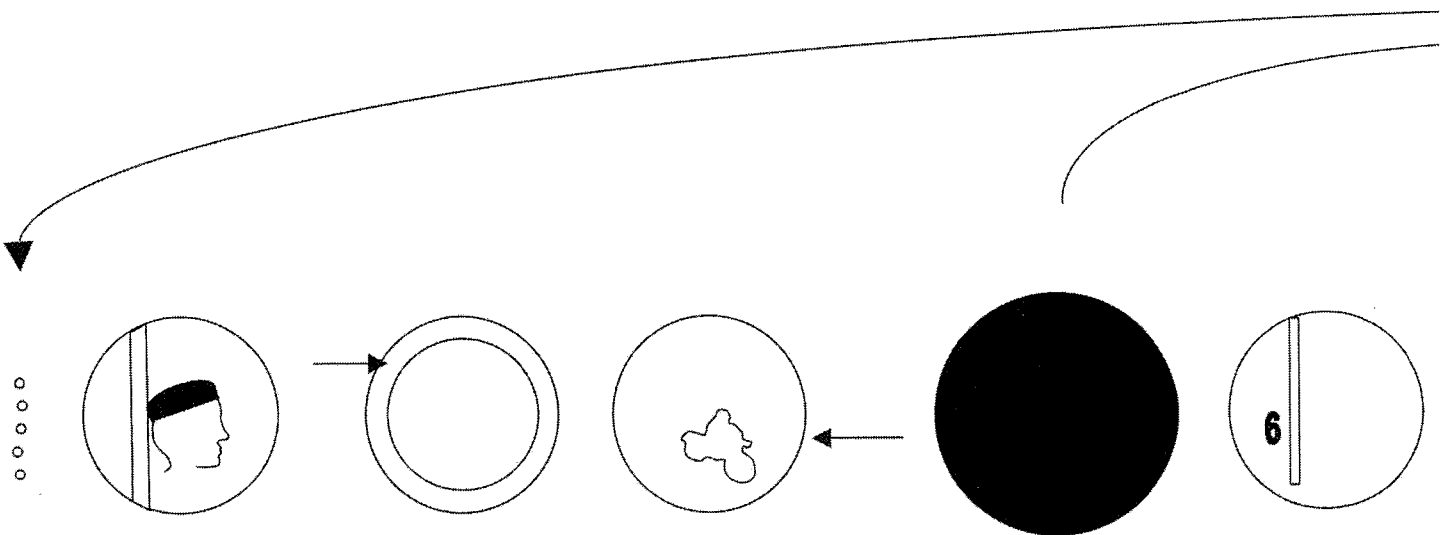


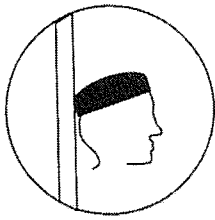
# LEGEND



What you see here are pictures based on travels to India, Argentina and Bolivia. These countries are so deeply connected with the history of European projections that, when one is there, these projections are projected back. The projections also provide arguments for accepting the discrepancy between wealth and poverty as being that which is the case. At the same time, this discrepancy is used to legitimate measures to eliminate it. These measures are an exercise of power, as is the omission of these measures. It is not the case that one could weigh up or narrate these measures, their history, their welfare, and their gruesomeness in an uninvolved way. For, as an observer, one is part of what one looks at.

The "experimental set-up" of the pictures you see here repeats, repeating a situation that cannot be resolved. It acts as if it served to construct an apparatus: an apparatus serving to osmotically balance the pressure of wealth in the face of poverty. One cannot equate poverty with the countries visited here, and wealth cannot be equated with Europe – as if there were no poverty here and no wealth there. Yet on the other hand, a history of exploitation indeed exists between these countries, which clearly goes in one direction, and a history of exotic longings and projections going in the other. This history belongs to the essence of the viewer; but it is also shared by the one returning the gaze.

This brochure and the pictures on the wall are part of a legend. They serve to reveal to you the sources and materials of this apparatus - like a guided tour of a workshop and its instruments.



Let us begin with the photo of this person: she is dressed as if she were about to appear at a masked ball as a national liberation fighter. She seems to have chosen her costume from a reflex admitting of no alternative. For this person is not capable of reflection, although she has arranged everything for this purpose – the easy chair, the heroic background, the buttons her hands are playing with. But the arrangement has failed; the background is a slaughterhouse, the buttons lead to a sweatshop for children in Langalbund, the easy chair is part of a survey instrument dividing the person into the qualities of a rising middle class: *insular, aggressive, selfish, obsessed with material gain, socially callous*.

*Pavan K. Varma: The Great Indian Middle Class. New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 1998.*

The person looks and looks and cannot do anything else, standing in shameful contrast to her costume. So she has been enchanted or outlawed in this gaze.

Assertions are made when one turns away from looking – for example, to those sitting next to one at a conference where one can debate about whether this time of looking, i.e., the time preceding the judgement, actually exists or whether it is only a dream of a shadow in this ideal world.

After her travels, she, the person, during her research, came upon statements of account, balance sheets, statistics, minutes of fact-finding committees, journals, and treatises that contribute to this ongoing interpretation of the shadows during a conference: are Native Americans people? How fast can angels fly from Madrid to Seville? How many calories does a person in Madras building a railway need? Which constellation of sunspots influenced the last upward economic trend?

The authors have the difficulty that they hardly know anything anymore and only have a vague memory of the moment in which they couldn't shut their eyes. Afterwards, they possibly had a hard time to once again concentrate on what was in front of them – the plates and cutlery for supper, the desk, the floor surfaces of the lobbies in which one sees one's own reflection, that's how smooth they are, while the assessment of the situation and the decisions on measures that must be taken to cope with the situation to the advantage of the host, something which is closely connected and almost identical with an osmotic balance of pressure between this moment of reflection and its blurring and the prevention of... outrage, for instance, or even violence.

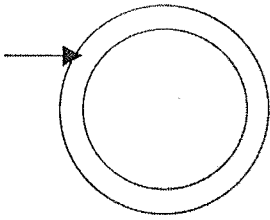
The person is wearing the costume of an epoch in which an important memory aid evolved through the development of photography. It began simultaneously with the European occupation of the world; it was an instrument in their arsenal. This instrument often lies, or re-enacts something that one would like to remember in this and in no other way; for example, this background, which is a photo.



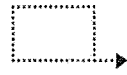
*Felice Beato: Secundra Bagh Palace after the massacre of 2,000 rebels by the 93rd Highlanders and the 4th Punjab Regiment, 1857.*

This photo counted as one of the very first authentic war photographs. The photographer Felice Beato reached India in 1858, after being commissioned by the English War Bureau to do this reportage. It is assumed that he restaged the massacre five months later.

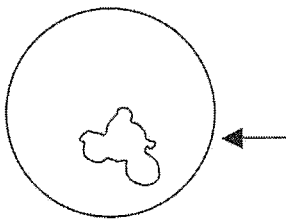
It recreates the suppression of the first Indian struggle for liberation with which the rule of the East India Company ended and the Empire began. In the fact-finding committees and the parliamentary debates, the Company was accused of ruling in a corrupt and cruel manner. From now on, the Empire regarded the Indian region as a large-scale laboratory for practising good governance. The reparations made after the uprising leads to a further increase of the lease. The peasants witness the auction of their own land as an audience.



The person avoids studying current events: the grandiose development associated with the introduction of the Victoria bass as a commodity or the achievements of the dams in the Narmada Valley, the optimisation achieved in regulating the flow of unqualified workers to Europe – this yes/no/yes/no, a relay that opens and closes with the mechanical precision of the functional relationship between trigger, pin, spring, and projectile – to promote the industrial production of tomatoes and peppers. She fears witnessing her own fossilisation or – what is the worst, grasping herself, her own self, as a person consisting of nothing but a head, an almighty head on a coin – in the impossibility of closing her eyes, her lids or the judgements: *I: Hispan. et Ind. Rex, Dei Gratia.*



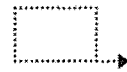
*Coin produced by the Casa de Moneda (or Mint) in Potosí.*



In this scene, the same person is sitting on a police motorcycle, circling around a suburb of Buenos Aires which no-one may access bar the families that own houses there and their staff; the individual districts also keep a close eye on each other. The person saw how a maid got out of a car at the entrance of the grounds to puke onto the nice lawn, while the car drove on.



*Nordelta, Buenos Aires, 2003.*

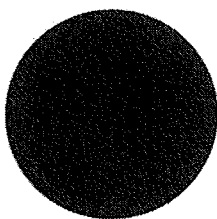


*Atlas of prisons and illustrations on the work of the police.*

*La nación argentina, 3rd ed. Buenos Aires: Control de Estado de la Presidencia de la Nación, 1950.*

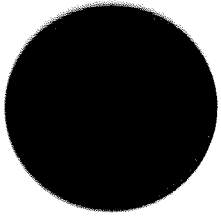
The atlas shows a national fortune that can be equated with the prosperity of the people – food, education, health. All this is guaranteed by the figure of the general on the first page and by the autarchy of a national industry that promises jobs and demands obedience. At the end of the atlas, there is a chapter on the police forces and their tasks. The tasks consist in distribution – for e.g., of warm blankets, medicine and bread – and destruction – for e.g., of insect plagues or illegal passengers. At the end, the prisons are shown, like the keystone of an arch supporting the entire construction.

The prisons and the suburb form a colony in which the inmates are trained to become settlers, in the way in which the state grasps itself as a community of settlers who at all times in a strained way recall the emptiness of the country when they arrived. No humans for miles around; several chains with ears were lying on the green grass.



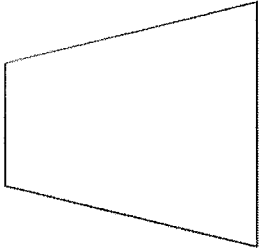
“If we speak of a hole – a black hole – it is to name that place where certain bodies fall into social non-existence (beyond the reach of consumerism and legal guarantees). If the hole is black it is because it prevents one seeing: it sucks in, attracts, terrorises; so sinister is it, it seems to have no interior. For what passes from the other side is turned into something else.”

*Colectivo Situaciones: “Agujero negro”, introduction to the booklet Presas. Buenos Aires, March 2005.*



"All initial situations that define the relations between the persons are distorted, the rules of social interplay are corrupted, it is impossible to start."

*Claude Lévi-Strauss: Tristes Tropiques. Paris: Éditions Plon, 1955.*



The person is so fixated on the person begging and so devoured by the black hole in between that you will not be able to get in between them. You must view the situation from the back. This model is a government office: you can aim directly out of its windows at poverty. You can also first take a look at the room itself and how it could be furnished.



These photos were taken in the Nehru Memorial in New Delhi. You see the study and the living room, the books on governing in the glass-fronted cabinets and the photos of persons who were involved in the independence movement.

(You also see pictures of the first elections. Only one picture was scribbled on or scratched away by visitors. It was the spot where one can assume that the face of a veiled woman at the ballot box was shown. A doubling in which it is not clear whether the scratches were meant to erase the face once more or whether the veil was meant.)

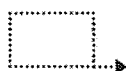


The ornament on the floor of the model is from the columns of the audience chamber of the Mogul Emperor Akbar in the empty city of Fatehpur Sikri. Only for fourteen years did people live in the city, because the architects made mistakes calculating the water supply when building the city. When the person was there, she stood in front of a column in the government room. She placed a sheet of paper on the stone and made a tracing of the ornaments. The lines could be reproduced on the paper because the spaces in between were empty. The officials of the Company removed all the gems from the marquetry.

This model of a government room is shaped like cameras from the 19th century. This is a connection between the suppression of the struggle for liberation, the replacement of the East India Company's rule by the Empire, and the huge demand for photographic volumes on India in England.

"From the earliest days of the calotype, the curious tripod with its mysterious chamber and mouth of brass taught the natives of this country that their conquerors were the inventors of other instruments besides the formidable guns of artillery, which, though as suspicious perhaps in appearance, attained their objects with less noise and smoke. [...] I took a photograph of three inhabitants of Byjnath, two women and one man, who showed great fear of my camera, as they apparently thought I intended to shoot off their heads."

*Ulrich Pohlmann; Dietmar Siegert (eds.): Samuel Bourne: Sieben Jahre Indien. Photographien und Reiseberichte 1863-1870. Munich: Fotomuseum im Münchner Stadtmuseum; Schirmer/Mosel Verlag, 2001 [exhib. cat.].*

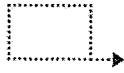


*Travelling photographic darkroom.*

*Thomas Theye (ed.): Der geraubte Schatten. Die Photographie als ethnographisches Dokument. Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1989 [exhib. cat.].*



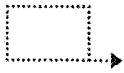
*The end of the Afghan War. The Armeer Yakoob Khan at Gandamak, 1878/1879.  
Thomas Theye (ed.), ibid.*



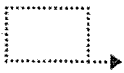
*A hand performing a magical defence against photography.  
Fritz Sarasin: Women from Bada, Celebes, 1902. Museum der Kulturen, Basel.  
Thomas Theye (ed.), ibid.*



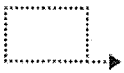
*Test drawings for half-length portraits and head support.  
Thomas Theye (ed.), ibid.*



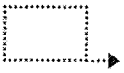
*Otto Reche: Improvised anthropometric photo, with head support and scale, c. 1908.  
Bildarchiv der Hamburger Südesee-Expedition, Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.  
Thomas Theye (ed.), ibid.*



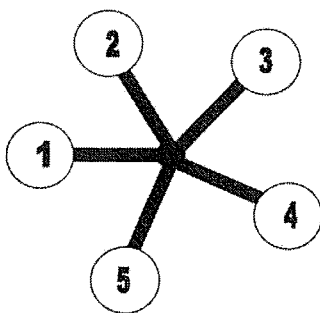
*Augustin Krämer: Anthropometric photos of two women, Luf, Bismarck Archipelago, c. 1906.  
Völkerkundliches Institut der Universität Tübingen, Tübingen.  
Thomas Theye (ed.), ibid.*



*Johann Stanislaus Kubary: Anthropometric photo of a woman from Samoa, c. 1875.  
Thomas Theye (ed.), ibid.*



*Anonymous (Marc Ferrez): Set of portraits of Botocudo natives in carte-de-visite format, 1870-1871.  
Museum für Völkerkunde, Freiburg im Breisgau.  
Thomas Theye (ed.), ibid.*



**1**

Now aim at poverty no. 1 through the target of the room. The bar of this figure measures the relation between the Gross National Product and population density. This relation does not take into account who produces and who keeps most of the Gross National Product. At the same time, it makes one afraid of those whose density encompasses this wealth like the night encompasses the moon.

*Atlas der Globalisierung, Le Monde Diplomatique, Berlin, 2003.*

**2**

The yardstick of this figure refers to the "middle class" in India and its potential of consumption: 49% of all households have a transistor radio; 46% a bicycle; 30% a pressure cooker or a TV; 12% a refrigerator; 6% a moped, a telephone or a washing machine; 1% a computer, a video camera or a car.

*Gallup India Pvt, 2002.*

**3**

The yardstick of these two figures refers to:

- a) the Income Consumption Index, which is based on the sociological study *Life and Labour of the People in London* by Charles Booth, 1892;

b) the estimate of the calories available per day.

Both indexes are used by the World Bank to assess poverty.

Christoph Dittrich: *Bangalore: Globalisierung und Überlebessicherung in Indiens Hightech-Kapitale*. Saarbrücken: Verlag für Entwicklungspolitik, 2004.

#### 4

The yardstick of this figure refers to the annual costs of a man-hour differing on a global basis between \$ 35,000 and \$ 500. Moreover, it shows samples of the relationship between working hours and pay.

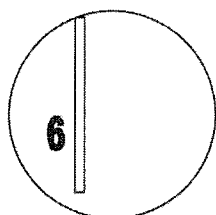
*Atlas der Globalisierung, op. cit.*

#### 5

Kategorie	Unterkategorie	Anzahl Personen	Anteil an Gesamtbev. (%)	Jahreseinkommen (Rs./Haushalt)*
Oberschicht	<i>The Superrich</i>	39.000	0,005	> 5 Mio.
	<i>Sheerrich</i>	144.000	0,02	> 2 – 5 Mio.
	<i>Clearrich</i>	444.000	0,05	> 1 – 2 Mio.
	<i>Nearrich</i>	1,55 Mio.	0,2	> 0,5 – 1 Mio.
Mittelschicht	<i>The Strivers</i>	25 Mio.	2,6	> 300 – 500.000
	<i>Climbers</i>	45 Mio.	4,7	> 100 – 300.000
	<i>Aspirants</i>	120 Mio.	12,6	> 50 – 100.000
Unterschicht	<i>The Deprived</i>	760 Mio.	79,8	bis 50.000

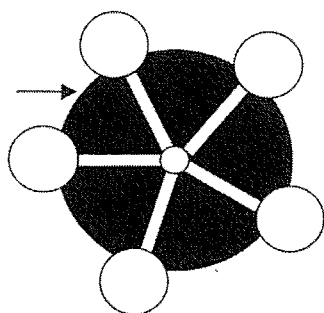
\* 10.000 Rs. entsprachen 2003 etwa 200 Euro; das Jahreseinkommen in Euro muss um den Faktor 4 gewichtet werden, um die reale Kaufkraft ermessen zu können. Quelle: CHATTERJEE (1998).

Christoph Dittrich, *op. cit.*



You have now arrived at the person fixating the gaze of the viewer. The yardstick of this person refers to the debt and the debt servicing of 187 developing countries between 1980 and 2000. "Debt" is a term and an exclusive measure. Debts are also a condensation of history. The creditor states meet in Paris and the creditor banks in London to keep the *signifiant*, its divide and the forgetting of the *signifié* stable.

*Global Development Finance, World Bank, Washington, 2001 & 2002.*



It has been decided that debt servicing is an outdated form of exploitation. Hence, the HIPC Initiative was conceived.

#### The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative

The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative was founded in 1996 by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and expanded and expanded at respective summits.

It grants debt relief to countries that are allowed to be called "poor" or "highly indebted".

This designation is attained by proofs and accountancies,

by compliance with statistical material,  
by the purchase of technological achievements necessary to do so,  
commodity forms,  
and the permanent libido of petitions.  
Acquiring this is first level,  
because it is supposed to mark a hurdle,  
which to be overcome implies this overt willingness.

Burundi, the Ivory Coast, Comoros, Laos, Liberia, Myanmar, the Republic of Congo,  
Somalia, Sudan, Togo, the Central African Republic.

The second level is termed the "point of decision", as  
in a competition at a school function.

The slogan is: good governance.

The government officials are asked to draw up concepts of how they imagine  
ameliorating the poverty of the inhabitants of the territories they rule.

The concepts must find the liking of the creditors,  
something which limits their possibilities to the following:

the opening of markets, services,  
monetary transactions by international investors,  
the body and its habits, desires,  
needs, knowledge, and one's lifetime.

Government employees should additionally see to it  
that the streets in the capital are tarred,  
that shoes made of thin leather, perfume,  
silk scarves, and coats can be purchased there,  
that the ATMs are guarded, and that the airport  
is professionally managed,  
that electricity is stable enough  
to supply a five-star hotel and the air conditioning  
cooling its rooms  
and the arrangements of oilcloth-pale orchids in them.

The Republic of Congo, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea and Guinea Bissau, Honduras,  
Cameroon, Madagascar, Malawi, Rwanda, Zambia, São Tomé and Príncipe,  
Sierra Leone, Chad.

The third level is called "point of completion".

Benin - granted credit: 265 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 8 million  
dollars, date of approval: July 2000; Bolivia - granted credit: 1,302 million dollars, debt  
service in 2006 after the relief: 28 million dollars, date of approval: June 2000;

"The first phase of the Plan Colombia earmarked 640 million dollars for Bolivia. But from  
1999 until today, in cooperation with an 'alternative development', meaning a change in  
cultivation (away from coca), Bolivia was promised 500 million dollars a year. But only a fifth  
came from the United States, the rest came from Europe and Japan. These 100 or 110 mil-  
lion dollars that the gringos gave us as a present went directly to the military for its anti-  
drug policy."

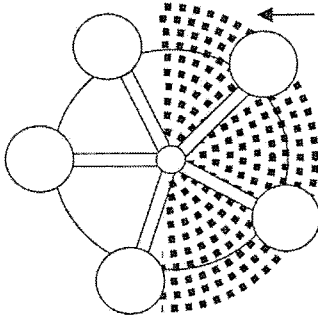
*Colectivo Situaciones: Mal de altura. Viaje a la Bolivia insurgente. Buenos Aires: Tinta y Limón Ediciones, 2005.*



Burkina Faso - granted credit: 398 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 23 million dollars, date of approval: June 2000; Cameroon - granted credit: 1,260 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 34 million dollars, date of approval: October 2000; Chad - granted credit: 170 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 13 million dollars, date of approval: May 2001; Gambia - granted credit: 67 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 5 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Guinea - granted credit: 545 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 29 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Guinea Bissau - granted credit: 416 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 7 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Guyana - granted credit: 585 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 7 million dollars, date of approval: November 2000; Honduras - granted credit: 556 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 20 million dollars, date of approval: July 2000; Madagascar - granted credit: 814 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 40 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Malawi - granted credit: 643 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 47 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Mali - granted credit: 523 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 32 million dollars, date of approval: January 2000; Mauritania - granted credit: 622 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 12 million dollars, date of approval: April 2000; Mozambique - granted credit: 1,970 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 31 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Nicaragua - granted credit: 3,267 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 14 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Niger - granted credit: 521 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 20 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Rwanda - granted credit: 452 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 21 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; São Tomé and Príncipe - granted credit: 97 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 2 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Senegal - granted credit: 488 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 38 million dollars, date of approval: April 2000; Tanzania - granted credit: 2,036 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 71 million dollars, date of approval: April 2000; Uganda - granted credit: 1,003 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 73 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Zambia - granted credit: 2,499 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 47 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000.

*HIPC Report, World Bank, 2006.*

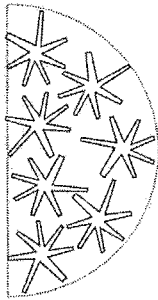
## Debts are a condensation of history



### A

Reparation demands of the African World Reparations & Repatriations Truth Commission made at the conference held in Durban, 31 August - 8 September, 2001, to the former colonial states. Each figure: 193,500,000,000,000 working hours; in red: Africa's total debt, 2004.

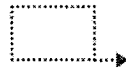
The demanded sum amounts to \$777,000,000,000,000 for 300-500 years of abduction, murder and slave labour; estimated reparation per hour: 10 cents; 10 cents was the estimate of an hour of forced labour in the trials against German industry to repay the victims of National Socialist forced labour.



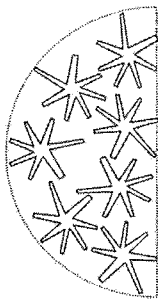
### B

Debts of the English textile industries to the City of Dacca for the destruction of spinning and weaving through import sanctions, 1815-1832. In this period the value of cotton from India decreased from £1.3 million to £100,000 at 12 from 13 parts. An estimate until the end of the Empire would result in £21.6 million.

Between 1818 and 1836, the export of cotton yarn from England to India increased 5,200-fold, and the population of Dacca sank from 150,000 to 30,000.



*Mahatma Gandhi at the spinning wheel. Action to boycott British goods and restore the Indian textile industry.*

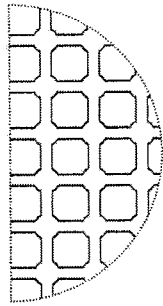


Development of the English spinning and weaving mills from 1770 to 1860 – during this period having the monopoly of machinery and of the markets of the world.

“From 1815 to 1821 depression; 1822 and 1823 prosperity; 1824 abolition of the laws against Trades’ Unions, great extension of factories everywhere; 1825 crisis; 1826 great misery and riots among the factory operatives; 1827 slight improvement; 1828 great increase in power-looms, and in exports; 1829 exports, especially to India, surpass all former years; 1830 glutted markets, great distress; 1831 to 1833 continued depression, the monopoly of the trade with India and China withdrawn from the East India Company; 1834 great increase of factories and machinery, shortness of hands. The new poor law furthers the migration of agricultural labourers into the factory districts. The country districts swept of children. White slave trade; 1835 great prosperity, contemporaneous starvation of the hand-loom weavers; 1836 great prosperity; 1837 and 1838 depression and crisis; 1839 revival; 1840 great depression, riots, calling out of the military; 1841 and 1842 frightful suffering among the factory operatives; 1842 the manufacturers lock the hands out of the factories in order to enforce the repeal of the Corn Laws. The operatives stream in thousands into the towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, are driven back by the military, and their leaders brought to trial at Lancaster; 1843 great misery; 1844 revival; 1845 great prosperity; 1846 continued improvement at first, then reaction. Repeal of the Corn Laws; 1847 crisis, general reduction of wages by 10 and more percent, in honour of the “big loaf”; 1848 continued depression; Manchester under military protection; 1849 revival; 1850 prosperity; 1851 falling prices, low wages, frequent strikes; 1852 improvement begins, strikes continue, the manufacturers threaten to import foreign hands; 1853 increasing exports. Strike for 8 months, and great misery at Preston; 1854 prosperity, glutted markets; 1855 news of failures stream in from the United States, Canada, and the Eastern markets; 1856 great pros-

perity; 1857 crisis; 1858 improvement; 1859 great prosperity, increase in factories; 1860 Zenith of the English cotton trade, the Indian, Australian, and other markets so glutted with goods that even in 1863 they had not absorbed the whole lot; 1861 prosperity continues for a time, reaction, the American Civil War, cotton famine; 1862 to 1863 complete collapse."

*Karl Marx: "Repulsion and Attraction of Workpeople by the Factory System. Crises in the Cotton Trade", in Capital, vol. 1, part 4, chapter 15, section 7, 1867.*



## C

Debts of the King of Spain owed to the mining cooperatives in Potosí.

Total exploitation of the Potosí silver mines: 700,000 t of silver until 1800. If only a fifth were tax income for the King that would amount to: 140,000 t of silver.

### **First attempt to explain what the releasing of humans through money could be It amounts to 8,000,000 deaths while extracting silver in Potosí**

One can claim that there is a mobilisation in the centre and bondage on the periphery. But centre and periphery get confused like the bubbles of oil on water. Mobilisation is an easier term than extermination. But how can one comprehend the extermination of humans while creating value?



*Cattle drive man out.*

*Pierre Chaunu; Huguette Chaunu: Séville et l'Atlantique (1504-1650).*

*Paris: Armand Colin, 1959.*

Mobilisation has two sides. One side could give an account of the freight of humans (*The Law of India / Book VI, Title 1, Law 13. The ban on transporting Indians from a cold region to a warm one and the other way round, following the huge loss of labourers*), or of the arrests of tramps in Paris for the manufactures.

The other side could give an account of the expulsion of peasants in England or Cracow, in Nueva Hispania or in the Vice Kingdom of Peru in a period spanning 200 years or more. It is an expulsion that leaves just a few behind, as engineers and maintenance workers of a mechanism termed world economy.

Mobilisation can also be imagined as a fabric made of arteries pulsating with silver and gold. In regard to the period discussed here, one must picture a circulation so accelerated by silver and gold that it has an intoxicating effect or is like a fever putting the imaginary body of the foreign trade volume in a state of enormous productivity: the silver supplies from America coinciding with the increase in grain prices in Andalusia and the cutback in wages.

Mobilisation ranges from Russia, which supplied wood for ships and musket stocks, to Wales, which produced hemp – bales upon bales that are twisted to ropes in Flanders and then shipped and transported across the isthmus to Portobelo along with the wood, lead, blades, wax, and whatever else is needed to conquer, to requisition, to freight, to tie up hands, and to pay out the ropes in the mineshafts.

It is a mobilisation that opens and closes like the valves of the heart, attracting money and people according to the beat of spasms and relaxations, consuming them and discharg-

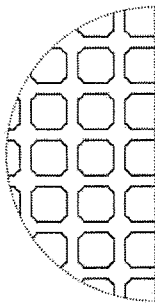
ing them, attracting them, consuming them, and discharging them: slaves, possible slaves, servants, possible servants, day labourers, possible day labourers, vagabonds, possible vagabonds.

Mobilisation deals with eternity, because the destruction of humans does not amount to a frictional loss but to a transfer of value: detritus to silver, silver to coins, coins to goods, goods to profit, profit to fortunes, or to an extraordinary concentration of options in the beads of sweat on the foreheads of kings when requesting further credit for their wars.

Mobilisation operates with freedom, because it sweats out persons when transforming them into value. These persons could disappear into thin air, there to immediately turn into the following dream that calms the nerves.

"As I heard, those who are accustomed to living in this way can no longer dispense with it. They know no worries, they pay neither lease nor taxes, they have nothing to lose, they are independent, warm themselves in the sun, sleep, shake with laughter, feel at home everywhere, move only to wealthy countries, where they are given and know how to find what they want, they are free everywhere."

*Juan Mallefer, quoted in Fernand Braudel: Civilization and Capitalism, 15-18th Century. London: Collins, 1981.*



Seville - The promotion of fantastic ideas: The officials were ordered to make known in all towns of the Empire, on squares and streets, where the large findings of gold and silver are located, where it can be found and where the search for it has begun. The question of profession should not be raised when filling in the exit documents. *Decrees by Charles V, 1526, 1529 and 1531.*

Cadiz - An entire swarm: In February an entire swarm of tramps enters the city, cunning have-nots, who beg, who eat bran bread, herbs, cabbage stalks, snails, dogs, and cats, and season their soup with the water used to desalt mussels. *Anonymous, 1652.*

Lisbon - 10,000: In the mid-18th century around 10,000 tramps are hanging around. *Anonymous, 1685.*

Lyons - 17,000: In the spring of 1630, 17,000 beggars suddenly arrive in the city. The city decides to lure these poor people into the city with bread and then lock its gates. *Chronicle.*

Genoa - Pits are excavated and lime is spread: The poorhouse is closed because there are too many corpses. Pits are excavated and lime is spread, 1650. *Chronicle.*

Venice - 6,000: In March 1545, 6,000 beggars suddenly enter the city. The city distributes authorisations for some and chases the others away. *Chronicle.*

London - Beggars without a license and older than 14 are to be beaten and branded on the left ear in cases in which no-one engages them for two years; in case of repetition, they are to be executed. *Elisabeth I, Act 18, chapter 13, 1597.*

Marseilles - Pack your belongings for the slightest reason: Mirabeau fears the migration of craftsmen to other countries, if the manufactories go bankrupt: "A guild on the fly, unreliable ones, who for the slightest reason pack their belongings and follow the abundance. The others can be found in spitals and on the street as beggars."

Paris - 91,000: In the 17th century it was estimated that 91,000 tramps were in the city: dismissed soldiers, widows and children, disabled persons, jobless, elderly, persons affected by fire, and those expelled by the war. Mass arrests were ordered to galleys, deportation and workhouses. *Chronicle.*

Amsterdam - 1st Edict of the States and Cities of the Netherlands, 19 March 1671: 41 executed, 35 branded, 37 whipped, 183 expelled.