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*Ottmar Ette*

# TRANSAREA

A LITERARY HISTORY OF GLOBALIZATION



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A Literary History of Globalization

Translated by Mark W. Person

  
DE GRUYTER

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## Contents

### Compass Rose of Concepts — 1

### Globalization, Vectorizations, Literatures of the World: Transcultural Studies

### Globalization I — 35

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

### In Gratitude — 121

### to friends World Discourses of the Tropics and the Tropes the world over on World-wide Expansion

### Globalization II — 123

### Islands of a New Transliteration of Islands in Island and Absence in the Project of a Transliteration of Islands in Island and Absence

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

—Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio, *Raga: Approche du continent invisible* (2006, p. 123).

**weltweit:**

repetition of *welt* in *weit*

with **l** and **i** as the word-for-word minimal

difference. between the graphic continuity of

the whole and unbroken **l** and the relational insularity

of the two dissimilar islands of the **i** an always new and different

programming and prospecting of the world of the future. fractal

discontinuity stored away within the broken **i**, the

world-wide insularium as imaginarium. resist-

ance of the aesthetic against the infinite

continental continuity of no-alt-

ernative no-fantasy world-

view: wideview

**weltweit**

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# Contents

## Compass Rose of Concepts — 1

Globalization, Vectorizations, Literatures of the World: Transareal Studies

## Globalization I — 56

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

## Globalization II — 111

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

## Globalization III — 169

Influence of a New World Power: From the Abundance of Absence to the Pitfall of Power

## Globalization IV — 232

In the Net of Transarchipelagic Connections: On the Plenty of Polyperspective and the Pitfall of Monolingual Globalization

## Bibliography — 335

## Index — 353

# Compass Rose of Concepts

## Globalization, Vectorizations, Literatures of the World: Transareal Studies

### Globalization and Literature: Responding to the Dissolution of World Order

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

Without any sort of compass, we have entered the new century.

Even within the first few months, alarming events took place that suggest that the world is undergoing a fundamental dissolution of order which simultaneously affects several fields—spiritual disorder, financial disorder, climatic disorder, geopolitical disorder, ethical disorder.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

*Man has survived hitherto  
because he was too ignorant to know  
how to realize his wishes.  
Now that he can realize them,  
he must either change them  
or perish.<sup>8</sup>*

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

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> This is an excerpt from the poem "The Orchestra" from *The Desert Music and Other Poems* (1954), in William Carlos Williams: *The Collected Poems of William Carlos Williams*. Vol. II: 1939–1962. Publ. by Christopher McGowan. New York: New Direction Books 1991, pp. 250–252.

<sup>9</sup> Amin Maalouf: *Le dérèglement du monde*, p. 206.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

## What is Globalization?

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

## Phases of Acceleration

### One

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the first phase of accelerated globalization, archipelagic and transarchipelagic<sup>27</sup> connections take on a tremendous significance. For the history of dis-

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

32 *Ibid.* p. 123.

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

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

34 Ibid. pp. 57–59.

Theodoricus Ulsenius Phisicus Medicus Universitatis literarum Patronis  
in Epidemica scabie que passim toto orbe grassat varicimū dicitur.

ALBRECHT DÜRER

Opus istud scabie mutabile vulgus  
et arbitrio docet superbia turbe  
ne agnoscat cetines scabie. Neglecta  
more nemo succum ere pesti  
nificat novit conferre medelam  
sibi noster vocat corda Empirico  
pagis medicos centio discolors  
et crucior populi clanculobas ecce  
distat de posuit in tibus quietem  
no clat speculante in ethere ph ebis  
se deus qualis Cumea sacerdos  
Encadū dū fortis corda remollit  
et regredos flecto gitanime gressus  
gnifero quāvis sores euolat arcu  
intra gradibus pūctor eandem  
medicam deatote lūcia et auctor  
in dāsq; frejūa depomo sagittas  
vāq; gero laurū mibi epa nectit  
in formem pregar lacrate Camenā  
nificolas solio depiauer honore  
teris: et cetera coho: acatana recludū  
Altrionā sacra neq; infecta droz  
Apollinā et cunctis pīlare salutem  
iāq; mām ē herbis ac carne sano  
incantū. Mādotis nup in aula  
atreni natosq; satis male succenfontē  
nia hūano generi indulgere putaret  
Iubet et vitalis numē olympi  
as salēq; pīgam pīpe et leuantem  
lle pcat Genio Jouis altera cura  
spumabit mino: veni impoiba luru  
o consilij pīret tūbaries obem:  
sū māgnus adēst dūq; atria cēat  
recales Mītorū qui pōditēas  
et minor Chiquis que Chelifer amīte  
nēpa none libramina Sphēre;  
Sgessūm statū vbi pocula por sit  
ambibsq; felus ē laudare noctēo  
mbitūq; genito mīscere vniūm  
sanctia Gradui sedos in ebe  
et mato: licet memi hīse nefanda  
ignitōmī: vno: defectur ad acam  
conūgere floaminia pīonat hēdre  
mitimo mediatas prelia Māuio  
nratūs ait: Sic spernimur istis  
bns pīgriat: nōstra alacria spūallē  
dū cēcas in egie thure cucillas  
et gem dū clausa mūmurat vmbra;  
chēcpauca fēmo sū dāna maiplos  
et cederos fūstia retinente Mīnerua



Urget equos: blemq; ciet: calcantur  
Alma:q; vitali fraudatur munere Cere  
Leditur omne gens dūm neq; bene  
Lūbra simplicitas vitare flamine mu  
Nescierint supet: supos culpate quis  
Semina dita mali corrupto pīemate p  
Postera pgenies vit vili chata pīem  
hūb secus ac silticia cūssū scintilla rel  
Crescit in immensum teneros depascit  
Sulsur edat pīcos qūobūblat omnia  
hinc pestes hinc sara plusie portenta v  
Marta nōnūctia scavit germania mī  
Tū videat natura sagat cōssensio clat  
Quāta volubilibus tanta ē discordia si  
Cētere sub mebas vītesq; abūta res  
Ausa dū tentare nīhil sub pondere tan  
Deficiat: leuo ventris cui meta recessū  
Per vada fēcalē pollenti corde lienem  
harmonia distenta pīemetrofina paro  
Emicat hinc bullas ventris inde pape  
Dūclatū onans Mēnagū vīscida  
Seda lues spūco pīmū contragūa pēz  
Cūssiofēbī nota Cano: noua semina  
Nemo pūet celoz sedet mens nescia sa  
ethero rūndos quo fīre liber asello  
Yusa vīco pōret de cardine ēstia mō  
Vlcera fūssure vibrabat acumīne cand  
Sciona fugans pestis monum ēta pīan  
At quis fore roget que sic medicina del  
Est locus alaro subitū in ethera sign  
Pūmīstūq; solum Mūso non vltima se  
Sūe hēlyes seu Tysa placē: tramare l  
Aenidos itēm latēce vbi Phisius vī  
Lūstet ista Jātus: flava Pīgnitū ha  
Qua fēcat in pēpē: Siluas vbi fatens  
Collat vbi coos inter notissima Fran  
Mēnia: Vīgīnoo subūq; gens Mōrica  
Sē Geni deosecat opē mea pīma vol  
Nīteplum Sigilūq; daboc mō digna qū  
Sacta loet: placabo deos et mūmūta p  
Anidortūq; scām vīus emarecat atroz  
Nē doce sic mēbilo mor fatifer hūmō e  
Innocū: scabiasq; trahet purgante sō  
Cūbī dec. Aī Mīnemofne mēdosā re  
Sōnia: hūic moum labentis anee vīm  
Quēst: etā ab qūto suspīcio inq; ane  
Phillidū vīciata man: quid vēdere q  
Nōne vides Aītera fugit: quid secla cul  
Anid queritis dīforme cahos: dū epa v  
Marina dūm pētece mēcūm fāta fig

Insigni Archigatrie studio Sacrum

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

## Two

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* p. 978 f.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Three

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Four

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

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

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



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

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

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

<sup>59</sup> C.f. Samuel P. Huntington: *The Clash of Civilizations*.

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

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



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

## 2010: A global view of HIV infection

33.3 million people [31.4–35.3 million] living with HIV, 2009



**Fig. 2:** WHO: HIV Prevalence Map 2009. UNAIDS Report on the Global Aids Epidemic. Source: [www.unaids.org](http://www.unaids.org).

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. p. 612.

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

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

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

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

<sup>65</sup> Jürgen Habermas: “Staatsbürgerschaft und nationale Identität” (1990). In: Jürgen Habermas: *Faktizität und Geltung. Beiträge zur Diskurstheorie des Rechts und des demokratischen Rechtsstaats*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1992, p. 651.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

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

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

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