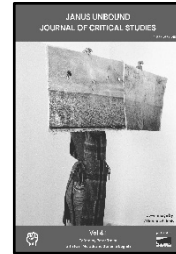


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## Anton Wilhelm Amo: A Biography In-Between Worlds

Stefanie Bognitz

### Living up to Academic Merit: The Shaping of Amo's Scholarship

In this article, I continue to highlight some of the signposts of the scholarly biography of Anton Wilhelm Amo that I started in my previous contribution above, by way of engaging the knowledge retrieved from the archive<sup>1</sup> and from selected writings by Amo himself and by scholars who engage with Amo's biography and academic legacy. While the previous text on "signposts of a precarious biography" pursued traces of Amo in his early years in Europe, this text also covers his biography in between worlds. The description and analysis of what I understand as "biography in-between worlds" captures what I contend is a rare occurrence for a scholarly life in the 1700s (see also Sen 2006). Unlike other philosophers in Europe at the time (cf. Alpert, this issue), Amo departs and arrives, stays and departs, and arrives again to stay on.<sup>2</sup> He is in between worlds but also "at home in the world" (Sen 2021). Even though Amo has been called soothsayer, hermit, goldsmith or timber trader (cf. "A Conversation with Amo in Shama" in this article) upon his return to the Gulf of Guinea, I contend that upon his return to Africa, he spends the remainder of his life as an intellectual in the Gold Coast, present-day Ghana. Bearing in mind my previous discussion on Amo's precarious biography, nonetheless, we cannot merely conclude that the scholar exits his lifelong education and impactful vocation only because of a return to an "African territory" under the control of several of the European enslaving empires. Seeing the impact of Enlightenment only in Europe, separate and apart from the continuation of its "darker side" in Africa, namely, the simultaneity, or better, coevalness (Fabian 2014) of Enlightenment and enslavement of persons of African descent—some of whom freed themselves through the very act of writing against the racial prejudice induced in and by Enlightenment itself (Parekh 2023)—means, at least in my view, to continue and contribute to the coloniality of power (Quijano 2000). In starting this article, my intention is to illuminate the recursive references made between Amo's scholarship and his "African heritage." Indeed, such references appear prominently in his biography and are preserved in writing and appraisal of a scholarly community that surrounds Amo when he relocated to another academic environment in the vicinity of Halle.

## A Biography In-Between Worlds

In 1730, Amo relocated to the University of Wittenberg, as evidenced by an entry in the university's registry from 2 September. Three years later, the rector of the University of Wittenberg, Johann Gottfried Kraus, refers to Africans being equally capable of reason, thought and accomplishments as their European colleagues, backing it up with an example from Amo's work and scholarly accomplishment. Again, a curious case of Afrophilia seems to make the rounds, this time in Wittenberg. Moreover, it seeks to weave the achievements of scholars of African descent across history into the Enlightenment era as it emerges from within universities such as Halle and Wittenberg. For Kraus, the presence of scholars from the African continent, such as Amo, proves that these universities played a critical role in shaping the Enlightenment. Kraus praises the continent in his afterword to Amo's (1734) *Dissertatio inauguralis de Humanae mentis apatheia*:

Africa in the past had great honor, whether with regard to its [fertility in human] natural aptitude, devotion to letters, or religious teaching. For it brought forth a great many very eminent men, by whose natural aptitude and devotion divine as much as human wisdom has been taught. Nothing either in former times or in our own memory has been judged more sage in matters of social life, nor more refined in manners, than [the sayings of] Terence of Carthage.

...

And in Christian teaching, how many men came forth in Africa! It is enough to mention the greatest of them, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Optatus of Milevis, Augustine, in [all of] whom sanctity of mind vies with learning of every kind. Their memorials, records, martyrdoms, councils, all proclaim the fidelity and constancy with which the African doctors labored to preserve the integrity of the religion.

...

Thus from such ancient times letters have owed a debt to Africa. In our own memory, indeed, this part of the earth has been reputed more fertile in other things than in learning, but that it is by no means depleted in natural aptitude let the most eminent Master of wisdom [i.e., of philosophy] and of the liberal arts ...<sup>3</sup>

Amo's dissertation, the title of which can be translated as "Inaugural philosophical dissertation on the impassivity of the human mind," is a written (printed) text, and the disputation indicates that a corresponding oral event had taken place, one which is either held by the author of the dissertation or by a defendant chosen beforehand.<sup>4</sup> The topic is firmly situated in the context of early modern European philosophy. Along with philosophical debates of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, Amo responds to post-Cartesian and post-Leibnizian discourse on mind and body. The main argument of this inaugural thesis testifies to the dualism of mind and body as the a priori assumption and argues for how mind and body can causally interact. Amo argues that the mind acts on the body, explaining how cognition and action happen when the mind responds to bodily sensations and endows them with intentional directedness towards an object or end. The conclusion on the impassivity of the human mind is his most noteworthy contribution to the philosophical debates of the early Enlightenment.<sup>5</sup>

A few years later, in 1738, Amo submitted a “Treatise on the art of philosophizing soberly and accurately.” As he draws on what is essential for the discipline of philosophy, he introduces concepts and means for their distinction and definition. He establishes rules for thinking clearly and defines that the discipline of “philosophy is the habit of the intellect and of the will by which we continually undertake to determinately and adequately know things themselves with certainty to the extent possible and by means of the application of this sort of cognition the perfection of man gains in possible increments” (II,II, §4, see also Brentjes 1976, 59) The treatise provides ample evidence of Amo’s situatedness in studying and teaching philosophy.<sup>6</sup>

One year later, Amo pens a letter addressed to the University of Jena, where he formulates a request with a certain degree of urgency. In his bid to give public lectures at that university, Amo describes his worsening financial situation and formulates the precarious conditions undergirding his request to lecture:

Following a practice of doing good service for the state, pricked on by the sharp dart of poverty (for I have a poor home), I have, to the best of my ability, been teaching philosophy at home in both the universities of Wittenberg and Halle, and have quite often engaged in public disputation, and have performed these tasks with diligence. Therefore, you, gentlemen of outstanding reputation in the world of letters, I hope that you will pay the same attention to me in this, your famous seat of the Muses. Once you have kindly shown me this indulgence, I shall thank you for your action, and shall never grow tired of praying to heaven that you, my excellent patron, may enjoy forever a most desirable happiness.

*Antonius Guilielmus Amo Afer, Philos, et art. liberal. Magister legens et. Jur. cand.*  
(Halle, 27 June 1739)<sup>7</sup>

The university’s archive in Jena preserves a handwritten public notice announcing Amo’s first lesson plan for a lecture course *privatissime* (to be held in private) in 1739, thus not taking place in the buildings of the university but in the apartment of Johann Andreas Fabricius at Jenergasse 9 where Amo lodges during his stay in Jena. The building where Amo’s private lectures are held is one of the few known locations of Amo’s presence in Europe.<sup>8</sup> The lecture plan reveals a lecture that comprises a range of topics that seem to depart from Amo’s earlier work:

Parts of the more elegant and curious philosophy; physiognomy; chiromancy; geomancy; commonly known as the art of divination; purely natural astrology, which is opposed to cryptography; dechiffratory, or the art of deciphering, which is opposed to the superstitions of the common people and of the ancients, cut down and rejected by all people, and to those things that are the less commended by their ambiguity.<sup>9</sup>

### **A Return, at Last: A Journey of Nobody's Anticipation<sup>10</sup>**

In December 1746, the Dutch West Indies Company (DWIC) recorded the request of “Anthony Willem Amo,” identified as a “free ...,” for a free passage of return to Guinea at the Gold Coast on a DWIC ship. Surprisingly, the entry provides some previously unknown details on the circumstances of Amo’s arrival in Europe some forty years earlier:

The request of Anthony Willem Amo, born in Axim, lying on the coast of Africa, was read, stating that he, the supplicant was brought to this country in the year 1707 by a certain Bodel, who at the time was a sergeant in the service of the Company on that coast; that he was taken by the same Bodel to Braunschweig, where the latter met his death; that he, the supplicant, thereafter came into the service of the Duke of Braunschweig, upon whose death he, the supplicant, was advised to return to Guinea but could find no opportunity to do so, and therefore petitions to be allowed to make the transit thereto in the first Company ship that departs or now stands ready. After deliberating on which, it was found good to grant the supplicant to be allowed to make transit to Guinea, as a passenger free of transport fees, in the Company ship that stands ready, the galley Catharina.<sup>11</sup>

Amo’s precarious living and working conditions, already evidenced by his request to teach at the University of Jena and foretold in earlier advice to return to Guinea, now culminate in the request for free passage to Africa. This short outline of Amo’s existential conditions in the ink of the DWIC indicates his attempts to become a scholar in the academic environment of early Enlightenment Europe. The universities in Halle, Wittenberg, and Jena were the locations of Amo’s efforts to be a *Privatdozent* (lecturer) and attain the merits to become a scholar. However, the request to the DWIC also reveals that Amo, as a scholar of African descent, needed the protection, support, and goodwill of a benefactor. After the death of the dukes of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, financial and moral support for an academic career was short in supply. Amo’s precarious academic standing could not keep him afloat. Seven years between the lecture in Jena in 1739 and his request for free passage in 1746 remain unaccounted for in the scholarship of Amo.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the sense of regret that he had insufficient resources to continue his academic profession, as we read in Amo’s letter to the University of Jena and in his request for free passage to the Gold Coast, Amo’s decision to return to Africa seems to be informed by a certain pragmatism. The DWIC registry speaks of the earlier advice to take his leave, “upon whose [the Duke of Braunschweig’s] death he, the supplicant, was advised to return to Guinea but could find no opportunity to do so.”<sup>13</sup> This suggests that Amo had lived with the thought of his temporary condition in Europe for quite a while and knew the day would come when he would return to Guinea. A handwritten note he wrote in 1740 indicates a sense of foreboding that, in a very eloquent manner, speaks to the conditionality of livelihood and one’s adjustment to the conditions as they present themselves to humans. Amo wrote this note in an album dedicated

to Gottfried A. Achenwall in which the latter's friends wrote wishes of goodwill—the title page listing a number of men who were to attain eminence in science and learning. Amo's entry is dated 5 May 1740, and Jena is listed as the place where the entry was penned. It quotes the following line from Epictetus:

*Necessitati qui se accommodare sapit, estque rerum Divinarium conscius.*  
Epictetus

He who can accommodate himself to necessity is wise and has an inkling of things divine.  
Epictetus

Again, Amo signed his entry with his self-identification, including his titles and achievements: “These words Anton Wilhelm Amo, an African, Master and University Lecturer in Philosophy and the Liberal Arts, has put down in everlasting memory of himself.”<sup>14</sup>

### **A Conversation with Amo in Shama**

In the absence of an archive or a library that evidences Amo's life and work after his departure from Europe, there is but one encounter that speaks to Amo's presence in what is present-day Ghana. In the early 1750s, a transcript of the diary of David Henri Gallandat, a Swiss medical doctor, provides the last record of a conversation with Amo after his return to the Gold Coast. In his meeting with Gallandat, Amo reiterates his life between the two continents, Africa and Europe. It also allows speculation about Amo's life in the DWIC's Fort San Sebastian at Shama:

While he [David Henri Gallandat] was on this trip to Axim on the Gold Coast in Africa, he went to visit the famous Mr Antony William Amo, a Guinea-African, Doctor of Philosophy and Master of Arts. He was a ..., who lived about thirty years in Europe. He had been in Amsterdam in the year 1707, and was presented to the Duke Anton Ulric who gave him later to his son August Wilhelm. The latter made it possible for him to study in Halle and in Wittenberg. In the year 1727 he was promoted Doctor in Philosophy and Master in the Liberal Arts. Some time after this his master died. This made him so depressed that it influenced him into returning to his fatherland. Here he lived like a hermit, and acquired the reputation of a soothsayer. He spoke different languages including Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and High and Low German. He was skilled in astrology and astronomy and was generally a great sage. He was then about fifty years old. His father and one sister were still alive, and resided at a place four days' journey inland. He had a brother who was a slave in the colony of Suriname. Later he left Axim and went to live in the fort of the West Indies Company of St. Sebastian at Chama (Winkelman 1782, 19-20).

Until now, the only known trace of Amo allows us to presume that, while living close to his birthplace, Amo inhabited a quite similar role in the Gold Coast as the one he had established as a philosopher in Europe. Given Amo's last known location in Shama as indicated in Gallandat's encounter, questions

for archival sources bearing witness to his work during the last years in Ghana seem unavoidable. With a known scholar of the Enlightenment era present in one of the DWIC forts, we are reminded of Amo's argumentation in *De jure maurorum in Europa* dating back to 1729. Despite the resonating critique of turning people of African descent into slaves for the overseas plantation economies of Europe's empires, the experience of enslavement in his vicinity, with his brother deported and held captive in Suriname, Amo resides within the premises of the DWIC and on the locations that serve the very institution of turning people into slaves.

### **Amo in the Imagination of African Intellectuals**

In 1906, students at Columbia University gathered for an annual public speaking competition. Pixley ka Isaka Seme, one of the student contributors, is a third-year student of South African descent enrolled in courses in Latin, Greek, German, French, history, physics, chemistry and anthropology, among others (Rive and Couzens 1991). His contribution to the competition is entitled "Regeneration of Africa." The speech in itself is remarkable in many ways, as it delves into the epistemology on and of the continent, making a case for Africa while critiquing the unbearable injustice of racial divides. In a way, Seme makes an argument for Africa's rightful place in the world. He dwells on the history of civilizations and on systems of knowledge and thought on the continent as a trajectory to deconstruct theories of racial inferiority. Among the pieces of evidence that Seme puts forth is the achievement of Amo. Without mentioning Amo by name (or any of the other people Seme mobilizes for his argument), it nevertheless becomes clear to whom he is referring when he writes:

I could show him among black men of pure African blood those who could repeat the Koran from memory, skilled in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldaic – men great in wisdom and profound knowledge – one professor of philosophy in a celebrated German university; one corresponding member of the French Academy of Sciences, who regularly transmitted to that society meteorological observations, and hydrographical journals and papers on botany and geology; another whom many ages call 'The Wise', whose authority Mahomet himself frequently appealed to in the Koran in support of his own opinion-men of wealth and active benevolence, those whose distinguished talents and reputation have made them famous in the cabinet and in the field, officers of artillery in the great armies of Europe, generals and lieutenant generals in the armies of Peter the Great in Russia and Napoleon in France, presidents of free republics, kings of independent nations which have burst their way to liberty by their own vigor. There are many other Africans who have shown marks of genius and high character sufficient to redeem their race from the charges which I am now considering. (Seme 1906, 2)

### **Postcolonial Perspectives on Amo's Scholarship**

In 1975, Burchardt Brentjes, adjunct professor of oriental archaeology at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg in the German Democratic Republic, prepared to undertake what could best be referred to as a study trip, a

field visit to Shama and Axim in Ghana. His visit to the independent nation-state of Ghana under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and socialist brother state to the German Democratic Republic on Africa's western coast—infa-mously known to the human trading companies as “Gold Coast”—followed several years of research, translation and writing from within the university's own archives. Brentjes, whose expertise encompasses the central regions of Asia and northern Africa, but who had now turned arduous Amo scholar, had the opportunity, as part of the entourage of a diplomatic state visit, to visit the last known location of the first scholar of African descent in Europe, Amo, who studied, graduated and taught at the very same *alma mater halensis* some 250 odd years before him. Arriving in Ghana, Brentjes met Akanfo dignitaries. He encountered the dignitary Nana Efremotwe Alibrukwo, chief of Akonu-Nku-beam—what is believed to have been Amo's ancestral home. Alibrukwo, in his oral tradition, integrated Amo into the matrilineal genealogy of the village (Brentjes 1976, 84).<sup>15</sup> Brentjes stood in mournful silence and looked at a tall white-washed stone engraved with letters spelling out the name of the scholar Anton Wilhelm Amo followed by an estimate of his year of death. He walked along the walls of Fort Shama looking out across the Gulf of Guinea.

It was also Alibrukwo who presented Brentjes with a written account of the matrilineage that includes Amo in its ancestry. It is worthwhile to consider this ancestry, as it speaks to some of the living conditions of Amo's ancestors and the movements they undertook. The account locates the family's ancestral home in Agnafu in Elmina District, from where the family moved to Axim. A second location is named Amantwitsi. From here the family moved on to Inku-baim. The reasons for these relocations by Amo's ancestors remain unknown. The matrilineage then starts with two women, identified as Sister Koko Andobie and Sister Abuah Ngotta. Their descending generations are:

- 1 Koko Andobie gave birth to Sasa Agarbeh and Saso Kwesi
- 2 Abuah gave birth to Annobah and Boturie
- 3 Agoabah gave birth to Arnbah and Amba
- 4 Annobah was married to a white man who departed together with her so that we cannot know anything about her traces
- 5 Arnbah gave birth to Armoo Korko, Armoo N'ta and Armoo Alimah
- 6 Armoo Korko gave birth to Yamikeh Ewyelay and Dukei
- 7 Armoo N'ta gave birth to Korminie Ahumah, Assiah Kojoe, Assuah Duku and Yanikeh-Arkroma
- 8 Armoo Alima made Nuama, Arfo, Eforlan and Aihea (Brentjes, 82-83).

According to Brentjes, the name “Armoo Alimah” refers to Anton Wilhelm Amo, and Alibrukwo estimates his year of birth to have been 1702. Brentjes thinks it possible that Amo was sent to live with his aunt in Amsterdam, the Annobah who was “married to a white man” (83). He suggests that Amo as boy was kept hostage there to seal a trade treaty between the “Lion Tribe” of Nkubeam and the DWIC. Brentjes believes that this could explain why Amo

## A Biography In-Between Worlds

knew his origins when he returned to Guinea. The ancestry provides yet another signpost of Amo's life as a father of four children. The bottom line of this critical information is, however, the close tie between Europeans—whether agents of the DWIC or interlopers like Bodel, mentioned by Amo to the DWIC in Amsterdam as the person in whose company he had arrived in Europe—and Amo's lineage in Nkubeam. Amo's brother, who was enslaved and taken to Suriname, as we know from the conversation with Amo that Gallandat recorded, remains unaccounted for in the lineage Alibrukwo presented to Brentjes in 1975.

Not only was Brentjes the only researcher who tried to seek out Amo's family, but his visit to Ghana was also followed by one of the most comprehensive monographs written on Amo as a person and as a scholar. Brentjes' *Anton Wilhelm Amo: Der schwarze Philosoph in Halle* from 1976 remains a work of reference to this very day (see also Menn and Smith 2020). Moreover, Brentjes' research and writing on Amo had a decidedly antiracist and, as in Amo's inaugural dissertation *De jure Maurorum in Europa* of 1729, an abolitionist motivation, as Brentjes states in a text penned in 1975, the year of his journey to Ghana: "In a time of the breaking down of traditional racial barriers and ancient prejudices, it is appropriate, in view of the stubborn persistence of conservative views, to call attention to a personality of historical value" (443). In his study, Brentjes connects the scholarly work on and of Amo to the independence movements that promised the liberation of the African continent from colonial rule. Ghana, Amo's birthplace, was the first state to gain independence from British rule in 1957. In 1964, Kwame Nkrumah addressed a letter from Ghana to Brentjes in the German Democratic Republic. Nkrumah embedded the life and time of Amo in between Africa and Europe in a long tradition of African systems of thought, knowledge production and the sciences. Over the following years, Brentjes' perspective on Amo's work took on a decidedly anticolonial position. His monograph formulated a social and political critique against the persistent continuities of racial segregation. From the vantage point of a scholar in the academy of the German Democratic Republic, Brentjes' critique addressed two states founded on settler colonial expansion, Apartheid South Africa and the United States, by taking recourse to Amo's writings during the early years of Enlightenment, birthed at the University of Halle.

## A Concealed Philosophy In-between Worlds

Amo's concealed philosophy, existing in-between worlds, seems a foreboding of what "is so difficult to philosophize from within the conditions of crisis of the Black person who has freed himself from the illusions of whiteness yet remains chained—by the heaviest chain—to those clinging to the illusion. 'It is hard under such circumstances,' [W.E.B.] Du Bois<sup>16</sup> well knows, 'to be philosophical and calm, and to think'" (1986, 650; quoted in Johnson 2024, 46).<sup>17</sup>

Considering the last years of Amo's life, with the returning passage from Europe to Africa, biography and scholarship seem precariously irreconcilable. What started as a promising academic itinerary during the eventful times of ear-

ly Enlightenment descended into the ordinary struggles of maintaining a livelihood. Not only did Amo face the everyday hardship of forging a livelihood on what were indubitably outstanding academic merits, but he was also confronted with the limitations determined by his African descent. My argument positioning Amo as a philosopher in-between worlds finds echoes in Ryan Johnson, who argues that “the social-political-historical position of Black subjects, who have traditionally been excluded, is critical for offering powerful yet still underappreciated ways of doing philosophy as well as identifying who are and who should be considered philosophers” (2024, 39). I argue in this contribution that there is little doubt about Amo the philosopher; however, with the loss of the powerful supporters who granted him the freedom and education that might have seemed unimaginable during his initial years in Europe, a good and liveable life within academia remained unattainable. Amo’s becoming a free and educated person in Europe—the first student of African descent to enrol, study and graduate from a university on European territory—did not guarantee his ability to remain in Europe. The biographical signposts shown by this, and my previous contribution, give testimony, however, to a certain proximity between Africa and Europe and the lives that became possible and impossible during the dawn of Enlightenment. Amo’s noteworthy passages from Africa to Europe and back: a relational making of these seemingly separated worlds. With Amo’s in-between-worlds biography, a hidden archive of a possible philosophy between worlds. The research on the life and scholarship of Amo is far from conclusive, as I have tried to show when signposting the biographical and academic certainties that the archive has allowed us to establish. The engagement with emerging archives around the many questions we continue to ask about the life and times—indeed, the everyday doings—of Amo during his years in Europe and Africa is far from over. On the contrary, if we learn anything from the archive, it is the continued critical engagement with its memory and knowledge practices.

## Biography

**Stefanie Bognitz** is a social anthropologist with strong interest in epistemologies embracing the political, legal, ethical and everyday resonances and remaking after genocide. As a senior research fellow at the Johannesburg Institute for Advanced Study (2022-24), Stefanie started to conduct research in Ghana, the Netherlands, Germany and the UK for her second single authored book tentatively entitled “Anton Wilhelm Amo in-between Worlds” which takes its inspiration from a philosophically-inclined anthropology that relies on long-term research and theory-oriented writing. Her publications include, “Mistrusting as a mode of engagement in mediation: Insights from socio-legal practice in Rwanda” in Florian Mühlfried, ed., *Mistrust. Ethnographic Approximations* (Bielefeld: transcript-Verlag, 2018, 147-67); “Mediation in circumstances of the existential: Dispute and Justice in Rwanda” in Günther Schlee & Karl Härter, eds., *On Mediation* (New York: Berghahn, 2020, 146-78); and “Dispute as Critique: Moving Beyond ‘Post-Genocide Rwanda’ ” (*Anthropological Theory* 23.4 (2023):

386-403); “Promising Access to Justice: The Everyday of Legal Aid and Mediation in Rwanda,” PhD Thesis (University of Halle-Wittenberg, 2025).

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### Notes

1. I understand the location and idea of the archive herein as multiscalar. The archive is oral, written, ethnographic and ephemeral. The method behind this multiscalarity of possible archives is best captured by Jacques Derrida (1995).
2. The coming and going is a reoccurring motif in Amo’s biography. His living, moving, and witnessing in-between worlds sets his biography apart from those of other scholars and intellectual biographies in Europe at the time. Immanuel Kant’s (1724-1804) living conditions in his forever home in Königsberg are but one example. Such constellations—the emplacement and displacement of scholars and the impact this might have on their scholarship—go beyond the confines of this text, but are certainly reminiscent of a warning that has been attributed to Alexander von Humboldt: “*Die gefährlichste Weltanschauung ist die Weltanschauung derer, die die Welt nie angeschaut haben* (The most dangerous worldview is the worldview of those who have not viewed the world).” His critique is poignant that has not lost its relevance and forebodes self-reflexive consideration and acts of caring.
3. Translation by Menn and Smith 2020, 190-95.
4. For the cover page of the thesis, see Amo’s Archive in this issue.
5. In my view, the most comprehensive discussion – and certainly accessible to international readers – on the topic and argument of the thesis can be found in Menn and Smith 2020, 60ff and 101ff.
6. For more evidence on Amo’s return to the university in Halle see Amo’s Archive in this issue.
7. University archive Jena, Bestand M. 97, Dekanatsakten III, Bl. p 64. Anton Wilhelm Amo. Bid to give lectures at the University of Jena, June 27th, 1739.

8. A plaque on the building in Jenergasse 9 commemorates Amo's life and work in Jena.
9. University archive Jena, M. 97, Bl. 95. Anton Wilhelm Amo. Handwritten lecture announcement in Jena on July 17th, 1739.
10. A poem by Amo evidences not only his friendship but allows glimpses into the philosopher's social standing among the community of students, and indeed scholars as well as what was to become an intellectual elite later on, during his time at the university of Halle in Amo's Archive in this issue.
11. Translated in Menn and Smith 2020, 38.
12. For a broader discussion on the world-making enterprise of the DWIC alongside their lasting imprint at the Gold Coast, present-day Ghana, see Fazil Moradi's contribution to this issue.
13. Translated in Menn and Smith 2020, 38.
14. Anton Wilhelm Amo, Stammbuch G. Achenwall, Jena, May 5th 1740, University Library Göttingen, Cod. Dis. Hist. 48 f, Bl. 78.
15. According to this account, one of Amo's aunts married a white man from Europe; Brentjes believes this could be a possible explanation for why Amo relocated to Europe.
16. For a more thorough embedding of Du Bois' work within the post-independence and Pan-African Ghanaian context see Fazil Moradi's contribution to this issue.
17. See also Avram Alpert's discussion on "African identity" in the writing of Kwame Anthony Appiah in this issue.

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