

How Can We Sing the Song of the Lord in an Alien Land? **Guide**



There is a primitive accumulation that is merely so called



There are human rights to have rights over humans



How can we sing the alien song in the land of the Lord?



The Potosí Principle

The world upside down

Editorial

As you may observe, this exhibition does not feature the usual labels for the artists' names and work titles. The colonial paintings and works by the artists are arranged according to a numerical system, comprising of alternating and inverted numbers which refer to the historical paintings and their contemporary responses. We have eschewed the labels in order to break with a customary mode of perception, frequently observed in the art scene: namely, the identification of the work with the name or the background of the artist, which precludes further questions, and compartmentalizes them into traditional "artist/work" convention. Instead we wish to emphasize the works in relation to each other, the underlying reasons for their creation and, above all, why they are being exhibited here.

There has been a protracted and extensive dispute that one can, of course, view works of art without explanation, in same way as one views cars, trees or clouds. Yet on the other hand, one can also claim that it is the narrative behind the objects which impels the eye to dwell on them. The narration of this story can in itself become a complex decision-making process into which we wish to draw you, the exhibition visitor. This guide will lead you through the exhibition along four extended routes. It can be read like a novel from beginning to end, or you can use it as a source of reference, based on the numbering system applied to the works. Although the works have been arranged spatially and form their own narrative, the routes in the guide follow the narrative which evolved from the discussions and experiences between the participants during an over two year's work on this project.

Welcome to an alien land. We trust that you have negotiated your way safely through the German government complex. After having walked down the Allee, named after the former US Secretary of State and hard-liner John Foster Dulles, past the bell tower built by the automotive and defense giant Daimler Benz opposite the Wall, as a talisman of the West, as it were, you have already encountered a number of pointers to the historic origins of the building in which you now find yourself: Haus der Kulturen der Welt was built in 1957 as a congress center and architectural emblem of a Western notion of freedom. But fear not. You are not about to take part in a re-education program on democracy, predicated on the so-called "balance of terror"—due to the possibility of a nuclear first strike. However, we cannot exclude the converse with any certainty. You have left the security of your contemporary context, and are now located in an historic space, which, we would claim, is not linear, but simultaneous and never of the past.

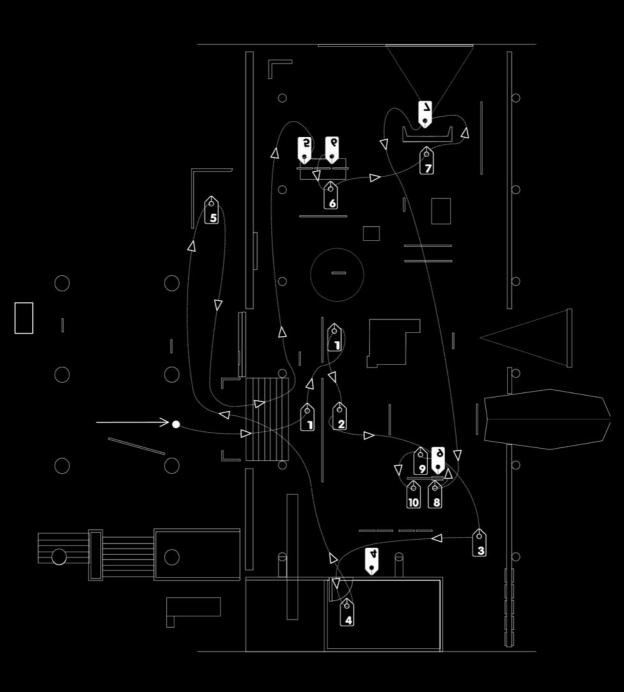
The point at which we want you to embark upon your journey is the city of Potosí, a mining city in Bolivia, of which it is said that in the sixteenth century it was larger and more magnificent than London and Paris, and that on public holidays the sidewalks were paved with silver. It is said that with the silver brought from Potosí to Europe a bridge could be built across the Atlantic, all the way to the port of Cádiz. There is an ongoing disagreement about how one can assess the number of people who died from forced labor in the mines. It must have been hundreds of thousands, but it does not stop with this region no longer being a colony—it extends throughout the 200 years of republic that are celebrated with the Bicentenario, right up until the present day.

This project is dedicated to bringing to mind how all this came about. The silver is shipped to Cádiz. The Spanish king is so indebted that, in front of the port, the silver is already loaded onto ships traveling to the stock exchanges across Europe. It effects a dynamism decisive to the development of industry, the banking system, the colonial trading companies with their wars and slave ships, the agricultural industry, and the expulsion and impoverishment of people, rendering them available as laborers. "Hurling" people onto the labor market took place simultaneously in Europe and the colonies. It marks the start of a system that has always operated globally. Our project is about bringing to mind that modern European society and its economic system cannot be conceived without its colonial conditionality and crimes. It is all about the fact that this conditionality has prevailed and continues to prevail everywhere.

This dynamism discharges a mass production of images that are first shipped to the colonies, where they then produce their own images. When we show some of these pictures here, we want them to bear witness to the fact that cultural hegemony is not a symbolic dimension but instead is linked with violence. We cannot demand from these testimonials the engendering of a linear continuity up to the conditionality of hegemony and the globalized creation of value as it exists today. However, we can claim that there are connections between the function of colonial painting and the function that art now assumes in vesting the new elites of globalization with legitimacy.

There are different paths you can take during your departure, but you will always cross the same geographical points, places from which we have invited artists to respond to the pictures from Potosí, based on their local situation in today's boom towns. Not the least of our concerns was to make it clear that the production of images is never entirely in line with the technology of power, and that even in its most repressive forms it is capable of expressing a fear and an anticipated revenge against the impossibility of conceiving that a border can actually exist within this infinite immanence of power, and that there are indeed opponents—erratic, corruptible, and unstable ones, who refuse to partake.

There is a primitive accumulation that is merely so called





Having passed through the foyer and entered the exhibition room, you will now be looking at the reverse of two large pictures. Because they are transparent, you may be able to recognize a few details on the front. Don't go to the front, just take a closer look at the reverse. They depict sadistic and obscene torture scenes, distorted faces symbolizing the senses destroyed by torture.

In her most recent book, Naomi Klein describes the development of shock therapy in 1960s psychiatry and its link to neoliberal think tanks and the CIA. Shock therapy grasps the "ill" psyche as a computer program that must be deleted so that it can be reinstalled. The methods of shock therapy were first employed both as torture and as an economic program in the dictatorships of South America. Terror and restructuring programs, paralyzing resistance against antisocial policies by producing fear still belong to the program of neoliberalism.

The engravings you see here were made in the Jesuit province of Paraguay in 1705. They are part of a compendium teaching people how to fear hell and death. What you see here are details of an outstanding pioneering achievement, one of the first self-produced prints translated into Guaraní in the viceroyalty of Peru: That is how important it was to arouse fear.

You deem the leap from the methods of neoliberal politics to these motifs to be too big, too imprecise? You are right. Now let us take a look at the picture from the front and start something we will continue to do along the entire section, namely, to survey the distance of this leap in a more precise way.



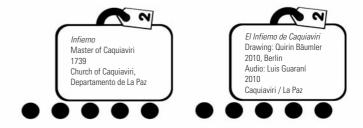


Take a look at the first of the large silver point drawings. Modeled on paintings of the church of Caquiaviri, they have been rendered on duplicating foil. Headphones are provided for you to listen to audio recording of the church's 500th anniversary celebrations (on January 17, 2010). The parish refused to lend us these paintings. The reasons are explained on the flipside of the photo, which is hanging together with a magnifying glass from the lower edge of the canvas.

The picture consists of two highly dissimilar parts. Right at the top, people are depicted strolling through an idyllic landscape in broad daylight and being fished out of it with rods and thrown directly into hell by devils. The legality of torture, the equivalence of torture to sins, the equality in law of cardinals, princes, and popes in the cooking pot—all this is merely a brief distraction from the massiveness of power detached from legality, which without reason can draw people from the landscape into torture. When we look at the picture, we cannot forget that Caquiaviri was a transportation hub of the silver and copper trade, that the cacique, the

community authority, held shares in the mines of Potosí 1,000 kilometers away. The cacique was made responsible by the Spanish colonial power in the entire region for recruiting Indios for forced labor in Potosí. The picture is part of one of the few completely preserved, impressive picture ensembles, so-called postrimerías, filling the entire church in Caquiaviri. Postrimerías (depictions of death, the Final Judgment, and agonies) were quite widespread in the region around Lake Titicaca. They belong to the first Christian picture motifs in South America. As small altars, they even accompanied the baptism of slaves when they arrived in the ports. Baptism and showing hell thus constitute one and the same moment. The anthropologist Michael Taussig described the role of terror as a mediator par excellence regarding colonial hegemony. It opens up a space in which the arbitrariness of the colonizer prevails as unrestrictedly as the power of hell. These spaces have a long and rich tradition, and their signifiers mingle with those of the conquered. Yet these signifiers do not function correctly, for the arbitrariness of power aims at obliterating meaning. Taussig transfers this destruction of meaning to the same disarrangement between ourselves and commodities.

Before continuing, take a long look at the picture. You are familiar with its motifs; they reference a long tradition of terror in Europe itself—before it was exported to the colonies by the colonial government.



We will now guide you over to the far left corner of the room between the exterior wall and the balcony. We are anxious to tell you the following about commodities: In each commodity, as congealed labor time, lies concealed a history of terror, of forcing people to work.

Since colonization, it has been inextricably linked to the export of the bestiality of our own social relations to the periphery, the colonized countries—where it engenders new commodities and ter-

ror: silver or natural rubber, coins for standing armies or tires for the Model T, palm oil, green fuel, and—the car tank in competition with the stomach—soy. You now find yourself in a Laundromat like in the movies of the Fordist dream factory. Here, you can look at drawings, documents, and photos, all components of a travelogue leading to the Argentine provinces of Buenos Aires and Santa Fe. Once again, a torture of the senses is described: "Something alien came from the visual field, fled into our senses to the other parts of the body and forcefully hit the stomach.... It is something one cannot see, cannot define, and which is in absolute harmony with the concept of transgene." (Eduardo Molinari) The torture consists in the intolerability of not being able to resolve—like Pavlov's dog—an equivalence of signs between this green, peaceful land-scape and the knowledge of the fact that this is a polluted, highly capitalized, agrichemical complex. The report will give you information on the history of soy cultivation ("soyafication") in Argentina, serving as an example of the current boom in agribusiness as THE novel financial product following the crisis. According to the World Hunger Index 2009, the number of people suffering from hunger will exceed one billion in 2010. Since the crisis, regions the size of European countries are being purchased in Latin America and Africa for the agroindustry. However, we would like to explain the true significance of the washing machines at the end of Chapter Three. (p. 38)



We would ask you to exercise patience regarding the significance of the picture hanging on the wall above the washing machines. However, if you so wish, you can turn to the explanation provided in the middle of the first chapter. (p. 16)

Some statistics claim that the viewer spends between three and ten seconds in front of a picture. We will disregard this and spend more time guiding you through this first route of the exhibition. It is dedicated to a process in which "great masses of men are suddenly and forcibly torn from

their means of subsistence, and hurled as free and "unattached" proletarians on the labor market." This is how Marx describes expropriation in the chapter on primitive accumulation. These thrusts are uninhibited and do not form a starting point that has a beginning or an end; they are instead part of a circulation, the commencement of which was greatly accelerated by the silver from Potosí.

Now walk a few paces to the right along the wall beneath the gallery until you arrive at a small door. To the left of it you will find a picture. The door leads to a chamber in which you can listen to the following lesson: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement, and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins,

signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production." This is one of the essential statements in the chapter on accumulation. You now repeatedly and insistently hear this statement with a Russian accent—provided with American corrections in regard to pronunciation. You can follow the way the "students" relate this sentence to their political situation in Russia, and how the alien, hegemonic language is both a barrier and a memory of the extinguished knowledge of a political era. The discussion becomes loud and the pictures on the wall start to tremble, when the issue is a political practice that claims to resist the process of accumulation.



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"If you are trying to do art, the result will be like this artist. You will be lying on the floor and waiting for an angel," as in the picture in front of the door. You can discover more about this picture at the end of Chapter Two. (p. 31).

This exhibition extends both out into the park and into the foyer. We shall now guide you along our unusual route out of the room, where you turn right and see a projection screen showing examples of so-called primitive accumulation in Russia.

It's a video about the character masks of the new Russian oligarchy. "The point of departure of the film is a decision to build the highest building—the office of Gazprom state corporation—in St. Petersburg. It triggers many connected real and fictional stories around it that represent the historical moment of the development of Russian society, one that is driven by accumulation of capital and power by dispossession of the most of the population.

It is also important to note that this planned construction provoked the most heated debate and resistance in public in recent Russian politics. Constructing the ideology of the state corporation is from our point of view the most profound contemporary example of the implementation of the "Potosí Principle" in nowadays Russia." (Dmitry Vilensky) The Gazprom Tower is being built by the Emirate-based corporation, Arabtec. Gazprom and Arabtec are international corporations, and we (the authors of this text) find they are criminal, just like Antonio López de Quiroga, whose portrait we shall discuss shortly, was certainly criminal, even if this designation is not legally correct.

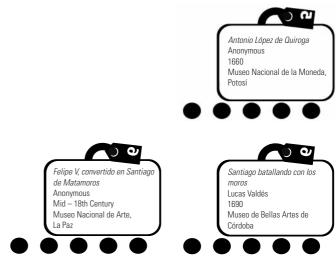




Have you noticed the red rope which appears to run from the projection screen directly through the ear of Benjamin Franklin and then through the wall? It does indeed re-emerge on the other side and leads to a number of equestrian pictures: One is St. James (Santiago) killing "blackamoors," the second is a portrait of Philip V quickly repainted to depict Santiago to save the painting from republican upheavals, the third—to which the rope is attached—is a portrait of Antonio López de Quiroga, one of the wealthiest men in the

history of Potosí. In regard to character masks, Marx writes that they pretend that their means of production, their machines, buildings, and know-how are investments. Yet these "investments," like commodities, are past and exerted labor, always disquised as capital.

Quiroga was a legendary big investor and benefactor. One can read on the right side of the picture that he donated "Dio Veinte y un milliones de Quintos" (21 million quintos) to build the San Francisco church, which is either a lie or flattery. Do you remember the common sense of the character masks in the 1990s in which—blinded by the stock market spectacle of the New Economy—it was claimed that capital can create value out of itself merely through advanced technologies? One of the stories that people in Potosí tell of Quiroga even today goes like this: Once a week, he organized a large soup kitchen. Afterwards the poor knotted their ponchos and Quiroga threw a few coins into them. One time somebody refused to do so and said: "I will only accept money if you wring out your cloak." After hesitating, Quiroga took off his cloak and wrung it out—and blood dripped from it.





You perhaps are now standing on a podium from where you have a better view of the two remaining *Santiagos*. From this vantage point, you can also survey the two videos as you would an archaeological site. "It might be a good contribution to direct the "Santiagos" mirror towards Spain. It seems to me also true that the relationship between modernity and colonialism, in the case of Spain, was also pretty problematic, since the colonial metropolis in this case, i.e. Spain,

has been historically—and consecutively—the European bastion of Counter-Reformation, anti-Enlighten-

ment, and fascism—all projects of modernization or reform have been historically problematic here, and basically they have all been defeated." (Expósito). These are the reasons the Santiagos have been mounted above you. Please take one of the information leaflets. You will also learn more about the close relationship of the Santiagos to the more recent chapters of Spanish history in the video.





You have heard one basic principle of primitive accumulation and seen a current example from Russia. You are now aware that every commodity and every investment bears and simultaneously conceals this form of accumulation. But how can this be applied to the historical case of Potosí? Immediately to your left you can see a free-standing wall with a painting on the one side and video projection on the other. It is worthwhile to alternate back and forth between the painting—a view of Potosi—and the film about the painting itself.

The picture does not show you a hell but an industrial city in the eighteenth century. In the squares and streets of the city, the individual episodes are painted as meticulously as in the columns of a city newspaper: caravans of pack animals, processions, a murder, a wedding, an animal being slaughtered. You don't see any mines in the mountain, you see the investments and the infrastructure: dams, canals, and refineries. But you see only a few workers in the city, as if this picture were also a character mask. Eighteen years after this picture was painted, Adam Smith described how an invisible hand creates wealth, in his book The Wealth of Nations.



The film shown on the other side of the wall works against this invisibility. Here, you will learn about the concrete conditions of labor: the displacement of indigenous metallurgy through amalgamation and the subsequent disqualification of indigenous labor. "On the silver mountain one sees workers in the most diverse formations; but one cannot find a gallery entrance. The mitayos, the forced laborers, often came from villages a few hundred kilometers away from Potosí; the journey there often lasted a month and they had to stay there for a year—that's why they brought along their families and their livestock. The pictures show the housing of the workers, but no women, children, or livestock. One can see a courtyard building where the workers receive their wage, and in front a small street market where beverages are sold. But one cannot distinguish between the free workers and the forced laborers "It seems reasonable to assume that an event as important as the discovery of America ought to be mentioned somewhere in the holy scriptures." Todorov cites this sentence, and it seems reasonable to me to assume that an event such as the largest genocide in history ought to be mentioned somewhere in the picture." (Harun Farocki)





We must now take you through the room in order to continue relating our story. In the final third you will encounter another small partition. On its rear side, next to the documents, there is a picture that looks like an illustration from the then-popular textbooks on alchemy, where gold is obtained by means of a mystical procedure. But this drawing explains amalgamation, which had been developed in the mines of Mexico in the middle of the sixteenth century and, after the discovery of mer-

cury in Huancavelica, was also employed in Potosí. The silver ore was pulverized in courtyards, then mixed with blue vitriol, common salt, and water to form a mush to which mercury was added. This mass was stomped with the feet and exposed to the sun for eight weeks.

A silver amalgam was formed that could be separated by means of cold rolling or heat. Mercury poisoning leads to headaches, memory loss, dizziness, shivering, perception disorders, colic, and kidney failure. The workers often died after returning to their communities. This connection between labor and sickness has also disappeared in present-day Potosí.





The amalgamation process and the mita, the state systemization of forced labor, are two sides of the same coin regarding the measures to make the obtaining of silver more effective in Potosí. "Through the introduction of the amalgamation process the production of silver skyrocketed from 1573 on, and from 1580 to 1610 increased to 190 to 230 tons per year." (Anna Artaker) Now go to the other side of this display wall. Paths of silver are marked on a world map "by means of frotta-

ges of a historical coin that was minted in Potosí between 1586 and 1591." Elsewhere the artist continues: "The connection between the expansion of global trade in the wake of European expansion and the progress made in cartography is evident: Worldwide transportation of goods was carried out by merchant ships that required exact nautical charts to navigate.... The world map is a true-to-scale reproduction of the coastlines of a map printed by Arnoldo di Arnoldi in Holland in 1600. Di Arnoldi's map is a copy of the world map published by Petrus Plancius in Amsterdam in 1592. The map also reveals the geographical knowledge and the image of the world at the time the coin was minted."



Please continue reading about the drawing of the diver in the second path description. (p. 30). As you already know, this circulation is an essential attribute of the "rosy dawn of capitalism." It is often claimed that the flood of silver, achieved by making the mining industry in Potosí more effective, was responsible for the price revolution of grain crops in Europe starting in the sixteenth century. But Silvia Federici in her historical analysis of primitive accumulation doubts this: "Gold and silver are not capital... they were planted into a developing capitalist world, in which a gro-

wing percentage of the population... had to buy the food that they had once produced because the ruling class had learned to use this magical power of money to cut labor costs." (Federici, Caliban and the Witch) The circulation triggers a growing dependency of survival on money.



Take another look at the other side of the wall where you will find copies of historical documents: A) Two sheets of the system to list the Yanaconas Indios in Potosí, two subsequent pages from the San Lorenzo parish. A List of the Yanaconas Indios (indigenous people)... living in this city of Potosí, Porco province, and who otherwise are assigned to the royal house of this city, drawn up by Don Hernando y Molina y Cobos. Capitan Mayor of the said Indios, September 16, 1711. Consisting of:

146 numbered pages that show the lists of residents of this continent/lists of residents of the yanaconas Indios... living in the parish of San Lorenzo". Archivo de Casa de Moneda, Potosí.

B) Then lists of forasteros (non-local indigenous people) in the town of Siporo, classified according to name and age, who are to be brought there by the caciques. "List of Foreign Indians assigned to the parish of Siporo and Aciento de Piquisa whose Tributes must be collected by the Governing Chieftain to be Designated", Archivo de Casa de Moneda, Potosí.

C) Lists of non-local Yanaconas, assigned to the king, the church, and the convents. "List of the Foreign Yanaconas Indians assigned to the king, church and convents, added to this Village in order they fulfill their obligations there like the original residents," Archivo de Casa Moneda, Potosí.

D) A document from 1692, an itemization of the assignment of forced laborers from different regions to the mita in the mine, or the metal deposition mills (ingenios). "Summary of the Persons to whom are to be assigned the Indians detailed as Follows", April 27, 1692, Archivo Biblioteca Nacional, Sucre.

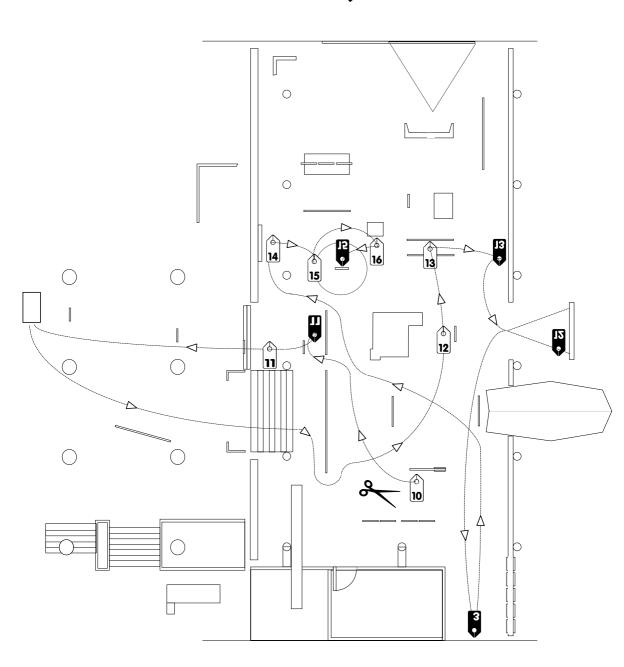
E) A government document dealing with the regulation of daily wages of the mitayos, among others, in the bankrupt mines. This reveals that the price for which the forced laborers could buy their way out of the obligation to pay tribute was much higher than the wage that the mita laborers received. The document calls for an alignment of prices and wage of free and state-assigned workers to preclude injustice and the "great confusion in the charging of Taxes, and the whole Mita of Potosí." Archivo Biblioteca Nacional, Sucre.



But this "gran confusión" has more to do with the speculative value of labor. The first mita quotas are determined in 1572 along with the population censuses, but already five years later, the communities can no longer abide to them because they have become depopulated. The mita is a measure lying at the center of a statistical pair of scissors: the growing demand for laborers in the city and the depopulation of the provinces. The reasons for depopulation lie not only in the epidemics caused by European pathogens but also in the destruction of indigenous subsistence.

The scissors have three consequences that precisely apply to what we understand as primitive accumulation and the *Principio Potosí*. At this point, we have to divide your departure path into three branches in order to grasp these consequences.

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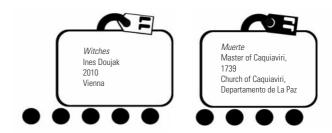


The first cut of the scissors marks power over life. Once again we are ushering you out of the exhibition room but only to allow you to look inside it again—this time from the foyer. You will stand in front of five magnificent bubbles. At the time we wrote this guide, we did not yet know if these bubbles were oculars directed towards motifs on the right half of the picture or episodes depicting the main protagonist—the female body and its close ties to plants, rhythms, and ornaments. On the painting behind the glass wall, the dying man can be seen surrounded by the seven deadly sins.

They are his pillows, threatening him as animals, hovering as red-framed bubbles, episodes of life toward the pleasance, which is an anteroom to hell. In the center bubble, Indios worship a farting goat, coca leaves are spread out as sacrificial offerings. This branch deals with a biopolitical turn of the narration, with how the proletariat is "made." The witch hunts in Europe and America and the extermination of indigenous culture are components of this "making." In Europe as well as in the colonies, the female body becomes an instrument of human labor. The bodies are to be at the unlimited disposal of investments, they must therefore be separated from their own lives. The ban on bodily self-determination implies the destruction of forms of community, knowledge, and memory. This destruction is accompanied by campaigns to obliterate idolatry in the Andes, or the Malleus Maleficarum in Europe. Settlement plans are made at the same time. Philip II plans a city in the vicinity of Potosí to breed mine workers. Between 1696 and 1760, Jesuits build settlements in the rainforest regions of the viceroyalty of Peru for converted Indios—Baroque urban layouts, new Jerusalems that were forbidden for the Spaniards, with magnificent churches, altars, and rehearsals of Baroque music. Follow the axis which is described by the bubbles in the foyer; there you will encounter a costume which theatrically emphasizes the belly and the genitals. In your immediate proximity you will see a podium on which a book is resting. A counter-tenor performed here during the opening ceremony of this exhibition. He opened the book and began to sing.

The famous castrato Farinelli alleviated the depression of Philip V each night for almost ten years with his singing. The countertenor will sing the questions of a confession manual laid down at the Council of Lima in 1585: a pitiless search for the pleasures and intimate agreements of one's own body with the stones, the sky, the mountains, and plants.

The book from which the countertenor sings has a cover made of snakeskin. The community of the Shiphibo, who live in the Amazon basin in Peru, believe that the world was sung into existence by a gigantic anaconda. The Christians believe that the Leviathan devours the entire world. When the snake sang, the patterns of its skin formed the universe. The weaving of the Shiphibos represents this skin of the snake, and at the same time one can read and sing it like notes. Take another look at the *Muerte* picture. At the middle of the lower edge, there is a confession scene in which the devil holds the Indio's mouth shut, and it cannot be determined whether he is preventing or protecting him from confessing.



You will have noticed the holes in the wall shielding the old painting from the light streaming in through the glass façade. Just in front of the projector, which is beaming an image through the hole to the outside, there is a picture depicting one of the most famous motifs of Andean painting. The Cerro Rico, Potosí's silver mountain, has become the coat of the Virgin Mary. The coat/mountain is the scene of disputes between the new and established adventurers over silver claims. Clement XI and Philip V are shown kneeling near the bottom edge of the picture, with further dignitaries, businessmen, and caciques behind them. This picture is a new, "Bourbon" version of the old picture of Charles V and Paul II in the Casa de Moneda in Potosí. In the interpretation of the syncretism between Maria and the Pachamama (or the Earth), the Earth is frequently called a mother. But the Pacha deity is basically sexless. It becomes female perhaps because it is a resource, an exchangeable quantity.





On the right-hand side you see another picture—it is hanging behind a grille that one knows from confessionals. In the convent of Santa Teresa in Potosí, this picture stands behind a similar grille. It shows two girls being brought to a convent, accompanied by their fathers, with a band of flowers above them as a bond to heaven. They are two daughters from wealthy families who were already destined for the convent at the age of three. They are a security or pledge that the entire family will go to heaven.





Now peer through the hole in the wall. Through the window—a step into the park—you can see a film which examines the logic of the two pictures with regard to the female body, as an object of exchange. It deals with an uncomfortable assertion: "The relationship between patriarchalism and colonialism seems to be a matter... that is suspected to weaken the anticolonial proposition and legitimize the conquistador in advance. It therefore deserves no pardon... it is an unnamable relationship deleted from the mental

political map to instead speak about colonialism and decolonization. Every indigenous and Spanish woman assumes a specific place that is defined precisely through this patriarchal continuity between the one and the other society. Patriarchal rule did not arrive with the Spaniards in their ships, although we should assume so to simplify things." (María Galindo) What kind of dynamics do patriarchal structures experience in a process of capitalization, in which bodies are equaled to resources and vice versa?





In order to answer this question we must finally return to the painting which is hanging over the washing machines to the rear left of the exhibition room: a fantastic garden with flagellating monks. Take a look at these artificial plants with the same bias as the monks in the picture—as inspectors busy with the bookkeeping of resources and making an effort to control them, along with their own nature. In ecstasy, the monks envision themselves in a sterile heaven (Maria gives Ildefonsus, a

defender of the dogma of immaculate conception, a coat. She is assisted by St. Leocadia and St. Lucia, on whose plates one sees their eyes, which they poked out to evade marriage). The obliteration or sterilization of the female body is a logical, ultimate step of controlling and exploiting life.





There is another portrait of Maria which we would like to draw your attention to—the transport crate for the painting is still standing next to it—which can be found on the wall alongside the silver-point drawing of the Muerte painting. For the exhibition in Berlin we endeavored to have this painting exhibited in the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie in order to highlight the lack of reference to the impact of colonial history in European historiography. Instead, were referred to the Votive Department of the Ethnological Museum in Dahlem.

"The central motif of the picture allows one to conclude that at the given time (1732) there was already a cult surrounding the image of the birth of Christ (the nativity) in Chuchulaya, and that nine miracles were associated with worshipping this picture. The icon depicting the divinity and that of worship on public holidays was originally a sculpture made of wood and plaster.... This province [of Chuchulaya] is characterized by soil that is suitable for traditional cultivation and pre-Columbian forms of winning resources. The Incas mined gold here and cultivated coca.

The colonial powers seized the land and founded various villages, mainly to exploit the gold mines of Tipuani and Sulches.... The picture of the Virgin of Chuchulaya represents the memory and identity of the village. The historical value that this work gains in its local context allows one to reflect too on the cultural policies of museums. Regardless of the condition the picture was in when taken or stolen from a museum, it would lose its cultural meaning. The viewers would see it, but they couldn't conceive or understand it. Nevertheless, the reevaluation it receives thanks to restoration and preservation allows the viewers to regard the picture from their own local perspective." (Gabriela Behoteguy)





We have now arrived at the last point in this stage of our journey, the first cut of the scissors. In the middle you will notice the circle made of lengths of thread.

There you will see photos describing the historical path of a Virgin of Candelaria from Tenerife to the town of Qagachaka in the Andes. "According to a story from my village, the Virgin of Candelaria appears in the mines of Potosí, as the Holy Virgin; she saves buried mine workers and brings the dead back to life in her hands," writes Elvira Espejo. Opposite the picture of the Virgin de Candelaria there is a tied-up bundle. It's the "hombre de oro," a monster that has plundered the mountain's riches and is now shackled with the cloth. Elvira Espejo is engaged in researching and preserving indigenous textile techniques: "In Bolivia, 90 percent of the resources are exported.... In view of the global context, I started systematizing my investigations on the production chain in the field of textiles. I studied the process ranging from the resource to the manufactured product. This investigation itself is a battle against the destructive industry that pollutes the environment and simultaneously leads to hunger and misery. Thousands of hands are replaced by a machine, and the people remain jobless. Constant migration from the land is triggered, people looking for work all go to the cities, where even more problems and despair arise. What will life in the urban reality be like?" (Elvira Espejo)



16

Another example is the district of Mataró in Barcelona, whose local textile industry was "restructured." On the table near to the work by Elvira Espejo, you can see an Internet page detailing the history of this part of the city. This Map of Mataró is the attempt to unravel the strand of history to multiple stories and thus form a rhizome-like texture; it is the proposal to start with the thread dealing with the textile industry in Mataró and the themes related to it: the crisis of industrial capi-

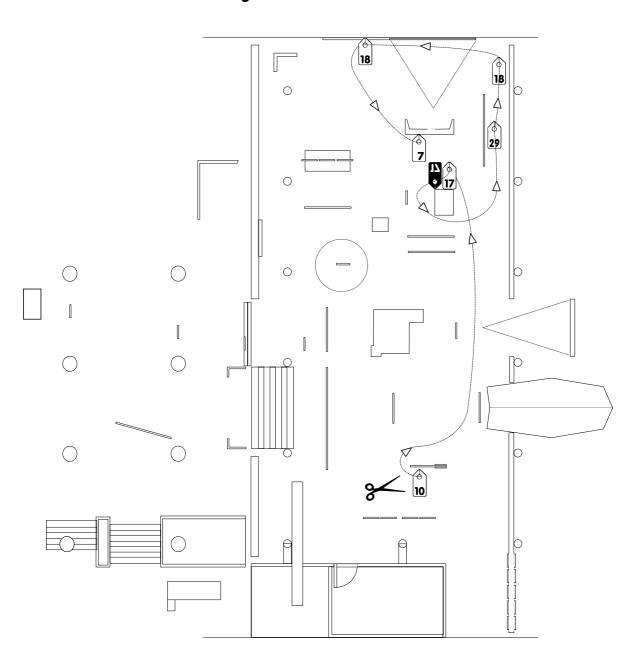
talism having to do with the globalization of markets, but also, and predominantly, the way in which power and force become flesh, directly connected to the bodies and lives of individuals, which can be observed, for example, in the massive movements of people." (Map of Mataró).



Back to the circle made of thread: There you can find the picture of the Virgen de Candelaria de Sabaya, a further "Maria syncretism" with a mountain—here, the volcano of Sabaya (modern department of Oruro), which is again hidden in Maria's dress. This Candelaria de Sabaya was painted by one of the bestknown indigenous artists of Potosí. As part of the Casa de Moneda collection it is now an object of value and therefore no longer possesses social significance. But there are statues and pictures of Sabaya, whose worship (festivities, holidays, processions) creates spaces of identification for communities that are constantly formed and torn apart again through labor migration. These festivities form the cultural backbone of a society in which Christian, European, and indigenous cultures do not harmoniously unite to form a hybrid, but remain separated, although simultaneously present.



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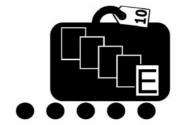




Now you have returned to our intersection, to the exhibition wall with the documents. Take a close look at Document E. Alongside the lists you will see a drawing of the chronicle of Poma de Ayala (cf. no. 22) "A mine labor captain "rents" a native laborer to replace one of his own who has fallen ill from mercury poisoning, so that he doesn't die.... These said [captains], under the pretext of renting them, rob the Indios of those they have rented,... Although they take the complete number of Indios away, they give them to their friends or hide them or use them or receive rental money

from another Indio." (Poma de Ayala) Outside the center, in the communities, the wardens must replace the lack of forced laborers in cash. They are lacking either due to depopulation or because they have fled. The money comes from the informal markets that have become established to supply the centers with coca, grain, and other goods. The farmers must produce for these markets, instead of for themselves, to earn the money to replace the mita quotas. In Potosí, the capitalization of this debit of work forces through debt obligations, ultimately leading to speculating with "Indios in one's pocket," as described above.

In his chapter on primitive accumulation, Marx describes how national debt and its financial products become the most decisive factors in the European economy by opting for enterprises in the colonies. Can we see a model of this in the capitalization of the mita quotas? And can we conclude from this that the creation of value is not a natural movement of the market but generated by force exerted on the lives of people? Remember the second axiom of the Karl Marx School: "Force is the midwife of every old society which is pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power."



From the documents, we shall now guide you back into the other half of the exhibition room. Behind the painting of the novices with the grid structure, there is a small table with the newspaper NOID— The Long Memory of Cocaine, the title page of which shows a Passion motif (Christ at the Pillar of Scourging). The padre of the parish of San Pedro in Potosí, where the original picture can be found, explains that the wounds on his back resemble the many gallery entrances into Cerro Rico. San Pedro is one of the oldest and most traditional mine worker districts of the city. You can read about the reasons why the parish refused to lend the picture, which is reproduced here, on the inside of the brochure.



Please put on the gloves at your disposal and take your time leafing through the magazine, glancing over the different sections, or maybe even reading some of the texts. The dummy exhibited here is meant to show the production process of the first issue. It will evolve throughout the three shows in Madrid, Berlin, and La Paz, and was initiated in the seminar "The Long Memory of Cocaine—Modernity and the transformations of value and labor" (Steirischer Herbst, Graz 2009). This seminar spawned the formation of *The Long Memory of Cocaine research group*, which is collaborating with Coca-Museum in La Paz. The pictures that served as the starting point of the picture spread of NOID show Passion depictions from San Pedro, film stills from Jorge Sanjinés' *La Nación Clandestina* (1989), and press photos from the Bolivian daily newspaper *El Nuevo Día* (Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 2004). They tell the story of the corporeal identification of alienated labor with the broken body of Christ: from the bloody bocaminas in Cerro Rico to the embodied crucifixion through protesting coca farmers in the prisons of the Bolivian lowlands.





We shall now take a short detour to the next chapter. Behind the table on the right-hand side, you will see a large picture. Take a close look at some of the figures. Only pay attention to the connection between the illegalization of people and their use as cheap workers on the construction sites and leisure facilities of Dubai. The other disfranchisement takes place via debt bondage: A worker requires two years to pay back the "outlay" for recruitment, commission, and travel costs. The crisis in

Dubai will flush these serfs into the reservoir of illegal laborers. (p. 34)



The CVA group (London), whose contribution you can find find next to the backdrop, have drawn "on accounts of crisis and struggle from an ongoing archive describing the punitive logic of 'crisis': accumulation striving to be primitive enough, or bringing the Potosi principle back 'home'. The wealth of negations, reduced to 40 curses and a few incriminating letters: enough to spell out the iron law of no-wages. 'Masses of people' violently reacquainted with subsistence as hope's upper

limit, exposed to individual punishment as befits the 'free worker'. A ZERO SUICIDES exhibit, at least for those likely to see it." (CVA group)



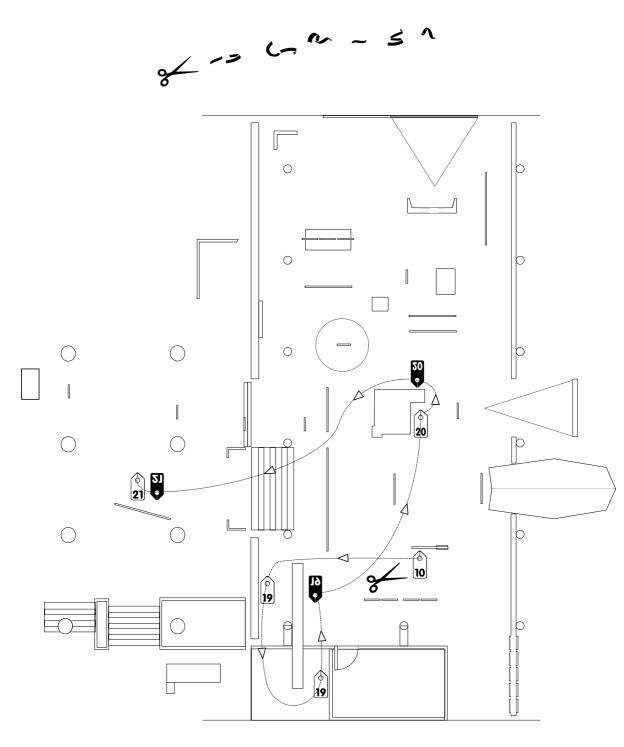
When the South Sea Bubble burst at the beginning of the eighteenth century it was one of the first serious stock market crashes in London. The South Sea Company had been granted the monopoly on trading with South America from the English Crown. It was speculated that after the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, the Spanish monopoly privilege on the slave trade would be awarded to England. This would have rendered the entire continent of South America capitalizable for slave trade, but the Treaty of Utrecht restricted these rights.



Now we would like to recommend that you approach our intersection for a third time (No. 10 with the documents). Take another look at the cityscape of Potosí to revise our view that the picture is deserted. Not the picture but the city is empty; the streets leading to it, on the other hand, are full of groups of people. Our third branch is dedicated to this mobility. There are estimates that the mita alone set 25,000 forced laborers and their families on the move each year, plus the return migration, the refugees, displaced

persons, and merchants. There are similar estimates pertaining to vagabonds and migrant workers in Europe. Take a closer look at documents C, D, and E.







Turn left in the direction of the entrance and move to the table with the array of LCD screens. We would like to primarily draw your attention to the watercolours, which have been mounted behind the table on both sides of the wall. The watercolors were created on a trip to the province of Moxos, to where the painter—standing in conflict with the new government—was deported. These sheets from the album of landscapes and customs depict persons whose invisibility has continued after the foundation of the nation of Bolivia. The mita has been abolished, but for more than fifty years

the indigenous levies form the most important state income of a republic that does not concede the voting right to the majority of its inhabitants. So are the landscapes deserted after all? But what do these recorded festivities mean? Are specters dancing there, released monsters of the imported creation of fear with uncontrollable local divinities? And, what people meet in these streets in the flow of travelers and festivities, who conduct trade, who talk and tell tales and share the cunning of survival with others?



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On the long montage table standing opposite, LCD screens are apparently being manufactured. On some of them you can discern silhouettes of scenes from the Álbum de Paisajes, as if they were burned into the surface of the screen. Here, you can read ten of a hundred dreams that were recorded on two trips to China in 2008/2009. An excerpt from the travelogue: "It is December 2008, I am in the outskirts of Shenzhen. The credit crisis has fiercely hit this part of the country. Countless buses, battered and shabby, perform a chaotic dance on the streets, crossing each others' way.

The buses are full of migratory workers on their way home, back to the interior. I'm in the Pearl River Delta. It's an area where nobody comes from; everybody comes from somewhere else. It's an area completely focused on production, where human beings are no more than instruments for a purpose." (Matthijs de Bruijne) Like feasts and their costumes, "dreaming" does not solely obey the "principle of repetition."





It is high time we finally explain the significance of the transport crates standing in the middle of the room. They are used to transport the elements with which the Migrant Worker Museum from Beijing introduces itself. An independent, self-organized museum, its declared mission is nevertheless the same as one could expect from a state-run museum: "If we do not keep a record of our culture, then there is no record of our history."

This claim to possessing and remembering a history of one's own does not tolerate a pluralistic "but"; instead, it is necessarily directed against the cultural understanding of a national elite and its historical monopoly—the monopoly which is part of the natural will to dispose of the lives of others.

As is known, China provides the corporations of the world with factory facilities and a proletariat that was formed over the past thirty years by two hundred million migrant workers. As is known, the knowledge of this

empirical fact must stultify all theories on the purely symbolic production of surplus value in the gentrified city centers; the knowledge of the working conditions must make you embarrassed in the face of what you buy each day and wear on your skin. The aims of the museum are: "To advocate and promote migrant workers' culture, to promote the recognition of the labor value, to foster and strengthen migrant workers' self-confidence and identity, so as to improve the overall living and working conditions of the migrant workers in China."

Is not the aspiration to possess and commemorate one's own history aimed inevitably against the cultural conception of a national elite, their museums and exhibition halls and their historical monopoly—this monopoly, this part of their implicit willpower to adjudicate over the lives of others by representing them? You are looking at the box of photos of the Migrant Worker Museum in Beijing, and you can also read the museum's brochures. The Migrant Worker Museum is a member of the Internationalism Working Group of the IG Metall Trade Union. On one of the boxes you will see a set of directions, which will ultimately lead you to the actual venue of the Museum's exhibition—the IG Metall's union headquarters.



Next to the boxes, you will encounter a small picture in which a figure with bound eyes is spurred on by an angel to set a machine in motion. It is the copy of a picture that was hanging in the church of Jesús de Machaca before it was stolen. (You can read about what really happened in the next point on our route.) The motif is from a popular emblem collection of the seventeenth century, an overwriting of the erotic flirtation between Cupid and Psyche on the subjugation of the soul before Jesus. In Jesús de Machaca, one of the central places of the region to recruit the mita, the machine, in which the soul and its supervisor are yoked, would have been familiar due to the mills used to obtain silver, to which animals and humans were yoked. As if the axis of the wheel set in motion in the picture were to continue, you will find a small book in a glass case that served as the model for this picture. It is already opened to the next episode: Jesús turning a figure. The soul blows the dust from the hand. But what eternity opposes this dust out of which everything is created? The completed figures stand in the background, serially and made under the division of labor, like in a department store.







We now arrive at the last point of this long departure path of so-called primitive accumulation.

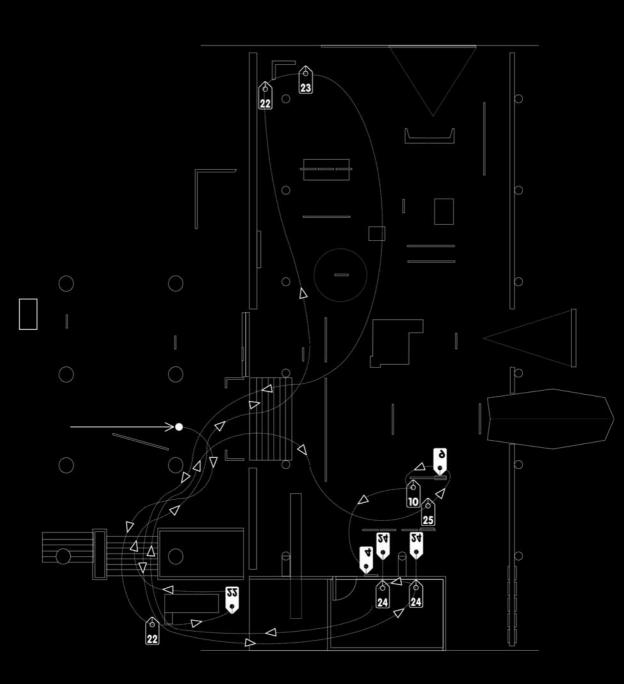
In front of the entrance there is a wagon. The wagon responds to the picture of a chariot from the parish of Jesús de Machaca. You will learn the reasons why the parish refused to lend the picture on the flipside of the photo hanging from the column with the magnifying glasses. Chariots are widespread motifs in Andean and European pain-

ting. They actually stem from the feasts of the Renaissance and draw from ancient myths. In a church context, they serve to glorify Christian dogmas or to legitimize power relations. The chariot of Jesús de Machaca forms an entire hierarchy of prophets, church fathers, allegories, famous saints, Maria, and Jesus—time and again contaminated by both indigenous motifs and humanistic ideals. In Latin America, the chariot again departs from painting, making itself independent as a component of feasts and street parades. This wagon is from a demonstration of a group of domestic workers who have organized themselves to fight for the equal rights of domestic labor and for the rights of women in domestic work, no matter what their residence permit status is. Until the 1990s, only females migrated to Spain. Then men arrived due to the construction boom but that is now over. But domestic work remains, for in its variegated forms (care and domestic work, educating children etc.) It shapes the foundation of social and capitalistic production. Reproduction work as a central element of society is dovetailed with all other areas of production, be it companies, universities, the military, or career-oriented people. In the end, they are all dependent on the poorly paid work of these women, who usually come from Spain's former colonies. One of the slogans in the picture is: "Without us, the world does not revolve." In order to visualize this principle, as well as domestic work in society, the women developed their own symbol, on flyers, posters, and their jointly painted picture: a system of cogwheels set in motion by female domestic workers. Obliged to the stock of images of the classical labor movement, domestic work now takes on the central position in regard to factory labor. A much-discussed question when looking at the picture from Jesús de Machaca was: Who actually sets the wagon in motion? The four evangelists in front of the wagon, the siren twining around it, or the four persons under the wagon moving its wheels with their hands? We say: It is these four representatives of "The Wretched of the Earth." Without them, the world would grind to a halt.





There are human rights to have rights over humans





You have finally arrived in our second narrative and thus at our second point of departure from the linearity of history. From the triumphal wagon of the maid servants in the foyer, you can climb the stairs in front of the exhibition room. Next to the installation comprising several tables and a photo collage, you will find a small table on which lies a book.

Feel free to sit down and begin to leaf through its pages. It is a chronicle composed of two parts. The first, entitled *Nueva Corónica*, is devoted to the history of the indigenous world before the conquista; the second part, entitled *Buen Gobierno*, depicts the society of the viceroyalty of Peru under the reign of Viceroy Toledo: it makes a mockery of the concept of good government. The author, Guamán Poma de Ayala, probably spent twenty to thirty years writing this chronicle. In one of the last chapters, he describes an audience he himself had with the Spanish king. He furnishes himself with a persona—that of a descendant of an aristocratic Inca dynasty—that gives him the authority to bring a petition before the King of Spain to end the genocide perpetrated against his people. He requests that the king listens to him. He tells him that his entire power is nothing without the riches he has looted from America. He confers upon himself the mandate to speak. And this mandate begins with the very project of recording these events. The chronicle is one of the most important historic sources on the history of the territories of the viceroyalty of Peru before and after the conquista. There is virtually no other source produced by an indigenous contemporary witness and set down in the form of a chronicle. This one was discovered in the Royal Library in Copenhagen in 1908. Seventynine years later, the first facsimile edition was published in Spain.



You are reading this book in the immediate proximity of a collection of materials. These are distributed from the foyer and through the glass door to the gallery in the exhibition room. All materials "describe in an autobiographical perspective the state of 'primitive Accumulation', as it took place in Spain during the transitional period from 1975 to 1985 and how the conversion of the Francoist state was accompanied by large-scale appropriations of public property. In the case of Huelva, this took place against the backdrop of "the sites of Columbus" (Isaías Griñolo). You can see that these places today are a collection of different patrons, framed by the quay from which Columbus set off, where the Monument to the Discoverer Faith now stands. Beside this landmark of discovery, we see the agribusiness that developed from strawberry plantations (farming under plastic) where legal and illegal Spanish, African (Moroccan, Malian, Senegalese, etc.), and eastern European workers rub shoulders in an arbitrary labor market that requires both—documented and undocumented workers. The strawberry producers, victims of price dumping by Central European food consortiums, only have their control over this labor market as a means of servicing the bank loans on which their plantations are built. The waste from the agribusiness, devised as clean and green in California's university labs, is stored at the site of Columbus and then disposed of inadequately. "On the other side of the Monument to the Discoverer Faith we see the largest industrial hub of

Franco's Spain, imposed on the Huelva estuary by the dictator just a few meters from the city on account of its "unlimited, low-cost drainage capacity" (Decree 153/1964 of January 30). It is a chemical business that for many years generated millions of tons of industrial waste which was pumped straight into the estuary, and which is today dumped in the 1,200 hectares of marshland that surround the city. And then there are the efforts of local people, who have been fighting this demented production model since the 1970s. The torch is currently borne by the Asociación Mesa de la Ría, a people's movement that has been criminalized by local politicians still defending an obsolete, Francoist industrial model." (Isaías Griñolo)

There is a kind of art—and many museums are so full of it that they yawn—that, in order to enter controlled global circulation must be as universal as a currency or a brand. Any local meaning would devalue it. How does an artist come to commit, in a close reading, to precisely this devaluation? He comes to do so because he lays claim to this mandate to speak, and refuses to renounce his or her own capacity to authoritatively judge social actions to be right or wrong. Below the books on the table there is a new petition to the current King of Spain.



There is another item of correspondence relating to the chronicle of Poma de Ayala. For this we would like to invite you to step back into the exhibition hall and walk to the far end of the room. There you will see various video sequences.

Behind them, you see drawings from the chronicle: the author's journey, the audience with the King, the delivery of the petition, drawings illustrating the colonial mode of government. The audience constructs two subjects: the just Catholic King and the complainant, his peer, a prince. But this audience is tied up with yet another set of coordinates: the assumption that a rational power exists that seeks to enrich itself at all times; the assumption that a rationale for its economy exists in which this enrichment correlates with the survival of its laborers; the assumption that this reason can be enlightened regarding grievances and possibilities for reform the way someone would service a one-armed bandit so that it continues to spit out coins. These assumptions reveal that the author has a perfectly clear idea of the European form of government and its mercantile interests while also hoping that this interest in enrichment outweighs the government's bestiality.

The author puts on his plea to a ruling rationality open to being enlightened like an alien dress. It enables him to appear, to deliver his indictment, and to give testimony. And yet this complaint in a borrowed dress is at once so powerful that this dress itself is presented as the official robe of a monster.



Now to the video sequences: In Beijing, there are central offices where petitions can be submitted. Most petitioners come from the provinces.

Their cases concern the expropriation of land, violations of labor law, poisonings, accidents at the workplace, arbitrary arrests, instances of maltreatment. The petitioners are arbitrarily admitted or turned away; they are frequently beaten, arrested, or chased off. The right to petition is an old law

the new state would seem incapable of adapting. The authority acts without any governmental logic. Every day, a right is staged between the counter windows as though in a theater, but it is never granted. A gap emerges between the law and its power. It corresponds to the gap between the experience of injustice and the impossibility of having justice done. It can make you insane or it can politicize you; being politicized can lead to your being declared insane, or it can make you insane. Something leaks through this gap and becomes visible in the public space. You see excerpts from Zhao Liang's film archive. He has dedicated himself to the lives and protests of the petitioners since 1997. You also see pieces of the petitioners' apparel, official robes that dress this "nothing but the body" so poorly, as though the notes of protest had been written directly on their skin.





To be able to view properly the third stage on this route, we must now turn back and retrace our steps out of the exhibition room and into the foyer. We then climb up the stairs, proceed through the glass door, past the work by Isaías Griñolo to the rear section of the balcony. You will see four groups of suspended paper patterns in front of four canvases. Once you have adopted the right position the individual elements of the series will then merge together to form angels. The church of Calamarca holds the most com-

plete surviving serial painting of harquebus angels, which appeared all over the viceroyalty of Peru from 1600 onwards. Today, these motifs are widely disseminated and popular as souvenirs. The angels are dressed as lansquenets, majestic soldiers, and carry rifles. Please read on the photograph beneath the silhouettes about why the community did not want to lend its pictures to us. You can also see engravings from a book on drills by Jacob de Gheyn; applied to the backs of the pictures, they show the military exercises, the parading, and cleaning of the rifle on which the angels might be based. A relationship is established between weapons and uniforms that is "comparable to a king presenting a shot. All eyes are fixed on him and not on his weapon. Even if he proves himself inept at handling the weapon, his audience will cheer his ineptitude, for his power derives not from the weapon but from his dress," the analyst of these angels says. In her study, she seeks to chart this distance between the body and the regalia. It is a space of power that comes into being at this juncture. "Let us look, for example, at the sleeves: they are very wide so as to provide a lot of space in which the arms might change positions without our being able to detect it with any precision... Perhaps these angels show us their hands as though they were their own even as they might belong to other bodies hidden beneath their costumes. Whatever their hands may do, it has been sanctioned by the law. Next to the magnifying glasses you will find a table of contents and references. All of the texts mentioned there form the "fabric" out of which the dresses of the angels were made." (Sonia Abián)





If you now descend the stairs and return to the exhibition room, you will discover on the rear side of the four angels a depiction of the Trinity. Our "angel analyst" notes that the number three plays an important role in the cuts of the uniforms. "The open frock coat divides each figure into three parts.... The contours of the dresses form a triangle. The arms follow a circular line that forgoes bodily details so as not to destroy the triangular shape of the figure." She relates this number that regulates the body, its distance from itself and its outward image, to attributes of Roman law, of

power and dignity. An image of the Trinity is affixed to Gabriel's back. What is extraordinary about it is not the three-faced head, but the central presence of Mary. "In representations of the Trinity, Mary usually appears further down and outside the triangle formed by the Holy Spirit, the Father, and the Son. In this depiction, Mary appears in the very center of the triangle of the Trinity.... The faces of the triangle form negations: Father is not Son is not Holy Spirit is not Father.... Within the triangle, we can read affirmations: Father is God is Son is Holy Spirit is God is Father is God.... Mary's location is in this second group of affirmative propositions, but it is as though she were not here, for she cannot participate in the propositions, as none of the words are commensurate with her. This absent presence is what Giorgio Agamben calls an "inclusive exclusion." The propositions define God by affirming him. Mary's image permits the definition even of what remains outside God." (Sonia Abián).



6

Now we finally arrive at the drawing of the diver on the rear side of the wall with the documents. The Spanish treasure ships attract so much attention, calling forth such desire, that they become the targets of innumerable attacks by buccaneers in the Caribbean—based on the Cayman Islands and Barbados—in the service of the other European powers. Many ships sink. The Council of the Indies orders that each fleet carry divers to retrieve the coins from the bottom of the sea. The constant compression during their dives causes a rash between the divers' shoulder blades and dis-

coloration of their hair, which is why they are called "angels." The drawing probably proposes a technical invention designed to provide better access to the bottom of the sea. The suit can be pulled over an entire iron armor. The tubes pump air into it, creating a sort of compression chamber. The cane in the hand is a weapon of defense against sea monsters. At the same time, the Council of the Indies orders that the exact number of mita laborers that are missing upon arrival at Potosí be tracked. If even one is missing, the contemporary witness Antonio Ayanz writes, "a judicial officer, receiving a daily allowance, is sent from Potosí to bring replacements in equal numbers for the missing workers from each province." The image this government seeks to convey of itself is a government so obsessive that it counts each coin and each laborer. And it is so all-powerful that it balances the loss of coins with laborers' lives.





For one final time we return to the lists on the other side of the wall: "Between 1680 and 1730, the viceroyalty of Peru underwent a reform of the rent system in connection with the Nuevas Leyes de Indias. This date coincides with the production of the Calamarca angels. Previously, rents had been paid not individually but by the communities as a whole. From now on, by contrast, every individual body became visible to the crown, and the padrones come into being, registers of the indígenas that identify and classify them. These levies were imposed not only on persons, but also

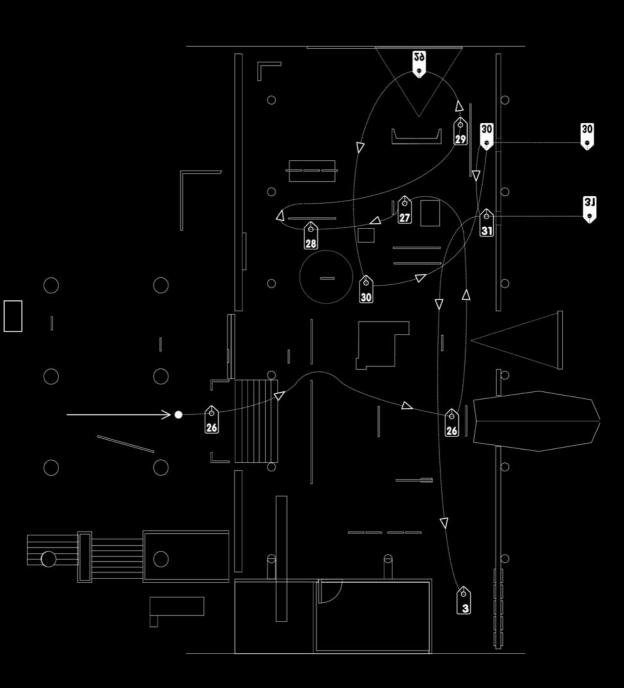
on products such as wine and coca, resulting in a transformation both of Indio society and its markets. Haciendas emerged which sold products produced by the indígenas to their producers, leading them into chronic debt and dependency. This process entailed the occupation and expropriation of the land." (Sonia Abián).

The Nuevas Leyes were the result of a process that began with the bull Sublimis Deus sent by Pope Paul III to the Spanish king in 1537, which stipulated that the Indios were not slaves. It continued with the disputations of Valladolid between Las Casas and Sepulveda about the recognition of the existence of an indigenous soul. But this recognition immediately leads to an effort to missionize these souls. The production of images is the most important medium of this humanization. The images are like contracts that identify the new soul and seal the legitimacy of this subjection. Can we conclude that art merely fulfills a function in this ensemble of forms of violence associated with man's "becoming human," in the sense that the promise of the status of a subject inherently implies this subjection?

In this context we would like to address the painting on the left, next to the door leading to the small room belonging to the Karl Marx School of the English Language: a painter lies on the floor of his studio. He must be unconscious or drunk. An angel has taken the seat at the easel. Behind him, on the windowsill, rests a print on which the painting is modeled (you can see the print, a portrait of Francis of Paola, next to the painting). This painting, which comes from Seville and not from the viceroyalty of Peru, was an initial spark as well as an ongoing provocation in our project. We speculated that the painter was just receiving a visit from an officer ordered by the government of the heavens to supervise the accuracy of the depiction and correct the work. It shows an impotent artistic praxis that can no more oppose divine power than it can take a stand against a historical process—such as, for example, that of primitive accumulation. "So what are you insisting on? You yourself are insisting on going beyond art's limits? So you want to stop being an artist?" (KMSEL): that is a point of contention in the debate inside the chamber. It shows the repression implicit in this designation, namely being an artist. The recognition of someone's being an artist is tied to an exclusion—he or she must not be anything but that. During our work on this project, we encountered this edict of identity and identifications again and again (being an artist, a curator, an activist; being colonized, decolonized, local, other, indigenous, Spanish, German). This edict condemns any resistance against the angels of power or of historical processes as an untruth and a presumption of freedom. Many of the methods presented in this exhibition are associated with a political praxis that violates this edict of designated identity, of the ultimate power of history, because they believe that their intervention in the current state of affairs is more important than their truth.



How can we sing the alien song in the land of the Lord?







Having reached the end of our second path toward a departure from this power of history and the beginning of the final route, we must persist in inquiring into the continuity of this corrupt alliance between beauty and humanity (Christianity and mercantilism/human rights and the free-market economy), which has served since the conquista as a legitimating narrative: to this day, wars are waged and images exported and imported in its name.

26

In the center, opposite the entrance to the exhibition room, you see a Spanish caravel cruising between two shelves holding messages in bottles. Its cargo consists of monsters, and it is not entirely clear whether they are indeed merely being transported from Europe to America, or whether this cargo describes a relation of violence continuously leaping back and forth between the two continents. In 2004, during a retrospective, enraged Christians destroyed more than ten bottles. The

attack on the exhibition was the goal of a smear campaign conducted by the Church and by conservative and reactionary associations in Buenos Aires (for decades, the artist has been a tenacious enemy of clerical repression). Yet the show also found committed defenders—a rare alliance of the educated middle classes, parts of the government, and human rights groups. It became an example of artistic freedom being safeguarded against the Catholic associations, whose collusion in the crimes of the Argentine dictatorship is very much alive in today's public consciousness.

León Ferrari has created a small work as a response to the Hell of Caquiaviri and you can see this work directly on the glass surface of the entrance behind the Caquiaviri drawing. He transforms hell into an "innocent" paradise. Stickers bearing motifs of flowers and butterflies, designed in teeny-girly fashion, have been stuck to a reproduction of the painting.





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First we would like to guide you to another instance in which artistic freedom was defended. Walk across the room to the left. In the vicinity of the magazine NOID—*The Long Memory of Cocaine*, you find another scene from the Passion. This time, the body is covered not by wounds resembling the entrances to the mines but instead by the golden patterns created by the technique of brocading. Under pressure from the great number of orders to be completed, artisans developed tem-

plates that are applied to the body. Instead of adapting to the body, this technique forces the body to adopt a posture in accordance with the models and to recede behind the pattern that turns its dignity into a reproducible and interchangeable surface—a body subject to advanced capitalization, a monetary subject. The picture is attributed to Francisco Moyen, who, convicted by the Inquisition, died in 1761 as a prisoner on a ship that sank off the European coast, loaded with the royal "fifth" of the silver and gold production. His files

were found in Santiago de Chile in 1813. In the young Chilean Republic, Moyen's case was used as an example of the repressiveness of Spanish colonial rule and as an argument against rehabilitating the Inquisition. This liberal discourse presented to us an artist, male, white, inspired by an irrepressible urge for freedom. At this point, however, we cannot conceive of Moyen's case as an act of artistic freedom suppressed by censorship. We would like to bring it back into the debate over the conditions of artistic production and the continuity of its function as an ideological vehicle in bourgeois liberalism. As one of his belated defenders writes: "as long as the world is the way it is," Moyen is really more of a merchant than an artist, that is to say, a person subject to advanced capitalization, surrounded by a forest of crosses he is compelled to bear: globalization, persecution, trial, and bankruptcy.



28

Directly opposite you will find a very explicit example of global programmatic painting. The picture tells the story of the failed attempt to convert Japan. You are seeing twenty-three Franciscan and three Jesuit monks who were crucified in 1597 at the behest of the emperor Hideyoshi Toyotomi. The crucified monks form a horizon of sorts. Between them and the stages of their martyrdom appears a landscape in which their executioners and the devout collect their blood as a ritual act.

This is done with such harmony that you might think they were bringing in a great harvest. The massacre of Nagasaki is one of the great saints' narratives of the Counter-Reformation; in it, the failure of the mission becomes an imitation Christi. It spawned a wave of pious literature that can be traced from Antwerp via France to Portugal and on to America—the usual path along which images circulated. Only in the case of this motif may we speculate that its circulation ran in the opposite direction, from Manila to Mexico and hence to the rest of America and to Europe. Behind the picture you can see that instead of a European engraving serving as a model, it is a copy of one of the wall paintings in the cathedral of Cuernavaca, Mexico. It is dedicated to Felipe de Jesús, the first saint of Mexico; his execution, however, took place in Nagasaki. The circulation of the images is a steady companion: "During the second half of the sixteenth century, the Spanish crown... bankrolls the first staging posts in the Pacific and begins to deport Chinese and Filipinos... to Mexico and Peru. The Spanish monarchy abandons... this development of the enslavement of Asians in Mexico and Peru. But the illegal trade in Filipinos and Chinese to Mexico grows, increasingly complemented by free labor migration movements, which then continue through the second half of the seventeenth century." (Ferruccio Gambino/Devi Sacchetto).





"The circulation of images is a steady companion." If you now turn around to face the wall in the direction of the park, you will see a large-format painting. The canvas forms part of a backdrop used in a re-enactment based on a press conference which took place on May 28, 2008 in Berlin: An agreement between the directors of Dresden State Art Collections, Berlin State Museums, Bavarian State Picture Collections, and the Dubai Culture and Arts Authority about the creation of

a universal museum. During the conference, the three museums presented themselves as a spectral union, a specter from the nineteenth century. At stake was "Germany's self presentation as a nation of culture." The nation of culture thinks that it is an anonymous space. Instead of political rights it offers identity. This specter met another semantic monster: the liberal "melting pot" of a globalized society. But this second monster isn't quite up to the task of making magically disappear the fact that 85 percent of the population in Dubai work under extremely precarious conditions. Administrative assistance was required—the transfer of the "know-how" of a national culture; the "nation of culture" provides corporations and clans with an aura of statehood, legitimizing their social crimes. It is not a population that legitimizes the state—this empty space does. Things in this empty space exist in and of themselves, without dedication or history. This renders them logically and aesthetically true in the interest of the power that effaces the history of things and the violence it took to loot them. On September 15, 2009, a press conference was restaged at the Temporäre Kunsthalle, Berlin—the same press releases were issued and the same journalists were invited. Read about this reenactment in the press releases next to the painting.



Directly to the left of the backdrop of this press conference, you can see on the front wall of the exhibition room a projection of a large painting which is hanging in the Museo de América in Madrid. The reasons why the institution did not want to loan the painting can be heard in a reconstructed interview or read on the flipside of the photos on the wall. The picture shows three scenes from a festival held by the city of Potosí on April 25, 1716 to celebrate the visit of the archbishop of La Plata, Fray Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón. Morcillo had recently been appointed viceroy by King Philip V, an interim mandate. The news of his appointment had spread from Buenos Aires via La Plata all the way to Potosí; the city's elite found itself compelled to quickly organize the celebration of his visit as the entry of a viceroy. At that time, the city of Potosí itself had entered a phase of slow, but inexorable decline. The upkeep of the industrial infrastructures you see in the Vista de Potosí had ceased. Investments—additional expenditures of technology and labor—no longer appeared profitable. At the end of the same century, Potosí was a ghost town of no more than 8,000 residents. In 1719, the Spanish king signed a draft decree to abolish the mita, but an exception was made with regard to the mines.

And yet we cannot understand this festival as purely a political investment. At stake was the need to conceive of and prove oneself as part of this culture, especially when it becomes apparent how fragile its existence is, how marginal its power, how extinguishable its history.



In the meantime, the functionaries at the conference held by the Dubai Culture and Arts Authority have been pensioned off or replaced, and as the crisis has set in, the project has been canceled. Both occasions—the press conference announcing the creation of the world's largest museum and the festival celebrating the entry of a viceroy—tell us something about a general mission of hegemonic culture: the production of a unique subject. However, this time the subject is not tied to its immediate subjection. It is, first and foremost, an

image (of itself)—not the body bearing the entrances to the mines, but rather the brocading behind which the bodies disappear. It is created in order to help the relations of power and their processes gain a view of themselves. The image of a subject acts autonomously; in contrast with the actual subject, it is entirely free, and insists on this freedom as an ideal right. It is a state, a corporation... and as we have seen, the museum, too, gains a view of itself and acts like this spectral subject, enraptured by its existence, blind for its being a product, free from legitimation or the need for it. Have you noticed something? What we have been trying to do this entire time is to lead you and ourselves out of the belly of a fetish.

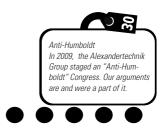
Possessed of a veracious appetite, such a museum can devour many things. Leading out from Elvira Espejos' thread circle (*Qhipu*), two threads split toward a series of photos which are hung up by them and which are located in the proximity of the backdrop of the press conference. They show *Quipus*: *Quipus* were important vehicles of information in the indigenous culture preceding the conquista. The old *quipus* are now no longer decipherable. The Ethnological Museum in Berlin

pretends to hold more than half of all antique *quipus* in existence anywhere in the world. The photographs hanging on these threads are snapshots taken at the museum's storage. On the other side, you can read why the Ethnological Museum was hesitant to lend *quipus* for this exhibition.



Continue to follow the thread along and you will find yourself once again standing behind the picture of the press conference in front of window in the wall. You can turn a pane and see through the "lens" to a ruined landscape in the park. This represents the now abandoned plans to redevelop the old Prussian Castle in Berlin and erect instead the "Humboldt Forum".

For all non-Berliners here is a brief summary of the long and highly ideological debate: Last year, the former Palace of the Republic of the GDR was finally demolished. In the early 1990s, a campaign was launched for the reconstruction of the Prussian Castle on the site of the Palace of the Republic. (This castle —reviled as center of militarism and war-mongering—was torn down by the GDR government). The reconstruction campaign by the reconstructors was predicated on formal arguments: the castle completes an historical urban architectural ensemble. This argument forged an unbroken ideological unity between (reduce space) Prussian history and the German present. At the outset, the lobbyists did not know exactly what this new castle should actually house—a shopping mall, a luxury hotel, a multiplex cinema? This paucity of ideas highlighted a lacuna in the reconstruction of the historical unity. The idea of assembling the collections from the Ethnological Museum in Berlin-Dahlem and the scientific collections from the Humboldt University (among others) within the castle elicited a feeling of euphoria among the lobbyists. However, for us it raised the following question: Why are the art objects plundered during colonial expansionism being used to fill the hole in national unity? Peering through the lens you can read quotes from the initiators of the Humboldt Forum.





You find yet another window in the wall looking out onto the park. Here too, you can peer through various "lenses". There are photos of Día de la Hispanidad, the Spanish National Holiday marking the date on which America was discovered, which were taken last year on October 12. Through these lenses you can look out onto the quotation in the park. It is a statement issued by the group PRPC, that protests against the planned Seville Biennial.



In Seville, cultural politics has suffered a programmatic capitalization of contemporary artistic expression since 2004. The BIACS Foundation (International Biennial for Contemporary Art Seville) has captured the largest part of the public funds for culture production plus private sponsorships to launch a major city-branding project, to quickly cure the poor self-image the city suffered after the World Expo '92. Therefore they legitimized their project by employing big names of the (critical) contemporary art world, such as Harald Szeeman, Okwui Enwezor, or Peter Weibel. The bankrupt BIACS Foundation last December announced the biennial for February 2011 and declared an agreement with the Abu Dhabi Authority Culture and Heritage Foundation, related to the royal family, as their partner for the upcoming event. To date, with less than a year to go before the fourth edition of the biennial is supposed to take place, there is no news on the issue. Meanwhile the Fundación BIACS has filed for bankruptcy. The group's brochure in front of this window is dedicated to the discursive analysis of the arguments of the municipal council.



A brochure produced for the pavilion of the United Arab Emirates first presented in Venice in 2009—reads: "Arts and heritage are vital to the success of Dubai's expanding economy because they are the key building blocks of civil life and public dialog. [They]... lead to innovation in areas such as hospitality management and entrepreneurship, causing a positive impact on the economy.... building its reputation as a word class cultural destination." This text is no less explicit than in other city- or nation-branding drafts produced in Berlin, London, Moscow, or Seville. What interests us is the claim that culture is a pillar of civil life that can transform even a state dressed up as a real estate developer into a "civil society"—which Human Rights Watch repeatedly stresses in its reports on the United Arab Emirates (2004/2008)."

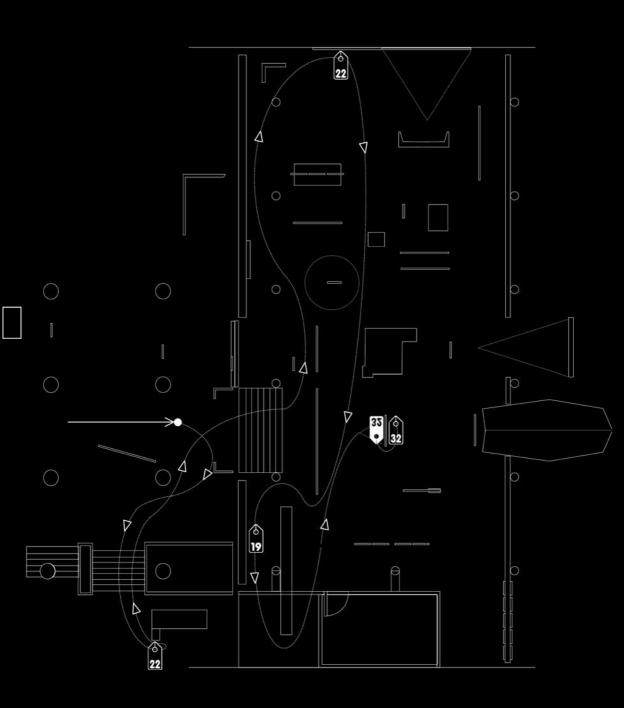
What is at stake here is not the expression but the generation of civil life, in accordance with the canon of a Western bourgeois society. In this canon, art takes up the role of the critic, as a form of self-reflectivity. "The UAE Pavilion will confront the art world's widely held doubts about the very project of representing a nation. Playfully and provocatively entitled "It's Not You, It's Me," the UAE as a whole can be seen as an exhibition about exhibition making."

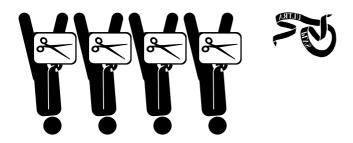
We cannot but repeat that this cultural self-reflection engenders the state as a social subject in the first

place, and its use of the cultural technique of critique to engender it. We can trace a historical line from here back to bourgeois culture as the outward form or identity of the nation-state. How can we imagine a rereading of the genesis narrative of bourgeois culture that includes both the formation of the nation and the colonial conditions on which it is based? And can we lead you, and ourselves too, out of the belly of the fetish without ending up in yet another digestive chamber, which is to say, without becoming only a piece of evidence of its liberalism?

Once again we would like to remind you of the washing machines from the "Archivo Caminante" at the other end of the room: "Might semio-capitalism and its industries function like a gigantic laundry? Might its museal institutions be transformed into gigantic washing machines that, through their systems of exhibiting and cataloging, aim to bleach and even purify [...] genocides, poverty, and the destruction of nature?" asks the author, attesting to two parallel processes that took place in Argentina after the crisis: normalization and soyification. The so-called "centers and peripheries" are not static; they adapt to the global circulation of investment, expropriation, poisoning, and expulsion. The upward revaluation of the "peripheries" is accompanied by security discourses in the urban centers that get massive media coverage and aim to bully, and by a neoliberal culture whose profession it is to appropriate and neutralize political experience. Both security and liberalism are part of the mise-en-scène of intact government in the era of the laundries. They are a sedative for the semantic "disarrangement" between the commodity and the images and objects in the museum, and for the bruised nerves of the effaced history of their value formation.

The world upside down





Now we have arrived at the last of these long, at times labyrinthine routes, as we make our exit from the linearity of history. Will we manage to make a successful departure?



Go back one more time to the "New Chronicle of Good Government"—on the mezzanine next to Isaías Griñolo's installation—and open to page (617)/603. The episode is about two priests squandering the loot they have taken from Indios with other drunkards. "And so there are among the lowly Indios, the mitayo, many "dons" and "doñas." What an excellent Don Juan—the world is upside down! He invites the drunkard to be his guest, and he too will be, like them, another drun-

kard, a dishonor to his table as a padre in this kingdom." Guamán Poma de Ayala uses the expression "the world upside down" when he writes about people calling themselves don or doña who have no right to. That is what happens in a world where all social structures have been destroyed.



And now back to the drawings by Melchor María Mercado (the first image in the series of pictures on the right-hand wall from Matthijs de Bruijne's collected dreams). Look at the folio "Mundo al revés." (the world upside down). The oxen stand behind the plough, goading his human beings. Are both merely moral aphorisms that equate social order with sound governance? Or do they conceal an inversion?

Now to the news from the archives on the global financial crisis of the CVA Group at the other end of the room. A small drawing has been added, a Leviathan, also by Guamán Poma de Ayala, a "worm of conscience.... This worm is a grim sorrow and a fruitless remorse the wicked there will always have, and it will never come to an end as long as God will be God and in all eternity without cease. Meditate upon this punishment," he exhorts the reader. "Meditate upon how the Indios and Indias in this present life bear with such great patience so many evils from the Spanish, the padre, the corregidores, the mestizos, mulattoes, and negroes, the yanaconas and the Chinaconas, who deprive the Indios of their lives and rip their hearts from their bodies. Meditate. Meditate upon the townsmen to whom the Indios are assigned as encomienda.... One such townsman sends an Indio on a journey of nine miles without paying him, and he commands that he be visited, and the noble caciques must come see him, as must the above-mentioned corregidores and judges, the parish priests and the visitors of the Holy Mother Church. Meditate upon the hearts of these people, upon what such a man thinks." (Poma de Ayala). This passage in the chronicle demonstrates that a stowaway has accompanied the iconography of hell on its passage from Europe to America: the possibility of turning the threat around and pointing it at those who install it as a regime. It gestures toward the motivations of the social uprisings taking place simultaneously in Europe and in the vice-royalty of Peru, toward the egalitarianism practiced by the Grim Reaper, the advent of the age of justice before the Last Judgment. Simultaneous acts of resistance in Europe and America against the same exploitation circulating around the globe.



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Now we finally arrive at the last painting which has yet to be described. It is located almost exactly in the center of the room opposite the Hell of Caquiaviri. It is the picture of a battle. Take a look at the horizon. The city seems to be surrounded not by people but by signs. That is how unrepresentable the insurgents are for the painter. Edgar Arandia, director of the Museo Nacional de Arte, La Paz, writes: "The subsequent indigenous uprisings of the eighteenth century began in Chayanta,

an indigenous community located very close to the mines of Potosí. In 1754, Viceroy Toledo had imposed excessive daily labor requirements upon the mita. This plan worked for nearly a century, based on an excessively long working day. That was why the indigenous population fled the vicinity of the mines for distant areas. These living conditions paved the way for the eruption of indigenous uprisings, as did the contention between Blas Bernal and Tomás Katari over who of the two was a cacique. The latter was murdered on January 15, 1781. The indigenous rebellions broke out, thus, in Sorata, Tupac Amaru's rebellion in Cusco, leading up to the first siege of La Paz in early March 1781, led by Tupac Katari and his wife, Bartolina Sisa. Olivares' painting is a replica made in 1888, almost a century after the siege. The original work undoubtedly served as a model for others that circulated around the viceroyalty as a narrative document on a single plane, typical of popular painting of the time. In his picture, the painter attempted to represent the walled city and its subdivision into sectors constituting the Indio town and exclusive neighborhoods for the Spanish. This sort of division of the city became part of the imagination of the Spanish residents and the traumatic memory of the siege, shaping the creation of the Republic of Bolivia in 1825 and with it the exclusion of the indigenous population. The importance of the work derives from its exhaustive description of the siege and the placement of the colonial and indigenous troops, the latter being shown in the half-light behind the Choqueyapu River. The main buildings demonstrate the social organization of the time, with Plaza de Armas and the Cathedral, the Society of Jesus, Santo Domingo, Las Concebidas, Santa Teresa, San Agustín, San Juan de Dios, and in the indigenous district, San Francisco, San Sebastián, San Pedro and finally the Cabildo, the only administrative building, highlighting the importance of the Church as a political instrument. On the left of the work is a sheet of paper with the history of the siege and still, in the half-light, the distribution of food between the insurgents in the bottom right, beneath the hanging of the priest Antonio Barriga, who was executed in El Alto, from where the indigenous troops descended to harass the royalist troops. You can see Sebastián Segurola on horseback accompanied by his lieutenants, Mount Illimani, and various people executed by hanging, unidentified except for the priest Barriga. The picture represents an important part of the imaginary in the city of La Paz, inhabited by people of Spanish descent, and the indigenous town of Chukiwayu Marka, which exist in permanent conflict. Between 1990 and 2006, indigenous revolts and marches entered the city of La Paz from the east and west. On several occasions, the intimidated governors organized groups to "defend" the city against "the Indio mob." only recreating the rift between two worlds struggling to integrate." (Edgar Arandia). The depiction of the Cerco (siege) de La Paz is a striking illustration of how historicist projections can be turned against themselves. In 2006, the fervor under threat of Creole hegemony became a visual document of the successful mobilization of the indigenous uprising, symbolically sealed by the democratic election of Evo Morales, the first indigenous president of Bolivia.



Back to Berlin, where the past is at least as present as it is in La Paz: In 1923, the Berlin-domiciled Sturm publishing house published the story of *Auguste Bolte, ein Lebertran* by Kurt Schwitters: "Auguste Bolte spotted some 10 people on the street who were walking in one and the same direction. This made Auguste Bolte suspicious, very suspicious in fact: 10 people walking in one and same direction. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Something big must be happening... and if something big is happening then 100, 200, 300, 400, 500, 600, 700, 800, 900, 1000 people could also walk in one and the same direction. ... But what is it? Auguste knew that she was already a highly gifted pupil at school. What was to be done now? What was to be done now and how? Such a terrible rhyme! Now rhymes with how!"



We would now like to draw your attention to the last contribution to the exhibition. You may have noticed that behind or next to you there is a projector that seems to project into empty space when it doesn't happen to use you personally—your own body—as a projection screen. Take a sheet of paper from the stack next to it to "capture" the projection. On this sheet, you can then look at workers who come running, amid hoots and jeers, out of a construction site. These are not workers leaving a factory in swift and disciplined fashion. These are workers in Dubai.

Fall 2004: 1,000 workers block Sheik Zayed Road. September 2005: 800 workers strike against the Al Hamed Development and Construction Company. October 8, 2005: 280 blockade the Labor Ministry. March 2006: 2,500 strike at the Burj Dubai construction site against Samsung, Al Naboodah, Laing O'Rourke. April 8, 2006: 1,000 strike at the workers' camp Sonapur against the Dubai Contracting Company. October 28, 2007: Thousands' camp at Jebel Ali Industrial Zone and at the Al Qusais construction site. November 8, 2007: 40,000 workers strike at the Burj Dubai and airport construction sites against Arabtec, Samsung (South Korea), and Besix (Belgium). February 2008: 600 strike at the workers' camp Sonapur against the SS Lootah Contracting company. We have taken most of this information from the website of the workers' network www.Mafiwasta.com. The above-mentioned companies are subsidiaries of the large construction consortiums: Emaar, Nakheel, Sama, Damac, and Limitless.



Afterword: We know—and colonial painting continues to tell us—that there is no form of articulation in artistic production (the language of colonialism) that is not per se untrue, borrowed from power and turned against itself in the speaker's own mouth, a hybrid. And what needs to be shown is that it is possible, temporarily but time and again, to inflict a détournement upon these effective powers within their own demarcations, within their own imagery. This can also concern a political activity that is one-sided and polemical, that interferes in what is none of its business, that is illegitimate, that gains its possibility and its freedom in losing the possession of truth.

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THE POTOSÍ PRINCIPLE HOW CAN WE SING THE SONG OF THE LORD IN AN ALIEN LAND?

conceived and curated by: Alice Creischer Max Jorge Hinderer Andreas Siekmann

Correspondents: David Riff Anthony Davies Matthijs de Bruijne

Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, Germany 8th October 2010 – 2nd of January 2011

Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid, Spain 12th May 2010 – 6th September 2010

Museo Nacional de Arte and Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia 22nd February 2011 – 15th May 2011