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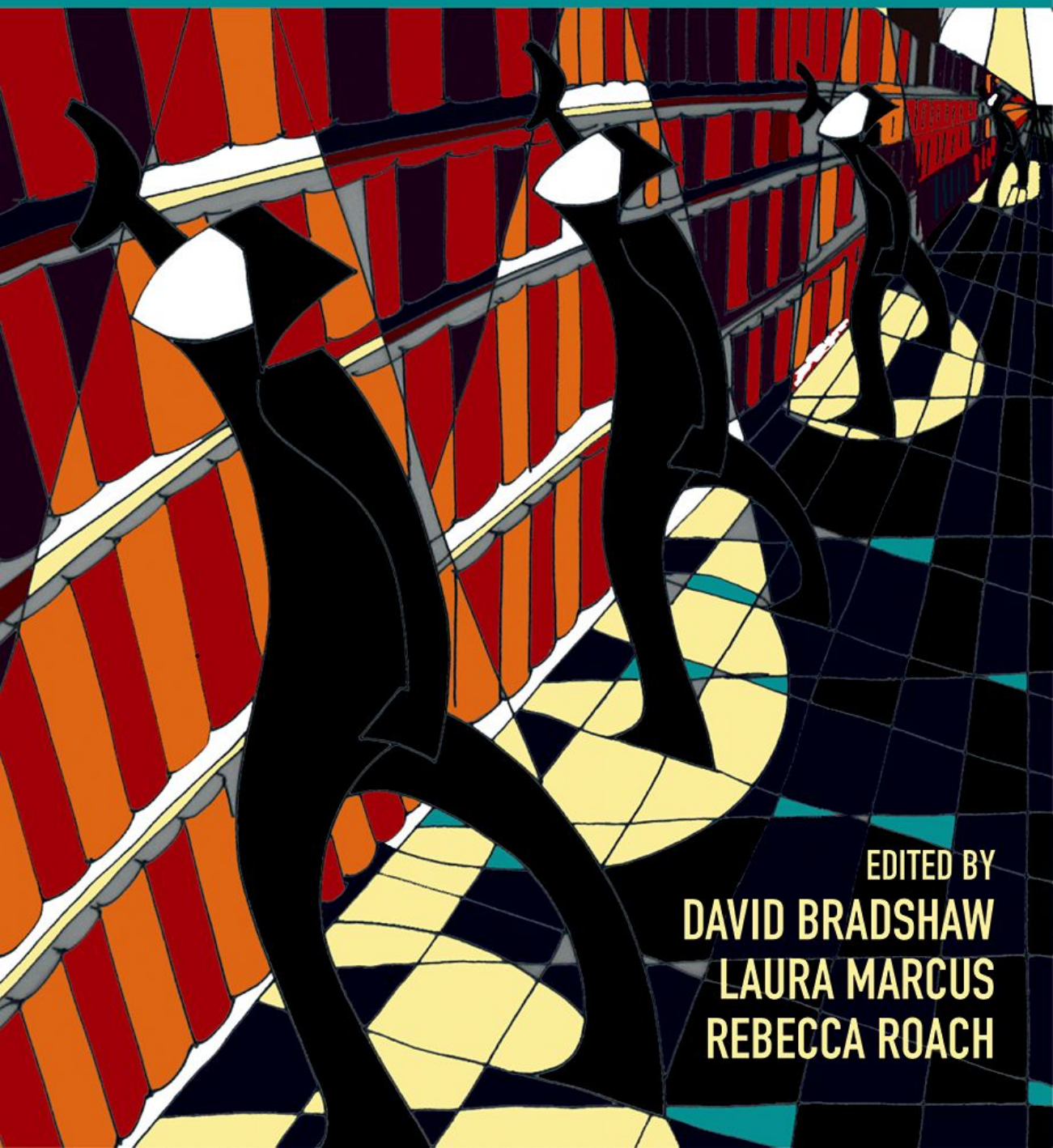
MOVING MODERNISMS

MOTION, TECHNOLOGY, AND MODERNITY



EDITED BY
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Motion, Technology, and Modernity

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DAVID BRADSHAW
LAURA MARCUS
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OXFORD
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Contents

List of Figures vii
List of Contributors ix
Acknowledgements xiii

1. Introduction: Modernism as 'a space that is filled with moving' 1
Laura Marcus and David Bradshaw

TIMES AND PLACES

2. Placing Modernism 11
Andrew Thacker
3. Micromodernism: Towards a Modernism of Disconnection 27
Tim Armstrong
4. Modernism's Missing Modernity 43
David Ayers

HORIZONS

5. Gibraltar and Beyond: James Joyce, Ezra Pound, Paul Bowles 59
Wai Chee Dimock
6. Restless Modernisms: D. H. Lawrence Caught in the Shadow of Gramsci 69
Robert J. C. Young

ENERGIES AND QUANTITIES

7. High-Energy Modernism 83
Enda Duffy
8. Numbers It Is: The Musemathematics of Modernism 98
Steven Connor
9. 'Do Not Call Me a Dancer' (Isadora Duncan, 1929): Dance and Modernist Experimentation 110
Olga Taxidou

AVANT-GARDES

10. 'A Cessation of Resemblances': Stein/Picasso/Duchamp 127
Marjorie Perloff

11. 'A Cage Went in Search of a Bird': How Do Kafka's and Joyce's Aphorisms Move Us? 143
Jean-Michel Rabaté

DISCOURSES/VOICES

12. Literature Knows No Frontiers: Modernism and Free Speech 159
Rachel Potter
13. Moved by Language in Motion: Discourse, Myth, and Public Opinion in the Early Twentieth Century 175
Ken Hirschkop
14. Precarious Voices: Moderns, Moods, and Moving Epochs 191
Patricia Waugh

MOTION STUDIES

15. Stillness and Altitude: René Clair's *Paris qui dort* 217
Paul K. Saint-Amour
16. Frame-Advance Modernism: The Case of Fritz Lang's *M* 236
Garrett Stewart
17. Perpetual Motion: Speed, Spectacle, and Cycle Racing 257
Deborah Longworth
18. A Desire Named Streetcar 275
Julian Murphet

Selected Bibliography 289
Index 305

List of Figures

3.1. Advertisement, *Life and Letters Today* 18:2 (1938), p. 209 28

5.1. J. Laurent, 'Granada. El Patio de los Leones desde la Sala de los Escudos (Alhambra)' (*c.*1860–80). Courtesy of Library of Congress 64

5.2. J. Laurent. 'Granada. Interior de Generalife (Alhambra)' (*c.*1860–80). Courtesy of Library of Congress 65

5.3. Rosita Forbes, 'El Raisuni, outside the author's tent at Tazrut' in *El Raisuni: The Sultan of the Mountains, his life story as told to Rosita Forbes* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1924), facing p. 68. Rosita Forbes © 1924. Courtesy of Cambridge University Library 67

9.1. Edward Gordon Craig, *Isadora Duncan Dancing* (1908). Published with the Consent of The Edward Gordon Craig Estate 113

9.2. Natalia Goncharova, A Group of Female Dancers, set design for *Les Noces* © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2015. Image courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, London 116

15.1. Île aux Cygnes, opening. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 219

15.2. Albert, looking down, sees the city motionless. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 220

15.3. Albert descending the Eiffel Tower. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 221

15.4. Burglar and policeman frozen in place. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 222

15.5. Castaways in car filled with loot. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 223

15.6. The pilot throwing a banknote aeroplane from the tower. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 223

15.7. Still from animated sequence showing the tower's and plane's exemption from the ray. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 224

15.8. The mad scientist's niece activates the ray again. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 225

15.9. Albert and the mad scientist's niece kiss; fade to panorama. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 225

15.10. Champs-Élysées freeze-frame, still 1. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 226

15.11. Champs-Élysées freeze-frame, still 2. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 227

15.12. Champs-Élysées freeze-frame, still 3. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 227
15.13. Albert runs to the aid of a would-be suicide on the quay. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 230
15.14. The would-be suicide 'wakes' to find his hands full of banknotes. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 231
15.15. Albert stealing a pearl necklace from a sleeping diner to give to Hesta. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 232
15.16. Hesta, the pilot, and Albert receive a wireless plea for help from the mad scientist's niece. *Paris qui dort*, directed by René Clair (Kastor and Lallement, 1924) 233
16.1. Otto Dix, *Wounded Man*, Lithograph, 1916 240
16.2. Still from *M*, directed by Fritz Lang (1931) 240
16.3. Still from *M*, directed by Fritz Lang (1931) 246
16.4. Still from *M*, directed by Fritz Lang (1931) 252
17.1. Umberto Boccioni, *Dynamism of a Cyclist* (Dinamismo di un ciclista) (1913) 259
17.2. François Faber, 1913 261
17.3. Charles Murphy, 1899 262
17.4. Vélodrome Buffalo, 1913 266
17.5. Vélodrome d'Hiver, 1907 267
17.6. Alfred Jarry in Alfortville, Paris (n.d.) 270

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A portion of the text in Jean-Michel Rabaté's chapter has been published in *Crimes of the Future* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 176–84.

A version of Marjorie Perloff's text was published in *Battersea Review* 1/1 (2012), www.battersearevIew.com accessed 1 Feb. 2016.

1

Introduction

Modernism as 'a space that is filled with moving'

Laura Marcus and David Bradshaw

'Movement is reality itself', Henri Bergson wrote in *The Creative Mind*.[1] This volume of essays sets out to explore the realities, and the fantasies, of 'movement' in the context of the modernisms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It seeks to open up the many dimensions and arenas of modernist movement and movements: spatial, geographical, and political; affective and physiological; temporal and epochal; technological, locomotive, and metropolitan; aesthetic and representational.

Individual chapters explore modernism's complex geographies, including those 'metageographies' and 'heterotopias' in which space is both real and imagined. While the principal focus of the volume is on Anglo-European modernism, including some discussion of the US, USSR, Australia, and New Zealand, many of the essays engage with the debates engendered by recent models of world literatures and global modernisms. They address issues of locality and regionalism, internationalism and transnationalism, borders and diaspora, and cosmopolitanism and translation. Further central issues include questions of periodization and the conceptual relationships between modernism and modernity. We also see a concern with the topic of scale, which has recently become a key concept in literary and cultural studies and, in modernist contexts in particular, has been explored in relation to the intense engagement with space and spatiality. For Andreas Huyssen, for example, scale is profoundly imbricated with the experience and perception of the modern metropolis. The textual 'miniature', of early twentieth-century German literature and critical theory in particular, is, he argues, 'grounded in the micrological experience of metropolitan space, time and life at that earlier stage of modernization when new shapes and scales of urban modernity emerged at accelerated speed but did not yet penetrate the totality of national social and political space'.[2] This is the era of the fragment. For contributors to *Moving Modernisms*, scale is understood in a number of contexts, cultural and aesthetic: the scale of the regional or the micro-scale of the modernist aphorism and phoneme.

'Movement' is also understood in relation to feeling and affect, as an aspect of the relationship between motion and emotion, as well as body and mind, that defined the 'physiological aesthetics' of the turn of the century and which has become central to contemporary neuroscience. Jean-Michel Rabaté, in his chapter

in this volume, points to the 'amphibology' of the gerund or present participle in the phrase 'moving modernism', as in the concept of being 'touched' or 'moved' by a text. Physiology dominated 'the aesthetics of movement' that developed in the nineteenth century and helped shape modernist and avant-garde visual and performing arts: studies of animal and human locomotion and the mechanics of movement ran parallel to more expressivist explorations of the body's capacities for motion. 'Vitalism', as a theory of energy and animation, further influenced modernist arts and philosophies in the most powerful ways.

'Movement' indeed becomes definitional of modernity. The development of 'time and motion studies' in the America of the early 1920s had an unexpected outlet in the avant-garde prose of Gertrude Stein, whose Preface to *The Gradual Making of the Making of the Americans* closes with a discussion of 'the question of time', and 'the assembling of a thing to make a whole thing… everybody knows who is an American just how many seconds minutes or hours it is going to take to do a whole thing'. Stein continues: 'I am always trying to tell this thing that a space of time is a natural thing for an American to have always inside them as something in which they are continuously moving… it is something strictly American to conceive a space that is filled with moving, a space of time that is filled always filled with moving …'.[3] Our contributors do not confine their discussions to the 'strictly American', but the broader concept of modernity as 'filled with moving' is central.

The modernist relationship to twentieth-century modernity, and in particular to new technologies of transportation, communication, and representation in the urban context, is the focus of a number of chapters in the volume. So, too, is a concentration on 'the moving image', also explored in its imbrications with the modernist city. Film possesses an unparalleled capacity to represent and replicate movement, while raising fundamental questions of the relationship between stasis and motion. 'The only real thing in the motion picture', the critic Alexander Bakshy wrote in 1927, 'is *movement* without which all its objects would appear as lifeless shadows… There are, therefore, clearly defined limits for the illusionist effects of real life and nature in the motion picture: the latter can be realistic only when its shadowy world is set in motion.' In Bakshy's account, as in Bergson's, 'movement' becomes 'reality itself': 'the only real thing'.[4]

We begin this volume, in the section on 'Times and Places', with the geographical and historical trajectories of modernism and modernity. In his 'Placing Modernism', Andrew Thacker points to some of the problems inherent in recent large-scale constructions of 'global', 'transnational', and 'planetary' modernisms. He strikes a warning note about cultural standpoints: 'the globe of a global modernism looks very different depending upon where you are positioned'. In offering alternative mappings, Thacker proposes, firstly, a re-evaluation of 'modernist internationalism'; secondly, following the lead of Jon Hegglund's recent study *World Views: Metageographies of Modernist Fiction*, an attentiveness both to the 'national dimensions and origins' of modernism and to 'intercultural encounters'; thirdly, a focus on the idea of *scale* and a non-hierarchical spatial layering, which was opened up, most influentially, in Henri Lefebvre's theory of the 'hypercomplexity of social space'.

Regionalism, Thacker suggests, is one of the overlooked dimensions of modernist scale. Region and locality are also taken up in Tim Armstrong's discussion of 'micro-modernism'. In his chapter, Armstrong suggests that a more dynamic picture of modernism emerges when we pay attention to it as 'a local effect which contests the power of any existing map'. 'Micromodernisms', in Armstrong's account, can be defined as involving '*sites*, *occasions*, *and trajectories*'. The first of these (exemplified for Armstrong in the 'Hammersmith modernism' of the late 1920s and 1930s) suggests a renewed attention to the localism of artistic formations and groupings, while the second points to an understanding of the particular publication or the specific literary event as a cultural crucible. In exploring 'trajectories', Armstrong looks to an Antipodean modernism, tracing the path of writers and artists from Australia and New Zealand, including Jack Lindsay, Len Lye, and Patrick White, who arrived in Britain in the early decades of the twentieth century. In the work they produced and the networks they formed we find 'a modernism of disconnection' which, Armstrong argues, characterizes the aesthetics of the 1930s and describes 'an angle of traversal across what we call modernism, impelled by a sense of dissidence'.

In 'Modernism's Missing Modernity', David Ayers addresses the fundamental issue of the relation between modernist culture and 'the periodization of a social modernity'. Noting that 'modernism', like the continental European conception of the avant-garde, is highly diffuse, he suggests that the only adequate response is to examine more closely the interrelation between modernist culture and its historical background. He calls attention, in this context, to the caesura of the Russian revolution and to reflections on technology both by Marxists such as Walter Benjamin and by Heidegger (in *Being and Time* and in his later essay on technology). The way in which these thinkers increasingly problematized the theory of history can be understood, Ayers suggests, as a response to a process of 'de-imperialization' in Europe and Asia which, among other things, reconfigures the artist as a 'transnational subject' in a 'globally redefined field'.

In our second section, 'Horizons', Wai Chee Dimock explores the concept of a 'networked modernism', which demands a reaching beyond the boundaries—biographical, historical, and geographical—of the corpus of a single author. Her discussion starts with a place—Gibraltar—, which plays a central role in Joyce's *Ulysses*. In its idealization, 'it is as much a concept as it is a physical locality', moving the reader eastward from twentieth-century Ireland to a mythic Mediterranean. In *Ulysses*, Gibraltar is aligned with the Atlas Mountains and, implicitly, with Atlas's daughter Calypso: 'the Calypso effect' identified by Dimock relates to the etymology of the nymph's name, which derives from the Greek for 'to cover, to conceal, or to hide'. The effect is, Dimock argues, a central aspect of modernist aesthetics: a superabundance of detail creates an 'atmospheric blur' through which we see mere glimpses of geopolitical, religious, and historical formations. In the writings of Ezra Pound and Paul Bowles on Gibraltar and Morocco, places are differently, but no less heavily 'mediated and refracted . . . subject to the constraints of partial illumination'.

Robert Young's chapter, 'Restless Modernisms: D. H. Lawrence Caught in the Shadow of Gramsci', also focuses on a specific place and its mediations: in this instance, Sardinia through the eyes of Lawrence. Young places Lawrence in a

tradition of orientalist travel writing about Sardinia, while noting the modernity of his restlessness: 'Comes over one an absolutely necessity to move' is the opening line of *Sea and Sardinia*. In search of the primitive (though highly irascible in the face of the 'primitive' living conditions he encounters) Lawrence finds in the Sardinian people humanity 'before the soul became self-conscious: before the mentality of Greece appeared in the world'. For Young, Lawrence is not only blind to the politics, historical and contemporary, of place but seemingly unaware that his 'primitives' might be quite otherwise: both the economist Piero Sraffa and the Marxist thinker and activist Antonio Gramsci were native Sicilians. 'What', Young asks, 'if the instinctual dumb native actually happened to be one of the greatest intellectuals of the twentieth century?' Lawrence and Gramsci never met, but the terms of an imagined encounter break apart the assumptions on which the modernist conception of primitivism was grounded.

The third section of the volume moves away from the concerns of space and place to focus on movement and motion as questions of 'Energies and Quantities'. Enda Duffy's chapter, 'High-Energy Modernism' considers the ways in which modernist literature treats and transmits human energy. This newly discerned somatic economy is organized around the newly minted notion of 'stress'. In developing textual strategies to annotate the somatic reactions of its characters and elicit them in its readers, and in casting these myriad reactions into the modulations of often new, or newly public, gestures, modernist literature went well beyond the scientific discourse on stress in order to invent a new gestural repertoire. Modernist literary experimental styles, as in Joyce's *Ulysses* and Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*, were adept at seismographically annotating even the slightest somatic change. The chapter reads modernist 'soma-textuality' as the measure of human energy expenditure at the moment when a new global politics, built around energy, was being born.

'Numbers It Is', the title of Steven Connor's essay, is a phrase taken from the 'Sirens' episode of *Ulysses*, as Leopold Bloom reflects on 'Musemathematics'. Modernity, Connor argues, is a matter of measurement. He notes the pull, in modernist thought and writing, between quality and quantity, intensity and measure, the continuous and the discontinuous, and observes the defining role of 'scale'. Numbers represent the possibility of absolute distinctiveness and a world of discontinuities, against which the philosophy of Henri Bergson was pitted. For Bergson, the opponent was divisibility itself: 'To a world of distinct objects, Bergson opposes a world of commingled vibrations.' In Virginia Woolf's writing, including her diaries, Connor finds a counterpoint between the attempts to capture ephemeral states and a preoccupation with 'the rendering of calendrical accounts'. The fluency and continuity which Woolf sought were only achievable 'against the background of resistance formed by the steady diminishment of the clock'. Similarly, in Samuel Beckett's work, we find a compulsive attention to levels, scales, and ratios, and the mathematization of modernist movement.

For Bergson, as Connor notes, music and dance were examples of absolute continuity. Olga Taxidou's chapter, '"Do Not Call Me a Dancer" (Isadora Duncan, 1929): Dance and Modernist Experimentation', examines the relationship between movement in modernist dance and experiments in narrative and poetry. 'I use my

body as my medium just as a writer uses his words': Isadora Duncan's analogy between textuality and embodiment is one that is experimented with throughout modernist theatre and dance. The chapter explores modernist dance experimentation, as represented by the Ballets Russes production of *Les Noces* (1923), Jean Cocteau's *The Marriage on the Eiffel Tower* (1921), and W. B. Yeats's *Fighting the Waves* (1929). All three bring together and help to shape the idea of modern dance through the conspicuous presence of the female dancer, while thematically they all radically rework classical ballet's 'marriage plot'. At the same time, they are informed by theories of acting of the period, whereby the performing body is viewed as a machine for experimentation in modernist *ekphrasis,* itself a form of movement between different aesthetic or representational spheres. Taxidou examines both 'the word as flesh' and 'the flesh as word', as the creative interface between literary modernism and the moving modernisms of dance performance.

The two chapters in the next section of the volume, 'Avant-Gardes', turn to the connections between Gertrude Stein and Marcel Duchamp, James Joyce and Franz Kafka. They raise questions of 'movement' between art forms and issues of scale: for Jean-Michel Rabaté, Kafka generates 'a perpetual movement by using a very small textual surface'. In '"A Cessation of Resemblances": Stein/Picasso/Duchamp', Marjorie Perloff offers a radical rethinking of *ekphrasis,* as she turns from the more familiar pairing of Stein and Picasso to the relationship between Stein and Duchamp, and to the unexplored territory of the influence of Stein's verbal compositions on the visual artwork of her contemporaries. Perloff suggests that there is an intimate and intricate relationship between Stein and Duchamp's feminine alter ego, Rrose Sélavy. She also opens up, through an exploration of Stein's phonemic play, the embedding of the Stein/Duchamp relationship in Stein's portrait 'Next. Life and Letters of Marcel Duchamp' and in *Stanzas in Meditation*, her most abstract and her least 'retinal' work, which was translated by Duchamp. It is he, rather than Picasso, Perloff argues, who stands 'Next' to Stein.

In '"A Cage Went in Search of a Bird": How do Kafka's and Joyce's Aphorisms Move Us?', Jean-Michel Rabaté looks at the relationship between Joyce's epiphanies and Kafka's aphorisms. The compression of the form, which 'presents the shortest narrative form capable of capturing the dialectical intertwining of Self and Other', allows both writers to found their writing on a sense of the Real as an insuperable outside, whose violence moves and dislocates at the same time. This process allows them to be touched by the power of such an encounter while requiring specific forms so as to convey the shock to the reader. The main difference is that Joyce's career begins with these enigmatic fragments, whereas Kafka's career comes to a close with them. These short texts are to be understood less as keystones than as steles or tombstones. In their brush with radical otherness and mortality, they do not so much provide keys to a redemptive vision or to salvation as affirm the power of language to contain, within its folds, the dynamic ambivalence of an encounter with truth.

The chapters in our next section, 'Discourses/Voices', turn to cultural, political, and literary movements, and to a variety of 'voices': those of political fora, public opinion, and literary narration. Rachel Potter discusses the contribution made by

modernists and others to the writers' organization PEN (Poets, Playwrights, Essayists, and Novelists), founded in 1921, and PEN's role in relation to the post-WW2 human rights agenda marked by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This contribution, she suggests, has been overlooked even in recent accounts which emphasize the global context of literature of that period. Modernism, in particular, has often been portrayed as remote from social and political concerns. Potter shows that even writers critical of PEN's universalism, whether for its lack of realism or for its Eurocentric limitations, were in fact substantially responding to these themes. In the early 1930s, with the Nazis in power and H. G. Wells succeeding Galsworthy as president of PEN, the organization spoke up more emphatically in defence of human rights and, for example, founded a library of books banned by the Nazis. With its open membership policy, PEN provided a focus for a wide range of writers in the interwar years.

Ken Hirschkop's chapter explores the notion of public opinion, discussed by the psychologist and sociologist Gabriel Tarde in 1898, and the role of myth as analysed by Ogden and Richards in *The Meaning of Meaning* (1923), by Mikhail Bakhtin in the Soviet Union, and by Saussure and, later, Barthes in Switzerland and France. Political myth, as theorized by Georges Sorel in the early years of the century, was a particular concern for Ogden and Richards and in the German refugee Ernst Cassirer's *Myth of the State* (1946). The chapter closes with a discussion of Gramsci's analysis of political language, metaphor, and myth, in which the idea of political myth is reappropriated for progressive politics. Gramsci was attempting, as Hirschkop shows, a similar but more effective combination of didactic and propagandistic motifs to the kind attempted in Bukharin's *Theory of Historical Materialism.* Bukharin, Gramsci argued, should have engaged more directly with the 'common sense' of his intended audience in attempting to transform its consciousness.

Patricia Waugh's chapter, 'Precarious Voices: Moderns, Moods, and Moving Epochs', takes up the question of 'voice' through an exploration of 'the strange reality of fictional illusion' and of 'moods and voices' in the modern British novel. In its focus on 'moving epochs' it also offers a critique of literary periodization and of approaches to modernist literature and culture which have rendered the rich and complex novels of the mid-twentieth century merely an 'after modernism': the texts of this period, Waugh argues, are too often misunderstood or diminished. She points in particular to the 'distributed' exposition of mind, through a broadly phenomenological grasp of the structures of experience, running throughout the fiction of the twentieth century from Kafka, Woolf, Proust, and Faulkner onwards. There was an extensive employment of expressionist techniques, born of phenomenological insights, in many of the most compelling novels of the 1950s (including work by Muriel Spark, William Sansom, William Golding, Elizabeth Bowen, and Samuel Beckett), which became a vehicle for imagining and opening up worlds that reflect disturbed minds and alienated outsiders. The 'precarious voices' of these texts have particular resonance with our present moment, in all its 'precarity'.

In our final section, 'Motion Studies', 'movement' and 'motion' are explored in relation both to the complex and paradoxical dimensions of the 'moving image' and to travel and transport in modernity. In 'Stillness and Altitude', Paul Saint-Amour

offers a detailed reading of the French director René Clair's 1925 silent film *Paris qui dort*, which presents a narrative of frozen time amid modernity's ceaseless motion. The chapter explores *Paris qui dort* as a meditation less on stasis than on the repose that inheres at high speed, which Roland Barthes called the coenaesthesis (the internal, humoral swoon) of motionlessness. Speed, Saint-Amour notes, 'used to happen to the body. Now it happens *in* the body.' Clair's film identifies the leading edge of what Barthes would describe as a full-blown phenomenon, attempting to afflict its viewers with something like a coenaesthesis of motionlessness in its games with camera speed and its insistence that even stilled images in cinema are speed phenomena. But by making money and time functions of one another, *Paris qui dort* also links the dizzy stasis of both the flier and the filmgoer with the velocity of *capital*, a term that drops out of Barthes's analysis.

In his chapter, 'Frame-Advance Modernism: The Case of Fritz Lang's *M*', Garrett Stewart adopts a different approach to the question of stasis and motion in film. Extending his work on 'frame-advance modernism' and on the seriality of photomechanical succession as cinema's optical specificity, Stewart explores the allusions in *M* (Lang's first sound film) to the graphic arts, including the painting and photography of the Neue Sachlichkeit movement in Weimar Germany. He explores the ways in which the 'arrested visuals' of the film's still images 'break into the movement-image itself and derail its normal storytelling'. Other recent commentators on *M* (including Gilles Deleuze and Jacques Rancière) overlook the film's track and 'its deep engagement both with the general energies of a time-based (frame-advance) modernism and with the specific impedances to seamless narrative flow introduced by *M*'s repeated evocation of Weimar's objectivist still lifes'. *M* also offers, Stewart argues, a spectatorial logic fitted to a society of surveillance, and an instrumentalized vision which defines modernity. *M*, in this account, 'is a film about the participation of its own surveillance ethos in the wider spectrum of modernist visual culture', and the alphabetic character or integer *M* stands not only for 'murderer' but also for the Modern itself 'under the sign of the seen'.

What, Paul Saint-Amour asks in his chapter, 'is the *speed* of speed?', a question also explored by Enda Duffy in his book *The Speed Handbook*. Deborah Longworth, in her chapter in this volume, 'Perpetual Motion: Speed, Spectacle, and Cycle-Racing', examines the fascination of the bicycle, or more specifically bicycle racing, for the avant-garde in the first decades of the twentieth century. Jean Metzinger's Cubo-Futurist *At the Cycle-Race Track* (Au Vélodrome) (1912) represented at once the commercial world of the bike race and the cadence of the sprinting cyclist; Marcel Duchamp's spinning *Bicycle Wheel* (1913) exemplified the non-functionality of speed; while Umberto Boccioni, Enrico Prampolini, Gino Severini, and Mario Sironi aimed to realize in art the mutual dynamism of the human body and the bicycle. The velodrome with its heated and smoky interior, in which thousands of spectators at a time crowded to bet on the riders sprinting elbow to elbow around the banked wooden track, was a cosmopolitan phenomenon. It celebrated the conjunction of man and machine, and what Hemingway called 'the driving purity of speed'.

In the final chapter in this section and in the volume, 'A Desire Named Streetcar', Julian Murphet explores the literary figurations of another mode of transport, the streetcar, in its movement from the naturalism of the late nineteenth century to the modernism of the early twentieth. The streetcar gathered, into a single 'moving image', powerful cognitive signals (in relation to finance capital, urban transportation networks, 'public works', and the very structure of the modern city) without sacrificing dramatic and imaginative potential. In the shift to a dominant modernist aesthetic, different functions are discovered for what was by now a nostalgic image, in particular a rich web of phenomenological and perceptual intensities, and a free-floating discursive register. The chapter demonstrates the dialectical nature of the streetcar as an aesthetic image in the modern: it is, Murphet argues, simultaneously impressionist and realist, oscillating between a perceptual and a cognitive function. More broadly, Murphet's claim is that 'modernism can be understood as a clandestine fidelity to the cognitive achievement of the realists, such that, relatively ironized and muted, it can undergo a frenzy of formal experimentation with its figures'. Here we find movement in both space and time, as the nineteenth century transits into modernism.

Many of the chapters in the volume have developed out of papers given at the *Moving Modernisms* conference held at the University of Oxford in 2012. We thank all our speakers, chairs, and participants, as well as our conference helpers, Kevin Brazil, Angus Brown, and Laura Nelson, and, as contributors to the website and artwork, Dorothy Butchard and Maya Evans. We would also like to thank Oxford University Press, the Bodleian Library, Blackwell's Bookshop, Oxford, Garsington Manor, and the Ashmolean Museum. The conference and this volume were made possible by support from the Oxford English Faculty and the Ludwig Fund at New College, Oxford: we would like to express our gratitude to Eugene Ludwig for his invaluable contribution to work in the Humanities.

NOTES

1. Henri Bergson, *The Creative Mind*: *An Introduction to Metaphysics* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946, rpt. New York: Dover, 2007), p. 119.
2. Andreas Huyssen, *Miniature Metropolis: Literature in an Age of Photography and Film* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), p. 10.
3. Gertrude Stein, 'The Making of the Making of Americans', in *Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein*, ed. Carl Van Vechten (New York: Viking, 1945), pp. 257–8.
4. Alexander Bakshy, 'The Road to Art in the Motion Picture', *Theatre Arts Monthly X1* (June 1927), p. 456.

TIMES AND PLACES

2

Placing Modernism

Andrew Thacker

Where today do we place modernism in the world? What has impelled the movement of modernism to multiple new territories around the globe? Will modernism ever stop moving and expanding? And how does modernism take root in these diverse new locations? It would be an interesting party game to try to locate somewhere on the globe to which modernism has *not* moved (the Arctic maybe?).[1] Sometimes, however, it seems as if modernism can be found just about everywhere and yet, paradoxically, located nowhere in particular. Rather than the sometimes abstract space of a 'global modernism' or a 'world republic of letters', then, this chapter considers the importance of thinking more particularized geographies of modernism, wherever they take root. Indeed, how modernism has taken root across the globe is a crucial question that must continue to be interrogated and explored via the material texts of specific geographical cultures. This chapter thus questions some of the current critical work in transnational and global modernist studies. Suggesting that there are problems with certain aspects of a shift to transnational or global modernisms should not be taken to be a nostalgic or conservative gesture: modernist studies is, thankfully, never going to return to the narrow model of the Anglo-American 'men of 1914'. But it is important to consider more carefully some of the implications—particularly in terms of a critical literary geography[2]—of a modernism that seemingly aligns itself with a transnational agenda and rejects internationalism. One unfortunate consequence of this agenda is that some of the calls for a globalized modernist studies tend to be rather myopic in their geographical gaze: yes, for important and necessary reasons, to Asia, Japan, China, Africa, sometimes South America and the Middle East, but rarely looking at those areas in Europe outside of Britain, Ireland, France, or Germany, in which modernist and avant-garde activity flourished—for example, the Nordic countries, the Baltic states, or the complex and shifting entity of Central Europe.[3] Examining the programmes of conferences mounted by the European Avant-Garde and Modernism Network (EAM) one glimpses a large European hinterland that appears somewhat opaque to some proponents of 'global modernism'.[4] This is rather unfortunate, given the complexity and range of modernist activity across Europe, work which should surely be viewed as part of a globalizing of what we study when we study modernism, as we thankfully move away from the restrictive canons of the past. This chapter will thus begin with a discussion of modernism

and place, before moving on to consider some problems with global and transnational versions of modernism.

MODERNISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

Over the last decade or so we have witnessed a welcome broadening of where in the world we locate modernism; in addition we have also witnessed changes in the geographical imaginary of this expanded field. One significant tendency is a shift from the 'international' to the 'transnational' as a paradigm for understanding how modernism moves and becomes placed in the world. We can trace this shift if we look back to Malcolm Bradbury and Alan MacFarlane's classic 1976 study of *Modernism*, where we find that internationalism is the primary geographical descriptor:

> We took . . . as the period of concentration the years 1890–1930, and for our geographical map the international span of the Modern movement right across Europe and to the United States.
>
> The when and the where are crucial dimensions because much of the discussion of literary Modernism has stayed resolutely national or regionalized. Much English-language discussion of Modernism has, for instance, steadfastly held to the London-Paris-New York axis, an emphasis that has narrowed interpretation, simplified reading, and ignored the scale and interpenetration of a uniquely international and polyglot body of arts. Most of the interfusing movements and tendencies which made for the debates and directions of Modernism were pan-European (if differently rooted from place to place) and the product of an era of artistic migration and internationalism. They regularly came from those cities which were on, or were themselves, cultural frontiers—Paris, Rome, Vienna, Prague, Budapest, Munich, Berlin, Zurich, Oslo, Barcelona, Saint Petersburg, even Dublin and Trieste, where Joyce wrote much of *Ulysses*. At this time London was such a city; so, to an ever-growing degree, were New York and Chicago. They came, too, from the clustering of migrant artists, in a time when willing and unwilling expatriations and exiles were common. No single nation ever owned Modernism, even though many of the multiform movements of which it was made did have national dimensions and origins in specific regions of European culture. Many if not most of its chief creators crossed frontiers, cultures, languages and ideologies in order to achieve it.[5]

This is a fascinating and, in many ways, quite ambivalent argument. Although it stays very much within the tenor of the literary criticism of its time, several indications of a different problematic around the geography of modernism also surface. The periodization is now widely understood as too limited, overlooking earlier trends in France, for example, and ignoring the 'late modernism' of the 1930s and 1940s, let alone the abstract art or modernist tendencies, such as the Black Mountain group, that were only to take hold in America after World War II. The focus on Europe and North America also looks far too narrow from a postcolonial perspective: beyond Europe and America the map is blank. And, in relation to the United States itself, only the two cities mentioned here receive attention in the book, neglecting the notion that there might be interesting takes on modernism outside of New York and Chicago in places such as Nashville or New Orleans.[6] The

authors are aware, however, of the dangers of constricting the focus to a London-Paris-New York axis and, quite rightly, point to other locations for modernism, primarily from Europe.[7]

However, the dominant geographical imaginary that operates here is that of internationalism, an epithet that is repeated three times in this short section. Elsewhere the editors claim that 'the essence of Modernism is its international character . . . Modernism, in short, is synonymous with internationalism.'[8] Modernism is here an international set of practices transported across 'frontiers' of various kinds (geographical, linguistic, and cultural) by a set of 'migrant artists' and exiles, taking root—an important word here—in many diverse locations. 'No single nation ever owned modernism,' write Bradbury and McFarlane, because in this conception it was a rootless form of expression that roamed across the globe. We are reminded here of the term 'international style' in architecture: precisely a form of building that was deemed transportable from one country to another.[9] An even stronger formulation of this paradigm was given in Hugh Kenner's 1984 article on 'The Making of the Modernist Canon', where Kenner suggested that works by a very limited number of writers such as Joyce, Eliot, and Pound are 'best located in a supranational movement called International Modernism'.[10] In Kenner's conception this is a modernism that is 'located' in a vacuum in terms of material geographical space. Kenner's shaky grasp of geography only seems confirmed in his dismissal of Virginia Woolf as a 'voice from a province' (along with William Faulkner and Wallace Stevens) (59), writing 'village gossip from a village called Bloomsbury' (57), an account that seems purblind to Woolf's persistent engagement with the city of London outside of the area of Bloomsbury in much of her fiction, as well as in essays such as 'The London Scene'.[11]

Many recent critics have, rightly, challenged these earlier accounts of how modernism has moved around the world. They have critiqued the 'international paradigm' developed here because, in Jahan Ramazani's words, its 'internationalism was not always particularized, its Eurocentricism made scant room for the developing world, and its supposed universalism tended to de-ethnicize writers'.[12] Susan Stanford Friedman, for example, describes critics such as Kenner or Bradbury and McFarlane as exhibiting a 'parochial internationalism'.[13] Jessica Berman, in developing a rapprochement between modernism and comparative literature, argues that 'comparative modernist studies must at last kill that old bogey, "international modernism", along with its homogenizing impulses and its insistence on a singular universal sphere of readership'.[14]

Such critiques are particularly valid in relation to Kenner's parochial view of modernism, but miss an important aspect of Bradbury and MacFarlane's argument. For here there are the inklings of a different geographical imaginary, one that views location not simply as the place where modernism, somewhat like a suitcase, ends up after its travels, but where location plays a dynamic role in the constitution of modernism in a way that does not seem that different from the model conceived here by certain proponents of transnationalism. For Bradbury and MacFarlane argue that modernism is not only 'differently rooted from place to place', but also has 'national dimensions and origins in specific regions of European culture'. Clearly

the restricted European focus taken here is insufficient, but what is more significant are the theoretical implications of stating that modernism took 'root' in different places: how far are Bradbury and McFarlane here imagining that 'national dimensions' actively shaped *how* modernism took root, and thus produced its quite distinctive cultural forms? Is there a glimpse here of a modernism marked strongly and decisively by particular geographical locations rather than being seen as a set of aesthetic practices existing in the empty space of an 'International Modernism'?

One way to understand the conception of modernism being 'differently rooted' across the globe is thus through the lens of transnationalism. In a much-cited overview of new directions in modernist studies in 2008 Douglas Mao and Rebecca Walkowitz noted that there 'can be no doubt that modernist studies is undergoing a transnational turn'.[15] In this view modernism shifts from place to place, crossing continents, taking root at different times as well as in diverse locations. Importantly, the conception here is that in the encounter with new geographical spaces very different modernisms are formed and forged: modernism now is something more than a style begun in Paris and transported to London, then Stockholm, then Shanghai. Rather a transnational agenda stresses that an idea of 'being modern' travels across the globe and then, in the encounter with 'national dimensions', something fresh appears: a Shanghai Modernism, a Nordic Modernism, and so on.[16] Modernism is now an empty signifier whose signified is derived, to some extent, from that geographical location in which it takes root. Here we are exploring 'modernisms at large', to borrow Andreas Huyssen's adaptation of Arjun Appadurai's 'modernity at large', investigating what Huyssen calls 'the legacies of imported *and* indigenous modernisms'.[17]

The agents of change, in this case, are not the individual 'migrant artists' and exiles referred to by Bradbury and MacFarlane, heroic figures bringing the torch of modernism to illuminate the gloomy spaces of tradition: rather it is the places themselves that function dynamically, bending the idea of the modern, of experimentation, of 'making it new', to the social and cultural conditions of the particular geography in which it takes root. In this conception modernism is not 'differently rooted' in Chicago or Shanghai but, after taking root, the seed of modernism flowers and develops differently in these locations. Such instances of modernism taking root in a place after geographical movement have been described by Susan Stanford Friedman as a process of *indigenization*. Echoing an idea formulated in Edward Said's 'Traveling Theory', Friedman writes that all modernisms 'develop' as forms of 'cultural translation or transplantation produced through intercultural encounters', and that one version is that of indigenization, defined as:

> a form of making native or indigenous something from elsewhere. Indigenization presumes an affinity of some sort between the cultural practices from elsewhere and those in the indigenizing location. Hostile soil does not allow transplantation to take hold; conversely, the practices that take hold in their new location are changed in the process.[18]

In some ways, therefore, we are not that far from Bradbury and McFarlane's idea of modernism being differently rooted from place to place. However, in Friedman

there is clearly a much stronger emphasis upon the dynamism of place: a German-born modernism, for instance, that finds a home in Calcutta is transformed in that process of transplantation.

Just such an example is given in Partha Mitter's account of modernism and the visual arts in the last decades of colonial India. For Mitter, the first phase of the rooting of modernism in the visual arts in India began in 1922, with an exhibition in Calcutta of European avant-garde figures such as Paul Klee, Wassily Kandinsky, and other artists of the Bauhaus, as well as, somewhat unexpectedly, a painting by Wyndham Lewis. This exhibition was prompted by the visit of the Indian Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore to the Bauhaus in 1921. As this imported modernism took root in India, its 'radical formalist language' offered artists such as Tagore and Jamini Roy 'a new weapon of anti-colonial resistance' as they forged an aesthetic drawing upon Cubism and then complex notions of primitivism.[19] Hence, modernism as produced by travel and indigenization. However, a more radical interpretation of a transnational perspective posits that the seed that produces a specifically located modernism is *native* and not imported: thus, there not only exist 'imported' modernisms, or syncretic versions that emerge out of contact with 'foreign' cultural forms, but also thoroughly '*indigenous* modernisms'. In other words, these are modernisms that not only display 'national dimensions', but also 'national *origins*', where the dynamics of place produce specific cultural forms seemingly prior to any engagement with a 'Western' or 'European' model of aesthetic or cultural modernism.

How then to explain the flourishing of the seeds of native modernisms? In a series of recent essays Friedman has pursued the implications of the idea of 'indigenous modernisms' in what she calls 'a planetary approach to modernism that breaks the Anglo-European hold on the field'.[20] Friedman argues that not only are there forms of modernism still to be understood in other geographical locations on the planet, but also 'modernisms' hidden in the 'deep time' of the planet's history. Friedman thus posits the idea of 'modernisms' and 'modernities' existing considerably before the nineteenth century, citing the Tang Dynasty China, the Mughal Empire in India, or the Muslim Empire of Al-Andalus, as possible examples.[21] Friedman defines her 'planetary modernism' as follows:

> A planetary aesthetics of modernism needs to be transformative rather than merely additive. It is worthwhile to identify texts—visual, verbal, auditory—outside the West that exhibit the aesthetics of so-called 'high-modernism', but a fully planetary approach should aim to detect the different forms that representational rupture take in connection with different modernities. We need to let go of the familiar laundry list of aesthetic properties drawn from the Western culture capitals of the early twentieth century as the definitional core of modernism. . . . we need to provincialize it, that is to see 'high' or 'avant-garde' modernism as ONE articulation of a particularly situated modernism—an important modernism but not the measure by which all others are judged and to which all others must be compared. Instead, we must look across the planet, through deep time, and vertically within each location to identify sites of the slash—modernity/modernism—and then focus our attention on the nature of the particular modernity in question, explore the shapes and forms of creative expressivities

> engaging that modernity, and ask what cultural and political work those aesthetic practices perform as an important domain within it.[22]

Friedman's argument, and the challenge it poses to the future of modernist studies, is a provocative and exciting one, although it is not without problems, as she herself acknowledges at various points. There are, for instance, some thorny theoretical difficulties with the claim that multiple modernities produce multiple modernisms: for example, the definition of modernism as 'the expressive domain of modernity',[23] or 'the creative and expressive domain within' modernity,[24] appears rather vague in formulation and, more or less, resembles Marshall Berman's more elaborated theory of modernism as an aesthetic response to the social and political changes of modernity and modernization, a model critiqued by Friedman.[25] Equally, while we might have sympathy with the idea of moving away from a 'definitional core' for modernism drawn from a Western 'laundry list of aesthetic properties', it seems contradictory to utilize one item familiar from that list—'representational rupture'—as a way of detecting non-Anglo-European modernisms. Friedman writes that a 'planetary modernist poetics must be plural, opening up the concept of formal ruptures to a wide array of representational engagements with modernity'.[26] *Formal, representational rupture* seems to be precisely the ways in which we have long theorized writers such as Joyce or Pound. It should be noted that the difficulties of identifying non-Western modernisms without using Western modernist categories is something that Friedman is acutely aware of, but does not entirely resolve.[27] As Huyssen argues, 'it may well turn out that, despite the best of intentions, [the] de-Westernization of modernism/modernity will remain limited because of the Western genealogy of the concepts themselves'.[28]

Friedman's project, with its claim that a 'planetary modernist poetics must be plural', thus sets itself firmly against those interpretations of modernity and modernism that align themselves with Frederic Jameson's notion of a 'singular modernity', identified with worldwide capitalism and with 'central' and 'peripheral' forms of modernist practice that are homologous with the uneven spread of capitalist development across the globe.[29] Jameson himself dismisses talk of 'alternative modernities' (and by implication 'alternative' or multiple modernisms) as merely 'pious hopes for cultural variety in a future world colonized by a universal market order'.[30] From a slightly different perspective, Pascale Casanova's *World Republic of Letters* draws upon a globalized version of Pierre Bourdieu's literary field in order to chart the struggles in 'world literary space' between modern national literatures occupying a position close to the 'Greenwich Meridian of literature' (Paris) and those on the margins of this literary world system.[31] From Friedman's point of view such arguments are deeply problematic: she is critical of a 'center/periphery binary that ignores the often long histories of aesthetic production among the colonized', asserting that the 'danger for modernist studies of the center/periphery model of world literature should be self-evident: at its heart lies the reassertion of the "old" internationalism'. Frustratingly, Friedman does not here explain why such conceptions reinstate an 'old' and problematic internationalism, or explicitly clarify what

is problematic about internationalism per se. Instead she turns to Homi Bhabha and then Jahan Ramazani for an alternative 'circulation model' for how modernism moves around the globe: in Ramazani's 'transnational poetics' there are no centres and peripheries, and thus it 'breaks open the Eurocentric frameworks that have dominated the field of modernist studies'.[32] Though wary, therefore, of the 'core/periphery' binary, Friedman's argument does rely upon another, equally troubling, binary: that between (bad old) internationalism and (good new) transnationalism.

This transnational or global perspective on modernism thus has far-reaching and radical implications for how we understand modernism. It also raises some crucial problems when considered from the point of view of a critical literary geography; these include the use of the binary transnational/international and a neglect of geographical scale. To pursue this critique I will now pose three questions of transnational and global modernism.

THREE QUESTIONS FOR TRANSNATIONALISM AND GLOBAL MODERNISM

Question One: what is so wrong with internationalism?

It is crucial to distinguish between the apparent 'parochial internationalism' of some post-World War II critical constructions of modernism, and what we might term the more 'worldly' internationalism of many of the traditional protagonists of Anglo-European modernism in the early twentieth century. For such writers—enduring two world wars in the first half of the century—modernist internationalism was anything but parochial. Woolf's famous proclamation in *Three Guineas* that 'as a woman, I have no country.... As a woman my country is the whole world'[33] can be read as just one instance of a 'good' internationalism to be found in Anglo-European modernism. Melba Cuddy-Keane has, for example, traced something of this 'global consciousness' in modernism, indicating how for a writer such as Woolf—and even more so for her husband, Leonard, and his work in founding the League of Nations—the internationalism of modern artists and writers promised a way to push past the violent nationalisms that produced the First World War and which had underpinned imperialism.[34] The work of the PEN Club (Poets, Playwrights, Publishers, Essayists, Editors and Novelists) from the 1920s onwards, as recently discussed by Rachel Potter, illustrates an organization committed to internationalism as a form of liberal cultural politics.[35] With its origins in London in 1921, there were soon many branches of PEN across Europe, followed by groups in Iraq, Egypt, and Argentina in the 1920s, and India, China, and Japan in the 1930s (156). Though initially apolitical, PEN's stance came under pressure during the late 1930s and early 1940s, with the novelist Storm Jameson, a president of PEN, instrumental in shifting the organization towards a greater awareness of how the wider world political situation affected the individual writer.[36] Or we might point to Ezra Pound's early articles for the *New Age*, entitled 'Provincialism the Enemy', in which he championed internationalism in literature, citing Galdos in Spain, Turgenev in Russia, Flaubert in France, and Henry James in England as exemplars of writers combating prejudice, conformity,

and the narrowness of nationalism.[37] Pound, of course, for all his manifest political failings, was often prepared to champion writers from around the globe, as seen in his initial support for Tagore and, later on, for new writers in Japan.[38]

Simply setting internationalism against transnationalism, then, is something of a false binary and works to simplify a considerably complex series of discourses around national and international geographies. It might also be said that it is precisely the shared *international* political and aesthetic aspirations of certain aspects of the early twentieth-century avant-garde that it is worth turning to today as contemporary globalization moves hand in hand with the recrudescence across Europe and beyond with many deeply unpleasant forms of *nationalist* thought. Which prompts the next question.

> **Question Two**: why does the discourse of transnationalism often seem to take the concept of a *nation* as an a priori given?[39]

For instance, the category of the 'nation' in Ireland, for many centuries and, crucially, since partition in 1921, is precisely not a clearly defined a priori entity, even geographically, let alone culturally or politically. Or, to turn to Spain, is Catalonia a region or a nation? It depends very much on where you ask the question: in Madrid or Barcelona. Attending more closely to the geopolitical implications of terms such as 'transnational' and the spatial histories implied here is important. Jahan Ramazani, an influential proponent of a transnational approach to modernist poetry, is acutely aware of this issue, arguing that 'in a transnational reframing of modern and contemporary poetic history, nationality and ethnicity still need to play important roles', as even in a globalized world to say that 'the nation-state is a tolerated anachronism understates the centripetal force of location and the undertow of national cultures'.[40] However, Ramazani also notes that 'overly nationalized and ethnicized narratives of cultural history' run the risk of ignoring 'the energy of…intercultural transfer…of translocal or interethnic negotiation',[41] citing a range of such examples, including the influence of the anti-Semitic Pound upon a number of Jewish-American poets from Louis Zukofsky to Charles Bernstein, and the influence of T. S. Eliot upon the Barbadian poet, Edward Kamau Brathwaite. Ramazani concludes by stressing that such 'transnational and cross-ethnic ironies' could result in a reassertion of 'the very national and ethnic categories of identity that a cross-cultural poetics is meant to outstrip'.[42] Ramazani is thus aware of, but unable to resolve, this dilemma, for it appears that the transnational relies upon the category of the nation (for a discourse to cross nations relies, logically, upon some stable sense of a national entity being crossed) and that there is something of an intrinsic or host/parasite relationship between the two terms. To move across nations, or to conceive of a transnational poetic practice or identity formation, rests upon some notion of a national identity against which the transnational can be defined. Much as proponents of the transnational might seek to escape the perceived constrictions of national affiliations, a transnational modernism does not float above such categories: indeed, in a kind of Derridean fashion, we might note that at the heart of the transnational is actually the national.

One possible way to address this problematic is by reframing it; that is, by thinking with more geographical precision about modernism and the 'transnational'. A sophisticated critique of how the discourse of global modernism views the nation is offered by Jon Hegglund in his superb book, *World Views*, which argues that in a 'laudable