The World as Exhibition

Timothy Mitchell

Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Apr., 1989), 217-236.

Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0010-4175%28198904%2931%3A2%3C217%3ATWAE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-9

Comparative Studies in Society and History is currently published by Cambridge University Press.

The World as Exhibition

TIMOTHY MITCHELL

New York University

The Egyptian delegation to the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists, held in Stockholm during the summer of 1889, traveled to Sweden via Paris and paused there to visit the World Exhibition. The four Egyptians spent several days in the French capital, climbing twice the height (they were told) of the Great Pyramid in Alexandre Eiffel's new tower, and exploring the city and exhibition laid out beneath. Only one thing disturbed them. The Egyptian exhibit had been built by the French to represent a street of medieval Cairo, made of houses with overhanging upper stories and a mosque like that of Qaitbay. "It was intended," one of the Egyptians wrote, "to resemble the old aspect of Cairo." So carefully was this done, he noted, that "even the paint on the buildings was made dirty."[1]

The Egyptian exhibit had also been made carefully chaotic. In contrast to the orderliness of the rest of the exhibition, the imitation street was arranged in the haphazard manner of the bazaar. The way was crowded with shops and stalls, where Frenchmen, dressed as Orientals, sold perfumes, pastries, and tarboushes. To complete the effect of the Orient, the French organizers had imported from Cairo fifty Egyptian donkeys, together with their drivers and the requisite number of grooms, farriers, and saddlemakers. The donkeys gave rides for the price of one franc up and down the street, resulting in a clamor and confusion so lifelike, the director of the exhibition was obliged to issue an order restricting the donkeys to a certain number at each hour of the day.

The Egyptian visitors were disgusted by all this and stayed away. Their final embarrassment had been to enter the door of the mosque and discover that, like the rest of the street, it had been erected as what the Europeans called a façade. "Its external form was all that there was of the mosque. As for the interior, it had been set up as a coffee house, where Egyptian girls performed dances with young males, and dervishes whirled."[2]

After eighteen days in Paris, the Egyptian delegation traveled on to Stock-

Parts of this essay are drawn from the first chapter of a book entitled *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). I am indebted to Stefania Pandolfo and Lila Abu-Lughod for their comments.

[1] Muhammad Amin Fikri, *Irshad al-alibba' ila mahasin Urubba*. (Cairo: al-Muqtataf, 1892), 128.

[2] Fikri, *Irshad al-alibba'*, 128–29, 136.

0010-4175/89/2254–2417 $5.00

holm to attend the Congress of Orientalists. Together with other non-European delegates, the Egyptians were received with hospitality—and a great curiosity. As though they were still in Paris, they found themselves something of an exhibit. "*Bona fide* Orientals," wrote a European participant in the Congress, "were stared at as in a Barnum's all-world show: the good Scandinavian people seemed to think that it was a collection of *Orientals*, not of *Orientalists*."[3] Some of the Orientalists themselves seemed to delight in the role of showmen. At an earlier Congress in Berlin, we are told that "the grotesque idea was started of producing natives of Oriental countries as illustrations of a paper: thus the Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford produced a real live Indian Pandit, and made him go through the ritual of Brahmanical prayer and worship before a hilarious assembly . . . Professor Max Müller of Oxford produced two rival Japanese priests, who exhibited their gifts; it had the appearance of two showmen exhibiting their monkeys."[4] At the Stockholm Congress, the Egyptians were invited to participate as scholars, but when they used their own language to do so, they again found themselves treated as exhibits. "I have heard nothing so unworthy of a sensible man," complained an Oxford scholar, "as . . . the whistling howls emitted by an Arabic student of El-Azhar of Cairo. Such exhibitions at Congresses are mischievous and degrading."[5]

The exhibition and the congress were not the only examples of this European mischief. Throughout the nineteenth century, non-European visitors found themselves being placed on exhibit or made the careful object of European curiosity. The degradation they often suffered, whether intended or not, seemed inevitable and as necessary to these spectacles as the scaffolded façades or the curious crowds of onlookers. The façades, the onlookers and the degradation seemed all to belong to the organizing of an exhibit, to a particularly European concern with rendering things up to be viewed.

This essay will examine what this process of exhibiting can tell us about the modern West. I will explore it first through the eyes of a number of Arab writers, as a mechanism of order and meaning that exemplifies their experience of nineteenth-century Europe. What they found in the West, I will argue, were not just exhibitions of the world, but the ordering up of the world itself as an endless exhibition. I will then compare this experience with the Western experience of the nineteenth-century Orient—with the images of Orientalism. As we have begun to see, the Orient was perhaps the most important object on display at Europe's exhibitions, the West's great "external reality." Orientalism, I would argue, illustrates not just the strange ways in which the West has treated the "outside world"; it illustrates how the Western experience of

[3] R. N. Crust, "The International Congresses of Orientalists," *Hellas* 6 (1897): 359.
[4] *Ibid.*, 351.
[5] *Ibid.*, 359.

order and truth, epitomized in the exhibition, depended upon creating the very effect of an "outside," of an "external reality" beyond all representation.

AN OBJECT-WORLD

Middle Eastern visitors found Europeans a curious people, who had an uncontainable eagerness to stand and stare. "One of the characteristics of the French is to stare and get excited at everything new," wrote an Egyptian scholar after spending five years in Paris during the 1820s, in the first description of nineteenth-century Europe to be published in Arabic.[6] The *curiosity* of the European is encountered in almost every subsequent Middle Eastern account. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, when one or two Egyptian writers adopted the realistic style of the novel and took the journey to Europe as their first topic, their stories would often evoke the peculiar experience of the West by describing an individual surrounded and stared at, like an object on exhibit. "Whenever he paused outside a shop or showroom," the protagonist in one such story found on his first day in Paris, "a large number of people would surround him, both men and women, staring at his dress and appearance."[7]

The curious attitude of the European subject that one finds in Arabic accounts seems to have been connected with what one might call a corresponding *objectness*. The curiosity of the observing subject was something demanded by a diversity of mechanisms for rendering things up as its object—beginning with the Middle Eastern visitor himself. The members of an Egyptian student mission sent to Paris in the 1820s were confined to the college in which they lived and were allowed out only to visit museums and the theater, where they found themselves parodied in vaudeville as objects of entertainment for the French public. "They construct the stage as the play demands," explained one of the students. "For example, if they want to imitate a sultan and the things that happen to him, they set up the stage in the form of a palace and portray him in person. If for instance they want to play the Shah of Persia, they dress someone in the clothes of the Persian monarch and then put him there and sit him on a throne."[8]

[6] Rifa`a al-Tahtawi, *al-A`mal al-Kamila*. 4 Vols. (Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-Arabiyya li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Nashr, 1973) II, 76.

[7] Ali Mubarak, *Alam al-din* (Alexandria, 1882), 816. The "curiosity" of the European is something of a theme for Orientalist writers. Bernard Lewis, for example, contrasts it with the "general lack of curiosity" of non-Europeans. Such curiosity is assumed to be simply the natural, unfettered relation of a person to the world, emerging in Europe once the "loosening of theological bonds" had brought about "the freeing of human minds." *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1982), 299. See Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 4–5, for a critique of this sort of argument and its own "theological" assumptions.

[8] Tahtawi, *al-A`mal al-Kamila*, II, 177, 119–20; Alain Silvera, "The First Egyptian Student Mission to France Under Muhammad Ali," in *Modern Egypt: Studies in Politics and Society*, Elie Kedourie and Sylvia G. Haim, eds. (London: Frank Cass, 1980), 13.

Even Middle Eastern monarchs who came in person to Europe were liable to be incorporated into its theatrical machinery. When the Khedive of Egypt visited Paris to attend an earlier Exposition Universelle in 1867, he found that the Egyptian exhibit had been built to simulate medieval Cairo in the form of a royal palace. The Khedive stayed in the imitation palace during his visit and became a part of the exhibition, receiving visitors with medieval hospitality.[9]

Visitors to Europe found not only themselves rendered up as objects to be viewed. The Arabic account of the student mission to Paris devoted several pages to the Parisian phenomenon of *le spectacle*, a word for which its author knew of no Arabic equivalent. Besides the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, the different kinds of spectacle he described were "places in which they represent for the person the view of a town or a country or the like," such as "the Panorama, the Cosmorana, the Diorama, the Europorama and the Uranorama."[10] In a panorama of Cairo, he explained in illustration, "it is as though you were looking from on top of the minaret of Sultan Hasan, for example, with al-Rumaila and the rest of the city beneath you."[11]

The effect of such spectacles was to set the world up as a picture. They arranged it before an audience as an object on display—to be viewed, investigated, and experienced. An Orientalist of the same period, Sylvestre de Sacy, the great French scholar, wanted the scholarly portrayal of the Orient to create a similar kind of object-world. He had planned to establish a museum that was to be "a vast depot of objects of all kinds, of drawings, of original books, maps, accounts of voyages, all offered to those who wish to give themselves to the study of [the Orient]; in such a way that each of these students would be able to feel himself transported as if by enchantment into the midst of, say, a Mongolian tribe or of the Chinese race, whichever he might have made the object of his studies."[12]

The world exhibitions of the second half of the century were arranged to offer visitors the same direct experience of an object-world. In planning the layout of the 1889 Exhibition, it was decided "before entering the temple of modern life" to set up an exhibit of all human history, "as a gateway to the exposition and a noble preface." Entitled "Histoire du Travail," or more fully "Exposition retrospective du travail et des sciences anthropologiques," the display would demonstrate the history of human labor by means of "objects and things themselves." It would have "nothing vague about it," it was said, "because it will consist of an *object lesson*."[13]

[9] Georges Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, 2 vols. (Rome: Royal Egyptian Geographical Society, 1934), II, 4–5.

[10] Tahtawi, *al-A`mal al-Kamila*, II, 121.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Cited in Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 165.

[13] "Les origins et le plan de l'exposition," *L'Exposition de Paris de 1889*, 3 (15 December 1889), 18.

Arabic accounts of the modern West became accounts of these curious object-worlds. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, more than half the descriptions of journeys to Europe being published in Cairo were written to describe visits to a world exhibition or an international congress of Orientalists.[14] Such accounts devote hundreds of pages to describing the peculiar order and technique of these events— the curious crowds of spectators, the scholarly exhibit and the model, the organization of panoramas and perspectives, the display of new discoveries and merchandise, the architecture of iron and glass, the systems of classification, the calculations of statistics, the lectures, the plans and the guide books—in short the entire machinery of what we think of as representation.

The machinery of representation was not confined to the exhibition and the congress. Almost everywhere that Middle Eastern visitors went, they seemed to encounter this rendering up of the world as a thing to be viewed. They visited the new museums and saw the cultures of the world portrayed in the form of objects arranged under glass in the order of their evolution. They were taken to the theater, a place where Europeans represented their history to themselves, as several Egyptian writers explained. The Middle Eastern visitors spent afternoons in the public gardens, carefully organized "to bring together the trees and plants of every part of the world," as another Arab writer put it. And inevitably they took trips to the zoo, a product of nineteenth-century colonial penetration of the Orient, as Theodor Adorno wrote, "which paid symbolic tribute in the form of animals."[15]

The Europe in Arabic accounts was a place of spectacle and visual arrangement, of the organization of everything, and everything organized to represent, to recall, like the exhibition, some larger meaning. Characteristic of the Europeans' way of life was their preoccupation with what an Egyptian author described as *intizam al-manzar,* the organization of the view. Outside the world exhibition, it follows paradoxically, one encountered not the real world but only further models and representations of the real. Beyond the exhibition and the congress, beyond the museum and the zoo—everywhere that non-European visitors went, they found the technique and the sensation to be the same: the countryside, encountered typically in the form of a model farm exhibiting new machinery and cultivation methods; the very streets of the

[14] On Egyptian writing about Europe in the nineteenth century, see Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, *Arab Rediscovery of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); Anouar Louca, *Voyageurs et écrivains égyptiens en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Didier, 1970), and Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt,* 7–13, 180 n. 14.

[15] Theodor Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections From a Damaged Life* (London: Verso, 1978), 116; on the theater, see, for example, Muhammad al-Muwaylihi, *Hadith Isa ibn Hisham, aw fatra min al-zaman,* 2nd ed. (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya, 1911), 434, and Tahtawi, *al-A`mal al-Kamila,* II:119–20; on the public garden and the zoo, Muhammad al-Sanusi al-Tunisi, *al-Istitla`at al-barisiya fi ma`rad sanat 1889* (Tunis: n.p., 1891), 37.

modern city with their meaningful façades—even the Alps, once the funicular railway was built.[16] Everything seemed to be set up as though it were the model or the picture of something, arranged before an observing subject into a system of signification, declaring itself to be a mere object, a mere "signifier of" something further.

The exhibition could be read in such accounts as epitomizing the strange character of the West: a place where one was continually pressed into service as a spectator by a world ordered so as to represent. In exhibitions, the traveler from the Middle East could describe this curious way of addressing the world increasingly encountered in modern Europe, a particular relationship between the individual and a world of "things themselves" that Europeans seemed to take as the experience of the real. This reality-effect was a world rendered up to the individual, according to the way in which, and to the extent to which, it could be set up before him or her as an exhibit: as mere objects recalling a meaning or reality beyond. In Europe, non-Europeans encountered what one might call, echoing a phrase from Heidegger, the age of the world exhibition, or rather, the age of the world-as-exhibition.[17] *World exhibition* here refers not to an exhibition of the world, but to the world conceived and grasped as though it were an exhibition.

THE CERTAINTY OF REPRESENTATION

"England is at present the greatest Oriental Empire which the world has ever known," proclaimed the president of the 1892 Orientalist Congress at its opening session. His words reflected the political certainty of the imperial age. "She knows not only how to conquer, but how to rule."[18] The endless spectacles of the *world-as-exhibition* were not just reflections of this certainty, but, by their technique of rendering imperial truth and cultural difference in "objective" form, the means of its production. They were occasions for making sure of such objective truths, in a world where truth had become a question of what Heidegger calls "the certainty of representation."[19]

Two aspects of this kind of certainty can be illustrated from the accounts of the world exhibition. First, there was the apparent realism of the representation. The model or display always seemed to stand in perfect correspondence to the external world—a correspondence that was frequently noted in Middle Eastern accounts. One of the most impressive exhibits at the 1889 exhibition

[16] The "organization of the view" is described in Mubarak, *Alam al-din*, 817, the model farm outside Paris, *Ibid.*, 1008–42; the visual effect of the street, *Ibid.*, 448, 964, and Idwar Ilyas, *Mashahid Uruba wa-Amirka* (Cairo: al-Muqtataf, 1900), 268; the new funicular at Lucerne and the European passion for panoramas in Fikri, *Irshad*, 98.

[17] Martin Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977).

[18] International Congress of Orientalists, *Transactions of the Ninth Congress, 1892*, 2 vols. (London: International Congress of Orientalists, 1893), I, 35.

[19] Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," 127.

in Paris was a panorama of the city. An Arab visitor described this as consisting of a viewing platform on which one stood, encircled by images of the city. The images were mounted and illuminated in such a way that the observer felt himself standing at the center of the city itself, which seemed to materialize around him as a single, solid object "not differing from reality in any way."[20]

Second, the model, however realistic, always remained distinguishable from the reality it claimed to represent. Even though the paint was made dirty and the donkeys were brought from Cairo, the medieval Egyptian street at the Paris Exhibition remained only a Parisian copy of the Oriental original. The certainty of representation depended on this deliberate difference in time and displacement in space separating the representation from the real thing. It also depended on the position of the visitor—the tourist in the imitation street or the figure on the viewing platform. The representation of reality was always an exhibit set up for an observer in its midst: an observing gaze surrounded by and yet excluded from the exhibition's careful order. The more the exhibit drew in and encircled the visitor, the more the gaze was set apart from it, as the mind (in our Cartesian imagery) is said to be set apart from the material world it observes. The separation is suggested in a description of the Egyptian exhibit at the Paris Exhibition of 1867:

> A museum inside a pharaonic temple represented Antiquity, a palace richly decorated in the Arab style represented the Middle Ages, a caravanserai of merchants and performers portrayed in real life the customs of today. Weapons from the Sudan, the skins of wild monsters, perfumes, poisons and medicinal plants transport us directly to the tropics. Pottery from Assiut and Aswan, filigree and cloth of silk and gold invite us to touch with our fingers a strange civilization. All the races subject to the Vice-Roy were personified by individuals selected with care. We rubbed shoulders with the fellah, we made way before the Bedouin of the Libyan desert on their beautiful white dromedaries. This sumptuous display spoke to the mind as to the eyes; it expressed a political idea.[21]

The remarkable realism of such displays made a strange civilization into an object the visitor could almost touch, yet, to the observing eye, surrounded by the display but excluded from it by the status of visitor, it remained a mere representation, the picture of some further reality. Thus two parallel pairs of distinctions were maintained, between the visitor and the exhibit, and between the exhibit and what it expressed. The representation seemed to be set apart from the political reality it claimed to portray, as the observing mind is set apart from what it observes.

There was something paradoxical about this distinction between the simulated and the real, and about the certainty that depends on it. As we have seen,

[20] Clovis Lamarre and Charles Fliniaux, *L'Egypte, la Tunisie, le Maroc et l'exposition de 1878* (Paris: Ch. Delagrave, 1878), 123; al-Sanusi, *al-Istitla'at*, 242.

[21] Edmond About, *Le fellah: souvenirs d'Egypte* (Paris: Hachette, 1869), 47–48.

it was not always easy in Paris to tell where the exhibition ended, and the world itself began. The boundaries of the exhibition were clearly marked, of course, with high perimeter walls and monumental gates, but, as Middle Eastern visitors had continually discovered, there was much about the "real world" outside (in the streets of Paris and beyond) that resembled the world exhibition; just as there was more about the exhibition that resembled the world outside. Despite the determined efforts to isolate the exhibition as merely the perfect representation of a reality outside, the real world beyond the gates turned out to be rather like an extension of the exhibition. This extended exhibition continued to present itself as a series of mere representations, representing a reality beyond. We should think of it, therefore, less as an exhibition, than as a kind of labyrinth, a labyrinth that, as Derrida says, includes in itself its own exits.[22] But perhaps the sequence of exhibitions was becoming at once so accurate and so extensive, that no one ever realized that the real world they promised was not there—except, perhaps, the Egyptians.

THE LABYRINTH WITHOUT EXITS

To explore this labyrinth a little further, I will begin again inside the world exhibition, back at the Egyptian bazaar. Part of the shock of the Egyptians came from just how real the street claimed to be: not simply that the paint was made dirty, that the donkeys were from Cairo, and that the Egyptian pastries on sale were said to taste like the real thing, but that one paid for them, as we say, with real money. The commercialism of the donkey rides, the bazaar stalls and the dancing girls was no different from the commercialism of the world outside. This was the real thing, in the sense that what commercialism offers is always the real thing.

As a result, the exhibitions came to resemble the commercial machinery of the rest of the city. This machinery, in turn, was rapidly changing in places like London and Paris, as small, individually owned shops, often based on local crafts, gave way to the larger apparatus of shopping arcades and department stores, each, as the *Illustrated Guide to Paris* could claim, forming "a city, indeed a world in miniature."[23] The commercial transformation was connected, in turn, with the global transformation of the textile industry. At the other end from the department store, this transformation extended to include such events as the colonization of Egypt, whose agriculture was now being organized to supply the European textile industry with raw cotton.

[22] Jacques Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena, and other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 104. Derrida once remarked that all of his subsequent writings "are only a commentary on the sentence about a labyrinth" ("Implications: Interview with Henri Ronse," *Positions* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981], 5). This essay, too, should be read as a short additional comment on that sentence.

[23] Walter Benjamin, "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich; 1978), 146–47.

The Egyptian accounts of Europe contain several descriptions of these commercial worlds-in-miniature, where the real world, as at the exhibition, was something created by the representation of its commodities. The department stores were described as "large and well organized," with their merchandise "arranged in perfect order, set in rows on shelves with everything symmetrical and precisely positioned." Non-European visitors would remark especially on the panes of glass, inside the stores and along the gaslit arcades. "The merchandise is all arranged behind sheets of clear glass, in the most remarkable order. . . . Its dazzling appearance draws thousands of onlookers."[24] The glass panels inserted themselves between the visitors and the goods on display, setting up the former as mere onlookers and endowing the goods with the distance that is the source, one might say, of their objectness. Just as exhibitions had become more commercialized, the machinery of commerce was becoming a further means of engineering the real, indistinguishable from that of the exhibition.

In drawing this parallel between the exhibition and the world of commerce, I do not make the argument of commodity fetishism. The critique of commodity fetishism uncovers the means of engineering the real as a mechanism of *mis*representation, and opposes to it a representation of the way things intrinsically are. In revealing power to work through misrepresentation, such a critique leaves representation itself unquestioned. It continues to accept the distinction between a realm of representations and the external reality which such representations promise, rather than examining the novelty of continuously creating the effect of an "external reality" as itself a mechanism of power. Nor, therefore, am I making the argument of alienation. The exhibition does not alienate us from the real world; it creates an effect *called* the real world, in terms of which we can experience what is called alienation.

Something of the experience of the strangely alienating world of modern commerce and consumers is indicated in the first fictional account of Europe to be published in Arabic. Appearing in 1882, it tells the story of two Egyptians who travel to France and England in the company of an English Orientalist. On their first day in Paris, the two Egyptians wander accidentally into the vast, gaslit premises of a wholesale supplier. Inside the building, they find long corridors, each leading into another. They walk from one corridor to the next, and after a while begin to search for the way out. Turning a corner, they see what looks like an exit, with people approaching from the other side, but it turns out to be a mirror covering the entire width and height of the wall. The approaching people are merely their own reflections. They turn down one passage, and then another, but each one ends only in a mirror. As they make their way through the corridors of the building, they pass groups of people at work. "The people were busy setting out merchandise, sorting it and putting

[24] Mubarak, *Alam al-din*, 818; Ilyas, *Mashahid Uruba wa-Amirka*, 268.

it into boxes and cases. They stared at the two of them in silence as they passed, standing quite still, not leaving their places or interrupting their work." After wandering silently for some time through the building, the two Egyptians realize they have lost their way completely and begin going from room to room looking for an exit. "But no one interfered with them," we are told, "or came up to them to ask if they were lost." Eventually they are rescued by the manager of the store, who proceeds to explain to them how it is organized, pointing out that in the objects being sorted and packed, the produce of every country in the world is represented.[25]

On the one hand this story evokes a festival of representation, a celebration of the ordered world of objects and the discipline of the European gaze. At the same time, the disconcerting experience with the mirrors undermines the system of representational order. An earlier Egyptian writer recalled a similar experience with mirrors, on his very first day in a European city. Arriving at Marseilles, he had entered a cafe, which he mistook at first for some sort of "vast, endless thoroughfare."

> There were a lot of people in there, and whenever a group of them came into view their images appeared in the glass mirrors, which were on every side. Anyone who walked in, sat down, or stood up seemed to be multiplied. Thus the cafe looked like an open street. I realized it was enclosed only when I saw several images of myself in the mirrors, and understood that it was all due to the peculiar effect of the glass.[26]

In such stories, it seems the world of representation is being admired for its dazzling order, yet the suspicion remains that all this reality is only an effect. Perhaps the world-as-exhibition remains inevitably a labyrinth without exits, rather than an interior distinguished from—and defined by—its exterior.

There are three features of this world that I have outlined in the preceding pages. *First,* it has a remarkable claim to certainty or truth: the apparent certainty with which everything seems ordered and organized, calculated and rendered unambiguous—ultimately, what seems its political decidedness. *Second,* there is a paradoxical nature to this decidedness: its certainty exists as the seemingly determined correspondence between mere representations and reality, yet the real world, like the world outside the exhibition, despite everything the exhibition promises, turns out to consist only of further representations of this "reality." *Third,* there is what might be called its "colonial nature": the age of the exhibition was necessarily the colonial age, the age of world economy and global power in which we live, since what was to be made available on exhibit was reality—the world itself.

To draw out the colonial nature of these methods of order and truth, I am now going to move on to the Middle East.[27] The Orient, as I have previously

[25] Mubarak, *Alam al-din,* pp. 829–30.

[26] Tahtawi, *al-A`mal al-kamila,* II, 55–6; for another example see Mubarak, *Alam al-din,* 817.

[27] See Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt.* I have examined in detail, in the case of Egypt, how the

suggested, was the great "external reality" of modern Europe—the most common object of its exhibitions, the great signified. By the 1860s, Thomas Cook, who had launched the modern tourist industry by organizing excursion trains with the Midland Railway Company to visit the Crystal Palace (the first of the great world exhibitions) in 1851, was offering excursions to visit not exhibits of the East, but the "East itself." If Europe was the world-as-exhibition, what happened to Europeans who went abroad—to visit places whose images invariably they had already seen in pictures and exhibitions? How did they experience the so-called real world depicted in these images, when the reality was a place whose life was not lived, or at least not yet, as if the world were an exhibition?

THE EAST ITSELF

"So here we are in Egypt," wrote Gustave Flaubert, in a letter from Cairo in January 1850. "What can I say about it all? What can I write you? As yet I am scarcely over the initial bedazzlement . . . each detail reaches out to grip you; it pinches you; and the more you concentrate on it the less you grasp the whole. Then gradually all this becomes harmonious and the pieces fall into place of themselves, in accordance with the laws of perspective. But the first days, by God, it is such a bewildering chaos of colours. . . ."[28] Flaubert experienced Cairo as a visual turmoil. What could he write about the place? That it is a chaos of color and detail, which refuses to compose itself as a picture. The disorienting experience of a Cairo street, in other words, with its arguments in unknown languages, strangers who brush past in strange clothes, unusual colors, and unfamiliar sounds and smells, is expressed as an absence of pictorial order. This meant there was no distance between oneself and the view. The eyes were reduced to organs of touch: "each detail reaches out to grip you." Without a separation of the self from a picture, moreover, it becomes impossible to grasp "the whole." The experience of the world as a picture set up before a subject is linked to the unusual conception of the world as an enframed totality, something that forms a structure or system. Subsequently, coming to terms with this disorientation and recovering one's self-possession is expressed again in pictorial terms. The world arranges itself into a picture and achieves a visual order, "in accordance with the laws of perspective."

Flaubert's experience suggests a paradoxical answer to my question con-

modern means of colonizing a country—new military methods, the reordering of agricultural production, systems of organized schooling, the rebuilding of cities, the transformation of writing, new forms of communication, and so on—all rested upon the techniques of order and truth that I am calling the world-as-exhibition. My purpose here is to look more closely at what it means for the world to be an exhibition, by considering what happened to the individual nineteenth-century European who traveled to the Middle East.

[28] Gustave Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt: A Sensibility on Tour*, Francis Steegmuller, trans. (London: Michael Haag, 1983), 79.

cerning what happened to Europeans who "left" the exhibition. Although they thought of themselves as moving from the pictures or exhibits to the real thing, they went on trying—like Flaubert—to grasp the real thing as a picture. How could they do otherwise, since they took reality itself to be a picture? The real is that which is grasped in terms of a distinction between a picture and what it represents, so nothing else would have been, quite literally, thinkable.

Among European writers who traveled to the Middle East in the middle and latter part of the nineteenth century, one very frequently finds the experience of its strangeness expressed in terms of the problem of forming a picture. It was as though to make sense of it meant to stand back and either make a drawing or take a photograph of it, for which many of them actually it did. "Every year that passes," an Egyptian wrote, "you see thousands of Europeans traveling all over the world, and everything they come across they make a picture of."[29] When Flaubert traveled in Egypt on a photographic mission with Maxime du Camp, the results were expected to be "quite special in character," it was remarked at the Institut de France, "thanks to the aid of this modern traveling companion, efficient, rapid, and always scrupulously exact."[30] The chemically-etched correspondence between photographic image and reality would provide a new, almost mechanical kind of certainty.

Like the photographer, the writer wanted to reproduce a picture of things "exactly as they are," of "the East itself in its vital actual reality."[31] Flaubert was preceded in Egypt by Edward Lane, whose innovative *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,* published in 1835, was a product of the same search for a pictorial certainty of representation. The book's "singular power of description and minute accuracy" made it, in the words of his nephew, the Orientalist Stanley Poole, "the most perfect picture of a people's life that has ever been written."[32] "Very few men," added his great nephew, the Orientalist Stanley Lane-Poole:

> have possessed in equal degree the power of minutely describing a scene or a monument, so that the pencil might almost restore it without a fault after the lapse of years. . . . The objects stand before you as you read, and this not by the use of imaginative language, but by the plain simple description.[33]

[29] Mubarak, *Alam al-din,* 308.

[30] Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt,* 23.

[31] Eliot Warburton, author of *The Crescent and the Cross: or Romance and Realities of Eastern Travel* (1845), describing Alexander Kinglake's *Eōthen, or Traces of Travel Brought Home from the East* (London, 1844; reprint: J. M. Dent, 1908); cited in *The Oxford Companion to English Literature,* 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), s.v. "Kinglake."

[32] Edward Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London: Charles Knight, 1835; reprint, London: J. M. Dent, 1908), pp. vii, xvii.

[33] Stanley Lane-Poole, "Memoir," in Edward Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 8 vols. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1863–1893; reprint, Beirut: Libraire du Liban, 1980), V, xii.

Lane did not begin as a writer, but as a professional artist and engraver. He had first traveled to Egypt in 1825 with a new apparatus called the *camera lucida*, a drawing device with a prism that projected an exact image of the object on to paper. He had planned to publish the drawings he made and the accompanying descriptions in an eight-volume work entitled "An Exhaustive Description of Egypt," but had been unable to find a publisher whose printing techniques could reproduce the minute and mechanical accuracy of the illustrations. Subsequently, he published the part dealing with contemporary Egypt, rewritten as the famous ethnographic description of the modern Egyptians.[34]

The problem for the photographer or writer visiting the Middle East was not only to make an accurate picture of the East, but to set up the East as a picture. One can copy or represent only what appears already to exist representationally—as a picture. The problem, in other words, was to create a distance between oneself and the world, and thus to constitute it as something picture-like—as an object on exhibit. This required what was now called a "point of view": a position set apart and outside. While in Cairo, Edward Lane lived near one of the city's gates, outside of which there was a large hill with a tower and military telegraph machine on top. This elevated position commanded "a most magnificent view of the city and suburbs and the citadel," Lane wrote. "Soon after my arrival I made a very elaborate drawing of the scene, with the camera lucida. From no other spot can so good a view of the metropolis . . . be obtained."[35]

These spots were difficult to find in a world where, unlike the West, such "objectivity" was not yet build in. Besides the military observation tower used by Lane, visitors to the Middle East would appropriate whatever buildings and monuments were available, in order to obtain the necessary viewpoint. The Great Pyramid at Giza had now become a viewing platform. Teams of Bedouin were organized to heave and push the writer or tourist—guidebook in hand—to the top, where two more Bedouin would carry the European on their shoulders to all four corners, to observe the view. At the end of the century, an Egyptian novel satirized the westernizing pretensions among members of the Egyptian upper middle class, by having one such character spend a day climbing the pyramids at Giza, to see the view. The minaret presented itself similarly to even the most respectable European as a viewing tower, from which to sneak a panoptic gaze over a Muslim town. "The mobbing I got at *Shoomlo,*" complained Jeremy Bentham on his visit to the Middle East, "only for taking a peep at the town from a thing they call a

[34] Leila Ahmed, *Edward W. Lane: A Study of His Life and Work* (London: Longman, 1978); John D. Wortham, *The Genesis of British Egyptology, 1549–1906* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 65.

[35] Cited Ahmed, *Edward Lane*, 26.

minaret . . . has canceled any claims they might have had upon me for the dinner they gave me at the *divan,* had it been better than it was.''[36]

Bentham can remind us of one more similarity between writer and camera, and of what it meant, therefore, to grasp the world as though it were a picture or exhibition. The point of view was not just a place set apart, outside the world or above it. Ideally, it was a position from where, like the authorities in Bentham's panopticon, one could see and yet not be seen. The photographer, invisible beneath his black cloth as he eyed the world through his camera's gaze, in this respect typified the kind of presence desired by the European in the Middle East, whether as tourist, writer or indeed colonial power.[37] The ordinary European tourist, dressed (according to the advice in *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Lower and Upper Egypt,* already in its seventh edition by 1888) in either ''a common felt helmet or wide-awake, with a turban of white muslin wound around it'' or alternatively a pith helmet, together with a blue or green veil and ''coloured-glass spectacles with gauze sides,'' possessed the same invisible gaze.[38] The ability to see without being seen confirmed one's separation from the world, and constituted, at the same time, a position of power.

The writer also wished to see without being seen. The representation of the Orient, in its attempt to be detached and objective, would seek to eliminate from the picture the presence of the European observer. Indeed to represent something as Oriental, as Edward Said has argued, one sought to excise totally the European presence. ''Many thanks for the local details you sent me,'' wrote Théophile Gautier to Gérard de Nerval in Cairo, who was supplying him with first-hand material for his Oriental scenarios at the Paris Opéra. ''But how the devil was I to have included among the walk-ons of the Opéra these Englishmen dressed in raincoats, with their quilted cotton hats and their green veils to protect themselves against ophthalmia?''[39] Representation was not to represent the voyeur, the seeing eye that made representation possible. To establish the objectness of the Orient, as a picture-reality containing no sign of the increasingly pervasive European presence required that the presence itself, ideally, become invisible.

[36] Muwailihi, *Isa ibn Hisham,* 405–17; Jeremy Bentham, *The Complete Works,* John Bowring, ed., 11 vols. (Edinburgh: Tait, 1838–43), IV, 65–66.

[37] Cf. Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986). On the panopticon, see Bentham, *Complete Works,* IV; and Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon, 1977), 195–238.

[38] *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Lower and Upper Egypt* (London: John Murray, 1888), 12. A ''wide-awake'' is a low-crowned felt hat.

[39] J. M. Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Egypte,* 2nd ed. (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1956), 2, 191; Said, *Orientalism,* 160–61, 168, 239. The analysis that follows is much indebted to Said's work.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Yet this was the point where the paradox began. The European wished to exclude himself in order to constitute the world as something not-himself, something other and object-like. At the same time, he also wanted to experience it as though it were the real thing. Like visitors to an exhibition or scholars in Sacy's Orientalist museum, travelers wanted to feel themselves "transported . . . into the very midst" of their Oriental object-world, and to "touch with their fingers a strange civilization." Edward Lane wrote in his journal of wanting "to throw myself entirely among strangers, . . . to adopt their language, their customs, and their dress."[40] This type of immersion made possible the profusion of ethnographic detail in writers such as Lane, and produced in their work the effect of a direct and immediate experience of the Orient. In Lane, and even more so in writers like Flaubert and Nerval, the desire for this immediacy of the real became a desire for direct and physical contact with the exotic, the bizarre, and the erotic.

There was a contradiction between the need to separate oneself from the world and to render it up as an object of representation, and the desire to lose oneself within this object-world and to experience it directly—a contradiction that world exhibitions, with their profusion of exotic detail and yet their clear distinction between visitor and exhibit, were built to accommodate and overcome. In fact *experience,* in this sense, depends upon the structure of the exhibition. The problem in a place like Cairo, which had not been built to provide the experience of an exhibition, was to fulfill such a double desire. On his first day in Cairo, Gérard de Nerval met a French "painter" equipped with a daguerreotype, who "suggested that I come with him to choose a point of view." Agreeing to accompany him, Nerval decided "to have myself taken to the most labyrinthine point of the city, abandon the painter to his tasks, and then wander off haphazardly, without interpreter or companion." Within the labyrinth of the city, where Nerval hoped to immerse himself in the exotic and finally experience, "without interpreter," the real Orient, they were unable to find any point from which to take the picture. They followed one crowded, twisting street after another, looking without success for a suitable viewpoint, until eventually the profusion of noises and people subsided, and the streets became "more silent, more dusty, more deserted, the mosques fallen in decay and here and there a building in collapse." In the end they found themselves outside the city, "somewhere in the suburbs, on the other side of the canal from the main sections of the town." Here at last, amid the silence and the ruins, the photographer was able to set up his device and portray the Oriental city.[41]

[40] Cited Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* 5, vii.

[41] Gérard de Nerval, *Oeuvres,* Albert Béguin and Jean Richer, eds., 2 vols. Vol I: *Voyage en Orient* (1851), Michel Jeanneret, ed; (Paris: Gallimard 1952), 172–74.

Said reminds us that Edward Lane claimed to have found the ideal device for meeting this double demand: to immerse oneself and yet stand apart. His device was to hide beneath a deliberate disguise, rather like the tourist in colored spectacles or the photographer beneath his cloth. In order "to escape exciting, in strangers, any suspicion of . . . being a person who had no right to intrude among them," Lane explained, he adopted the dress and feigned the religious belief of the local Muslim inhabitants of Cairo. The dissimulation allowed him to gain the confidence of his Egyptian informants, making it possible to observe them in their own presence without himself being observed. His ethnographic writing seems to acquire the authority of this presence, this direct experience of the real. At the same time, as Said points out in a preface to the ethnography Lane carefully explained his deception to the European reader, thus assuring the reader of his absolute distance from the Egyptians. The distance assured by the deception is what gives his experience its "objectivity."[42]

The curious double position of the European, as participant-observer, makes it possible to experience the Orient as though one were the visitor to an exhibition. Unaware that the Orient has not been arranged as an exhibition, the visitor nevertheless attempts to carry out the characteristic cognitive maneuver of the modern subject, separating himself from an object-world and observing it from a position that is invisible and set apart. From there, like the modern anthropologist or social scientist, one transfers into the object the principles of one's relation to it and, as Pierre Bourdieu says, "conceives of it as a totality intended for cognition alone." The world is grasped, inevitably, in terms of a distinction between the object—the *thing itself* as the European says—and its meaning, with no sense of the historical peculiarity of this effect we call the *thing itself.* In terms of this distinction the scholar can grasp the world as an exhibition, as a representation, "in the sense of idealist philosophy, but also as used in painting or the theatre," and people's lives appear as no more than "stage parts . . . or the implementing of plans."[43] I would add to what Bourdieu says that the anthropologist, like the tourist and the Orientalist writer, came to the Middle East from Europe, a world as we have seen that was being set up to demand this kind of cognitive maneuver. They came from a place, in other words, in which ordinary people were beginning to live as tourists or anthropologists, addressing an object-world as the endless representation of some further meaning or reality, and experienc-

[42] Said, *Orientalism,* 160–64.

[43] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 2, 96. On "visualism" in anthropology, see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 105–141, and James Clifford, "Partial Truths," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography,* James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds.; (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 11–12.

ing personhood as the playing of a cultural stage part or the implementation of a plan.

THE ORIENT THAT ESCAPES

This, then, was the contradiction of Orientalism. Europeans brought to the Middle East the cognitive habits of the world-as-exhibition, and tried to grasp the Orient as a picture. On the other hand, they came to experience a "reality" that invariably they had already seen in an exhibition. They thought of themselves as actually moving from the exhibit or picture to the real thing. This was literally the case with Théophile Gautier, who lived in Paris writing his Orientalist scenarios for the Opéra-Comique and championing the cause of Orientalist painting. He finally set off for Egypt in 1869 after being inspired to see the real thing by a visit to the Egyptian exhibit at the 1867 Exposition Universelle. In this respect, Gautier was no exception. Europeans in general arrived in the Orient after seeing plans and copies—in pictures, exhibitions, museums, and books—for which they were seeking the original. Their purpose was always explained in these terms.

Orientalism's contradiction exemplifies the paradoxical nature of the world-as-exhibition. The exhibition persuades people that the world is divided into two fundamental realms—the representation and the original, the exhibit and the external reality, the text and the world. Everything is organized as if this were the case. But *reality,* it turns out, means that which can be represented, that which presents itself as an exhibit before an observer. The so-called real world outside is something experienced and grasped only as a series of further representations, an extended exhibition. Visitors to the Orient conceived of themselves as traveling to "the East itself in its vital actual reality."[44] But as we have seen, the reality they sought there was simply that which could be pictured or accurately represented, able to stand apart as something distinct from a subject and grasped in terms of a corresponding distinction between representation and reality. In the end, the European tried to grasp the Orient as though it were an exhibition of itself.

This paradox produced two symptomatic responses. The first might be called Orientalist dismay. Since the Middle East had not yet been organized representationally, Europeans, as we have already seen with Flaubert and Nerval, found the task of representing it almost impossible and the results disappointing. "Think of it no more!" wrote Nerval to Gautier, of the Cairo they had dreamed of describing, "That Cairo lies beneath the ashes and dirt . . . dust-laden and dumb." Nothing encountered in those Oriental streets quite matched up to the reality they had seen represented in Paris. Not even the cafés looked genuine. "I really wanted to set the scene for you here," Nerval explained, in an attempt to describe a typical Cairene street for one of

[44] Warburton, *Oxford Companion to English Literature,* s.v. "Kinglake."

Gautier's Parisian stage sets, "but . . . it is only in Paris that one finds cafés so Oriental."[45] "To create imaginary Egyptians as they are usually seen in the theater is not difficult," wrote the Egyptologist Mariette Pasha, another supplier of Oriental detail for the Paris stage, in this case the opera Aïda, but "to make a scholarly as well as a picturesque *mise-en-scène,*" accurately representing the Orient, was almost impossible. "I did not suspect the immensity of the details . . . I am literally losing my mind."[46]

Nerval's dismay led him to despair completely of finding "real Egypt," the Cairo that could be represented. "I will find at the Opéra the real Cairo, . . . the Orient that escapes me." In the end, only the Orient one finds in Paris, the simulation of what is itself a series of representations to begin with, can offer a satisfying spectacle. As he moved on towards the towns of Palestine, Nerval remembered Cairo as something no more solid or real than the façades of an exhibition or the painted scenery of a theater set. "Just as well that the six months I spent there are over; it is already nothing, I have seen so many places collapse behind my steps, like stage sets; what do I have left from them? An image as confused as that of a dream: the best of what one finds there, I already knew by heart."[47]

The second and more politically important response was that the Orient was always a place that one "already knew by heart" on arrival. "Familiar to me from days of early childhood are the forms of the Egyptian pyramids," wrote Alexander Kinglake in *Eōthen.* "Now, as I approached them from the banks of the Nile, I had no print, no picture before me, and yet the old shapes were there; there was no change: they were as I had always known them." Gautier, for his part, wrote that if the visitor to Egypt "has long inhabited in his dreams" a certain town, he will carry in his head "an imaginary map, difficult indeed to erase even when he finds himself facing the reality." His own map of Cairo, he explained, "built with the materials of *A Thousand and One Nights,* arranges itself around Marilhat's *Place de l'Ezbekieh,* a remarkable and violent painting. . . ." "The attentive European," wrote Flaubert in Cairo, "*re*discovers here much more than he discovers."[48]

The Orient was something one only ever rediscovered. To be grasped representationally, as the picture of something, it was inevitably to be grasped as the reoccurrence of a picture one had seen before, as a map one already carried in one's head, as the reiteration of an earlier description. How far this went was illustrated by Gautier, the champion of Orientalist art, when he was finally inspired to leave Paris and visit Cairo to see the real thing by the 1867

[45] Gérard de Nerval, *Oeuvres,* I, 878–79, 882, 883.

[46] Hans Busch, ed. and trans., *Verdi's Aïda: The History of an Opera in Letters and Documents* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978), 33–36.

[47] Gérard de Nerval, *Oeuvres,* I, 878–9, 882, 883.

[48] Kinglake, *Eōthen,* 280; Théophile Gautier, "L'Orient," *Oeuvres complètes,* (Paris: Charpentier, 1880–1903), XX; Pt. 2, 187; Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt,* 81.

Paris Exhibition. He then published an account of Egypt, whose first chapter, entitled "Vue génerale," was a description, in great detail, of the Egyptian exhibit at the world exhibition.[49]

The representation of the Orient obeyed, inevitably, this problematic and unrecognized logic, a logic determined not by any intellectual failure of the European mind, but by its search for the certainty of representation—for an effect called *reality*. The problem is not the logic itself, but the failure to recognize its paradoxical nature. Europeans like Edward Lane had begun the drawing up of their "exhaustive description of Egypt," determined to correct the earlier work of the French scientific mission's *Description de l'Egypte*. Later writers would then take themselves to the library of the French Institut in Cairo, to draw from and add to this body of description. Gérard de Nerval, collecting the material in Egypt he later published as *Voyage en Orient*, his life's major prose work, saw more of the library than of the rest of the country. After two months in Cairo, more than half way through his stay, he wrote to his father that he had not even visited the pyramids. "Moreover I have no desire to see any place until after I have adequately informed myself from the books and memoires," he explained. Six weeks later he wrote again, saying that he was leaving the country even though he had not yet ventured outside Cairo and its environs.[50]

As a result, the bulk of *Voyage en Orient*, like so much of the literature of Orientalism, turned out to be a reworking or direct repetition of the "information" available in libraries. In Nerval's case, it was mostly from Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. Such repetition and reworking is what Edward Said has described as the citationary nature of Orientalism: its writings added to one another "as a restorer of old sketches might put a series of them together for the cumulative picture they implicitly represent." The Orient is put together as this "re-presentation"; what is represented is not a real place, but "a set of references, a congeries of characteristics, that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of a text, or a citation from someone's work on the Orient, or some bit of previous imagining, or an amalgam of all these."[51] The "East itself" is not a place, despite the exhibition's promise, but a further series of representations, each one reannouncing the reality of the Orient, but doing no more than referring backwards and forwards to all the others. It is the chain of references that produces the effect of the place. Robert Graves remarks wryly on this effect in *Goodbye to All That*, when he disembarks at Port Said in the 1920s to take up a job at the Egyptian University and is met by an English friend. "I still felt

[49] Gautier, *L'Orient*, Pt. 2, 91–122.
[50] Gérard de Nerval, *Oeuvres*, 1, 862, 867.
[51] Said, *Orientalism*, 176–77.

seasick," he wrote, "but knew that I was in the East because he began talking about Kipling."[52]

In claiming that the "East itself" is not a place, I am not saying simply that Western representations created a distorted image of the real Orient; nor am I saying that the "real Orient" does not exist, and that there are no realities, but only images and representations. Either statement would take for granted the strange way the West had come to live, as though the world were divided in this way into two: a realm of mere representations and a realm of the real; exhibitions and an external reality; an order of mere models, descriptions, or copies and an order of the original.[53] What we suspected in the streets of Paris concerning this division is confirmed by the journey to the Orient: What seems excluded from the exhibition as the real or the outside turns out to be only that which can be represented, that which occurs in exhibition-like form—in other words, a further extension of that labyrinth that we call an exhibition. What matters about this labyrinth is not that we never reach the real, never find the exit, but that such a notion of the real, such a system of truth, continues to convince us.

The case of Orientalism shows us, moreover, how this supposed distinction between the interior representation and an external reality corresponds to another apparent division of the world, into the West and its Oriental exterior. Orientalism, it follows, is not just a nineteenth-century instance of some general historical problem of how one culture portrays another, nor just an aspect of colonial domination, but part of a method of order and truth essential to the peculiar nature of the modern world.

[52] Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960), 265.

[53] Cf. Jacques Derrida, "The Double Session," *Dissemination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 191–92, and the references in n.22.