately, the point is to complicate the opposition between reason and chaos. What else does reason do than bring chaos into the world, and what does chaos produce if not the hyperreasonable questioning of this chaos of reason, which is rationalistic totalism? The dialectic of enlightenment causes reason and chaos to interact in a way that does not privilege either side. We’ve gotten used to describing the birth

of logos out of chaos or myth as the emancipation of thought from the irrational. At the same time, we know that the emergence of reason in the prerational sphere of chaos represented a violent event that generated chaotic effects. Translated into the system of nature/culture, that means that we distance ourselves from the myth of a culture that substitutes for “wild” nature, and cannot simply switch over to an opposing ideology of nature robbed of its “innocence” by culture. Nature isn’t wild, pure, or innocent; nor is culture civilizing or violent. To formulate it as primitively as possible: one isn’t better than the other. Nature isn’t good, culture isn’t bad; nor vice versa. Enlightenment begins with the suspension of these anthropomorphisms. Articulating oneself beyond good and evil is part of complexity. The interest-oriented, strategic, or irrational violence, brutality, and horror that happen in the name of (generally fascistic) naturalism and (ideological, religious) culturalism is the product of the subject’s exit from the dialectic of enlightenment. Instead of acting at the level of its world’s complexity, it reduces this complexity in favor of one-sidedness that it calls truth or justice. Should it make sense to speak of truth or justice in this context, then the dialectic of enlightenment teaches us that they are on the side of complexity rather than one-sidedness.

Courage

In Kant’s essay *What Is Enlightenment?* (1784), Michel Foucault recognized a “call to courage.” The famed challenge—addressed to all of humanity—to emerge from immaturity implies a *sapere aude*: the courage to think, the emancipation from subjection to the thinking of others. Kant is touching on the human ability to become conscious of one’s own heteronomy in order to—gradually—free oneself from it. In the context of further considerations that stray from Kant, Foucault spoke of the “courage of the truth,” which is tantamount to his definition of philosophical thought. The courage of the truth turns out to be the courage of thinking. The act of thinking—which includes processuality and interminability—includes working on the truth, “analysis of the relations between the subject and truth: that of relations of power and their role in the interplay

between the subject and truth.” The courage of truth must question the instrumentalization of the truth and its fusion with established power. Far from dismissing truth as a metaphysical concept—and with and without Kant—Foucault defines the task of his thought as the analysis of the truth. Courage demands this analysis, if only because as a critical project, it cannot trust any simple solutions— as far as the alliance between knowledge and power goes, for example. Strictly speaking, it can’t trust anything. The courage of truth is inherent in the tradition of enlightenment not only in the form of a challenge, but also as problem and aporia. You could call Foucault the thinker of this inherence. His entire body of thought expresses consciousness of the aporia of thought concerning the truth. This is why it is thought—because thinking doesn’t mean searching for solutions. Thinking means working through problems that elude solvability. Kant was also clear on this. The subject is in a bind. That’s what the subject’s humanity consists in: being in contact with questions and problems that it can neither dismiss nor solve. And that’s what requires courage.

Pathos

Thinking that thinks itself—the self-reflection of the logos, the cogito, or the subject—implies the veritable pathos of reason. There is no doctrine of reason that is not a doctrine of emotion. The reasoning subject cannot think itself without being confronted with its own fragmentation, the pain that belongs to self-awareness. The Ancient Greek verb *páschein* means *to suffer* or *to endure*—and what is suffering other than an experience that pushes the subject to its limits? Pathos expresses the experience of unresolvable conflict, which is why there is no philosophy that isn’t pathetic in this sense. It may be a matter of the discreet pathos of mathematical thinking, or lines of argument strained to their breaking point. It may be the polemic pathos of reason run riot, which we are familiar with from Nietzsche’s final books and Artaud’s strident invectives (from his “animalistic and superhuman, shrieking, shrill, brutal” speech). The pathos of dry subjects, abstraction, sobriety, and coldness also expresses the pain of thought, in which it “loses itself,” as Hegel says. Thinking means getting lost

again and again. The self grinds itself down on its conflicts instead of synthesizing them dialectically. The movement of reason traces its restlessness. Thinking is a passion that makes the subject tremble in the face of truths that undermine its realities.

Stinging eyes

To look truth in the face—that is the cliché of thought because it can only do so in the face of a truth that remains faceless. “What thing,” asks Jean-Luc Nancy, “*can* be looked at directly in the face? If looking something ‘in the face’ means seeing its ‘truth’ or ‘evidence,’ then there is never any direct face-to-face. Every face is a bedazzlement, terrible and marvelous.” We know that Lacan calls the faceless face of the truth the real. Freud speaks of the unconscious, Heidegger of being that collapses into nothingness as nonbeing. There is no philosopher who hasn’t found their own term for the truth without a face. Plato evokes the image of the shining sun. Burning light that stings the eyes. The sun inflames and irritates the subject. If it does not cause blindness, then at least it bedazzles. Like Freud’s unconscious, Lacan’s real, and Heidegger’s being, it does not give of itself fully; it withdraws and withholds itself. It doesn’t divulge itself directly. The subject communicates with these entities only at the cost of relative blindness. The truth generates a subject with stinging eyes. You can also refer to “reddened eyes,” as Rancière does in a commentary on Deleuze. With Deleuze, chaos blinds the subject and causes it to slide. What Deleuze and Guattari, together with Nietzsche, call chaos can be interpreted as a translation of the Lacanian real into the dispositive of immanent thought. The planes of immanence lie like a filter or a “screen” over chaos. They muffle the contact with nothingness. Just as the antique logos already represented a neutralizing figure for the *alogon*, the immanence filter lies over the faceless chaos of truth in order to give it a face that stings the subject’s eyes less. To look truth in the face means assenting to being blinded, which promises some minimum of insight. This perhaps impossible promise is the promise that philosophy makes to itself.

Author identification

Marcus Steinweg. Born in 1971, lives and works as a philosopher in Berlin. He is a Professor at the Art Academy Kralruhe. His recent books include: "Duras" (with Rosemarie Trockel, Berlin: Merve 2008); "Politik des Subjekts" (Zürich/Berlin: Diaphanes 2009); "Aporien der Liebe" (Berlin: Merve 2010); "Kunst und Philosophie / Art and Philosophy" (Cologne: Walter König: 2012); "Philosophie der Überstürzung" (Berlin: Merve 2013), "Inkonsistenzen" (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz 2015), "Evidenzterror" (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz 2015), "Gramsci Theater" (Berlin: Merve 2016), "Splitter" (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz 2016), "Subjekt und Wahrheit" (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz 2018). Some of his books are published in english by The MIT Press

GERHARD RICHTER:
Between the sayable and the intelligible

Cristina Susigan

Faculdade Santa Marcelina e Pesquisadora do CEAA /Santa Marcelina College and
Researcher of CEAA, São Paulo, Brazil

Abstract

It is a fact that the history of art has sought new theoretical foundations and new methodologies, driven by the desire to become more "global". In Peter Sloterdijk's thinking, art is more potent and therefore would reject any categorization (2014, 479), going beyond the sayable and the intelligible; Gilles Deleuze (2001: 88) says: "Art thinks only of philosophy, but thinks of objects and percepts". In the heated debate provoked by this desire for a more critical Art History, a question can be raised: Who holds the power in the field today and where do the theories that govern the interpretations emanate, for the restructuring of a more democratic and inclusive Art History? This communication aims to question the artistic representation produced after World War II and the multiple connections that help to sediment what we can call "the end of art", in the sense of Hans Belting - like the artist's liberation -, at the same time that debates the end of utopias of the vanguards. In a fragmented world, where according to Theodor Adorno it was impossible to produce poetry after Auschwitz, let us analyze the works of Gerhard Richter (1932-), whose works can be understood as mirrors to reflect a world in which reality and image are equally present in contemporary life, in search, according to the artist "of the truth of the image."

Keywords: Art History, Gerhard Richter, sayable and intelligible.

When we come across a work of art our first impulse is to rationalize, theorize, because western cultural thought gives more importance to the text; interpret the image through the word rather than the aesthetic fruition and the approximation of images. If we return to Upper Paleolithic, we will already find in what we call "rock art"- or more recently the indigenous objects, which only acquires importance when there is a context-, images, which by themselves speak of themselves, at the same time that reminds us of the reflection of that

we will never know the true intent of these images and why they were made. According to Marie-José Mondzain:

"(...) The negative hand is the first self-portrait, non-specular, mirrorless self-portrait of the man who is a subject who knows only of himself and the world the trace left there by his hands. The self-image is a proof of separation, the establishment of a regime of separation and untied subjectivity." (Mondzain, 2015, p. 42)

The idea that the human being is an artist and art producer, in turn, is strongly linked to the historical thought developed in the Renaissance by Vasari, where the desire to immortalize those who produced and produce the third space arises (the third Space as a proposal of a sensitive logos trying to separate the distemation between man and animal, and as well reflects Emanuele Coccia (2015: 85):' (...) *the sensible exists within matter / in the object, not in our soul / in the subject, but it is the place where nature and culture, life and history exile themselves.*'

These parameters will be based on the new theories of the image, with the intent of a knowledge of the world, to move away from the concept of art to approximate the concept of image, more comprehensive, permeate our thought.

When we look at the images of René Magritte (1898-1967), for example the *Key of Dreams* (Figure 1), which makes a game between saying things and seeing – fighting between the speakable and visible image and the meaning of the written word-, they defy us and shuffles our gaze, who sees the object and can be redirected to the words, mistaking the understanding.

This conflict between words and image-a medium widely used nowadays-, will redeem Plato's dichotomy between word and truth and reminds us of what Marilena Chauí, by summarising the socratic thought, signaling that the sensitive world is a shadow, a copy deformed or imperfect of the intelligible world of ideas or essences.



Figure 1. Key of Dreams, 1930. Oil on canvas: 81 x 60 cm.
Private Collection, Paris. <http://www.magritte.be/>

The reduction of the visible to the speakable, of the sensible to the intelligible was, in the twentieth century, first fought in philosophy by the definition of work of art by Martin Heidegger, who sought to regain the idea of truth, and then by artists such as Magritte and Joseph Kosuth (1945-). According to Heidegger:

“(...) As soon as the shock to the unsettling abyss is dampened in the field of the habitual and the expert, the art business around works has already begun. The very careful transmission of the works, the scientific efforts for their recovery, never again touch the very being-work, but only a memory of it. But you can also offer the work a place from which to

make history. The most authentic reality of the work only comes to light where the work is safeguarded in the truth that happens through itself.” (Heidegger, 2007, p. 57)

The Magritte paintings can be interpreted by the idea of the unmasking of Heidegger's truth, and this truth would be the imbroglio of knowledge and the unsurpassed span between the visible and the decidable, meaningful and meaningful, that other knowledge. They sought to fill in an analytical and analytical-historical way. Kosuth (2006: 225), in turn, emphasizes the ability of the art to self-define: *‘(...) At this moment of mankind, after philosophy and religion, art can eventually be that activity that solves what other times may have called ' the spiritual needs of the human being.’*



Figure 2. *One and Three Chairs*, 1965. Installation. Chair 32 3/8 x 14 7/8 x 20 7/8" (82 x 37.8 x 53 cm), photographic panel 36 x 24 1/8" (91.5 x 61.1 cm), text panel 24 x 30" (61 x 76.2 cm). MoMA Museum. <https://www.moma.org/collection/works/81435>

Art has a potential that goes beyond the speakable and intelligible, though, over two millennia and a half, it has been trying to discuss it in relation to the truth: either as danger, or as therapeutical, or as truth that must be safeguarded by philosophy. According to Peter Sloterdijk:

"(...) From the art the path is short to what in the philosophical language is called decentralized consciousness, that is, that form of consciousness in which the self leaves the strategic center of being-in-the-world in favor of a participation of a belonging without reference." (Sloterdijk, 2014, p. 479)

In philosophy persisted the idea of associating art to the intelligible, although the association of art to philosophy by Deleuze and Guattari, who first declared all sciences as being creative to later recognize art as being able to think, had as main goal to end once and for all with the hierarchization between the sensible and the intelligible.

Before that, the potential of art was first defended by the historical vanguard and then by contemporary art. Today the aesthetic experience is no longer seen as being didactical (Plato), therapeutic (Aristotle) or intranquilizing (Heidegger), but as being able to provide a presence of spirit capable of disintegrating the self, to make us feel part of a whole deindividualized (Sloterdijk).

If the history of western art, rooted in eurocentrism, places us on the pedestal of being historical beings, that is, those who have possessed and still have an effect on the fate of others. In parallel, an a-historical thought could be associated with both people who dispensed from these activities and writing as to those who were affected by historical thinking and so absorbed or assimilated it, but never actually practiced it or exclusively. In this context, we can include trans-historic thinking, it bridges the temporality of space-time, being a *continuum* of history and images, in our case.

When Adorno refers that after Auschwitz is impossible to write poetry, we can transmute this concept into painting. In the context of the "catastrophe", when the world collapses, the act of painting becomes a body to body with the painting; We see the figuration of the catastrophe, as if nature were to be deconstructed - the first painter to think of this concept was William Turner (1775-1851), with his paintings dissolved, where the figuration little by little is no longer visible to be only a perception. And it will be in this field that post-war artists will have to rebuild their subjectivity.

Gerhard Richter (1932-) is one of the greatest living artists. Multifaceted, he experienced throughout his career a contrasting changes in techniques and concepts, redirecting historical crises, revisiting consecrated artists, exploring new procedures. Its dialogue between figuration and abstraction is diachronic and constant, goes beyond following a single pathway, we see a mixture.

Within the context of "catastrophe" we can analyze the formation of the *Atlas* of Richter. After the second war, the division of Germany, the collectiveness of images will be a form of memory preservation – the loss of the family and social context of the artist and the self-destruction inflicted the identity of the German national state. But beyond this personal factor, as a professional, Richter had to debate whether the medium of painting would continue to be conceived, confronted with the culture of mass and photography. In this double look, Richter will make a transition: from the photograph and create the painting, which will have the support of the *Atlas* as a starting point. To establish the dialogue with the *continuum* of history, we chose the painting *Reader*, 1994, (Figure 3) for our analysis.



Figure 3. *Reader*, 1994. Oil on canvas: 72 x 102 cm. Catalogue Raisonné: 804. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (SFMOMA). <https://www.gerhard-richter.com/en/art/paintings/photo-paintings/women-27/reader-8054>

This disassociated image of Richter's large abstractions, make a dialogue with the history of art, bringing a new meaning and that we could approach the thought of Hans Belting:

"In other words, the restriction present at the end of art history offers the desired opportunity to treat art history with some distance and under the motto: "The king is dead, long live the king!". But the small number of art historians, however, provides sufficient assurance that the subject they have made a profession will never end, and this is similar in other humanities. Still, I see enough reason to give importance to the problem if we take seriously the original idea that is present in the concept of an 'art history': the idea, namely, of restoring an effective history and bringing its meaning to light. In the concept is present both the meaning of an image and the understanding of a frame presented by the written history of art. Art has adjusted to the framing of art history as much as it fits it. Today we could, therefore, instead of the end, speak of a loss of framing, which results in the dissolution of the image, since it is no longer delimited by its framing. The discourse of the "end" does not mean that "it is all over," but it calls for a change in discourse, as the object has changed and no longer fits into the old frames." (Belting, 2016, p. 13)

Reader is a specific reference to one of Johannes Vermeer's paintings, namely *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter*, painted around 1662, although Vermeer's painting shows a few aspects that we do not find in Richter's painting. Vermeer's reader is placed in a more prominent social context, which includes reading a letter, being pregnant, being in Holland, and reading in a bourgeois interior. Moreover, whereas Vermeer's reader is placed in front of a window, the surrounding area of Richter's reader is almost abstract, as if she reads in front of an abstract formalist painting. Richter's reader is not without any social references, though: we notice the pearls, the carefully knotted hair, as well as the earring. In addition, Richter's reader reads a magazine and not a letter. In the following, I shall leave these social aspects aside, so that we may look more deeply into the actual structure of the painting. We should note that Richter's explicit embracing of the art-historical tradition is immediately negated by the

way in which he takes up a modern position in this painting: the painting is based on a photograph.

These changes do not weaken the power of the image. The starting point, be it nature, is a technical support that according to Walter Benjamin encapsulates the aura, in the referential of the new theory of image - it is worth remembering that it takes into account the images produced in the caves or the indigenous artifacts that will be activated within a context, or even the African masks that have been fetishes of the modern artists -, are new ways of thinking the image. Between the speakable and the intelligible, in a world where the proliferation of images is superior to what our gaze can grasp, the sensitive perhaps resides in looking back and resignifying the starting image.

By allowing, potentially, the decentralization of the position of the human being as a transcendental and analytical-historical subject, art contradicts all attempts by the other areas of knowledge to constitute it through the outward understanding. This consists of its emancipator potential. Heidegger had already defended that art neither reproduce nor represents nor imitates the world. Today there is increasingly less doubt that art, at the same time sensitive and intelligible and that its potential consists of us making feel, the feeling we can make thinking, and thinking can make us act.

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Author identification

Cristina Susigan. Holds a PhD in Education, Art and History of Culture from Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, with a thesis related to contemporary art and women. Master's degree in American Studies from the Universidade Aberta, with a dissertation in the area of interarts (painting, literature and cinema). She has been teaching of in higher education at the Instituto Politécnico do Porto, Portugal in the field of visual studies. In the research, she dedicates herself to the appropriation in the arts, history, theory and critique art and interart relations. She taught courses in the field of visual arts and audiovisual language. She is currently a lecturer at Faculdade Santa Marcelina in São Paulo

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