

# 製造世界：海洋、船隻與奴隸

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Making Worlds: The Sea, the Ship, and Slavery

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我想先在本文開始前簡述相關的背景。這篇文章的主要內容最早是在 2016 年京都的研討會中發表，後來又在印度新德里 2017 年的另一場名為「亞洲集合」的會議上發表，第三度發表則是在臺中舉辦的 2019 亞洲藝術雙年展。我在前兩次研討會上得到一些啟發，後來在 2019 年烏蘭巴托公共藝術週所舉辦的「遊牧式民主？」會議上再次整合。這三個切入點成為我最初構思，也是我想像中地緣詩意與倫理道德的結合，在世界的腳步急速加快的同時考驗著我們的耐力。

2016 年，國際日本研究中心和綜合研究大學院教授稻賀繁美在京都召開一場名為「海盜眼中的世界史：全球觀點反觀萬物秩序」的研討會。稻賀教授一開始就表明：

「當前法律的規定顯然已經無法跟上最新的奈米科技、生物技術和數位創新的進展。這也反映了當前西方倫理道德缺乏應對全球化的能力……應在法律之外『海盜的生存技法』中尋求新的模式，處理表面上被禁止的依賴行徑及其下隱藏的失序。」<sup>1</sup>

稻賀教授認為，海盜涵蓋多種行為，譬如全球過去五百年的海上歷史、不法貿易、抄襲，「從法律的歷史社會學到文化人類學的贈禮」<sup>2</sup>等著作權的衍生物、國際法與帝國主義的擴張、外力入侵與內裂等。一方面指向破壞與永續，一連串的「反秩序小規模的反抗」，另一方面則是「避免因匱乏與危機下為重建整體秩序而發生系統性危機的安全裝置，以及整個系統中致命的正確缺陷。」<sup>3</sup>同時，稻賀教授也挑出另一個令我感興趣的點，也就是所謂「地質想像」的概念，與日本學者酒井直樹的「地理想像」相對比。稻賀教授認為前者在生態學上替代了後者，因為後者「通常充滿政治意味，易被霸權操控。」<sup>4</sup>

2017 年舉辦「亞洲集合」的單位提到：「新絲路當中的『絲路』在哪裡？在新自由主義政府治理的時代，伴隨著國家主義的興起與『中國特色的民主』，我們能在其他的亞洲架構中找到共同存在與溝通的可能性嗎？」<sup>5</sup>我的專題演講開頭先說明想像亞洲的困難度。在演講的一開始就以難以達成的「想像」為開端，其實並不容易，尤其又是以亞洲為定調。乍看之下，這場會議似乎直接否定了理解其內涵。就許多方向而言，這個動作令人憂心，因為理解、或捕捉、或留下的意圖被視為不可行。同時，另一個令人憂心的事這個詞彙所釋放出來的不安定性涵蓋了製作上的想像與亞洲的形體。就另一個層次而言，可行性的限制在直覺上塑造缺口，阻礙理解，而這項阻礙也重新敘述不安的感覺與想像的架構。我認為這場研討會就是在探討這種落差與不安的情緒，削弱了嘗試刪去或處理轉譯與溝通在政治上的困難度，以及人與人之間的社會交往，將亞洲的特質輕鬆轉化為清晰可讀的資訊。這種矛盾與民族誌學者在亞洲這樣的地緣詩學空間進行研究所遇到的困難十分相似。人類學家利拉·阿布盧格 (Lila Abu-Lughod) 曾指出文化具有「一致性、永恆性與離散性」<sup>6</sup>，並建議對文化的規範類別抱持高度的質疑。為強調文化的衝突性，阿布盧格改以對話與實務、聯結與亞洲民族誌的脆弱程序取代，作為闡述生命與世界的條件。

1 稻賀繁美，《海盜的世界史觀：從全球化的角度反觀事物的秩序》序（京都：國際日本文化研究中心，2016），頁 7。

2 同上註，頁 7。

3 同上註，頁 11。

4 同上註，頁 10。

5 〈亞洲集合：亞洲城市的異議與反抗文化〉印度桑德蘭藝術基金會，2020 年 2 月 15 日存取，[http://ssaf.in/ssaf\\_programmes/asia-assemble/](http://ssaf.in/ssaf_programmes/asia-assemble/)。

6 利拉·阿布盧格，〈對抗文化的書寫〉，艾莉·李文編，《悅讀女性主義人類學》（牛津：布萊克威爾出版社，2006），頁 159。

本文以人類學的理論作為開端，因為菲律賓和東南亞傾向於以創意媒介結合民族誌與行動主意去實踐藝術與策展工作，探索日常與政治行動的可能性。這樣的流程或許不一定與前衛破裂的定義相符，也可能沿著不同的律動前行，最後不會圓滿的呈現反文化或其他替代品，甚至可能在過程中出現不一定是顛覆性，但絕對具有連續性的定期反轉。因此，我認為這樣的停頓極為重要。因為有這種停頓與推持，使民族誌的社會環境與激進主意的複雜性變得可行，同時也讓殖民理解的力場變得不可行。就此觀點而言，人類學家約翰與珍·科瑪洛夫（John and Jean Comaroff）的研究與對歷史的想像很有啟發性，尤其是當他們問道：「那我們該如何聯結部份與『全體』？如何回復碎片？如何將其他人獨有的行為、生命與表徵化為可理解的資訊？如何將他們定位在『歷史上可以確認的環境裡』？」<sup>7</sup>菲律賓語裡有一個來自梵文的詞彙「antala」，意思是間隔，也可能轉化為利用某種情勢獲某個時刻，採取決斷性動作的行為。在此，日常生活片刻與急迫的衝動交會。想像亞洲的潛在途徑看似困難，卻可能從聯合構成亞洲地區的各個國家的想像狀態中尋覓而得。這導致了海盜般的掠奪行為<sup>8</sup>。2012年，我參加了卡維塔·辛格教授（Kavita Singh）在美國的克拉克藝術中心（Clark Art Institute）舉辦的一場研討會「茫然無措：海盜掠奪的藝術的貿易路徑」，將剽竊認定為「對現代主義、交流與藝術史的暗喻」<sup>9</sup>。

2019年，策展人毛里齊奧·博托洛蒂（Maurizio Bortolotti）提出「游牧主義」的概念作為一種「文化模型」，代表對土地、移居、財產與領土等議題的「另一種思考模式」<sup>10</sup>。他從蒙古游牧主義的文化根源與被當前的蒙古政府視為「主權象徵」的成吉思汗所體現的政治想像為起點，延伸至民主文化與治理。

游牧民族與海盜勾勒出大地與海洋的環境，也意指行走與航行、遷移與橫越、開疆闢土與搶劫掠奪。若以人類學者阿榮·阿帕杜拉（Arjun Appadurai）的框架建構他所謂的「程序地理學」，其實就是將地緣詩學重新世界化，穿越並超越當前製圖學的評論方法。換句話說，當前的任務不僅是重新勘測而已，而是各種力量之間的協調與重組，譬如游牧與海盜等不同實體的主體環境。此時出現了2019年亞洲藝術雙年展「來自山與海的異人」所展現的精神，由策展人許家維和何子彥以多重面貌的「異人」為前景，作為聯結贊米亞與蘇祿海的媒介，亦可視為一種集合或聚集，啟發區域重新世界化的討論，解構這個充滿各種化合元素的「亞洲」。何子彥表示，「異人是一個中介者，是我們與另一個世界溝通的管道。透過與異人相遇，我們或許可以重新審視自我、所在之社會，甚至是物種的界限。這是來自異人的禮物，而有些禮物是很難得的」<sup>11</sup>。許家維則以心理模式加以闡述，「高地贊米亞和低地蘇祿海構成了垂直軸的兩端，而水循環與板塊運動則成為水平軸的結構，這兩條軸線拉扯著平地國家的根基。為了想像這個力場可能的樣貌，我們製作了一個圖表，成為此次展覽的概念藍圖。」<sup>12</sup>

7 約翰與珍·科瑪洛夫，《民族誌與歷史想像》（科羅拉多：西方觀點出版社，1992），頁17。

8 派崔克·佛洛雷斯，〈再訪「發展中」與重新思考組織的「交互性」〉，保羅·歐尼爾、露西·史提德和米克·威爾森編，《當代藝術與策展的對話》（劍橋：MIT出版社，2017）。

9 〈海上強盜與貿易路徑的藝術〉《克拉克藝術中心》，<https://www.clarkart.edu/rap/RAP-Events/Event-59>（2020年2月15日瀏覽）。

10 〈游牧式民主？〉2019年烏蘭巴托公共藝術週（展覽手冊），未註明出版日期。

11 許家維、何子彥，《來自山與海的異人－2019年亞洲藝術雙年展》（臺中：國立臺灣美術館，2019），頁30。

12 同上註，頁35。

本文以三個影像作為開頭，探討海盜掠奪作為重塑世界的一種行為，一種充滿緊張，蘊含秩序、架構、限制與階級的概念。海盜行為本身就是一種麻煩、一種威脅，更是一種掠奪與侵犯，挑戰既定的疆界與界限。因此，保持接觸點的迫切性亦隨時存在，永遠處於未完全成形的狀態，或經常有未完成、被侵犯或被可能發生的不正當行為大幅改變的風險。這是一種不尋常的進展、循環、應變與策略。

這些影像被放置在菲律賓歷史的框架中。然而，如同我在論述的過程中將闡明的，對民族國家的持續想像是區隔與起源的緣起，同樣分散且遍及海盜的歷史。我以藝術史學家與當代藝術策展人的角度探索這些影響，在研究各種菲律賓素材的同時嘗試提供另一種呈現歷史情況與結果的路徑，卻又不曾將史實降為一致性的規範。海盜的掠奪行為在這種研究主題中向來具有爭議性。我以當地藝術策展人的身份集結這些影像，在時間軸上任意來去，描繪歷史與歷史事件的情景，以當前時代的觀感作為重新體驗的知覺器官。我認為這是策展的潛力，不僅呈現特質並將特質轉為標準，同時也預先設想了傅柯（Michel Foucault）所謂的「事物突然的接近」<sup>13</sup>。

首先是在菲律賓南部地區廣為人知的伊拉農族（Iranun 或 Ilanun）海盜的形象，但也不僅侷限於菲律賓地區。史學家詹姆斯·法蘭西斯·華倫（James Francis Warren）將這片地緣政治與地緣詩意空間為「蘇祿地帶」<sup>14</sup>。華倫曾深入研究伊拉農族海盜的生活環境與社會生活。他們曾是十八世紀東方海域上最令人膽戰心驚的海盜，海盜船隊一出動通常有三十到四十艘，最多可達兩百艘，橫越蘇祿半島，沿著菲律賓海岸、新幾內亞、爪哇、蘇門答臘、檳城與婆羅洲探索前行，直抵孟加拉灣。每一趟航程最多可長達三年<sup>15</sup>。

華倫提出蘇祿區的概念，為伊拉農族海盜營造了一個廣泛的架構，是一個「地帶」，不是國家，也不是地區，由地帶這個類別，取代了殖民、後殖民與國家。華倫認為蘇祿地帶是由「以蘇祿與蘇拉威西海為中心的地理、文化與歷史之交集，以及中國與西方在其中複雜的定位。」<sup>16</sup>接著他又說「中國南方邊界在 1840 年代被西方勢力強行開啓，但受到中國勢力與當地經濟情勢的影響，新的『邊界』早已在蘇祿區及印尼東部其他地區成形。來自東南亞各地的奴隸勞動力輸入蘇丹統治王國裡的漁場和熱帶雨林，而經濟、文化與生態環境的疆界則因全球貿易、文化多元主義與西方帝國主義的理論與實務而日益模糊。」<sup>17</sup>

蘇祿地帶由「東南亞經濟區區域組成，其中有多種族的前殖民馬來西亞回教國家，以及人種多元、政治背景多元的社會群體，由階級分明的清楚關係界定陣營，由親屬關係組成的無國家疆界的社會、海上遊牧的漁人與山林中的居民」<sup>18</sup>。華倫認為，「蘇丹統治下的蘇祿是重要的研究案例。一個作為貿易中心的島國，突然在幾十年的時間內，以漁業與『海盜』為業，成為第二重要的王國。成為東南亞東緣位處

13 傅柯，《事物的秩序》序（倫敦：塔維斯托克出版社，1978），頁 vxii。

14 詹姆斯·法蘭西斯·華倫，《蘇祿地帶，1768-1898 年：東南亞海洋帝國的轉變與外貿、奴隸與種族的變遷》（新加坡：新加坡國立大學出版社，1981），頁 xiii。

15 詹姆斯·法蘭西斯·華倫，《伊拉農族與巴朗宜族：全球化、海盜掠奪與種族的誕生》（新加坡：新加坡國立大學出版社，2002）。

16 詹姆斯·法蘭西斯·華倫，〈全球經濟與蘇祿地帶：聯結關係、商品與文化〉，《海上變化與海洋史》（霍弗：心理學出版社，2004），頁 58。

17 同上註。

18 同上註，頁 59。



東南亞馬來西亞回教地帶最重要、最強大的前殖民貿易國家。」<sup>19</sup> 華倫的本意是呈現「蘇祿地帶本身的人種歷史，從十八世紀末開始，不只是西方帝國主義在東亞地區擴張的推論結果。」<sup>20</sup> 這重新架構了我們對貿易與生態歷史的觀點。「奴隸與種族的成就最忠誠為蘇丹統治王國底下有秩序的社會的基礎。」<sup>21</sup>

海盜的歷史持續塑造當前的世界。根據研究，「過去十二年來，約有四千人和一千五百艘船隻受到海盜與海上武裝掠奪的侵害，損失達上億披索。」<sup>22</sup> 東南亞地區的損失金額大增，有保險業者甚至稱此處為「戰爭地區」<sup>23</sup>。同時另有一種涉及在馬來西亞回教世界與中國霸權的盜竊行為正在成形，這次仍是以蘇祿地帶作為頻繁的貿易交流場所。德國學者提爾曼·鮑姆加特爾（Tilman Baumgartel）的研究指出，充斥菲律賓市場的盜錄影片主要來自中國和馬來西亞，並在研究中說明這些商品如何透過「看似最平凡最不起眼的方式流入菲律賓國內，常透過穿梭在民答那峨海、蘇祿海、莫羅灣上，以及民答那峨島與馬來西亞屬婆羅洲之間的的漁船交付。」<sup>24</sup> 另一方面，鮑姆加特爾也提到，「菲律賓的『中國勢力』操作的方式略有不同。」<sup>25</sup> 商品「通常來自香港，有時來自新加坡，送貨的人常是看似不會令人起疑的年輕女子，以觀光客的身份搭機入境，將盜錄的光碟片藏入行李，混雜其他合法的 DVD 或 CD 放在一起，或將光碟藏在成箱的衣物內運入菲律賓境內，一到馬尼拉就和其他來自『回教勢力』的光碟片一樣以相同的手法複製。」<sup>26</sup>

若要将此地區設定為海盜地帶的分析，必須先前將蘇祿地帶貶為海盜窩的歷史開始談起。史學家華倫提到從英國殖民時期的政治家托馬斯·斯坦福·萊佛士爵士（Sir Stamford Raffles）與英國探險家詹姆斯·布魯克（James Brooke）對馬來西亞海盜的記載，「將蘇祿描述為從新加坡到巴布亞等海上災難的根源。」<sup>27</sup> 儘管如此，華倫仍認為這種海盜行為是具有生產性的，因為蘇祿半島的群族是「新興的人口」<sup>28</sup>，因「人種上的異質性而成為奴隸掠奪者」<sup>29</sup> 的作法是合理可行的，並進一步指出蘇祿「是由輸入半島的奴隸與其後代所組成的『新興社群』，僅用了一個世代的時間便融入當地，成為同胞的掠奪者。」<sup>30</sup> 這樣的種族流動地景（ethnoscape）涵蓋的範疇極廣，「從西邊的孟加拉灣到南邊的帝汶和阿拉弗拉海，從菲律賓中部到北部，沿著南中國海，觸及交趾支那南圻及澳大利亞北端西部地區距離遙遠的各支原住民的家園。」<sup>31</sup> 華倫以這些論據為基礎，主張「西方與中國的變革及伊拉農族海盜在當代東南亞歷史中的

19 同上註，頁 60。

20 同上註，頁 62。

21 同上註。

22 赫爾穆特·蒂爾克，〈海盜的再興〉，《海洋當代法令反思》（波士頓：馬蒂努斯·奈霍夫出版社，2012），頁 85。

23 同上註。

24 提爾曼·鮑姆加特爾，〈菲律賓的海盜文化〉，《菲律賓研究期刊》45 期，（2005 年 9 月），頁 24。

25 同上註，頁 23。

26 同上註，頁 27。

27 詹姆斯·法蘭西斯·華倫，〈掠奪的模式〉，《蘇祿地帶》，頁 148。

28 同上註，頁 184。

29 同上註。

30 同上註，頁 254。

31 詹姆斯·法蘭西斯·華倫，〈伊拉農族與巴朗宜族：全球化、海盜掠奪與種族的誕生〉（新加坡：新加坡國立大學出版社，2002），頁 12。

興起無法分割，雙方均是彼此歷史的一部份。」<sup>32</sup>

第二個呈現的形象是中國海盜林鳳（又名林阿鳳，日文譯作李馬奔）。十六世紀下半，原籍廣東的林鳳以夾在中國和菲律賓呂宋島之間的東沙群島為基地，盤據中國沿海，以海盜為業，掠奪沿海城鎮。西元 1574 年，他攻擊西班牙殖民地的北端（亦即後來的菲律賓），燒毀馬尼拉地區，卻未能攻佔該地，隨後回到馬尼拉以北的班詩蘭，並與西班牙人共謀對抗中國。1575 年，林鳳逃離菲律賓回到中國。歷史上關於林鳳的記載並不多，穿插各種野史與傳說。本文將林鳳納入討論的主因為他象徵著中國對西班牙在菲律賓的殖民主義之威脅，對這個人物的個性與外型的想像，引起菲律賓史學家與藝術家的興趣，譬如十九世紀的菲律賓藝術家菲利克斯·伊達爾戈（Felix Hidalgo）和戰後頂尖的壁畫家卡洛斯·佛朗西斯科（Carlos Francisco），他曾創作大量的歷史壁畫，他筆下的林鳳與幾年前同樣出自他手的成吉思汗畫作極為相似。

因此這又牽涉到呈現的第三個影像：成吉思汗。我在 2015 年策劃威尼斯雙年展菲律賓館時，以成吉思汗為策展的核心影像。影像來自 1950 年代在菲律賓拍攝、1952 年在威尼斯播映的成吉思汗電影。如果我沒記錯，這應該是世界上第一部以成吉思汗為主角的電影。菲律賓館的名稱是「用一條繩子綁住全世界」。這句台詞取自電影最後一個畫面，劇中帝王告訴他的愛人，他會用她腳邊的「一條繩子拴起全世界」。<sup>33</sup>身為策展人，我對當代世界的成形與歷史感到好奇，希望瞭解這和南中國海的情勢有何關係。中國想將南中國海劃入其領土，正與菲律賓在國際法庭上爭辯這件事。我認為成吉思汗這個形象橫跨了當代早期與現代對塑造世界的考量。

例如，中國國家主席習近平 2013 年在雅加達對印尼國會演講，揭示二十一世紀海上絲路的願景。當時習近平說「海納百川，有容乃大……，自古至今，東南亞地區一直是古代海洋絲路上的重要貿易中心。」<sup>34</sup>這樣的關係圖明顯仰賴東南亞作為地理位置的交會處，東南亞國協更是地緣政治的中心節點。中國外交部旗下的中國國際問題研究院指出，第三次全體會議的決議認為中國「需要擴大開啓沿海地區，強化與鄰近國家和區域的聯結建構，刺激全面性的開放。」<sup>35</sup>因此，中國將透過二十一世紀海上絲路「進一步一統與擴張中國和沿路上其他國家的共同利益……海上絲路將從中國的港口往南，穿過南中國海、馬六甲海峽、龍目島、巽他古陸，沿著印度洋北邊一路到波斯灣、紅海與亞丁灣。」<sup>36</sup>

威尼斯雙年展的菲律賓管以成吉思汗的電影為核心，結合兩個當代物件，透過成吉思汗傳奇的一生共同想像世界的樣貌與征服世界的模式。

另一個與成吉思汗相關的是菲律賓藝術家荷西·泰賽·瑞茲（Jose Tence Ruiz）以海軍船艦馬德雷山號為靈感的作品〈礁岩〉（*Shoal*）。《紐約時報》稱這艘越戰時期的舊軍艦「1999 年由菲律賓政府在

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32 同上註。

33 《成吉思汗》，導演馬紐爾·康德，菲律賓帕西格：MC 製作公司，1950 年，未註明出版日期。

34 〈中國國家主席習近平對印尼國會講話〉，《中國東盟中心》，[http://www.asean-china-center.org/english/2013-10/03/c\\_133062675.htm](http://www.asean-china-center.org/english/2013-10/03/c_133062675.htm)（2016 年 10 月 10 日瀏覽）。

35 劉崔吉（音譯），〈海上關係反思：打造二十一世紀海上絲路〉，《中國國際問題研究所》，[http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/2014-09/15/content\\_7231376.htm](http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/2014-09/15/content_7231376.htm)（2016 年 10 月 10 日瀏覽）。

36 同上註。

礁岩區擱淺後，成為具有啓示意義軍事要塞，由一小撮菲律賓軍隊在身心極度孤寂的狀態下駐守。」<sup>37</sup> 瑞茲以金屬和絲絨為材料，打造出半隱沒在河口沙洲的幽靈船隱沒在礁岩裡的模樣，並稱之為「廢棄的堡壘」<sup>38</sup>，在具有爭議的海域遭逢船難，看似被搶奪殆盡空無一物，同時又充滿了紋理與歷史，是可以與威尼斯貢多拉船或大教堂相比擬的戰艦。這艘戰艦曾在 1945 年攻打琉球群島，後來在越南服役。

菲律賓藝術家曼尼·蒙德利巴諾 (Manny Montelibano) 的多頻道錄像〈斷奏〉(A Dashed State) 是本次威尼斯雙年展菲律賓館展出的另一個作品，捕捉來自中國的廣播聲音，宛如外來者般侵入菲律賓。這種領土與氛圍的侵入，如法國哲學家喬治·巴代伊 (Georges Bataille) 所謂的水乳交融的世界，就許多方面來說是具有海盜的掠奪性，或帶有掠奪性的意外，破壞了靠海為生的菲律賓居民的生態環境與經濟環境，剝奪了他們原本可享有的共享世界，譬如法國史學家費爾南·布勞岱爾 (Fernand Braudel) 想像中的地中海。廣播嗡嗡的聲音與另一種擷取自當地場景的聲音構成多重的音效。來自中國的聲音成為一種干擾，一種無所不在、令人厭煩，卻又無法蓋過的頻率。

本文的目的是探討海盜與海盜在種族形成、宇宙觀與全球化等製造這個世界的相關研究討論中所扮演的角色，嘗試透過伊拉農族海盜、中國海盜林鳳和蒙古帝國的成吉思汗等三個形象檢視當代世界興起的條件。



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37 傑夫·希梅爾曼，〈鯊魚與小鱈魚〉，《紐約時報雜誌》，<http://www.nytimes.com/newsgraphics/2013/10/27/south-china-sea/>，(2016 年 10 月 10 日瀏覽)。

38 私人對話。

## Making Worlds: The Sea, the Ship, and Slavery

Patrick D. Flores

*I wish to preface this contribution with a note on a relay of contexts. First is the conference in Kyoto in 2016 for which the main body of this text was presented and published. Second is another gathering in New Delhi in 2017 called "Asia Assemble." Third is the conference convened for the Asian Art Biennial in 2019 in Taichung. I draw reciprocal theoretical consequences from these two impulses of assembly, and convey them into another stream of possible convergence, the Ulaanbaatar Public Art Week in 2019 that organized the conference "Nomadic Democracy?" These three entry points inform preliminary thoughts on what I conceive of as a mingling of the geopoetic and the ethical as a proposition for a politics of patience in a time of intense acceleration.*

*In 2016, Inaga Shigemi brought together scholars in Kyoto for a symposium titled "A Pirate's View of World History: A Reversed Perception of the Order of Things from a Global Perspective" under the auspices of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies. Inaga contends at the outset that:*

*"It is obvious that the regulations of current laws are no longer capable of staying up to date with the latest nano-, bio-, and digital innovations. This also reveals the incapability of contemporary western ethics and moral code to deal with globalization... A new model to cope with the forbidden dependencies on its surface and the hidden disorder beneath it should be searched for in the realm outside the law, in the 'survival art of piracy.'"<sup>1</sup>*

*In Inaga's contemplation, piracy coordinates a gamut of actions: the last five centuries of world maritime history; illegal trade; plagiarism; the ramifications of copyright "from the historical sociology of law and the cultural anthropology of gifts"<sup>2</sup>; international law and imperialist expansionism; hacking and leaks. In this setting, he points to both disruption and sustainability, a series of "anti-order small-scale rebellions," on the one hand, and a "safety apparatus that acts to avoid systemic crises that have arisen due to lacks, restore overall equilibrium so as to avoid emergencies, and correct flaws fatal to the system overall."<sup>3</sup> Another detail that Inaga teases out which interests me is the idea of a "geological imagination" versus Sakai Naoki's "geographical imagination." For him, the former is an "ecological replacement" of the latter, which "tends to be politically charged and manipulated by the hegemonic power."<sup>4</sup>*

*In 2017, the organizers of "Asia Assemble" asked: "Where is the 'silk' in the New Silk Route? In an era of neoliberal governmentality, resurgent nationalism, and 'democracy with Chinese characteristics,' can we find possibilities of coexistence and communication in other Asian structures?"<sup>5</sup> I began my keynote by explicating a difficulty of imagining Asia. For it is quite difficult to begin a presentation with the idea of impossibility contained in a phrase that implicates the word imagination and a particular locus that is Asia. At first glance, it may seem that this conference efficiently denies the very procedures of grasping its material. In many ways, this gesture is apprehensive to the extent that the desire to apprehend, or to capture, or to detain is marked as not possible. But it is also apprehensive because of the uneasiness by which the term is released so that it can inform both facture, which is the imaginative, and form, which is Asia. At another level, therefore, the intuition of the limit*

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1 Inaga Shigemi, preface to *A Pirate's View of World History: A Reversed Perception of the Order of Things from a Global Perspective*, edited by Inaga Shigemi (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2016), 7.

2 *Ibid.*, 7.

3 *Ibid.*, 11.

4 *Ibid.*, 10.

5 "Asia Assemble: Cultures of Resistance and Dissent in Asian Cities," Sher-Gil Sundaram Arts Foundation, accessed February 15, 2020, [http://ssaf.in/ssaf\\_programmes/asia-assemble/](http://ssaf.in/ssaf_programmes/asia-assemble/).

of possibility creates a gap that suspends the apprehension and that the suspension reinscribes the feeling of apprehensiveness as the structure itself of imagination. I thought of the conference to be speculating on this gap, this nervousness, that distracts any enterprise engaged in eliding or finessing the political difficulties of translation and communication, and therefore of sociability, and rendering particularities like Asia easily or ultimately legible and readable. The dilemma is akin to the conundrum of the ethnographer working in and on a geopoetic space like Asia. The anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod has rightly advised us to be deeply skeptical about the normative category of culture as that which offers, in her words, “coherence, timelessness, and discreteness.”<sup>6</sup> To frustrate the impulse of culture, Abu-Lughod puts in place instead the more frangible processes of discourse and practice, connection, and the ethnographies of the particular as the conditions of shedding light on the lifeworld.

I bring in the anthropologic at the outset because in the Philippines and in Southeast Asia, there is a tendency for creative agents to carry out their artistic and curatorial vocations in a mixture of ethnography and activism, in the investigation into the everyday and in the possibility of political action. Such process may not exactly cohere with the criteria of rupture of the avant-garde and may proceed along different rhythms that do not consummate in a counter-culture or in an alternative. The process may in fact be alternating, marked by periodic reversals that are nevertheless successive though not immediately subversive. This is why the suspension is so important for me. This interval, this delay, works out the possible with more complexity within the matrix of the ethnographic and the activist and at the same time works out the impossible as the force field of colonial apprehension. In this regard, the work of John and Jean Comaroff on ethnography and the historical imagination is illuminating when they ask: “How then do we connect parts to ‘totalities’? How do we redeem the fragments? How do we make intelligible the idiosyncratic acts, lives, and representations of others? How do we locate them within “a historically determinate environment?”<sup>7</sup> The Philippine lexicon yields the Sanskrit-derived word *antala* for interval that may also mutate into the act of taking advantage of a situation or a moment for some kind of decisive action.<sup>8</sup> Here, the *durée* of the quotidian intersects with the urgency of a stroke or a strike. A prospective trajectory into the impossibility of imagining Asia may be found in that which tends to exceed the state of fantasy of nations that coalesce to form a region that is Asia. This has led to piracy. In 2012, I attended a conference convened by Kavita Singh for the Clark Institute titled “All At Sea: Piracy and the Trade Routes of Art” in which piracy was taken as “a metaphor for modernity, exchange, and art history.”<sup>9</sup>

In 2019, the curator Maurizio Bortolotti advanced the idea of “nomadism” as a “cultural model” that can “suggest a different mental approach” to issues around land, migration, property, and territory.<sup>10</sup> He proceeds from the perceived cultural roots of nomadism in Mongolia and the political imaginary embodied by Genghis Khan, who is exalted by the current establishment in Mongolia as a “symbol of sovereignty” and by extension of democratic culture and governance.

The nomad and the pirate configure an ecology of land and sea, as well as reference the acts of walking and sailing, resettling and crossing, frontier-making and raiding. To compose the two within the frame of what

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6 Lila Abu-Lughod, “Writing against Culture” in *Feminist Anthropology: A Reader*, edited by Ellie Lewin (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 159.

7 Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1992), 17.

8 See Patrick D. Flores, “Revisiting the ‘Developmental’ and Reconsidering the ‘Alternating’,” in *How Institutions Think: Between Contemporary Art and Curatorial Discourse*, edited by Paul O’Neill, Lucy Steeds, Mick Wilson (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2017).

9 “All At Sea: Piracy and the Trade Routes of Art,” Clark Art Institute, accessed February 15, 2020, <https://www.clarkart.edu/rap/RAP-Events/Event-59>.

10 “Nomadic Democracy?,” Ulaanbaatar Public Art Week 2019 (conference brochure), n.p.



Arjun Appadurai calls "process geography" is to coordinate a geopoetic reworlding, one that goes through and beyond the critique of the current cartography. In other words, the project at hand is not solely a remapping; it is recasting the play of forces in an inter-species, intersubjective ecology of a different set of entities such as the nomad and the pirate. Into this stage foray the kindred spirits of the 2019 Asian Art Biennial, which is titled *The Strangers from Beyond the Mountain and the Sea*. The curators Ho Tzu-Nyen and Hsu Chia-Wei foreground the "stranger," a figure of mutating guises, as the medium through which to liaise Zomia and the Sulu Zone. Taken as an ensemble or an assemblage, it may initiate a discussion on a reworlding of a region we can deconstructively nominate as "Asia" for all its fraught valences. According to Ho Tzu-Nyen: "The stranger is a medium, through which another world may be communicated. Through encounters with strangers, we may perhaps confront the outlines of ourselves, the borders of our society or even the boundaries of our species. This is the stranger's gift, and some gifts are not easy to receive."<sup>11</sup> Hsu Chia-Wei crystallizes this encounter with a schema: "For us, the Zomia and the Sulu Sea make up two ends of a vertical axis of altitudinal difference, while a horizontal axis is constituted by the circulation of water on one side, and plate tectonics, on the other. The two axes in turn pull at the foundations of flatland empires. To imagine what such a force field might look like, we created a diagram that gradually became something of a blueprint for this exhibition."<sup>12</sup>

I begin this presentation with three images to discuss piracy as a kind of world making, one that is shaped in tension with concepts of order, structure, limits, and hierarchies. Piracy presents at the outset a kind of trouble and a kind of threat. Its habits depend so much on the poaching, encroaching, and testing of the tenacity of territories and boundaries. Thus, it also relies on keeping points of contact always emergent, never fully formed, or under the constant peril of being undone, infringed, dispossessed, and sometimes radically transformed by illicit possibilities. It is in an exceptional state of play, circulation, improvisation, and strategy.

These images are framed in the context of Philippine history, but as we will realize in the course of my discussion, the persistence of the imagination of the nation-state as the source of distinction and origin is dispersed through and across an equivalent history of piracy. I approach these images as an art historian and a curator of contemporary art working on various Philippine materials who is trying to offer another trajectory for representing historical circumstances and consequences without reducing them to the norm of identity. Piracy tends to be a provocative proposition in this project. I constellate these images as a curator of contemporary art, and I thus take liberties in moving across timelines so as to sketch out a situation in which history / the historical is re-experienced as a sensorium in a contemporary context. This I think is the potential of the curatorial: not to merely represent the particular and turn it into the typical but to prefigure what Michel Foucault would call "the sudden vicinity of things."<sup>13</sup>

First is the image of the Iranun or Ilanun pirate, a prominent figure in the southern region of the Philippines. It is difficult to confine this domain to the jurisdiction of the Philippines. James Francis Warren, in fact, names this geopolitical and ultimately geopoetic space the "Sulu zone."<sup>14</sup> Warren's extensive study on the Ilanun fleshes out their milieu and social life. The Ilanun were the most feared pirates in the Eastern seas in the 18th century. Usually raiding in groups of 30 or 40 ships, an Ilanun fleet may comprise up to 200 vessels. In the Ilanun social schema,

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11 Ho Tzu-Nyen and Hsu Chia-Wei, "The Strangers from Beyond the Mountain and the Sea," 2019 Asian Art Biennial (Taichung: National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts, 2019), 30.

12 Ibid., 35.

13 Michel Foucault, preface to *The Order of Things* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1978), vxii.

14 James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768- 1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State* (Singapore: NUS Press, 1981), xiii.

piracy is a hereditary practice sustained across generations. They traverse the Sulu archipelago, venturing out along the Philippine coasts, New Guinea, Java, Sumatra, and by way of Penang and Borneo, reaching the Bay of Bengal, each trip taking up to three years.<sup>15</sup>

The historian Warren provides a wide framework for the Ilanun pirate through a conceptualization of a Sulu zone—a zone, not a country or a region. We should note that the category of the colony, the post-colony, and the nation is displaced by the category of the zone. The Sulu Zone, according to Warren, is “created through the intersections of geography, culture and history centered on the Sulu and Celebes seas, as well as China’s and the West’s complicated place within it.”<sup>16</sup> He continues: “The southern Chinese border was forced open to the West in the 1840s, but new ‘borders’ had already been forged or imposed in the Sulu region and elsewhere in eastern Indonesia because of the China connection and economic conditions in that particular area. While captive labor power from all across Southeast Asia was introduced into the zone’s space, comprising the Sultanate’s fisheries and tropical forests, the boundaries of its economy, culture, and ecology were increasingly blurred by the rhetoric and practice of global trade, cultural pluralism and Western imperialism.”<sup>17</sup>

The Sulu Zone “constituted a Southeast Asian economic region with a multi-ethnic pre-colonial Malayo-Muslim state, and an ethnically heterogeneous set of societies of diverse political backgrounds and alignments that could be set within a stratified hierarchy of kinship-oriented stateless societies, maritime nomadic fishers and forest dwellers.”<sup>18</sup> Warren concludes that “the Sulu sultanate is an important case study of an island entrepot state that suddenly grew over several decades from being a secondary principality based on fishing and ‘piracy,’ located on the eastern edge of island Southeast Asia, into one of the most powerful and important pre-colonial trading states of the entire Malayo-Muslim zone of Southeast Asia.”<sup>19</sup> The intention of Warren is to represent the “ethnohistory of the Sulu zone on its own terms from the late 18th century, rather than merely as a corollary of the history of Western imperial expansion in Eastern Asia.”<sup>20</sup> This reframes our sense of history of trade and ecology: “Slavery and the accomplishment of ethnicity had virtually become the very basis of organized society in the Sultanate.”<sup>21</sup>

This history of piracy continues to shape the present world. According to a study, “piracy and armed robbery against ships... for the past 12 years have victimized approximately 4,000 persons and 1,500 vessels and have seized hundreds of million pesos in properties.”<sup>22</sup> In Southeast Asia, it has significantly accelerated and one insurer had even declared it a “war zone.”<sup>23</sup> It is interesting to note that another type of piracy has been formed involving the Malayo-Muslim world and Chinese hegemony, once again foregrounding the Sulu zone as a theater of prolific circulations. According to the study of Tilman Baumgartel, pirated movies that flood the Philippine market come from two sites: China and Malaysia. His research illustrates how these goods “are brought into the country by the most inconspicuous, humble means. Often it is via the boats of fishermen,

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15 See James Francis Warren, *Ilanun and Balangigi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding and the Birth of Ethnicity* (Singapore, NUS Press, 2002).

16 James Warren, “The Global Economy and the Sulu Zone: Connections, Commodities and Culture,” in *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*, edited by Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun (Hove: Psychology Press, 2004), 58.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., 59.

19 Ibid., 60.

20 Ibid., 62.

21 Ibid.

22 Helmut Tuerk, “The Resurgence of Piracy,” in *Reflections in the Contemporary Laws of the Sea* (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 2012), 85.

23 Ibid.



that travel the Mindanao Sea, the Sulu Sea and the Moro Gulf, the area between Mindoro and the Malaysian Island of Borneo.”<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, Baumgartel continues, “the ‘Chinese Connection’ in the Philippines operates slightly differently.”<sup>25</sup> The goods “usually come from Hong Kong, sometimes from Singapore. Often the couriers are unsuspecting looking, young women, coming into the country as tourists by plane. They typically hide the disks in their luggage, often in bags with other, legal DVDs and CDs. In another method, the disks are hidden in big boxes of clothes, which are imported into the Philippines. Once these disks reach Manila, they are manufactured like the ones coming from the ‘Muslim Connection.’”<sup>26</sup>

An analysis of this place as a zone configured by piracy has to begin by revisiting previous representations of Sulu derogatorily as a lair of pirates. Warren points to Sir Stamford Raffles and James Brooke’s reports on Malay piracy, “portraying Sulu as the scourge of the seas from Singapore to Papua.”<sup>27</sup> But according to Warren, this piracy was generative: Ethnic groups in the Sulu Archipelago were “emergent populations”<sup>28</sup>; the feasible practice of some of them “as slave raiders was due in large measure to their ethnic heterogeneity.”<sup>29</sup> Warren further notes that Sulu was “an ‘emergent society’ increasingly composed of captives and their descendants who were brought to the Sulu Archipelago and in many cases assimilated within a single generation to become the predators of their own people.”<sup>30</sup> This ethnoscape encompassed an extensive ground, “reaching from the Bay of Bengal in the west and the Timor and Arafura Seas in the south, throughout the central and northern Philippines, across the South China Sea, and it touched the homelands of diverse distant indigenous groups in the south of Cochin China and in western parts of northern Australia.”<sup>31</sup> Based on these claims, Warren is able to assert that “the transformation of the West and China and the rise of the Iranun in modern Southeast Asian history cannot be separated: each is the other’s history.”<sup>32</sup>

The second image of this presentation is Limahong, the Chinese pirate who is known as Lin Feng in China and Lee Mao Huang in the Japanese annals. He was born in the second half of the 16th century in Kwantung Province, China, lived by piracy along Chinese coasts, plundered coastal towns, occupied Tonsua Islands (which lie between China and Luzon). In 1574 he started to attack the northern part of a Spanish colony (which would eventually be called the Philippines) and burned Manila, but was not able to conquer it. He moved back to the north (Pangasinan), and attempted to connive with the Spaniards to take over China. He escaped the Philippines and set sail for China in 1575. The historical accounts on Limahong are quite sketchy and may have been laced with lore. I include him in this discussion because he signifies the Chinese threat within the narrative of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, as well as because the imagination of his persona and figuration has intrigued Philippine historians and artists. These include the nineteenth century artist Felix Hidalgo as well as Carlos Francisco, the country’s foremost post-war muralist who created a significant body of historical mural work. His depiction of Limahong bears a uncanny resemblance to his own evocation of Genghis Khan some years earlier.

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24 Tilman Baumgartel, “The Culture Piracy in the Philippines,” *Pilipinas: A Journal of Philippine Studies* 45 (September 2005) : 24.

25 Ibid., 23.

26 Ibid., 27.

27 Warren, “Patterns of Raiding,” in *The Sulu Zone*, 148.

28 Ibid., 184.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., 254.

31 James Francis Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding and the Birth of Ethnicity* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2002), 12.

32 Ibid.

This brings us to the third image of this presentation, Genghis Khan. When I curated the Philippine Pavilion of the Venice Biennale in 2015, Genghis Khan was a central image. This image was based on that found in a film on him made in the Philippines in 1950 and screened in Venice in 1952. If I am not mistaken, this is the first film ever made on Genghis Khan. The Philippine Pavilion was titled *Tie a String Around the World*, a line taken from the film's final scene in which the Emperor tells his beloved that he would "tie a string around the world"<sup>33</sup> and lay it at her feet. As a curator, I was interested in a history of modernity and world making through the film, and I tried to relate it to the situation in the South China Sea, a significant part of which China wants for itself and that the Philippines is contesting in the international courts. I think Genghis Khan as an image cuts across concerns of world making in the early modern period and in the present time.

Take note, for instance, how in 2013, the Chinese President addressed the Indonesian Parliament in Jakarta and unveiled a vision of the Maritime Silk Road of the 21st century. Xi Jin-Ping stated, "The sea is big because it admits all rivers... Southeast Asia has since ancient times been an important hub along the ancient Maritime Silk Road."<sup>34</sup> This map of relations significantly relies on Southeast Asia as an intersection of the geographic, and on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as the node of the geopolitical. The Chinese Institute of International Studies of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs points to the resolution of the Third Plenum to stress that China "needs to enhance opening-up in coastal regions and boost the connectivity construction with neighboring countries and regions to spur all-round opening-up."<sup>35</sup> Resting on this premise, through the Maritime Silk Road of the 21st century the country "will further unite and expand common interests between China and other countries situated along the route... The Maritime Silk Road will extend southward from China's ports, through the South China Sea, the Straits of Malacca, Lombok and Sunda and then along the north Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf, Red Sea and Gulf of Aden."<sup>36</sup>

The Venice Biennale's Philippine Pavilion pivots around the Genghis Khan film. The film is the point at which two contemporary projects are coordinated to imagine the world and the modes of its conquest as shown by the epic life of Genghis Khan.

At a tangent to Genghis Khan, the work of Jose Tence Ruiz titled *Shoal* included in the Pavilion references the ship named Sierra Madre. The New York Times describes it as a vessel of Vietnam War vintage that "the Philippine government ran aground on the reef in 1999 and has since maintained as a kind of post-apocalyptic military garrison, the small detachment of Filipino troops stationed there struggling to survive extreme mental and physical desolation."<sup>37</sup> Ruiz evokes the spectral ship as an ambivalent silhouette of a shoal, or a submerged sand bar, through his assemblage of metal and velvet. According to the artist it is a "slum fortress,"<sup>38</sup> a shipwreck that is also the country's only presence in a disputed sea. Like its reference, it appears plundered, divested, stripped bare. But on the other hand, it is textured, dense, a warship that can also be a cathedral or a gondola in Venice. Incidentally, the ship was used in 1945 in the assault of Okinawa Gunto before it served in Vietnam.

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33 *Genghis Khan*, directed by Manuel Conde, (Pasig, MC Productions, 1950), n.d.

34 "Speech by Chinese President Xi Jinping to Indonesian Parliament," ASEAN China Centre, accessed on October 10, 2016, [http://www.asean-china-center.org/english/2013-10/03/c\\_133062675.htm](http://www.asean-china-center.org/english/2013-10/03/c_133062675.htm).

35 Liu Cuigi, "Reflections on Maritime Partnership: Building the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road," China Institute of National Studies, accessed on October 10, 2016, [http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/2014-09/15/content\\_7231376.htm](http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/2014-09/15/content_7231376.htm).

36 Ibid.

37 Jeff Himmelman, "A Game of Shark and Minnow," The New York Times Magazine, accessed on October 10, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/newsgraphics/2013/10/27/south-china-sea/>.

38 Personal conversation.

Another work in the Pavilion was the multi-channel video titled *A Dashed State*. In this piece, artist Manny Montelibano explores the creeping sound of radio picked up from China as a kind of an intruding atmosphere that has pervaded the Philippines. This territorial intrusion in the climate, like water in water in the words of Georges Bataille, is in many ways piratical, or sustained by the instincts of piracy, undermining the ecological and economic well-being of the Philippine people who live by the sea, depriving them of their entitlement to what should be a shared world of water like the Mediterranean, for instance, as imagined by Fernand Braudel. Layered over this drone of radio, which rendered as a micropolyphony, is another sonic experience provided by the epic of the place from which the scenes are taken. It becomes an equivalent drone that is disrupted by Chinese sound and yet refuses to be drowned out by its pervasive and vexing frequency.

My aim in this presentation was to contribute to the conversation on piracy and its role in making worlds through ethnogenesis, cosmology, and globalization. It tried to examine the conditions of the emergence of the early modern world through the three figures of the Iranun pirate, the Chinese corsair Limahong, and the Mongol master conqueror Genghis Khan.



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