Abstract

Exile as context in history. A broader perspective on the circulation of knowledge. Karolina Enquist Källgren, Ph.D. in History of Ideas and Theory of Science, Deparment of Literature, History of Ideas and Religion, Gothenburg university, Sweden, karolina.enquist.kallgren@lir.gu.se

Exile is a historic event, and a political social condition, recurring throughout history. In this article I argue that exile can be understood as a context in history, with particular implications for method and historic interpretation. This entails a specific way of constructing historic space, as well as time. Drawing on Koselleck's concepts room of experience and horizon of expectations, I develop on the idea of a particular exile historic space. I further argue that, since exile is the movement of people from one place to another, exile as context is a methodological approach within the larger historical theory of circulation of knowledge, but with certain specific traits. One of these is the way in which exile maintains contact between locations, and thus also cultural and socio-political contexts. Another is the translation or transposition of concepts and ideas between languages. A third, is the turn towards a 'universal' or large-span history of canon. These traits are discussed as parts of the larger theoretical field of circulation of knowledge by relating them to Isabelle Stengers' concept of propagation.

Keywords: exile as context, circulation of knowledge, room of experience, horizon of expectations, Koselleck, propagation, Stengers

Exile as context in history

A broader perspective on the circulation of knowledge

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Introduction

Exile and migration are not uncommonly used as an analytical tool in disciplines such as archaeology or the social sciences. In history of ideas or intellectual history there are studies of specific exile collectives, but to my knowledge no attempts have been made to write an intellectual history through the lens of exile. In this article I will elaborate on an analytical framework of exile as historic contextualization within the field of history of ideas. Firstly, such an analytical tool can promote a perspective that underlines historical global connectivity. Secondly, it can promote an engagement with other non-canonical geographic locations and routes of transference, as well as hotspots of arrival. And thirdly, it can promote perspectives that underline the circulation of knowledge through exile, the latter taken as a continuous historic reality engaging intellectuals, scientists and larger groups of migrants, and that can be investigated as such. I argue that exile can and should be used as a historical context, alongside for example national contexts of thought, or even contexts such as schools of scientific disciplines. Exile as context promotes a theoretical and methodological approach which emphasizes the "circulation of knowledge" beyond the nation state or schools of thought. The article furthermore aims at promoting a more lively debate about what historians actually do when they contextualize, and how contextualization is best carried out when they do so. Contextualization is one of the most important and frequent methodological tools in intellectual history, and its use has been discussed in a systematizing manner by, for example, Dominik LeCapra.[1] The fact that contextualization means different things in rela-

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tion to different materials and questions should not stop us from discussing it as a methodological tool. In this article I introduce 'exile as context' as a concept that draws on theoretical sources and on accounts of exile experiences, but that has methodological implications. The result is a first delineation of a theory of exile as context.

A fair amount has been written about the experience of exile, as well as the epistemological, ontological and anthropological implications of exile – often in terms of nostalgia, memory, loss and severing. Exile has also been used to describe creative situations, and strong political and literary identities, emphasizing agency and innovation. Within literary studies, and within the field of global history, migrations of people and ideas have become strong explicatory models for understanding the circulation of knowledge. The transnational and migratory movement of people can be found discussed in the important *Global Intellectual History* from 2013. While trying to establish the values and problems of a global perspective on intellectual history the book examines exile and migration as aspects of global interchange of concepts and ideas, among several others. But this also means that particularly exile is subsumed under more general descriptions of migration and its connection to the movement of global capital.[2] Critics were fast to question whether a global perspective on intellectual history really could contribute new analytical tools, among other things distinguishing the lack of engagement with issues of historic time and space in the general outline of a global intellectual history.[3] By emphasizing exile as a context of circulation of knowledge, I seek to take on precisely this kind of methodological discussion of historic time and space in global intellectual history.

Within comparative literature, Barbara Cassin, like scholars such as Emily Apter, has questioned notions of world literature, arguing instead for the difficulty in translation and interchange between languages, and what that means for thinking.[4] Their critique resonates criticism concerning the promises of a global history, and the problems with using translation and migrations of ides as tools for constructing one world literature, or global history. Apter's idea of untranslatables instead aims at investigating how global history can work with the tension between concept sameness between languages on the one hand, and specific word constellations particular to one language.[5] When advocating for exile as context, I do so as a means of investigating or elaborating on a specific form of global knowledge circulation. If we are to avoid constructing one universal global history, but still take seriously the circulation of knowledge through global interchange, theoretical and methodological development around forms of global interchange is needed. Exile as a context is an attempt at investigating exile as a form of global connectivity in history.

In the first part of the article, I examine theoretical aspects of exile. I delineate the fundamental aspects of exile as a tool for historic contextualization, drawing on theories that describe exile as defined by loss, memory and creativity. I also make a distinction between actual lived individual experience of exile, exile as an ontological or existential condition and exile as context. In the second part, I will use Reinhardt Koselleck's notions of "space of historic experience", "room of experience" and "horizon of expectations", and relate them to empirical material in an attempt to adapt his concepts to the case of exile. In the third part, I will argue that the space of experience created by exile should be conceived of as a case of circulation of knowledge when used as contextualization, and therefore Koselleck's concepts will be related to an idea borrowed from the field of theory of science — the propagation of concepts. In the conclusion, I will make a suggestion as to how a continued study of exile in the history of ideas could be furthered.

The concept of exile between ontology and historical method

Exile is such a prominent theme in literary history that it is often connected to its own periodization. Terry Eagleton, for example, notes that English modernism was dominated by authors who were expatriates and émigrés.[6] Charles Taylor describes modernism as a period characterized by rootless identities, where individuals are capable of imagining themselves outside of specific social circumstances, and inherently do so.[7] Drawing on psychoanalytical sources, Julia Kristeva writes that a woman in the twentieth century, who is trapped in her body, is always exiled in relation to the general, and to what is constructed as universally meaning, and she asks if a person can exist honestly in any other way than as a foreigner.[8] Similarly, Marcia Sá Cavalcante Schuback argues that exile during modernism was a historical condition, but that it can be seen as a specific world condition in post-modernism. If during modernism, exile could be likened to the general outside position from which a critique of reason and social orders could be purported, Sá Cavalcante Schuback maintains that in post-modernism, exile is no longer an outside position, but the very fact of the impossibility of belonging as an ontological condition.[9] Drawing on Edward Said's influential theories of exile, Sá Cavalcante Schuback describes the ontological condition of exile as a state of "in-between" and "exile difference," which creates an awareness that moves between places and times, and dislocates the very notions of home and away. She suggests that it is the "exile of exile" that describes human existence in post-modernism.[10]

Nuancing the existential or ontological description of exile, Jorge Guillén writes that one needs to distinguish between at least two kinds of exile: on the one hand, historically placed actual exile, and on the other hand, a universal human exile that offers "the great opportunity, which can be used to return to the bosom of God."[11] The wording is not his, but comes from the Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski who uses the expression "exile of exile" to distinguish between particular exile circumstances and universal human exile. With a similar phrasing, "exil från exilen," but no reference to Kolakowski or Guillén, Sá Cavalcante Schuback writes that an individual experience of exile must be separated from exile as a post-modern condition.[12]

For the authors referred to above, exile can be understood as an ontological condition that belongs to a specific historic moment. Exile becomes a meta-category describing an existential attitude particular to one or two specific historic periods, modernism and post-modernism. Even though they note the need to distinguish the meta-category exile from experiences of actual displacement, they continue developing only the ontological aspects. Productive as this may be for a general understanding of our age, it is problematic since exile becomes a human condition, rather than a specific occurrence in a particular historic case. If the concept of exile can be used to understand the position of all women in the twentieth century, or of any post-modern individual, then there seem to be no specific tools for investigating and analysing actual historic displacement, or the continuous displacements throughout history. A clear-cut separation between, on the hand, historically placed and specific circumstances of individual or group exile, and, on the other hand, theoretical reflection on exile as an existential condition, thus prevents the actual development of exile as a contextualization of thought.

Within intellectual history, there are numerous historical studies describing the influence of exile experiences on particular authors or describing exile milieus during different periods in history.[13] Curiously, these latter studies often reference the ontological and epistemological discussions in Said, for example, but only to contradict or problematize the status of the ontological descriptions. Even though exile is often perceived as an imposed loss of belonging and implying an inherently ambivalent relation to the new home, exile is also connected to a repudiation of the homeland and a sense of artistic liberty, which is evident in Jane Stabler's case-study of the exile movements between England and Italy from the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century.[14] Similarly, in her study on the influence of the poetry of Czesław Miłosz, Mira Rosenthal concludes that exile was an important condition for the poetic influence that he had in different cultural milieus, both in

his former homeland and elsewhere.[15] And, in his study of colonial exiles in Paris in the interwar period, Michael Goebel maintains that exile was the material and social bedrock of new ideas of community in the colonies.[16] In a previous study of the relationship between the exile of the Spanish philosopher María Zambrano, and her notion of subjectivity, I contend likewise that exile was not only a loss of homeland. For Zambrano, it was a specific condition of thinking that could produce more authentic and original ideas than could other human conditions.[17] A discussion on exile as a universal human condition is thus not enough when one wants to analyse exile in a specific case.

Fundamental aspects of exile as context in history

In order to develop exile as a tool of analysis for intellectual history, it is necessary to combine the ontological or existential perspective, with a development of categories that can be used in analysing historical material. If we were to completely leave aside any theory that describes exile as an existential phenomenon, it would be impossible to understand it as a recurring phenomenon with its own history, i.e. it would lose explicative force if seen as singular unrelated events. However, the ontological description of exile should not over-shadow the fact that exile experiences are in each case dependent on a range of social and economic factors. As against existential or ontological analysis of exile, Trinh Minh-Ha emphasizes the fact that social factors play a determining role for how not only individuals but also groups experience exile, ranging between experiences of complete devastation, relative comfort, and liberated creativity.[18] Hackl maintains that in anthropological studies, exile is often taken to denote a strategy for coping with the experience of displacement as well as for creation of new identities, and thus as a specific political strategy corresponding to particular political circumstances.[19] In order to use exile as a context in history, categories and concepts that pin-point exile as a social structure with certain common characteristics through time need to be developed. These categories and concepts need, at the same time, to allow for the fact that each case of exile is unique depending on social structures and circumstances.

I will argue that exile from the Greek city state was most probably not the same phenomenon as exile from the modern nation state, but that nevertheless exile must be taken as political constant in history. Drawing on the theories above that describe modern exile, I propose that just like other social and political organizations, the character of exile change through time, yet specific fundamental aspects can be described. By describing exile as a political constant in history I mean to indicate that

exile is an experience, and a form of social organization, that has been present in history without interruption since at least as far back as we have written sources. Guillén notes that there are known treatises written on exile from as early as 400 B.C.[20] Exile is a political phenomenon and form of social organization, most often understood as the negative of some other political organization of the social, be it a Greek city state, an empire or more recently the nation state. When I claim that exile is a phenomenon that can have its own history written, I mean that exile is a historic phenomenon that can be described as something more than just the negative of other historic forms of social and political organization.

Some characteristics must be held as fundamental when looking at exile as a social organization. One is the lack of stable institutions to uphold livelihood and often, but not always, identity. This also goes for historical identity, meaning that exiles have often lacked access to memory institutions like state or university archives, presence in museums, or the possibility to publish in places and languages that could be expected.[21] Contextualizing exile almost inevitably involves more than one language and social or political circumstance to take into account. This is true whether exile occurred in the centuries before Christ or in the twentieth-century.

A second fundamental aspect of exile as context is the tension between referring to several social institutions – as dependency on one or another or the lack of access to them – and the presence of ideas and concepts in several languages and cultural milieus at the same time. In fact, I understand these tensions to be the overarching object of investigation in studies of exile as context of thought. Czesław Miłosz, who spent around 20 years in exile, to take but one example, published his last poem "Orfeusz i Eurydyka" in Polish, English, German, Russian and Swedish simultaneously in the same book, and has been translating into Polish from several other languages as a poetic method.[22] María Zambrano, who spent around 45 years in exile, wrote and published in three languages, and fluently read at least three more. Her book *Persona y Democracia* was received as a philosophical elaboration on the existential fundaments of democracy in Italy but it was received as a direct roadmap towards the new constitution in Puerto Rico.[23] The social organization of exile itself poses an obvious challenge to, for example, conceptual historians, who may not read all the languages involved, nor fully understand the linguistic meaning-context in which a specific concept is used as it moves between languages and cultural milieus. Koselleck's and Skinner's often used ideas of conceptual transformation, as either being primarily transformed over long periods of time, mainly in Europe, or debated and negotiated in political antagonisms of a temporally and spatially delimited historical circumstance, are

questioned by exile, as it imposes geographical and linguistic simultaneity on the exiles, but not on the other social actors. Similarly, a historian using discourse analysis will face challenges when trying to determine what critical position to take, and how hegemonic meaning is produced within a discourse that is played out simultaneously in various and disconnected geographical and linguistic locations. María Zambrano's writings were interpreted as pertaining to a reactionary and colonizing philosophical movement in Cuba in the 1950s and 1960s, at the same time as she was prevented from holding an academic position or even living in Rome because her writings were considered communist.[24] Her writing can, in a European context, be understood as the product of an outside-position to the intellectual currents in Europe and Italy at the time, at the same time as she, in a Cuban and Puerto Rican setting, came with the entire symbolic and educational load of the Spanish empire.

Exile as a context thus implies a specific focus on the way in which ideas or concepts move between milieus and languages. In the following, I will argue that exile should be understood as a case of historic knowledge circulation, with a specific configuration in a specific historical moment, but that nevertheless can be described with some general traits so as to constitute a theoretical tool of exile as context (and hence also be a methodological tool for research in intellectual history).

Exile notions of space and time: contextualization

Contextualization within the field of intellectual history is usually understood as the method to situate ideas or thoughts in a specific time and place. Contextualization is thus the construction of a historic reality in which ideas are related to time and space, including historic periodization and geographical designation. Whereas most historians concede that historic reality is constructed, usually by a research process that includes theory, method, material of study and earlier research, historians nevertheless produce results that strive to be truthful interpretations of history. To say that contextualization should be understood as the situating of thought in circumstances of a historic reality is thus to say, that historic reality is a construct which strives towards truthful interpretations and reconstructions of time passed. From this point of view, it becomes legitimate to discuss exile as context, even though generalizable traits will never be applicable to every individual experience. For the historian, individual or group experiences of exile should not be separated from the generalizable intellectual theory of exile. Instead the kinds of claims that are made about historic experiences should be delimited. A historic

contextualization can never account for individual experiences but it can be a truthful interpretation of the development of thinking in history.

Contextualization is the move to place thought in a historic reality delimited by time-span and location. But, as has been discussed above, time and space are precisely those categories that are questioned in the experience of exile. Reinhart Koselleck suggests that within the realm of historic experience, three different kinds of experiences can be distinguished. First, that kind of unique and untranslatable experience which is constituted in and for an individual in the very act of perception. Such experience is delimited by being situated, and temporally denoted by a before or after. Secondly, and on the basis of the former, there are experiences that are based on repetition and go beyond the individual. Experiences not only can, but must, be shared, often with other individuals in a particular group. Koselleck suggests generations, but argues that also families, members of political organizations, churches, armies, or professions are viable. This kind of experience is dependent on being repeated and shared, but is also delimited by a larger time-span such as a biological or political generation and located in a community. Thirdly, Koselleck points to major transformations of experience that take several generations to complete, and which are independent of individual or even generational practices. Those are systematic changes, which can only become evident with hindsight, through the work of the historian.[25]

According to Koselleck these three different spaces of experience are entwined and can only be separated from each other as abstractions. An individual experience is constructed by the presence, repetition and transformation of group and large time-span experiences. At the same time, these are always composed and based upon individual experiences. Interestingly, Koselleck does not mention exiles as a group with common experiences, probably because most of his examples are tied to clearly recognized material institutions. Two exceptions are the groups "biological generation" or "political generation" which have no clear material institutions to define them, i.e. people belonging to the same biological generation can be of different sexes, have different professions, education, income, socio-cultural belonging, religious creeds and so on. In the case of political generation, there is nothing to say that certain political convictions correspond to education, income, socio-cultural background, or sex, but they do often share political problems or discussions maintained through, for example, parliamentary debates, or debates in national or international journals.

I propose that exile is a historical category similar to political generation. We can thus speak about exile as a category that describes a specific space of experience. In his overview of exile in anthropological research,

Hackl suggests that the category of exile is most often delimited to comprising only first-generation displaced, on the basis that they share a specific condition producing experience.[26] Exile space of experience is constituted by individual experiences, which are enhanced and formalized by repetition over time and located in a community, but which, just like any other historical category, are subjected to systematic changes over large time-spans. Guillén locates two such major changes in the birth of absolutist states after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in the late fifteenth century, and in the birth of the nation state which combined nationalization with localization of culture. Both these changes fundamentally affected, according to Guillén, the way in which exiles were perceived and perceived of themselves. The first change connected exile to religious heterodoxy, something that questioned notions of universality with which exile had been connected during the Middle Ages. The second change connected individual identity to national culture constructed through the physical presence in a specific locality, which meant that exile was perceived as a fundamental loss and generalized as a human condition of solitude.[27] Guillén's comprehensive history of exile suggests that it is possible to develop exile as a category for medium-span history, comparable to Koselleck's idea of historical group experiences, that stretches out over a generation. This entails describing the particularities of the room of experience as well as the horizon of expectations pertaining to exile experiences.

As has been shown, modern exile can be described as questioning established categories of time and space, and as dislocating experience and expectation. For that reason, the investigation of what it means to contextualize thinking historically through exile should begin here. As is suggested by Guillén, enforced exile caused by belonging to a religious minority from the end of the fifteenth century and well into the eighteenth century will have constituted a somewhat different space of experience from that which conditioned modern exile. What will be discussed in the following is an analytical tool for the investigation of modern exile experiences, applicable to cases of exile occurring roughly after the mid nineteenth century.

The circulation of knowledge in exile spaces of experience

Exile is by its very definition a movement from one place to another, either performed by an individual or by a group. This excludes the notion of "inner exile," which will not be discussed further here. Anders Olsson writes about the spatial aspects of exile, that it is characterized by placing

a person outside of meaningful socio-geographical locations, such as family, city or homeland.[28] This outside placing – which Sá Cavalcante Schuback described as in-between – has different consequences for how exile is experienced. On the one hand, it has direct material implications, exemplified by the difficulty of having even the most basic necessities filled: food, shelter, medical care and education. These are often ensured by holding citizenship or a residence permit. Even when basic needs are fulfilled, the social conditions that allow a person to work in his or her profession, or to continue developing a particular interest or intellectual endeavour, might be restrained. However, the movement from one place to another may imply, as both Said and Olsson note, that the exile is forced to create a new space of experience which connects the one that has been left with the one in which one has arrived.[29]

Exile can be considered a break with the material, cultural and linguistic conditions that constitute the specific space of experience. Yet, it necessarily entails the creation of a new space of experience that combines the material, cultural and linguistic components of the two localities. This is possible either through new cultural and material practices, but often limited to literature or memory, since the actual material combination is impossible. The in-between-ness includes not only the loss of a particular belonging, but the work put into creating a new room of experience. And there is nothing to say that this creative potential of exile is a positive experience for the individual.

Nevertheless, as a necessary combination of material, cultural and linguistic conditions of two places (or more, depending on the itinerary of the exiles), exile as context must be understood as a method which pronounces the circulation of knowledge. That is, exile relocates documents, discoveries, know-how and concepts, between geographical locations, as well as between historic spaces of experience. The development of the atomic bomb, to take a famous example, was directly related to the circulation of knowledge caused by exile. Early twentieth-century federalist ideas about Europe were developed as a consequence of exile, enforced by the Italian fascist party onto political adversaries who were relocated to the island of Ventotene, or forced into exile in Switzerland.[30] In contemporary social science the circulation of knowledge that occurs through exile and migration is discussed in terms of knowledge diaspora, and used to analyse how industry, as well as scientific fields, develop in receiving countries.[31] The circulation of knowledge and concepts between disciplines, geographical locations and political circumstances is a fundamental characteristic of exile as context. I am limiting myself to modern exile, but the notion of exile as circulation of knowledge is probably applicable to earlier periods, as suggested by a longstanding interest in exile and migration as a means of transmission of knowledge within archaeology.[32]

The concept of knowledge diaspora refers mainly to skilled workers' forced or voluntary movement between countries, which is why converting the concept directly into a historic one is problematic. Exile as a historical phenomenon includes the political exile of intellectuals and scientists as well as large movements of people who have little cultural and socio-economic capital and who have had little impact on either industry or the intellectual life in the receiving country. The concept of knowledge diaspora needs to be adapted so that it can give an account of the larger phenomenon of historic exile. For intellectual history the concept can be expanded to describe the transmission of concepts and cultural expression, as well as scientific knowledge, debates, and even practices, between geographical locations. One such example is the development of alternative religious and political institutions in Cuba in the nineteenth century, based on the practices of religious societies in West Africa transmitted through the slave trade.[33] Even though there are different functions of transmission when considering an exile group influencing, for example, the religious practices and political institutions of the receiving country, and the transmission that occurs when scientists and philosophers arrive in a receiving society, the very point of using the wider concept of knowledge diaspora is to allow for an investigation of the interlinked and simultaneous processes of transmission, which are only possible to separate analytically and in hindsight. In the case of Cuban religious and political institutions, developed in the nineteenth century, these were later crucial parts of developing a particular Cuban identity by prominent intellectuals and scientists in the early twentieth century.[34]

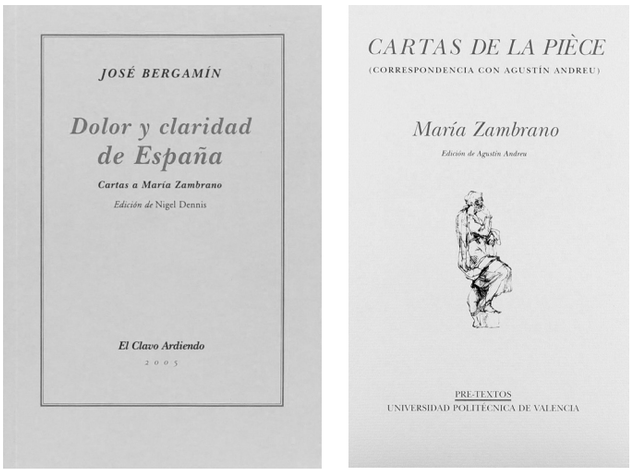
If exile is considered as a context in which the circulation of knowledge is actualized, this has immediate effects for the formulation of research questions, the choice of materials as well as the motivations for relating ideas to multiple locations, institutions and languages that are involved in conditioning a specific exile space of experience. To exemplify, one can look at the hitherto almost unexplored exile milieu in Rome in the period following World War II.

There are studies that focus on the displaced Italian exiles on the island of Ventotene. As a collective these exiles were influential in drafting early versions of the political organization of a common European community, drawing on notions of federalism and human rights directly related to their experience of enforced exile.[35] There are numerous indications, however, that there was a much larger milieu in Italy stretching over the period 1930–1970, consisting of exiles from mainly Spain, Latin America and initially Jewish exiles. Initial research results suggest that there was

extensive collaboration between the exile milieu and the political projects of contemporary Italian political thinkers such as Giorgio Agamben and Antonio Negri (who was himself an exile in Paris from 1979). Some of the then Italian exiles fought in the Spanish Civil War, one of several reasons why many Spanish exiles moved to Italy after World War II.[36] This was the case of the Spanish exiles Rafael Alberti and his wife María Teresa León, both intellectuals and writers, who already during the war were in close contact with the then leader of the Italian communist party, Palmiro Togliatti.[37] Similarly, Giorgio Agamben recounts in an interview his close relation to another Spanish exile in Rome, José Bergamín, and the influences of Bergamín's thinking on his own philosophy. Furthermore, the Italian novelist and essayist Elsa Morante had a prominent position as a contact-person between the Spanish exiles in Rome. She was also the director of Agamben's doctoral thesis and a close friend of Negri. Exiles and Italian intellectuals alike published in the same journals and the same publishing house (Einaudi), where the conception of community was under lively discussion. The Italian exile milieu was thus a network of Italian and Spanish intellectual exiles connected by interests in the same philosophical discussion on community, as well as by friendships, publications, and the city of Rome as an intellectual and geographical centre. Neither the personal experiences, nor the social circumstances of their exile, were exactly the same, but they moved in milieus or networks consisting of exiles and related to similar experiences and debates, including possibilities of subsistence.

The exile context is difficult to immediately make visible, because, as Karla Zepeda notes, exile is a context that moves the subjects from their primary surroundings and places them beyond the reach of more stable institutions of memory, such as universities, archives and schools of thought.[38] In the case of the exile milieu in Rome, exiles spent periods of time living in Rome, combined with travels, sometimes going back and forth into and out of exile (this is the case of José Bergamín mentioned above, as well as of Juan Bosch, the president of the Dominican Republic between February and September 23, who lived in exile before and after his presidency), or moving between Italy and France and Switzerland.

Hence, a first step towards investigating the exile milieu as a contextualization of the post-war debate about European and national community must be to investigate the historical circumstances that maintained the exile milieus: networks of travelling routes, friendships and practices for publication, as well as the different institutions of memory that has kept its traces. When mapping the travels made by the exiles in Rome, they take on similar patterns, a kind of exile routes. Mapping these routes is



Title pages of the published collections of letters between José Bergamín and María Zambrano, as well as Agustín Andreu and María Zambrano.

one way of investigating the space of experience that constituted their exile, as they are often the direct result of communication through letters and publications. It is thus possible to show how an exile geography was created over time and national borders and how the common experience of these places worked as a cohesive element for the interchange of ideas of community and the circulation of knowledge.

Studying exile networks also actualizes different materials: letters and joint publications, as well as *acta* from summer-meetings and memoirs, common manuscripts and narrative debates between works published in different countries but with clear reference to each other. The amount of letters sent between, for example, José Bergamín and María Zambrano, or between María Zambrano and the Cuban poet José Lezama Lima, containing news of the mutual aid with publications in Italy, France, Spain and Argentine, is overwhelming. The exiles in the Italian milieu worked and wrote letters, maintaining sometimes daily contact with people on other continents and in other countries. One example of a philosophically fruitful debate taking place between at least three locations is the philosophical debate in the letters sent between María Zambrano and the theologian Agustín Andreu in the late sixties and seventies. Both were exiles in Rome, and when they eventually left Rome, they wrote to each other, in periods on a daily basis. One fruit of the conversation in the letters, which in themselves holds keys to understanding Zambrano's late philosophy, was a manuscript written by Andreu but

meticulously commented on and was extended by Zambrano. It is virtually impossible to firmly locate this manuscript in one or another geographical circumstance, since it was written in at least three different locations: in the Vatican where Andreu lived, in the French countryside outside Geneva where Zambrano lived, and in Valencia in Spain, where Andreu eventually returned while writing. These were completely different milieus with different philosophical and theological vocabulary, as well as different political circumstances.

It is difficult to understand the debates and discussions taking place in letters and co-authored or circulated manuscripts written in exile, if they are not contextualized in relation to the intellectual dislocations of both sender and receiver, and the translation and inter-change occurring between locations. The same is true for other kinds of material. Many of the exiles in the Italian milieu wrote to survive, which meant that they published articles and poetry in several languages and countries at the same time, actually dislocating manuscripts by sending them back and forward between places.

Propagation of concepts and metaphors

Exile as context is thus a way of placing thought in the very movement that authors, materials and ideas take. This movement is not always productive, or might "fail" in the sense that an idea that was important in one place becomes impossible or irrelevant in another, in the manner of Emily Apter's untranslatables. That is why the intellectual historian needs to look at the way in which concepts are transposed between registers – either culture-specific or discipline-specific registers – in what can be understood as conceptual translation or circulation of knowledge. Rather than just assuming that translations occur, exile as context emphasizes how. Given that exile forcibly transposes persons, practices and thought, it is the way in which it does so that becomes interesting. As Apter argues, translation as a movement between registers of languages tends to equalize languages or cultural registers by supposing the possibility of substitution and replacement of concepts between them.[39] I propose that in order to incorporate the critique directed against translation, it is more fitting to use the term propagation, coined by the historian of science Isabelle Stengers as a means of describing the circulation of knowledge.[40] This concept is used to describe not only how scientific disciplines evolve by transposing concepts from one field to another, it additionally describes how scientific fields distinguish and differentiate themselves as particular by giving new and added meanings to concepts from other fields. That means that propagation of concepts is a function in language and practice

by which concepts from one field move to another field. These fields are normally not equal, since propagation is used to describe how one not entirely developed field of science develops into a new discipline by using concepts from already developed disciplines. Importantly, propagation does not work through substitution, since the development of a new discipline occurs when a concept is given partial new meaning in a new scientific field. In addition, propagation does not have to be a conscious act, even if it can be conscious too.

In Stengers' understanding of history of science, scientific disciplines are formed and legitimated through the movement of certain foundational concepts from one field to another. Stengers argues that the formation of scientific fields is not so much a question of producing true knowledge, but a result of the way in which concepts and categories are invented to formulate discipline-specific problems and solutions. This happens through the propagation or movement of concepts from one area of thought to another. Stengers uses her theory to discuss foundational concepts in natural sciences as well as social sciences; for example how the law of causality moved from biology into economic sciences at the end of the nineteenth century.[41] Propagation of concepts takes place when a concept that is fundamental for organizing scientific truths in one field – such as biology – moves into other fields – such as economy – and takes a similar structuring position. The transference can be understood as an act of translation from one subject area to another, with has effects on the translated concepts. It must also be understood as a legitimizing practice, since it gives the legitimacy of an already founded science to a new field of investigation. Propagation is a concept that describes the movement of concepts between scientific fields, but it could be used in a broader way to describe the movement between spaces of experiences, between languages and locations.

In fact, Stengers' description of the historic forming of a scientific discipline, fuelled by the propagation of concepts, describes a history of uncertain and unstable connections between knowledge localities, which by the very force of conceptual propagation, stabilizes scientific identities and legitimizes demands. The situation is similar in the case of the exile, whose space of experience must be reconstructed and formalized as precisely an exile space of experience, in which certain kinds of movements and interactions play a crucial role. One crucial movement is the transference of concepts – for example "political community" – between languages and locations, with effects on both the historic spaces of experience and on the concepts themselves.

The philosophical influence that the exile milieu in Rome had – concerning concepts and formulations of problems – could not only be felt

by philosophers in Italy, such as Agamben or Cavarero, but simultaneously in journals published by the Department of Education in Puerto Rico (in Zambrano's case), or on stages in France and Montevideo where some of the exiles' theatrical works were performed (in the case of Bergamín). Zambrano's political philosophy was transposed into the wording of the then new Puerto Rican constitution, thus contributing directly not only to form Zambrano's exile space of experience, but also to constitute Puerto Rican politics for decades to come. Propagation thus also works to legitimize the exile as a political actor and producer of valid experiences. The propagation of concepts through exile can contribute to constitute new political fields in which the exile is a valid actor, even when he or she is not recognized by the state in which he is currently residing.

As Stengers argues, propagation is an analytical concept that aims at investigating foundational concepts of the sciences, the concepts that organize and structure formulations of problems, research and truth. This is why propagation can elucidate the exile's intellectual exchange; exile challenges fundamental political and social concepts.

Times of exile: on periodization

A peculiar aspect of the manuscript written by Zambrano and Andreu is that it makes no obvious reference to intellectual debates or other authors in Rome, in France or in Spain. Instead, the author and his commentator relate directly to sources in the western tradition. They discuss the role of materialism and the Hegelian spirit in relation to the early church fathers, as contemporaries. They discuss the production of mass movements in relation to the Latin roots of the Spanish words *experiencia* (experience) and *experimento* (experiment). This is of course a philosophical style, maintained by a whole range of European philosophers who did not all go into exile, but the manuscript seems strangely timeless in the sense of not belonging to any time in particular. Its Trinitarian theme gives little indication of when it was written, and only small signals place it post-Hegel, who is mentioned repeatedly, and possibly post-World War II; an example indicating the latter would be precisely the use of the word mass-movement.

Said and Sá Cavalcante Schuback suggest that time for the exile is perceived of as multiple since one is constantly living one's life, knowing and maintaining the memory of a past life that could have been different.[42] The move between locations was discussed above as a rupture with a previous room of experience, and the creation of a new room constructed by travels, translations, as well as certain forms of communication and

publishing, occasioned by the need to maintain two or more locations present as a coherent room of experience. Concerning time, however, no matter how good our memory is, the possibility of a future in the time-space left behind is irremediably lost, and hence exile time seems to be constituted by a complete rupture. While memory can cohabit with the present, the history in which that memory was played out as present can have no future. Consider a young university teacher, writing a first dissertation, and with the hopes and prospects of a university career. If that person is subjected to enforced displacement, ending up with no prospect of continuing the university career planned and looked forward to, no matter how much the memory of the former position is present, that future will not happen in the way it was imagined (or at all).

Said writes that the exile inevitably lives with the presence of that "could have been" and relates it to what he or she does in the now. Trinh T. Minh-Ha writes of the exile, trapped between memory and now as a "tale teller", a person who continuously tells new stories about origin and future.[43] The rupture, creating a space of experiences in which time is fragmented and partly virtual, produces the effect of having to tell anew a coherent history, one in which times are kept together. One could speak of this tale telling as a search for a new identity, but we need not go so far, it is enough to note that the experience of exile questions the way in which origin and future are perceived. We could say that it is the horizon of expectations that has been ruptured. Koselleck suggests that history is played out between the space of experience and the horizon of expectations.[44] The concepts mark the limits of a medium time-span history of, for example, biological generations. The space of experience is the gathered, repeated and shared experiences constituting a historic group, generation or family. The horizon of expectations is instead that future which is imagined and imaginable from those shared experiences. Together they constitute a historic medium-span moment. For the exile this would suggest that the most fundamental categories of time-space experience change, so as to reorganize the way in which the exile lives his or her life story. And one fundamental aspect of such an reorganization is the connection of what could have been with the expectations produced by the present. Minh-Ha's tale teller is the product of such a reorganization.

Minh-Ha investigates the symbol of the mother as a symbol of a distant origin in her discussion on exile as both actual and universal. The exile tale teller is a subject without history, proposes Minh-Ha, since it has no clear origin and no clear future. The exile's very predicament is produced by the fact that what could have been will not be. That is to say, by the rupture with former rooms of experience and horizons of expectation. Yet, in Minh-Ha's investigation of exile poetry, she underlines that the

mother is also a symbol of an origin that keeps coming back, distant and present at the same time. María Zambrano, who spent 45 years in exile, called this return to a never fully present origin, the return to a "homeland before birth," *una patria pre-natal*.[45] The return, in Andreu's manuscript, discussed above, to a canon of western authors, can be interpreted as a similar return to an origin that lies beyond the personal history, and beyond the ruptured space-time of exile. When the initial room of experiences and horizon of expectations are ruptured, the exile creates a new historic time that encompasses or draws upon a much larger and common human history. For Bergamín and Zambrano exile came to signify a reflection on human belonging and identity, beyond the nation state. Both rewrote Sophocles' play *Antigone*, for example, where Antigone becomes the symbol of the violence of World War II and the Civil War in Spain, understood as violence between people of shared origin.[46] In fact, much of the knowledge circulation that took place, for example between Zambrano, Bergamín, and the younger generation, such as Agamben, was a reflection on the origin, fundaments and structure of human community. The now famous distinction in *Homo Sacer* between *zoe* and *bios* that Agamben relates to Arendt (another exile), was also made repeatedly in the works of both Bergamín and Zambrano during the Rome years.[47] The theme of the original split or negativity, developed in *Il linguaggio e la morte,* by which what is expressed in language, is separated from an original silence or nothingness or that-which-cannot-be-spoken, as a structuring form in Western thought, was similarly discussed and debated in several books produced by the exile milieu in Rome.[48]

The description of the rupture of the horizon of expectation of the exile, and its consequences for a turn towards a tale telling of a more universal kind of history is a specific trait (albeit not present in every individual case) of the circulation of knowledge through exile. The propagation of concepts not only occurs with other and simultaneously existing languages or philosophical debates, but with interlocutors that are present in the large-span historic room of experience. Exile actualizes memory, be it by remembering one's own past, or by trying to recall – as did for example María Zambrano – the philosophical texts most dear to her. And the less access an exile has to intellectual or cultural debates in the receiving country, the more important becomes memory.

The practices of circulation of knowledge that have been discussed were based on the need to maintain an exile space of experience stretched out in the geography. The rupture of the horizon of expectation, and the fact of living with memory and present, creates the need for legitimizing practices such as Minh-Ha's tale telling, in which coherence between room of experience and horizon of expectations is produced. The turn

towards more universal historical narratives, or fundamental philosophy (in the case of the Roman exiles), or the basic laws of science, can be seen as a legitimizing strategy between many exiles, with effects on contents as well as the choice of (often canonized) debate partners. Using Koselleck's distinction between medium-span history and large-span history, we could say that exiles, in order to keep together the medium-span history which is fractured and fragmented, turn towards large-span history, in order to situate anew both origin and future. The horizon of expectations is lifted from the medium-span (or even the individual short-span history) into the large-span history. This means that the space of historic experience which the exile constitutes is constructed in such a manner as to create a position of validity and legitimization as against the receiving country, the location of departure, and sometimes international political actors. Exile is thus not just something that happens, or that is objectively there, but as much a creation of a historic room of experience which, just like other more clearly distinguishable historic institutions, propagates concepts and ideas with the aim of constituting spaces of experience.

Conclusions

In this article I have discussed how exile can be used as an analytical tool of contextualization. My aim has been twofold. On the one hand I have outlined major categories such as historic time and space, which are actualized by exile when used as contextualization. It has been argued that exile as an experience gives rise to its own space of experience, which at the same time works to constitute other historic spaces of experience. On the other hand, exile as context should be understood as an invitation to a debate among intellectual historians on the enterprise of contextualization. Contextualization is performed in almost all research within the field of intellectual history, but elaborations on what this means as a methodological tool is a major unresolved issue.

Exile as a contextualization actualizes the circulation of knowledge in two complementary but not contradictory ways.

Firstly, the exile space of experience connects two or more simultaneous locations, socio-political institutions and languages, with effects on the way in which concepts and knowledge are circulated over large distances, and the way in which debates, discussions and publications are conducted. I suggest, by drawing on Isabelle Stengers' theory of circulation of knowledge, that these practices can be understood as propagation of concepts, and that, taken together, they function to constitute political and social spaces of experience in the receiving country as well as for the exiles themselves.

In order for exile to become context, a first step is to map and describe routes of propagation. This has to be done by turning to archives in several countries – to the extent possible – and by relating published material to the personal material of exiles themselves such as correspondence. Exile as context enforces a certain structure of creativity favouring propagation, transposition and translation that can be mapped historically.

Secondly, exile produces a rupture in the horizon of expectations with effects on the way in which knowledge is circulated. The rupture in the horizon of expectations forces the exile to create a new horizon, often by interpreting or debating directly with authors in a large-span tradition or history. The connection between debates in the receiving country and debates and knowledge production in the location of origin may be small and decreasingly so over time, which means that the exile increasingly reflects upon fundamental and universal problems with the tradition best known to him or her. The concepts that are propagated between spaces of experience are often of a foundational or universalizing character, and since the exile is forced to relate to more than one milieu, the concepts will be used in the tension between a fundamental core and different aspects of the concept actualized in different surroundings. Propagation as a way of circulating knowledge in exile is thus creative and conserving, since on the one hand it actualizes variation, but on the other hand calls upon a relevant and universal canon, through which the exile creates a new horizon of expectations in large-span history.

Much has been written about the creative potential of exile, only paired with the amount of insistence on the nostalgia and loss irremediably connected to the experience. As has been shown in the discussion above, when using exile as a context, both creative and conserving practices should be taken into consideration as different aspects in the room of experience and horizon of expectations particular for exile. With the help of digital tools and close reading of texts it is possible to make an intellectual geography of the circulation of ideas and concepts produced by exile in Europe from 1850 onwards, which could include, for example, routes, materials, concepts, as well as the mapping of canons actualized in these spaces of exile experience.

The analytical tool of exile as context outlined above is an intellectual attempt to systematize individual experiences sometimes involving unbearable suffering. Yet, every historic contextualization necessarily involves this kind of systematizing of individual experiences. The difference here is that it draws upon experience that may be so devastating that it threatens the very life of those that experience it. Therefore, an ethical reluctance to systematize, and thus reduce individual experiences to an analytical tool, presents itself. For people in current mass-flight

arriving on the shores of Europe with nothing but the clothes on their bodies, creativity directed towards the canonized authors is of course far away. Nevertheless, there will be a moment after arrival that is necessarily a reconstruction of the life that has survived. In trying to describe the structure of an exile space of experience, and an exile horizon of expectations, I have sought to outline a way of working with these moments after arrival as a historic method. Is it ethically correct to write about, and use, the experience of exile when one has not suffered from it oneself? Or is it the case that if only exiles are left to speak about their experiences, the responsibility of the phenomenon will be left only to exiles. If exile can only be spoken about as the confessing of individual experiences, the responsibility on the part of those who are asked to receive persons suffering the consequences of particular social, economic and political conditions will be obscured. I believe that exile needs to be discussed and investigated as a consistent historical practice with specific historical socio-economic and political configurations – and not as an ontological condition, since this runs the risk of overshadowing the difference between actually having suffered exile and feeling exiled in the fully funded armchair – as a way of placing and formulating responsibility on the part of the receiver.

Notes

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