Inside and outside the academy, Edward Said’s work is both preeminent and controversial. Combining literary theory, the history of ideas, political analysis and the sociology of intellectuals, his groundbreaking book *Orientalism* has radically transformed the field of Oriental studies, arguably laying the foundation for postcolonial studies. Criticizing the condition of the Palestinian people, Said has constantly provided a critique of US government policy in the Middle East and has thus proposed a model of intellectual skepticism which deals with political issues. This combination of political and academic interventions is one reason “for Said’s special position in contemporary Western intellectual life” (Kennedy 3).

If we look at Said’s classic monography as a painting of geographical knowledge-landscapes, an iconographical investigation into the traditions of knowledge and ideological styles becomes possible. This paper will begin by presenting *Orientalism*’s arguments and will then summarize the main critiques aimed at Said. It continues to describe the analytic discourse in *Orientalism* based on the method of iconographic interpretation as described in Panofsky’s collection of essays *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. This interdisciplinary approach intends to demonstrate the argumentative circularity and self-reflexivity inherent in Said’s criticism: by drawing exclusively on Western histories of ideas, the concept *Orientalism* itself can become the object of postcolonial criticism.

**Keywords:** Edward Said; Orientalism; Iconography; Panofsky; Postcolonial Studies
present. In addition to his work in the fields of culture and literary theory, Said’s oeuvre also stretches from the music theory to politically engaged activism, in which he always adopted a critical position on the political situation in Palestine. During his life, Said published 24 books, among which two in particular, *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*, became classics within postcolonial literary studies and continue to make a deep impact throughout academia.

Postcolonial perspective or criticism commonly refers to the criticism of colonialism in a restricted sense. What connects all of Said’s work—both in political engagement as in literary theory—is the fundamental idea that all representative cultural manifestations must be seen in their formative, historical context. Among the leading representative intellectuals of postcolonial studies, the conviction was widely accepted that every science should open up new perspectives for political and ideological questions by promoting new, varied political readings of literary texts. Literature and culture are thus seen as fundamentally engaged in social relations and power structures. One consequence of this engaged stance is the rejection of a pure, aesthetic consideration of literature. Said points out that most “humanistic scholars are perfectly happy” with the notion that texts exist in contexts; however, most are unwilling to admit that “political, institutional and ideological constraints act in the same manner on the individual author” (*Orientalism* 13). According to Said, the fact cannot be denied that literary studies have “avoided the effort of seriously bridging the gap between the superstructural and the base levels in textual, historical scholarship” (*Orientalism* 13).

2 *Orientalism*: concept and critics

The main contribution of Edward Said’s *Orientalism* lies in the critical relocation of canonized texts and writers in the cultural context of colonization and decolonization. *Orientalism* is composed of an introduction and three chapters. Said’s central argument appears in the introduction, where the question about the construction of the Orient and Oriental people by Western scholars opens up. Chapter 1, “The Scope of Orientalism” begins with a discussion of Orientalist discourses in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, using the historical examples of the building of the Suez Canal as well as Napoleon’s *Description de l’Egypte* published between 1809 and 1828. By citing these historical key points, Said is reconstructing two incidents in the context of the material and textual European domination, colonialism and imperialism. Chapters 2 and 3 entitled “Orientalist Structures and Restructures” and “Orientalism Now”, discuss what Said has defined as modern *Orientalism* from the last third of the eighteenth century to around the end of twentieth century. *Orientalism* has doubtlessly emerged as one of the key sources of perspectives of political and cultural dimensions in literary works. The postcolonial school—aside from Said, Homi K. Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak are also outstanding scholars—who grew at Anglo-American universities in the 1980s and 90s, and in the meantime, it has also had an impact on German intercultural literary studies. Within the discussion of literature analysis, Said’s postcolonial perspective currently seems to be indispensable, even though his argument was broadly criticized and rejected by many. The critics were particularly concerned with Said’s disregard of the aesthetic nature of literary objects. This critique was voiced by a number of authors and academics, especially from the ‘peripheral’ countries in Africa (Gymnich 380–382). The criticism generally runs along the following lines: Said as a postcolonial theorist, working at elite American universities, has become a part of the discourse that is producing Orientalistic thinking. Both his works and
educational background are exclusively grounded in Western culture and thus lack the cultural traditions of his country of origin. The difficulty with Said’s approach is the “methodological assumption it makes about the relation between the genesis of ideas and their validity, namely that because ideas are produced in a context of domination, or directly in the service of domination, they are thereby presumed to be invalid” (Haldy 159). Said’s Orientalism also faced the reproach that his analysis focuses only on the Western canon of literary classics instead of opening the scientific perspectives on the marginalized, postcolonial literature, so that the imperialistic relation of hierarchy, which Said was ostensibly criticizing, was reproduced by his work (Haldy 159).

I will now attempt to assess the extent to which Said’s work is indeed exclusively dependent on the Western epistemology which he sets out to dismantle. In doing so, I will turn to an iconographic reading of Said’s Orientalism to methodically describe both the traditions used by Said and his original intervention.

3 Iconographic Interpretation

In 1934, Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) published an article in Logos entitled “Concerning the Problem of Description and Interpretation of Meaning in Works of the Fine Arts”. The basic content was reprinted with minor changes in 1955 as “Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art”. The last formulation of iconography and iconology appeared in 1940 in “The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline”. In all three essays the subject of inquiry was the interpretation of works of art.

Panofsky constructed a new methodological bridge between the social, cultural, and art-historical sciences that starts from a basic principal similar to Said’s empirical data collections have no benefits for sociologists just for themselves. An art object exists in the recipients’ perspective (Hänseroth 196), just like the fact that collections of empirical data are not beneficial to sociologists in and of themselves.

“When a man looks at a tree from the point of view of a carpenter, he will associate it with the uses to which he might put the wood; when he looks at it from the point of view of an ornithologist, he will associate it with the birds that might nest in it” (Panofsky, “Iconography” 34). One should be aware that the exploration of cultural objects must always be contextualized both in their social and aesthetic diversity of meaning. “Panofsky’s most important contribution to art history as a discipline was undoubtedly his concern with incorporating a discussion of the content of the work of art within the parameters of art theory” (Moxey 265). Panofsky was convinced that discoveries in art history were to be achieved by recognizing the need for interdisciplinary cooperation between the explanatory characteristics of natural sciences and the understanding, interpretative characteristics of the humanities.

“Natural science observes the time-bound processes of nature and tries to apprehend the timeless laws according to which they unfold” (Panofsky, “Iconography” 37). On the other hand, Panofsky argues that humanities “are not faced with the task of arresting what otherwise would slip away, but of enlivening what otherwise would remain dead” (“Iconography” 48). Further, he emphasizes that method of understanding requires a “certain sensitivity” (“Iconography” 52), which in turn is based on one’s practical experience. Therefore, all the factual, intentional and interpretative expressions of meanings should be brought together.

Semantically speaking, the concept of an image refers firstly to the material artefacts of an illustration of real or fictive circumstances. Secondly, an image stands for a linguistic figure – for example, a metaphor. Thirdly, it encompasses images in the mind and therefore those concepts whose role in guiding actions have been repeat-
edly shown by commentators (Tschopp 101). If one takes referentiality as the common denominator of all three aspects, a picture brings together a concentrated expression of ideological styles (Fleck 32) and fields of interest within the themes of utopian concepts and competing ideologies, which stand in relation to each other. According to Panofsky, an object of culture and art, whether or not it is useful, good or bad, is not always created for the sole purpose of being observed or enjoyed; “a work of art always has aesthetic significance” (“Iconography” 34). In his essay “Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the study of Renaissance Art”, Panofsky’s analytical framework for the study of art is able to define the “distinction between subject matter or meaning on the one hand, and form on the other” (51). Transferring this aim into a distinguished framework for art analysis, there are three strata of meaning: First, recognizing an object is initiated by identifying pure forms, lines and colors, representations of human beings, animals, plants, or in short the whole “world of pure forms” (54) of a “primary or natural subject matter” (53). The configuration of a person, for example, sitting on the street in ragged clothes, stretching out his arm, will be recognized as both an object (beggar) and an event (asking for compassion). However, one should take into account the fact that by identifying this constellation of forms, the factual matter of meaning is already translated into a time-space-limited-interpretation of subject matter or meaning – a “pre-iconographical description” of motifs (37).

With “secondary or conventional subject matter”, artistic motifs will be associated with topics, names, events or historical periods (39). Of course, it is assumed that all methods of motif identification have to be correct according to historical sources. A female person holding a plume in her hand thus becomes a personification of truth. A group of men sitting around a table in a certain position the Last Supper, and the beggar we saw with the “primary or natural subject matter” becomes Diogenes of Sinope, extending his arm in order to set for his contemporaries a living example of a life of freedom in asceticism (39). The identification of such images, stories and allegories is “the domain of what is normally referred to as iconography” (Panofsky, Meaning 55). One should be aware that the suffix graphy, in principle, means the pure description of the conditions, topics or ideas that are realized within the object. But the contextualized meaning of an image is determined by identifying the underlying principles of political, historical or philosophical views, which are concentrated in a person or an object within the image. Once the beggar is identified as Diogenes of Sinope, the criteria of interpretation are limited to the art object as such; the description is taking place on an iconographic level. With an attempt, however, to interpret the image of Diogenes of Sinope as a document for the ancient Greek culture and, more precisely, a representative reference to the philosophical movement called Kinism, which argued for an alternative civilization based on familial or tribal relationships, this interpretation becomes the object of iconology. On this level, iconology collates and classifies all the material that is involved in the intellectual-historical dimension of that image. The three dimensions of interpretation are summarized in the following table (see table 1).

At first glance, Panofsky’s concept on iconographic interpretation might seem to be apolitical and devoid of any ideological criticism, unlike Said’s arguments. On the contrary, Panofsky’s description is derived from a skeptic approach against the arbitrariness of arguments and interpretation. Panofsky underlines the need for an interpretational framework that takes into account the historical context of one work’s creation: The source of inter-
pretation becomes an ownership of the interpreting subject and does "violence to the historical horizons" (Panofsky, Problem der Beschreibung 1072) no matter whether these anticipated components are called generation, sex, ethnicity, religion or compass directions. In contrast to this, Panofsky’s approach incorporates the work of art, and thus its aesthetic implications, within the parameters of the history of reception. The problem of interpretation lies “in confronting the ‘otherness’ of a different historical moment” (Moxey 271).

Following Panofsky’s structure, the argumentative line in Said’s Orientalism shall be retraced in the next chapter with the criticism of Orientalism, namely its analysis and notable absence of the ideas and ideologies of the Middle East itself. Though Said himself has been a trenchant critic of the Western myths of the Oriental body, the absence of intellectual life of the Arab world in Orientalism leads to a more incautious silence of the East, so that the relation between East and West becomes a one-sided representation by the dominating Western ideas in Said’s Orientalism as well.

4 From postcolonial criticism to critics on postcolonial poetics: Tripartite structure in Said’s argumentation

4.1 How to deal with a fierce lion (primary or natural subject matter)
Said’s critics on Orientalism are running together in the metaphor of the eternally “fierce lion” (94). “If one reads a book claiming that lions are fierce and then encounters a fierce lion […], the chances are that one will be encouraged to read more books by that same author, and believe them.” (Said 94). Said calls this effect a rather “complex dialectic of reinforcement” (94) by which readers are determined by what they have read. This in turn makes writers take up subjects to fulfill the readers’ expectations and experiences in advance. A single book on how to handle a fierce lion might then introduce a series of books on this subject “as the fierceness of lions, the origins of fierceness, and so forth” (Said 94). The concrete object lion fades into the background of interest. It no longer exists, but the fierceness instead will increase to a status of essence readers can only know about lions. In order to maximize its coherence and its visibility to the public, a text does not only contain knowledge about fierce lions. Expertise from the authorities of academics, institutions and governments is surrounding the text claiming to be complete and up to date. “Most important, such texts can create [sic] not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe” (Said 94).

4.2 Imaginative geography and its representations (secondary or conventional matter)

Said mentions Napoleon as an example. Everything he knew, more or less, about the Orient came from books written in the tradition of Orientalism. “For [Napoleon] the Orient, like the fierce lion, was something to be encountered and dealt with to a certain extent because the texts made that Orient possible” (Said, Orientalism 94-95). This image of an Orient was available to Europe insofar as its native inhabitants are unable to resist the projects and descriptions devised for it. Said calls such a relation between “Western writing and Oriental silence” (94-95) the result of the West’s great cultural domination over the Orient. Geographical categories of East and West are by no means natural; they are, in fact, cultural and imaginatively made by way of talking, painting and writing on the Orient throughout Western history. The two geographical entities of East and West are not merely there, they represent “an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West” (Said, Orientalism 5).

It might be of particular interest that Said offers a double definition of Orientalism at the beginning of the third section of Chapter 1. Orientalism is “the discipline by which the Orient was (and is) approached systematically, as a topic of learning, discovery, and practice”, but also “that collection of dreams, images, and vocabularies available to anyone who has tried to talk about what lies east of the dividing line” (73). In advance this definition is shaped as follows: Orientalism “is rather a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical and philological texts” (12).

Said’s conviction lies in the persistence of the concept of an Orient “as a part of the academic metanarrative of history” (Gran 21); Orientalism is seen as a set of academic disciplines concerned with studying the Orient, “but also as a style of thought based on the existential difference between the Orient and the Occident” (Kennedy 2). According to Said, “the Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences” (Orientalism 1). Moreover, Orientalism “can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution dealing with the Orient […] in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (3).
Said stresses a tripartite typology of Orientalist works in three different types of writers.

One: the writer who intends to use his residence for the specific task of providing professional Orientalism with scientific material, who considers his residence a form of scientific observation.

Two: the writer who intends the same purpose but is less willing to sacrifice the eccentricity and style of his individual consciousness to impersonal Orientalist definitions. These latter do appear in his work, but they are disentangled from the personal vagaries of style only with difficulty.

Three: the writer for whom a real or metaphorical trip to the Orient is the fulfillment of some deeply felt and urgent project. His text therefore is built on a personal aesthetic, fed and informed by the project.

Following this quote Said identifies three different types of writer: the scientific writer, the creator of a personal writer, and the writer who combines the two. Despite their differences, these three types do not contain three pure representatives of writing styles, though certain motifs recur in all three types. In all cases the Orient is constructed by a European observer, as in Edward William Lane’s *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836), Richard Francis Burton’s *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah* (1858) and Gérard de Nerval’s *Voyage en Orient* (1851). Moreover, the Orient as a place of pilgrimage becomes a vision of “spectacle” or “tableau vivant” (Said, *Orientalism* 158). In many works the Orient is characterized to an extent in which the work’s internal structure “is in some measure synonymous with a comprehensive interpretation [...] of the Orient. [...] This interpretation is a form of Romantic restructuring of the Orient” (Said 158). Romantic restructuring under three aspects of writers emphasizes the artificial and aesthetic moment of Orientalist works, especially when keeping in mind that the terminus of Orientalism derives from an European art movement in the 18th century, describing the Orient by imitating Near and Far Eastern motifs. The inquiry into Orientalism, with its exotic and sensual connotations, is thus sustained by a “network of interests” (1), with the asymmetries of power manifesting themselves in the privilege of language: Only “an Occidental could speak of Orientals” and behind each statement “there resonated the tradition of experience, learning and education” (*Orientalism* 228). The Eurocentric point of view on the Orient is not only a sense of superiority, but also an act of Othering, establishing a dichotomy between a civilized Occident and a threatening Orient.

However, the act of Othering is not interrupted by Said. On the contrary, he maintains the structure of dichotomy by combining the two types of personal and scientific writers himself by citing European concepts of culture theories. The first methodological trace in *Orientalism* shall be illustrated by introducing Giambattista Vico, whose conviction of *verum ipsum factum* came to be known as social-constructivism in current research. The second is perhaps the most important theoretical source for Said, Michel Foucault’s concept of discourse and his discussions of the relationship between power and knowledge.

4.3 Repetition of Othering (intrinsic meaning or content)

In Said’s introduction the assumption of a cultural construction of what we call the Orient is connected with Giambattista Vico’s historically valuable observation that “men make their own history, that what they can know is what they have made, and extend it to geography” (Said, *Orientalism* 4-5.). Therefore, Said pinpoints that as much as the West itself, the Orient is an idea “that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence
in and for the West” (4-5.). The thesis that reality is constructed by re-defining the constructive nature of our world is stressed as follows: “Truth, in short, becomes a function of learned judgement” (Said, Orientalism 67). In Vico’s posthumously published work – originally entitled Scienza Nuova – a fundamental distinction between natural sciences and the humanities became an explicit subject of discussion for the first time in the history of science. Vico was one of the first scholars to separate the course of universal history from a Bible-based point of view. Although his considerations of history are set within a frame of religious revelation, one should note that his theory is not oriented toward an apocalyptical end of history. That is why one might call it a rational theology created by divine providence (Vico, neue Wissenschaft 55-62).

Vico’s central argument is that since history is a man-made construction, neither the humanities nor the natural sciences are able to subsume the truth in its entirety. His pioneering model of a philosophy of history deals with Descartes and Hobbes by means of the epistemological consideration of how knowledge of history is possible. Only God’s knowledge covers the whole of physical nature, but the way in which the process of civilization continues has to be discovered within the boundaries of the human spirit (Vico 51f.).

A second echo in Said’s spectrum of methods (94) can be found in Michel Foucault’s notions of discourse analysis, described by him in L’Ordre du discours. According to Said, the construction of the Orient depends on various Western techniques of representation “that make the Orient visible, clear, ‘there’ in discourse about it” (Orientalism 22). These representations again rely upon institutions, conventions and “agreed-upon codes” (Said 22). It was a group of European writers – Said explicitly names William Beckford, Lord Byron, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Victor Hugo – who restructured the Orient through their own images, rhythms, and motifs. Said calls this the birth of a powerful new “linguistic Orient” (Orientalism 119).

One of the reasons for Foucault’s prominence is probably his inaugural speech at the Collège de France on December 2nd, 1970. In this speech as well as in his originally entitled work L’Ordre du discours Foucault argued that in every society, the production of discourse is at the same time organized, controlled and channeled (Foucault, Ordnung 10). L’Archéologie du savoir occupies a special position among his works, insofar as it seeks to describe a method that is dissociated from the traditional, hermeneutical history of ideas. As a key term, discourse has tripartite meaning: firstly it refers to a general area of all statements, secondly to an individual group of statements, and finally to the regulated practice, selecting and combining a certain group of statements (Foucault, Archäologie 116).

Around the terms of discourse, statement, archive and knowledge, a new concept is drawn up according to one central problem: knowledge and awareness are not the same categories (Foucault, Archäologie 258). Analyzing knowledge requires illustration, less in an adding-up procedure of scientific data than in an exposure of discursive rules, under which conditions the objects of knowledge and statements as well as theoretical options of what one might call truth are constructed. By metaphorizing the history of ideas into a quarry of all effective statements, Foucault’s archaeology investigates the question of how the general system of the formation and transformation of statements takes place (159, 258).

5 Conclusion

Can there be any thinking beyond ideological thinking? While representatives of postcolonial criticism are debating for the prerogative of interpretation, the question
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arises of how far the position of postcolonial intellectuals allows them to make an effective oppositional contribution. When considering the ideas of a political theorist, particularly with regard to the relationship between theory and practice, it might be Said's historical reward - despite what critics said in the past - to subvert the formation of Oriental images. And it goes without saying that a contextualized reconstruction of Said's postcolonial criticism with regard to Foucault's and Vico's approaches is insufficient for an all-encompassing interpretation of the theoretical framework in Said's *Orientalism*. However, by applying Panofsky's method of iconographical interpretation and turning the gaze of the researcher back onto himself, one can see that Said's theoretical content of knowledge is based on its relation to various European worldviews and concepts of knowledge. The argumentative paradox appears in the fact that Said analyzes the world's periphery from the center located in the Western canon of scholarship. Within the constellation of Vico's central argument of a man-made history and Foucault's discourse analysis, Edward Said's *Orientalism* itself can be read as an historically specific formulation by a member of an historically and geographically grounded Western academic movement as well. Just as when looking at a landscape of an image, there is only one aspect visible of the whole, the awareness of cultural and political circumstances and phenomena - no matter what kind - depend on a time-space-bound perspective, not so much on the question of what truth is, but more in the interest of the human praxis, how truth is created by institutions, societies and intellectual groups.
Notes

1 Even though Orientalism is focused on a certain region, Said’s ideas about the Western representative force between the self and the other have been transferred to the discourse on imperialism in general. Said’s *Culture and Imperialism* continues this line of critical analysis by questioning dominant epistemologies, their genesis and expansion during the era of imperialism in Africa, India, the Far East, Australia, the Caribbean and Ireland. Its final chapter looks at the geopolitics of the postcolonial world and pays critical attention to America’s role in it.


3 Abraham provides a summary on this topic in “Introduction. Edward Said and After: Toward a New Humanism”.

4 For further reading on Panofsky see Levi, “Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte” and Białostocki, “Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968)”.

5 For further reading see Jazeel, “Postcolonialism: Orientalism and the geographical imagination”.

6 For more information about the impact of the concept Orientalism on art history see Lemaire, *Orientalismus. Das Bild des Morgenlandes in der Malerei*.

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