



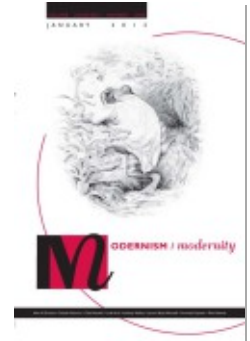
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Friedman, Susan Stanford.

Modernism/modernity, Volume 13, Number 3, September 2006, pp. 425-443 (Article)

Published by The Johns Hopkins University Press
DOI: 10.1353/mod.2006.0059



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Periodizing Modernism: Postcolonial Modernities and the Space/ Time Borders of Modernist Studies

Susan Stanford Friedman

Periods are entities we love to hate. Yet we cannot do without them. . . . Consequently, the uses to which we put periods depend crucially on how we delimit them. . . . The art lies in the cutting.

Marshall Brown¹

Coloniality, in other words, is the hidden face of modernity and its very condition of possibility.

Walter D. Mignolo²

. . . to announce the general end of modernity even as an epoch, much less as an attitude or an ethos, seems premature, if not patently ethnocentric, at a time when non-Western people everywhere begin to engage critically their own hybrid modernities.

Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar³

Einstein's theory of relativity forged a major paradigm shift in theorizing the relationship between time and space, one that systematized what some in the arts and philosophy of modernism were already beginning to articulate early in the century. More recently, cultural studies theorist Lawrence Grossberg has advocated what he calls "the timing of space and the spacing of time" as a precondition for a new "geography of beginnings."⁴ Regarding space and time not as absolutes but rather as cognitive

MODERNISM / *modernity*

VOLUME THIRTEEN, NUMBER

THREE, PP 425–443.

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UNIVERSITY PRESS

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426 categories of human thinking, I want to build on these theories of relativity to examine the spatial politics of historical periodization—the way that generalizations about historical periods typically contain covert assumptions about space that privilege one location over others. Fredric Jameson’s imperative—“Always historicize!”—leads unthinkingly into binaries of center/periphery unless it is supplemented with the countervailing imperative—Always spatialize!⁵ Jameson’s widely influential essay, “Modernism and Imperialism,” introduces the spatiality of global imperialism into his discussion of literary history and argues for imperialism as constitutive of modernist aesthetics in the West. But for him, modernism was over and done with by the end of World War II, to be followed by postmodernism characterized by a shift into the multinational corporate flows of late capitalism and new forms of imperialism.⁶ Many others, including Walter D. Mignolo as evident in the epigraph, would agree with Jameson’s insistence that Western modernity is inextricably tied to Western colonialism in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. However, I consider Jameson’s spatialization of modernism incomplete.

A full spatialization of modernism changes the map, the canon, and the periodization of modernism dramatically. Moreover, rethinking the periodization of modernism requires abandoning what I have called the “nominal” definition of modernity, a noun-based designation that names modernity as a specific moment in history with a particular societal configuration that just happens to be the conditions that characterize Europe from about 1500 to the early twentieth century. The “relational” mode of definition, an adjectivally-based approach that regards modernity as a major rupture from what came before, opens up the possibility for polycentric modernities and modernisms at different points of time and in different locations.⁷ Examining the spatial politics of the conventional periodization of modernism fosters a move from singularities to pluralities of space and time, from exclusivist formulations of modernity and modernism to ones based in global linkages, and from nominal modes of definition to relational ones.

The Spatial Politics of Periodizing Modernism

Modernism is conventionally understood as a loose affiliation of aesthetic movements that unfolded in the first half of the twentieth century. This view is accurately reflected in the founding statement of the Modernist Studies Association, still listed on the website, although its parameters are considerably more limited than the wide-ranging work presented at the Modernist Studies Association annual conferences:

The Modernist Studies Association is devoted to the study of the arts in their social, political, cultural, and intellectual contexts from *the later nineteenth- through the mid-twentieth century*. The organization aims to develop an international and interdisciplinary forum to promote exchange among scholars in this revitalized and rapidly changing field.⁸

There is a spatial politics embedded in the Modernist Studies Association’s temporal borders for modernism, roughly the 1890s–1940s, one that picks up on the prevailing assumptions about temporality in the field more generally. Even within the European

context, this dating privileges Anglo-American modernism, that is, modernism in English produced in Britain and the United States and by expatriates living abroad. However, a quick glance through such field-defining critics of modernism as Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane, Marshall Berman, Astradur Eysteinnsson, and Peter Nicholls makes evident that the modernism they delineate is itself polycentric and plural, with different nodal points of high energy and interconnection in the culture capitals of Europe, Britain, and the U.S.—albeit with a limited continental scope. For many, the proper genealogy of this European modernism goes back to the Baudelaire of *Les Fleurs du Mal* in the 1840s–1850s and the cosmopolitan flaneur of his essay “The Painter of Modern Life” (1863).⁹ The temporal boundaries of modernism promoted by the Modernist Studies Association on its website reflect an Anglo-American and English language bias and thus do not even work for Western modernism.

The Modernist Studies Association’s end date for modernism has an even more pernicious effect on modernisms outside the West. This periodization cuts off the agencies of writers, artists, philosophers, and other cultural producers in the emergent postcolonial world just as their new modernities are being formed. India’s independence from Britain and the wrenching murder and displacement of millions in Partition that gave birth to two postcolonial nation-states happen in 1947–1948. One after another of the colonies in the Caribbean and in Africa acquire liberation from official colonial rule in the 1950s and 1960s. The 1950s are the period of Frantz Fanon’s brilliant indigenizations of European psychoanalysis to dissect the psychopathologies of colonial racism for both whites and blacks. *Black Skins, White Masks* is yet another manifestation of the phenomenology of the new and the now that defines a modern sensibility.¹⁰ To cite Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar from the epigraph once again, “to announce the general end of modernity even as an epoch . . . seems premature, if not patently ethnocentric, at a time when non-Western people everywhere begin to engage critically their own hybrid modernities.”

Declaring the end of modernism by 1950 is like trying to hear one hand clapping. The modernisms of emergent modernities are that other hand that enables us to hear any clapping at all. As Walter D. Mignolo argues in the article from which the epigraph was taken, colonialism is constitutive of Western modernity, essential to its formation from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries. As a consequence, we must not close the curtain on modernism before the creative agencies in the colonies and newly emergent nations have their chance to perform. Their nationalist movements and liberations from the political dimensions of colonial rule are central to the story of their modernities. Therefore, the creative forces within those modernities—the writers, the artists, the musicians, the dancers, the philosophers, the critics, and so forth—are engaged in producing modernisms that accompany their own particular modernities. To call their postliberation arts “postmodern”—as they often are—is to miss the point entirely. Multiple modernities create multiple modernisms. Multiple modernisms require respatializing and thus reperiodizing modernism.

The centrality of colonialism and postcolonialism for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries requires a new geography of modernity and modernism, one based on an

428 understanding of what the Caribbean poet and theorist Edouard Glissant calls a “poetics of relation” that produces “*creolité*” or “the immeasurable intermixing of cultures.”¹¹ Rather than positing a mosaic of different modernisms, each separated from all others by the fixed barriers of geopolitical and cultural borders around the world, I regard the boundaries between multiple modernisms as porous and permeable, fostering self/other confrontations and minglings as mutually constitutive, both *between* different societies and *within* them. This geography of mobility and interculturality is not a utopian fantasy of peaceful integration, but rather recognizes that the contact zones between cultures often involve violence and conquest as well as reciprocal exchange, inequality and exploitation as well as mutual benefits, and abjection and humiliation as well as pride and dignity. But the geography I advocate refuses victimology and assumes agency on all sides in the zones of encounter—not autonomy, or the freedom to act unimpeded by others, but rather agency, the drive to name one’s collective and individual identity and to negotiate the conditions of history, no matter how harsh.

In aesthetic terms, this new geography involves a radical rewriting of what critics have called modernism’s internationalism: its polylingualism and polyculturalism, its resistance to national culture, and its primitivist embrace of the non-Western Other as a means for revitalizing the various sterilities of the West. From Picasso to Stravinsky, from Pound to Eliot and Joyce, from the Dadaists to the Surrealists, the icons of modernism embody what many have regarded as “a supranational movement called International Modernism,” to cite Hugh Kenner’s well-known formulation in “The Making of the Modernist Canon.”¹² Few would agree with Kenner’s more outlandish statements in this essay that International Modernism is created solely by expatriate Americans and Irishmen writing in English or that writers like Virginia Woolf, William Carlos Williams, and William Faulkner are “provincial,” not modernist. Indeed, the international modernism of critics like Bradbury and McFarlane or Berman is far more European-centered than Anglo-American. But however much the concepts of modernist internationalism differ from each other, they nonetheless typically operate within an unexamined center/periphery framework that locates the creative agency of modernity in the West.

Whether acknowledged or not, prevailing concepts of modernist internationalism stage Western artists as the innovators and the cultures of the rest as tribal and traditional, as the raw material for creative appropriation and transmutation into modern art. With some notable exceptions—the work of Simon Gikandi’s *Writing in Limbo: Modernism and Caribbean Literature*, Charles W. Pollard’s *New World Modernisms*, and Laura Doyle and Laura Winkiel’s *Geomodernisms* come preeminently to mind—the creative agencies of colonial and postcolonial subjects as producers of modernism have been largely ignored. The exclusion of these agencies deeply affects the definitional projects of modernist studies, producing circular overviews of modernism that reflect the absence of the very texts that would transform an understanding of the field in general.¹³

The geographical blind spot of prevailing concepts of modernist internationalism is, in my view, a particular instance of what geographer J. M. Blaut more generally

calls the ideology of European diffusionism. He defines this ideology as a narrative of modernity:

Europeans are seen as the “makers of history.” Europe eternally advances, progresses, modernizes. The rest of the world advances more sluggishly, or stagnates: it is “traditional society.” Therefore, the world has a permanent geographical center and a permanent periphery: an Inside and an Outside. Inside leads, Outside lags. Inside innovates, Outside imitates.¹⁴

Blaut suggests that this storyline assumes a center/periphery model of modernity that arose in conjunction with Western imperialism as one of its major rationalizations for colonial rule. He details the evolution of this ideological formation from the beginning of the European conquests to its late twentieth-century formations. He argues that European diffusionism remains powerful today across the disciplines and the political spectrum, from the Marxist world-systems theory of Immanuel Wallerstein and his disciples to the neo-conservatives like Samuel Huntington and his followers bemoaning the “clash of civilizations.” For Wallerstein, modernity is a Western virus whose spread infects the rest of the world; for Huntington, the Other is a pollutant that threatens the West. For both, however, modernity is an autonomous Western invention. Whether condemned or lionized, modernization is for both camps synonymous with Westernization.¹⁵

The conventional periodization of modernism is, I believe, an instance of this Eurocentric diffusionist ideology—whether found among those critics committed to a notion of Western aesthetic exceptionalism, or those who see emergent national literatures outside the West as either derivative of or entirely separate from modernism. As I argued in a plenary address for the inaugural MSA conference in 1999, the new geography of modernism needs to locate many centers of modernity across the globe, to focus on the cultural traffic linking them, and to interpret the circuits of reciprocal influence and transformation that take place within highly unequal state relations.¹⁶ More recently, Pollard theorizes what he calls “New World modernisms” that are neither purely European nor purely indigenous. Featuring Glissant’s concepts of creolization and a poetics of relation, Pollard theorizes nomadic trajectories for various modernisms that dismantle the notion of European centers and colonial peripheries:

Glissant subsequently extends this idea of creolization to a “new global level” in developing his “poetics of relation”. . . . Glissant defines this term by offering a simple historical narrative of the trajectories of cultural exchange, first a trajectory from the center to the peripheries, then a movement from the peripheries to the center, and finally, in the “poetics of relation,” the “trajectory is abolished” and the “poet’s word” reproduces a “circular nomadism; that is, it makes every periphery into a center; . . . it abolishes the very notion of center and periphery.”¹⁷

Pollard’s contribution is to link Glissant’s poetics of relation directly to issues of modernism, positing the existence of a “discrepant cosmopolitan modernism” that refuses the common linkages between postcolonialism and postmodernism. By juxtaposing

- 430 T. S. Eliot with Derek Walcott and Kamau Braithwaite, Pollard illustrates more generally “how modernism has migrated as a cultural ideal and how it has changed through this migration.”¹⁸

Geomodernisms: Race, Modernism, Modernity, edited by Laura Doyle and Laura Winkiel, goes even further than Pollard in theorizing a departure from conventional periodizations and the resultant locations of modernism. Doyle and Winkiel call for a global approach to modernism and modernity that goes well beyond the linked trajectories of colonizing metropole and colonized peripheries:

To emplace modernism in this way—to think . . . in terms of interconnected modernisms—requires a rethinking of periodization, genealogies, affiliations, and forms. To some degree, this rethinking estranges the category of modernism itself. The term *modernism* breaks open, into something we call geomodernisms, which signals a locational approach to modernisms’ engagement with cultural and political discourses of global modernity. The revelation of such an approach is double. It unveils both unsuspected “modernist” experiments in “marginal” texts and unsuspected correlations between those texts and others that appear either more conventional or more postmodern.¹⁹

Recognizing modernisms on a planetary landscape involves identification of intensified and proliferating contact zones that set in motion often radical juxtapositions of difference and consequent intermixing of cultural forms that can be alternately embraced, violently imposed, or imperceptibly evolved. Traveling and intermixing cultures are not unidirectional, but multidirectional; not linear influences, but reciprocal ones; not passive assimilations, but actively transformative ones, based in a blending of adaptation and resistance. All modernisms develop as a form of cultural translation or transplantation produced through intercultural encounters. As Edward Said puts it in reference to traveling theory, “Such movement into a new environment is never unimpeded. It necessarily involves processes of representation and institutionalization different from those at the point of origin. This complicates any account of the transplantation, transference, circulation, and commerce of theories and ideas.”²⁰ Over time, Said concludes, “the now full (or partly) accommodated (or incorporated) idea is to some extent transformed by its new uses, its new position in a new time and place.”²¹ In “Traveling Theory Revisited,” Said goes even further to argue that in traveling and transplanting elsewhere, theory—particularly Western theory traveling to the colonies—often becomes stronger and more radical, based on “an affiliation in the deepest and most interesting sense of the word.” Instead of being derivative or diluted, this theory can have “its fiery core . . . reignited” and invigorated.²²

Terms for cultural translation and adaptation abound, and I have been collecting, sorting, and analyzing them as keywords that convey different resonances for the complexities of global interculturality.²³ But for my purposes in this essay, I want to highlight *indigenization*—a form of making *native* or *indigenous* something from elsewhere. Indigenization presumes an affinity of some sort between the cultural practices from elsewhere and those in the indigenizing location. Hostile soil does not allow transplantation to take hold; conversely, the practices that take hold in their new

location are changed in the process. Anthropologist Anna Tsing likens this paradoxical relationship to the “friction” that allows movement: the earth’s resistance to the wheel that allows the wheel to turn. “I stress the importance of cross-cultural and long-distance encounters in everything we know as culture,” she writes. “Cultures are continually co-produced in the interactions I call ‘friction’: the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative quality of interconnection across difference.”²⁴ *Friction* carries with it the connotations of conflict and serves as an apt metaphor for interculturality in colonial and postcolonial contexts.

The terms *indigenization* and *nativization* additionally suggest a kind of cultural cannibalism, if you will, an ingestion of the other which transforms both the cannibal and the cannibalized. This association of modernity with indigenization, nativization, and cannibalism appears to fly in the face of the conventional association of these terms with the traditional and primitive. But because I regard tradition as the invention of modernity, as part of modernity’s fashioning of its own rupture from the past, I like the contradictions these terms suggest. Indigenization reminds us that modernity involves a forgetting of origins, a claiming of cultural practices from elsewhere as so much one’s own that the history of their travels is often lost. Moreover, I echo here deliberately the modernist manifesto of Brazilian writer Oswald de Andrade, whose 1928 “Manifesto antropofago” (“Anthropophagist Manifesto”) invokes his cannibal ancestors the Tupinamba Indians, who ate the early European explorers, to develop his metaphor of the New World modernism in its relation to European modernism. As John King puts it, “For Oswald de Andrade, Brazilian artists should similarly take on the powers of the colonizers, through ingestion, producing in this way an artistic practice that was very much their own.”²⁵

Like Western modernities, colonialism greatly enabled the development of Western modernisms formed through the indigenization of cultural practices from elsewhere. Conversely, colonized subjects indigenized Western modernity and modernism in forming their own modernities within the inequitable framework of colonial power and resistance.²⁶ The inflow and outflow of cultural forms was constitutive of modernity and modernism for both the imperial and colonized centers, though with significant differences. The inflow of non-Western art into the West as foundational for European modernism has been much studied, especially in relation to European primitivism—as in the case of Picasso’s borrowings of African art in the formation of Cubism, which art historian William Rubin described as a “cannibalization” that served as a “countercultural battering ram” enabling his “attack on European bourgeois aesthetic sensibility.”²⁷

But because of the prevailing periodization of modernism, the indigenizations of Western aesthetics into colonial and post-colonial settings engaged in their own emergent modernities have not typically been considered modernist. For some, modernism is a purely Western aesthetic and as a category has no explanatory power for postcolonial writing. Why bother, Barbara Harlow once asked me, to consider Tayeb Salih, the Sudan’s leading novelist and author of the 1967 novel *Season of Migration to the North*, a modernist? Leave modernism to the Europeans and Anglo-Americans, she

432 insisted; literatures of newly emergent postcolonial nation-states have everything to do with the ongoing effects of colonialism and little or nothing to do with modernism. For others, committed to the project of what Dipesh Chakrabarty calls “provincializing Europe,” the modernity of colonial and post-colonial sites is irremediably “derivative” or “belated,” a form of “colonial mimicry” which at best denaturalizes Western modernity by highlighting the artifice of its construction.²⁸ In his otherwise splendid introduction to *Alternative Modernities*, Gaonkar begins his genealogy of modernism—which he defines as the cultural dimension of modernity—with none other than Baudelaire as an originary point, thus setting himself up for yet another version of the diffusionist story and the post-colonial lament of being caught in the reactive position of belatedness.²⁹

In contrast to these views, R. Radhakrishnan insists that the task for postcoloniality is “to find a way out of the curse of ‘derivativeness.’” He does so first by pointing out that “there is nothing that is not derivative,” including the West’s modernity, and secondly by advocating the recognition of “alternative, alterior, heterogeneous, hybrid, and polycentric modernities.”³⁰ To Radhakrishnan’s argument about modernity, I would add the necessity for finding a way out of the curse of presumed derivativeness for non-Western modernisms. These modernisms are different, not derivative. Like the modernisms of the West, they are hybrid, evidencing signs of traveling modernisms that have transplanted and become native.

A planetary approach to modernism requires, in my view, jettisoning the ahistorical designation of modernism as a collection of identifiable aesthetic styles, and abandoning as well the notion of modernism as an aesthetic period whose singular temporal beginning and endpoints are determinable, however interminable the debates might be about them. Instead, I regard modernism as the *expressive dimension of modernity*, one that encompasses a range of styles among creative forms that share family resemblances based on an engagement with the historical conditions of modernity in a particular location. Multiple modernisms emergent in the context of modernities located across a global landscape has a profound effect on historical periodization. Instead of looking for the *single* period of modernism, with its (always debatable) beginning and end points, we need to locate the *plural* periods of modernisms, some of which overlap with each other and others of which have a different time period altogether.

Modernism as the Expressive Dimension of Modernity

Defining modernism as the expressive dimension of modernity, wherever it occurs on the planet and in whatever particular form, appears to beg the question, to be a tautological statement with little explanatory power. What, after all, *is* modernity? Does the term *modernity* lose specificity in being broadened beyond its conventional meaning of what happened in the West after 1500 (for example, capitalism, nation-state formation, imperialism, Enlightenment, Industrialization, et cetera)?³¹ Does every period in history lay claim to being *modern*, and if so, doesn’t the term become meaningless? If *modernity* lacks particularity as a concept, then the claim that *modernism* is modernity’s

expressive domain is necessarily emptied of specificity as well. If all periods are *modern*, then all aesthetic expression must be *modernist*. A definitional category has meaning only on the basis of the inclusion of some phenomena and the exclusion of others. Without some principle of inside/outside, the category *qua* category collapses into uselessness. In “Definitional Excursions: The Meanings of *Modern/Modernity/Modernism*,” I resisted definition, instead advocating an interrogation of the definitional dissonances of the debate itself as well as the radical disjuncture between how these terms are used across the disciplines. But for my claim here about modernism to have any explanatory significance, I recognize that some provisional definition of modernity is necessary. In tune with the earlier essay’s critique of nominal definitions of modernity as perniciously Eurocentric and singular, my strategic definition of modernity here is relational, emphasizing the temporal rupture of before/after wherever and whenever such ruptures might occur in time and space.

Let me be clear: I do not regard every historical period as “modern”; nor do I regard every creative expression produced in the context of modernity to be “modernist.” In defining modernism as the expressive dimension of modernity, I mean to suggest a range of creative meaning-making forms and cultural practices that engage in substantial and different ways with the historical conditions of a particular modernity. That said, I still need to provide some definition of modernity, no matter how provisional and porous the conceptual boundaries. I advocate a polycentric, planetary concept of modernity that can be both precise enough to be useful and yet capacious enough to encompass the divergent articulations of modernity in various geohistorical locations. I suggest that modernity involves a powerful vortex of historical conditions that coalesce to produce sharp ruptures from the past that range widely across various sectors of a given society. The velocity, acceleration, and dynamism of shattering change across a wide spectrum of societal institutions are key components of modernity as I see it—change that interweaves the cultural, economic, political, religious, familial, sexual, aesthetic, technological, and so forth, and can move in both utopic and dystopic directions. Across the vast reaches of civilizational history, eruptions of different modernities often occur in the context of empires and conquest. This definitional approach recognizes the modernities that have formed not only after the rise of the West but also before the West’s post-1500 period of rapid change—the earlier modernities of the Tang Dynasty in China, the Abbasid Dynasty of the Muslim empire, and the Mongol Empire, to cite just a few.³²

Moreover, modernity is often associated with the intensification of intercultural contact zones, whether produced through conquest, vast migrations of people (voluntary or forced), or relatively peaceful commercial traffic and technological or cultural exchange. Indeed, heightened hybridizations, jarring juxtapositions, and increasingly porous borders both characterize modernity and help bring it into being. The speed and scope of widespread transformation often leads to what Marshall Berman calls (citing Marx) the sensation that “all that is solid melts into air,” and what I call the phenomenology of the new and the now.³³ Modernity has a self-reflexive, experiential dimension that includes a gamut of sensations from displacement, despair, and nostalgia

434 to exhilaration, hope, and embrace of the new—a range that depends in part on the configurations of power and the utopic versus dystopic directions of change.

Understood as an umbrella term, modernity has a complex and contradictory relationship to its seeming opposite—“tradition” or “history.” Modernity and tradition are relational concepts that modernity produces to cut itself off from the past, to distinguish the “now” from the “then.” Modernity invents tradition, suppresses its own continuities with the past, and often produces nostalgia for what has been seemingly lost. Tradition forms at the moment those who perceive it regard themselves as cut off from it.³⁴ Modernity’s dislocating break with the past also engenders a radical reaction in the opposite direction. As a result, periods of modernity often contain tremendous battles between “modernizers” and “traditionalists,” those who promote the modern and those who want to restore an imagined and often idealized past. Indeed, in my view, the struggle between modernizing and traditionalizing forces within a given society is itself a defining characteristic of modernity. In this sense, past-oriented traditionalism is as much a feature of modernity as modernization. Moreover, modernity also produces what Paul de Man calls (citing Nietzsche) “a ruthless forgetting” of the past: “Modernity exists in the form of a desire to wipe out whatever came earlier.”³⁵ The past that is repressed, that will not be remembered, comes back to haunt and trouble the present. Buried within the radical ruptures from the past are hidden continuities—all the things that refuse to change or cannot change, often having to do with the uneven distributions of power and violent histories.

In this context, the notion of derivative postcolonial modernities contains an implicit and misleading binary that sets up the West as modern and the Rest as traditional, struggling to reject its traditionalism in favor of becoming modern, which by a subtle metonymic slide is the equivalent of becoming Western. While there is no doubt that many colonial subjects experience the humiliations and ambivalence of this modernity/tradition opposition, this phenomenological dimension of modernity reflects the ideological force of the diffusionist myth and obscures both the traditionalisms within the West and the indigenous modernities outside the West. Instead, we need to look for the interplay of modernity and tradition *within* each location, that is, within both the West and the regions outside the West.

Broadening the provisional definition in these ways presumes a pluralization of modernity. As Gaonkar puts it, “modernity is not one, but many.” He challenges what he calls the “acultural theory” of modernity which posits “the inexorable march of modernity [that] will end up making all cultures look alike.” He promotes instead what he calls a “cultural theory,” one that “holds that modernity always unfolds within a specific culture or civilizational context.”³⁶ Gaonkar is one among a growing number of theorists and historians who are calling for a new discourse about modernity, one based on an acknowledgement of “multiple modernities,” “early modernities,” “alternate modernities,” “polycentric modernities” or “conjunctural modernities”—to cite some of the current terms in use.³⁷ This approach typically assumes that each manifestation of modernity is distinctive and yet affiliated through global linkages to other modernities or societal formations. Sanjay Subrahmanyam terms this concept of global link-

ages “conjunctural.” Countering Wallerstein’s metaphor of modernity as the “virus” of capitalism spreading from the exploitative West to the Rest, Subrahmanyam writes that “modernity is a global and *conjunctural* phenomenon, not a virus that spreads from one place to another. It is located in a series of historical processes that brought relatively isolated societies into contact.”³⁸ Multiple modernities, in short, involve global weblike formations, with many multidirectional links, affiliations, and often brutal inequities of power. They are not mosaics, each modernity separate and isolated from all others, evolving autonomously and equally. And yet they are not the same either, as each reflects the particular indigenizations of its own location.

This provisional approach to modernity engenders a parallel approach to modernism as the expressive dimension of any given modernity. Polycentric modernities produce polycentric modernisms, ones which are simultaneously distinctive and yet produced through indigenizations of traveling modernities that take place within frequently extreme differences of power. This dynamic is particularly true for the modernisms developing out of colonialism and its demise throughout the century. Theorizing modernism in this way fundamentally alters the conventional end points of twentieth-century modernism.

Season of Migration to the North as a Modernist Novel

Spatializing modernism across a polycentric landscape allows us to include Tayeb Salih’s postcolonial novel *Season of Migration to the North* within the canon of twentieth-century modernisms. One of the best known contemporary novels in Arabic, completed by the Sudan’s leading writer during his exile in Beirut, *Season of Migration to the North* appeared in 1967 and then in English translation in 1969.³⁹ As a novel that echoes, reverses, and affiliates with Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, *Season of Migration to the North* thematizes the enmeshing of both European and African modernities with colonialism and the seeming ruptures brought about by the demise of European imperialism and the rise of new African nation-states like the Sudan. But Salih’s novel challenges both the modernity of the West and the postcolonialism of the Sudan by deconstructing the familiar binaries of West/Rest, modern/traditional, and innovative/imitative. Instead, he shows each location as imitative of the other; each, in other words, is engaged in mimetic encounters that intermix the modern and traditional as constitutive of modernity itself in its different locations. Women—specifically, attraction to them, violence against them, and women’s own engagements with modernity—figure centrally in his complex staging of intercultural encounters.

As echo to *Heart of Darkness*, *Season of Migration to the North* reverses the journey of Kurtz from Europe to Africa. Mustafa Sa’eed is a brilliant Sudanese prodigy who journeys from the South to the North, early in the century, into the heart of the colonial metropolis—first to Khartoum, then to Cairo, and finally to London and Oxford. Like *Heart of Darkness*, Mustafa’s tale is mostly told by one main narrator, who, like Marlow, becomes ever more clearly unreliable and heavily ironized. Even more than Conrad’s novel, *Season of Migration to the North* is a narrative of indeterminacy; of

436 mysteries, lies, and truths; of mediating events through the perspectives of multiple embedded narrators; of complex tapestries of interlocking motifs and symbols; and of pervasive irony.⁴⁰ Stylistically speaking, Salih's novel is "high modernist," having moved even further than Conrad from the conventions of realism.⁴¹

Just as Kurtz exceeded expectations as a colonial agent, Mustafa is a great success in Britain. There, he acquires degrees and becomes the darling of the British left, writing books and advising ministers on economics and development in the Empire. In a love/hate relationship with the culture that exoticizes him, he turns into "the black Englishman," infected with the disease of those he lives among, much as Kurtz had "gone native" in the Congo. He seduces scores of white women, "modern" women whose Orientalist fantasies he exploits and exposes as a form of modern longing for pre-modern desert Arab or black primitive prince. He hunts them like prey, driving two to suicide and murdering the last, his wife, the one he loves, in a sadomasochistic orgy.⁴² In a fit of liberal guilt, the English court lets him off with a light sentence, buying into the myth of the colonized victim and denying him the dignity of free will and moral responsibility for his actions. In disgust, Mustafa migrates back to the Sudan, selecting a village at the bend of the Nile, where he appears out of nowhere one day to buy land, farm, marry a local woman, and find partial acceptance as the stranger with a hidden past he shares with no one, until he tells a part of his story to the nameless narrator. One day, after making sure his affairs are in order, he mysteriously disappears. The villagers assume he drowned in the seasonal flooding of the Nile, either by accident or suicide, but a tale also surfaces in Khartoum that he secretly returned to Britain. In the penultimate chapter of the novel, the narrator opens the secret room Mustafa had kept hidden from everyone. The room is a replica in the desert of a British gentleman's library, complete with hundreds of books and a fireplace over which hangs a portrait of his dead white wife. In shock and despair, the narrator goes swimming in the Nile, heading for the northern shore; and although he chooses to live rather than drown, the novel leaves us hanging, as unsure of his final fate as we are of Mustafa's.

In an interview, Salih explains Mustafa's state of mind in terms of sexualized post-colonial revenge. "In Europe," Salih notes, "there is the idea of dominating us."

That domination is associated with sex. Figuratively speaking, Europe raped Africa in a violent fashion. Mustafa Sa'eed, the hero of the novel, used to react to that domination with an opposite reaction, which had an element of revenge seeking. In his violent female conquests he wants to inflict on Europe the degradation which it had imposed upon his people. He wants to rape Europe in a metaphorical fashion.⁴³

Many have assumed that Mustafa's views are Salih's own. But the novel ultimately refuses such simple binaries of North/South, colonizer/colonized, and modernity/tradition. Instead, Salih unveils the interplay of oppositions in both Britain and the Sudan, exploding in particular the association of modernity with the West and tradition with Africa. Establishing an ironic distance between himself and both the narrator and Mustafa, Salih exposes the way "tradition" is always in a process of change and "modernity" is never as complete a rejection of the past as it seems. North and South are not so

much opposites as they are mutually constitutive, existing in conjunctural relationship, both *between* nations and *within* nations. Gender and sexuality are the forces that explode the illusion of absolute difference. Salih indigenizes Conrad's trope of journey to the heart of otherness as a means of exposing the darkness at home. The steamer's progress up the Congo river in Conrad's tale exposes the hypocrisy of European (or at least Belgian) imperialism in the Congo; the journey north in Salih's novel uncovers not only the diseased traditionalism of the North but also the brutalizing tradition in the Sudanese village on the Nile. To understand the novel in this way, we must be attuned to the novel's pervasive modernist irony and its subtle undermining of illusion in both North and South.

The novel's village is not what the narrator and Mustafa imagine it to be—a changeless, simple, gracious place.⁴⁴ There are signs of change everywhere, represented symptomatically in the novel by the steady beat of the “puttering pumps” that have replaced the older water-wheels. Moreover, Mustafa's “rape” through seduction of white women in the North has its counterpart in a terrifying rape in the village which is sanctioned by tradition. Mustafa's widow Hosna, a thoroughly “modern” woman in the context of the village, has refused to accept any suitors for her hand and instead makes known her desire for the narrator. She even approaches the narrator's father and tells him to instruct his son to marry her. The narrator's mother is scandalized: “What an impudent hussy! That's modern women for you!” (*SMN*, 123). Afraid of his own desire for Hosna, the narrator agrees to do what he profoundly disapproves of: approach Hosna on behalf of the old village lecher and close friend of his grandfather, Wad Rayyes, who is determined to marry Hosna. As the narrator's friend later tells him, “The world hasn't changed as much as you think. . . . Some things have changed—pumps instead of water-wheels, iron ploughs instead of wooden ones, sending our daughters to school, radios, cars, learning to drink whisky and beer instead of arak and millet wine—yet even so everything's as it was. . . . Women belong to men and a man's a man even if he's decrepit” (*SMN*, 99–101).

Modernization of water-wheels is one thing, but modern women must be resisted. The result is catastrophic, ripping apart the seemingly placid and changeless surface of the village to reveal the brutality within. Hosna is forcibly married and manages to fend off the attacks of her new husband until one night when villagers hear her screams and do nothing to interfere, only to discover the pair dead and covered in blood. Hosna does what she tells the narrator she will do—kill Wad Rayyes if she is forced to marry him. Then she kills herself. The village, Salih reveals, is a site of partial modernization, a growing modernity that does not incorporate its girls and women, its family institutions. Rape is not just a metaphor for colonial exploitation and postcolonial revenge. Rape is also what happens when “women belong to men.” Hosna's city ways—her modernity—arouse not only the narrator, who is afraid to act, but also the old man whose desire to possess her seems to be an allegory for the resistance to modernity itself. Lest one think of Hosna's action as a simple importation of Western ways into the village, the reaction of Wad Rayyes's elder wife to the story of his death is a chilling warning: “Good riddance!”, she says, and at his funeral she “gave trilling cries of joy”

438 (SMN, 128). The roots of gender modernization in the village lie in the suffering of its women and their own longing for freedom from tyranny in the family.

Salih further deconstructs the binary of (European) North and (African) South by using the issue of gender relations to expose the North/South power divide *within* the Sudan itself, a long-standing ethnic and religious divide that led to decades of civil war between the dominant Arab and Muslim North and the dominated non-Arab and Christian/animist South. Salih highlights the North's enslavement of women from the South in particular to break open North/South binaries based solely on colonialism. Mustafa's mother, we learn, was a slave from the South, a fact that might explain her striking coldness toward her son. Moreover, Wad Rayyes regales the narrator's grandfather and his friends in the village with the story of his kidnapping "a young slave girl from down-river" whom he delights in raping over and over again (SMN, 74). That friends laugh in pleasure at his bawdy tale just days before he rapes Hosna heightens the novel's ironic exposure of violence within the seemingly placid surface of village life and allegorizes the North/South divisions within the Sudan.

In so doing, Salih indigenizes Conrad's project in *Heart of Darkness* to expose the hypocrisy of European imperialism's so-called civilizing mission in Africa and the reality of its greed and bestiality. Salih, like Conrad, exposes the heart of darkness at home, centered in the Sudan's gender and ethnic/religious differences. Beneath the hypocrisy of serene village life in Salih's novel lies the hidden brutality of the village's ambivalent relationship to modernity and its refusal to incorporate the security and freedom of its women in its future. The traditionalism of Salih's "modern" narrator, the postcolonial government agent from Khartoum who is too timid to support Hosna's bid for freedom, has its parallel in Marlow's gender traditionalism at the end of *Heart of Darkness* when he refuses to tell the Intended the truth about Kurtz's last words. In maintaining her illusions about Kurtz's idealism, Marlow performs the traditional role of the man who protects the delicate woman from the harsh realities of life and thus sustains his own need for masculine mastery. Irony in both novels unravels the overlapping oppositions between modernity/tradition, north/south, and man/woman.

The juxtaposition of *Heart of Darkness* and *Season of Migration to the North* breaks down the conventional narrative of modernism as the invention of the West imitated by the Rest. It shows how a polycentric approach to modernity and modernism reveals the way that each site—in Britain and in Africa—is constructed through engagement with the other. Further, each site also exhibits a key feature of modernity: the struggle between modernizing and traditionalizing forces for which women and particularly the violence done to them exposes, indeed explodes the cultural narratives of both rational progress and nostalgic tradition. Like Said's notion of the colonial intensification of the colonizer's traveling theory in "Traveling Theory Reconsidered," Salih's modernist exposure of the violent traditionalisms at the heart of both North and South is not so much derivative of Conrad as it is a sharper and more focused attack on the gender systems of both the colonizer and the colonized. Salih's affiliation with Conrad leads to an indigenization of his tale in which "its fiery core" (to echo Said again) has been reignited with a vengeance.

Moreover, reading *Heart of Darkness* and *Season of Migration to the North* in conjunction as the expressive dimensions of colonial and postcolonial modernities suggests that cutting off modernism in the 1940s does a violence to the postcolonial text and postcolonial modernisms that reproduces in the symbolic domain the broader violence of colonialism itself. The 1940s end date for modernism in effect refuses to hear what the later modernisms have to say about the modernities that have shaped and been shaped by colonialism and its aftermath throughout the twentieth century.

Conclusion

Whether conceived as a loose affiliation of aesthetic styles or as a literary/artistic historical “period” with at least debatable beginning and end points, modernism contains an unacknowledged spatial politics that suppresses the global dimensions of modernism through time, and the interplay of space and time in all modernisms. As Marshall Brown writes about the problematics of literary periodization, “the art lies in the cutting.” Cutting off the end of modernism in the 1940s is an “art” that is also a “politics.” It obscures the central role that colonialism played in the formation of modernism in both colonizing and colonized cultures, and it completely suppresses the agencies of those writers and artists who engage with postcolonial modernities after the 1940s. We do not, I believe, reduce the concepts of modernity and modernism to categories that are so inclusive as to be meaningless by theorizing the geohistory of twentieth-century modernism as I have been doing. Instead, we gain a greater sense of the possible modernist particularities that develop in different locations and times in history.

To spatialize the literary history of modernism requires the abandonment of diffusionist ideologies of innovative centers and imitative peripheries. It requires as well the recognition that the “periods” of modernism are multiple and that modernism is alive and thriving wherever the historical convergence of radical rupture takes place. Always spatialize! But remember: spatialization means reperiodizations. Recognizing the “emplacement” of modernisms, to echo Laura Doyle and Laura Winkiel in their introduction to *Geomodernisms*, expands the planetary landscape of modernism at the same time that it retains attention to the creative forms of engagement with modernities whenever and wherever they occur.

Hurry up, please.

It's time for the Modernist Studies Association to change the organization's periodization of modernism in its official description if it wants to reflect the work actually being done under its umbrella. More broadly speaking, it's time as well for modernist studies to expand the horizons of time.

Notes

1. Marshall Brown, “Periods and Resistances,” Special Issue on Periodization: Cutting Up the Past. *Modern Language Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (December 2001): 309, 315. For their challenges to

440 portions of this essay, I am indebted to audiences at the Modernist Studies Association Conference (1999, 2005); University of Texas, Austin (2004); Lebanese American University, Lebanon (2004); and University of Coimbra, Portugal (2005); and to the anonymous reader for *Modernism/Modernity*. I owe special thanks to Brian Richardson, who organized the 2005 MSA panel entitled Re-Figuring the Boundaries of Modernism for which I read the short version of this essay; Richardson's paper, "Modernism: Period or Style?," also argues for extending the end points of modernism through the contemporary period.

2. Walter Mignolo, "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis: Border Thinking and Critical Cosmopolitanism," *Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Carol A. Breckenridge, Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, and Dipesh Chakrabarty (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002), 158.

3. Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, "On Alternative Modernities," *Alternative Modernities* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001), 14.

4. Lawrence Grossberg, "The Space of Culture, the Power of Space," *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, ed. Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti (London: Routledge, 1996), 180.

5. Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), 9. See my counterimperative, "Always spatialize," in a discussion of "geopolitical literacy" in *Mappings: Feminism and the Cultural Geographies of Encounter* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 130–1. See also Christopher Bush's advocacy of a "location-oriented modernist studies" and suggestion that we "imagine a Fredric Jameson of space extolling: 'Always localize'" in "The Other Side of the Other?: Cultural Studies, Theory, and the Location of the Modernist Signifier," *Comparative Literature Studies* 24, no. 2 (2005), 176. Harry Harootunian attacks the spatial turn in modernity studies as a reinstitution of a European colonial paradigm of center/periphery in "Some Thoughts on Comparability and the Space-Time Problem," *boundary 2* 32, no. 2 (Summer 2005), 23–52.

6. Fredric Jameson, "Modernism and Imperialism," *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature*, ed. Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson, and Edward W. Said (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990). For discussion of the necessity for and problems of periodization in literary history, see the special issue on Periodization: Cutting Up the Past of *Modern Language Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (December 2001). None of the contributors give serious consideration to the spatial boundaries implicit in historical—that is, temporal—periodization.

7. Susan Stanford Friedman, "Definitional Excursions: The Meanings of *Modern/Modernity/Modernism*," *Modernism/Modernity* 8, no. 3 (September 2001), 493–514.

8. <http://msa.press.jhu.edu/> (emphasis added).

9. Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (1982; rev. ed. New York: Penguin, 1988); Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane, ed. *Modernism* (New York: Penguin, 1976); Astradur Eysteinnsson, *The Concept of Modernism* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990); Peter Nicholls, *Modernism: A Literary Guide* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); and Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," *Selected Writings on Art and Literature*, trans. R. E. Charvet (New York: Penguin, 1973), 403–5. Modernism in Spanish has yet another periodization, as Cathy L. Jrade explores in *Modernismo Modernity and the Development of Spanish American Literature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998). Houston A. Baker Jr.'s pathbreaking book *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1987) was an early positing of a distinctive and differently periodized modernity for African Americans and thus for their particular modernism.

10. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skins, White Masks: The Experiences of a Black Man in a White World* (1952), trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967).

11. Edouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation* (1990), trans. Betsy Wing (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1997), 138.

12. Hugh Kenner. "The Making of the Modernist Canon." *Chicago Review* 34, no. 2 (spring 1984), 53–57. On modernist primitivism, see especially Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1990); William Rubin, "Modernist Primitivism: An Introduction," "Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: *Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*.

Vol. 1 (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, 1984), 1–84. For discussion of philosophical primitivism in the development of Western modernity, see Fuyuki Kurasawa, *The Ethnological Imagination: A Cross-Cultural Critique of Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

13. Simon Gikandi, *Writing in Limbo: Modernism and Caribbean Literature* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992); Charles W. Pollard, *New World Modernisms: T. S. Eliot, Derek Walcott, and Kamau Brathwaite* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004); Laura Doyle and Laura Winkiel, ed. *Geomodernisms: Race, Modernism, Modernity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005). See also the growing body of criticism of non-Western writers as modernist with a concomitant reconceptualization of modernist internationalism in Anthony L. Geist and José B. Monléon, ed. *Modernism and Its Margins: Reinscribing Modernity from Spain and Latin America* (New York: Garland, 1999); Priya Joshi, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Jade, *Modernismo Modernity and the Development of Spanish American Literature*; Chana Kronfeld, *On the Margins of Modernism: Decentering Literary Dynamics (Controversions: Critical Studies in Jewish Literature, Culture, and Society)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Michael Valdez Moses, *The Novel & The Globalization of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Fernando J. Rosenberg, *The Avant-Garde and Geopolitics in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2006); Vicky Unruh, *Latin American Vanguards: The Art of Contentious Encounters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); and Susan Stanford Friedman, “Modernism in a Transnational Landscape: Spatial Poetics, Postcolonialism, and Gender in Césaire’s *Cahier/Notebook* and Cha’s *Dictée*,” *Paideuma* 32.1/2/3 (spring, fall, winter 2003), 39–74.

14. J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizer’s Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guilford Press, 1993).

15. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996); Immanuel Wallerstein, “Eurocentrism and Its Avatars: The Dilemmas of Social Science,” *New Left Review* no. 226 (November/December 1997), 105. See also Wallerstein’s summary of his influential world-systems theory in *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004) and my extended analysis of what Wallerstein and Huntington share in “Unthinking Manifest Destiny: Muslim Modernities on Three Continents,” *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature*, ed. Wai Chee Dimock (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2007).

16. Susan Stanford Friedman, “Cultural Parataxis and Transnational Landscapes of Reading: Toward a Locational Modernist Studies”; an extended version of this paper is forthcoming in *Modernism*, ed. Vivian Liska and Astradur Eysteinnsson (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007).

17. Pollard, *New World Modernisms*, 5; he cites Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, 29.

18. Pollard, *New World Modernisms*, 9.

19. Doyle and Winkiel, Introduction, *Geomodernisms*, 3.

20. Edward W. Said, “Traveling Theory,” *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 226.

21. *ibid.*, 227.

22. Edward W. Said, “Traveling Theory Reconsidered” (1994), *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), 452.

23. In my book in progress, *Planetary Modernism and the Modernities of Empire, Nation, and Diaspora*, I adapt Raymond Williams’ concept of keywords, identify over seventy terms for various forms of cultural translation, and sort them by rhetorical categories such as linguistic, organic, economic, cultural, aesthetic, and so forth.

24. Anna Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 3.

25. John King, ed. Introduction, *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Latin American Culture* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2. See also Unruh, *Latin American Vanguards*.

26. For Western literary modernism’s formation through engagement with the colonies, see especially Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Elleke Boehmer’s discussion of “the globalized interface of modern-

442 ism" in *Empire, the National, and the Postcolonial, 1890–1920* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2002), 175 (see especially "Towards a Theory of Modernism in the Imperial World," 169–83).

27. Rubin, "Modernist Primitivism: An Introduction," 7. See also Simon Gikandi's discussion of Picasso's borrowings from African art and the Western suppression of African intellectual and aesthetic thought in "Picasso, Africa, and the Schemata of Difference," *Modernism/Modernity* 10, no. 3 (September 2003), 455–80.

28. See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University, 2000) and *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Homi K. Bhabha's concept of colonial mimicry in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1993). For the notion of colonial and postcolonial modernities as "derivative," Partha Chatterjee's *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (1986) has been particularly influential. *The Partha Chatterjee Omnibus* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1–282.

29. Gaonkar, "On Alternative Modernities," 4–6.

30. R. Radhakrishnan, "Derivative Discourses and the Problem of Signification," *The European Legacy* 7, no. 6 (2002), 790, 788.

31. For conventional Eurocentric definitions of modernity, see for example, Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990) and the textbook by Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben, *Formations of Modernity* (Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press, 1992), especially 1–16; Wallerstein; Huntington. For a counterexample, see Arjun Appadurai's deployment of the term *modernity* to describe late twentieth-century culture in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

32. See especially Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (Oxford, U. K.: Oxford University Press, 1989); Blaut; Shmuel N. Eisenstadt and Wolfgang Schluchter, eds., Special Issue on Early Modernities, *Daedalus* 127, no. 3 (summer 1998); S. N. Eisenstadt, ed., Special Issue on Multiple Modernities, *Daedalus* 129, no.1 (winter 2000); André Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Stephen K. Sanderson, ed., *Civilizations and World Systems: Studying World-Historical Change* (London: Sage, 1995); Jack Weatherford, *Ghengis Kahn and the Making of the Modern World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2004); and Friedman, *Planetary Modernism*.

33. Berman's title, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*, alludes to Marx's phrase and discussion of modernity in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (2nd ed., New York: Norton, 1978), 577–78 (Berman, 21).

34. See also James Clifford's dialectical understanding of tradition/modernity in "Traditional Futures," *Questions of Tradition*, ed. Mark Salber Phillips and Gordon Schochet (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 152. For a different view, see Moses, *The Novel & The Globalization of Culture*; although he brings attention to the modernisms produced in the postcolonies, Moses finds in these texts a critique of Western modernity based in the authors' pre-modern and traditional cultural contexts (especially xiv–xvi, 24–25, 107–92). Like many social theorists, Moses argues that modernization causes global homogenization, and he regards the pre-modern and the traditional in the Third World as forces of resistance to modernity's homogenizing. Others, like Clifford in "Traditional Futures," Gaonkar in "On Alternative Modernities," and Victor Roudometof in "Globalization or Modernity?" (*Comparative Literature Review* no. 31 [1994], 18–45) argue against this view, suggesting instead that globalization heightens the indigenizations of traveling cultures and the ensuing hybrid heterogeneity of local cultures.

35. Paul de Man, "Literary History and Literary Modernity," *Blindness and Insight* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 147–8.

36. Gaonkar, "On Alternative Modernities," 17.

37. See for example Radhakrishnan; Gaonkar; Friedman, "Definitional Excursions"; Abbas Milani, *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran* (Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 2004); Eisenstadt and Schluchter; Eisenstadt; Julios Ramos, *Divergent Modernities: Culture and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, trans. John D. Blanco (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001); Sanjay

Subrahmanyam, "Hearing Voices: Vignettes of Early Modernity in South Asia, 1400–1750," *Daedalus* 127, no. 3 (1998), 75–104.

38. Subrahmanyam, "Hearing Voices," 99–100; for virus and toxin imagery for modernity, see Wallerstein's "Eurocentrism and Its Avatars."

39. Tayeb Salih, *Season of Migration to the North* (1967), trans. Denys Johnson-Davies (Boulder, Colo.: Three Continents Books, 1970); hereafter abbreviated SMN. Criticism on the novel is proliferating rapidly; although references to Salih's echoing of *Heart of Darkness* abound, no one (with the exception of Saree Makdisi) considers *Season* within the context of modernism. For discussion of Saleh's community of exiles and writers in Beirut, see Mona Takieddine Amyuni, Introduction, *Season of Migration to the North, by Tayeb Salih: A Casebook*, (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1985); Philip Sadgrove, "Al-Tayyib Salih," *African Writers*, Vol. 2, ed. Brian C. Cox. (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1997), 733–44. For selected discussions of the novel, see especially Amyuni's *Casebook*, produced in Beirut; Ali Abdalla Abbas, "Notes on Tayeb Salih: *Season of Migration to the North* and *The Wedding of Zein*," *Sudan Notes and Records* 55 (1974): 46–60; John E. Davidson, "In Search of a Middle Point: The Origins of Oppression in Tayeb Salih's *Season of Migration to the North*," *Research in African Literatures* 20, no. 3 (fall 1989): 385–400; Patricia Geesey, "Cultural Hybridity and Contamination in Tayeb Salih's *Mawsim al-hijra ila al-Shamal* (*Season of Migration to the North*)," *Research in African Literatures* 28 (fall 1997): 128–40; Brian Gibson, "An Island unto Himself? Masculinity in *Season of Migration to the North*," *Jouvert* 7, no. 1 (autumn 2002); Barbara Harlow, "Othello's Season of Migration," *Edebiyat* 4, no. 2 (1979): 157–75; Wail S. Hassan, "Gender (and) Imperialism: Structures of Masculinity in Tayeb Salih's *Season of Migration to the North*," *Men and Masculinities* 5, no. 3 (2003): 309–24; R. S. Krishnan, "Reinscribing Conrad: Tayeb Salih's *Season of Migration to the North*," *International Fiction Review* 23, nos. 1–2 (1996): 7–15; Saree S. Makdisi, "The Empire Renarrated: *Season of Migration to the North* and the Reinvention of the Present," *Critical Inquiry* 18 (summer 1992): 804–20; Mohammad Shaheen, "Tayeb Salih and Conrad," *Comparative Literature* 22, no.1 (spring 1985): 156–71; Muhammed Siddiq, "The Process of Individuation in Al-Tayyeb Salih's Novel *Season of Migration to the North*," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 9 (1978): 67–104; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 54–66.

40. For the relation of the novel to *Heart of Darkness*, see especially Shaheen, "Tayeb Salih and Conrad"; Krishnan, "Reinscribing Conrad"; and Spivak, *Death*, 54–66.

41. For discussion of *Season* and other contemporary Arab novels (especially by Lebanese writers) as part of an "Arab modernism," see Makdisi, "'Postcolonial' Literature in a Neocolonial World: Modern Arabic Culture and the End of Modernity," *boundary 2* 22, no. 1 (1995): 104–5.

42. On Mustafa's "hyper-masculinity" and its relationship to colonialism, see Gibson; Hassan. Spivak also briefly discusses gender, modernity, and tradition in *Season*, noting Salih's displacements of the familiar binary.

43. Constance E. Berkley and Osman Hassan Ahmed, ed. *Tayeb Salih Speaks: Four Interviews with the Sudanese Novelist*, trans. Berkley and Ahmed (Washington, D.C.: Embassy of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, 1982), 15–6.

44. In *Habitations of Modernity*, Chakrabarty notes a parallel phenomenon that helps illuminate Salih's treatment of the Sudanese village. Bengali men working in Calcutta often spent their summers in their village homes, which they represented in stories as sites of nostalgic longing and changelessness; after Partition, they were cut off from those villages, a rupture that only increased their desire and idealization of village life ("Memories of Displacement: The Poetry and Prejudice of Dwelling," 115–37). Salih's narrator, educated in England and working in Khartoum for the new nation-state, exhibits many of these same "modern" traits, exoticizing (indeed, Orientalizing) the Bedouin women he sees dancing in the desert in the much-discussed desert caravan sequence (*MSN*, 108–15) and romanticizing what he sees as the stability of the village.