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Orientalism and Occidentalism: The Case of Earl of Gleichen¹

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Abstract

This paper examines the theme of Orientalism within the context of the nineteenth century European imaginary painter Eduard Kaempffer's works on the story of Earl Ernst III of Gleichen from Thuringia/Germany. It investigates how, in the depiction of the Earl's reported bigamy with his Thuringian wife as well as with the Egyptian Melechsala, a sultan's daughter rescued him from execution. In this contextual foundation it explains aspects of Orientalist image and action (that fostered not only Western imagination of the Orient but also the Orient's self-image) as well as of the Occidentalism (including both anti-enlightenment thinking and uncritical imitation of Western culture) retrospectively relevant to the Earl's story, to the painting, and to the time period. It then briefly looks into conceptions of the female body as subject to these phenomena. It explores the far-reaching influence of these themes into modernity within the realms of alienation and distancing, and their purpose in constructing perception. Further, it explains the paintings and their themes and stereotypes within the backdrop of Protestant-Catholic relations and the Lutheran revival, pointing towards awareness and interpretation strategies for setting up a creative discourse to combat stereotypical imageries.

Introduction

In the first storey corridor of the city hall in Erfurt, capital of Thuringia, Germany, there is a series of impressive paintings on display.² The six canvases were painted sometimes between 1889 and 1896 by the renowned painter Eduard Kaempffer (1859–1926).³ The artistic works show Western images of the

¹ The author owes special gratitude to Käte Hamburger Centre for Advanced Studies "Law as Kultur," Bonn, for facilitating the finalization of the article for publication.

² See, Bodo Fischer, *Die Gemälde im Erfurter Rathaus* (Erfurt: Verlagshaus Thüringen, 1991).

³ Kämpffer was student of the well-known German artist from Düsseldorf Peter Janssen (1844–1908). See, *Ibid.*, 33. The six canvases are: Earl saying farewell to his Thuringian home to join a crusade; the Earl captured by Saracen horsemen in action; Sultan granting amnesty to Earl at the request of his daughter Melechsala; Melechsala and Earl fleeing from Sultan's palace for Italy;

Orient as they appear in nineteenth century European imaginary painting, displaying the story of Earl Ernst III of Gleichen (1160–1246), a famous Thuringian crusader, and member of a powerful family with many town charter laws in Erfurt in 13th and 15th centuries. Due to the alleged Earl's bigamy — anticipated in tombstone or slab inscription of the Earl with two women, now located in the Erfurt cathedral⁴ — his legend earned fame beyond the borders of the region. According to the legend, the Earl left his Thuringian castle, wife and children, to join the crusade of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250). In 1227 he was taken prisoner at Akkon, serving as a slave in Cairo. He was saved from execution by the sultan's daughter who was much later given the name Melechsala, who had fallen in love with the Earl. She managed to persuade the Earl to marry her, arguing that polygamy was allowed in Islam. Under mysterious circumstances both fled for Thuringia, where his wife and children were still alive, and by a special decree of the Pope in Rome, the Earl took the oriental beauty as his second wife.⁵

This ambiguous saga apparently sanctioned bigamy among leading Christian scholars and institutions, Catholic and later also Protestant. Before endowing it with meaningfulness, let us first try to understand, that the paintings can be perceived as an imaginary invention of another culture that projects a common cultural technique for self-affirmation, distinction and demarcation, assigning a collective, primordial identity to the cultural “other.” Projection also provides a space for unfulfilled desires, such as corporal pleasures, the European fantasies about the harem being a case in point.⁶ Similarly, Muslims had their notions of the *firangi* and its derogatory meanings,

the Earl together with Melechsala on their journey to Thuringia; the Earl of Gleichen marries Melechsala, his second wife. This last painting can be found at: <http://www.erfurt-web.de/Datei:Gleichen.jpg>, accessed 13 Sept. 2013.

⁴ This portraiture, originally located in the church of the Erfurtian Peterskloster, was shifted to the Erfurtian Dome only in 1813. Its public display shows, however, the Earl Lambert II of Gleichen (1160–1227) with his first wife and the one he married after the first's death, rather than the bigamous earl. For the image of the epitaph see, http://www.goethezeitportal.de/fileadmin/Images/db/wiss/bildende_kunst/illustrationen/sagenmotive/graf_von_gleichen/Gleichen_Grabmal_Woeller_500x830.jpg, accessed 6 June 2013.

⁵ See, Ludwig Bechstein, *Deutsches Sagenbuch* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1853), 497–499, <http://www.slm.uni-hamburg.de/ifa1/Personal/Schmidt-Knaebel/Bechstein/Bechstein-Volkssagen-Deut.pdf>, accessed 13 Sept. 2013; Stefan Tebruck, “Erfurt und die Kreuzzüge,” in *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Erfurt* 63: 10 (2002), 9–34; Ludwig Bechstein, *Thüringer Sagenbuch* (Coburg: Georg Sendelbach, 1858), 1: 303–307; Dirk Koch, *Die Schöne aus dem Morgenland: Eine Reise durch Raum und Zeit auf den Spuren des zweibeweibten Gleichengrafen*, 2nd ed. (Ingersleben: Burgen Druck, 2006).

⁶ See, for example Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel, and the Ottoman Harem* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004).

and their fantasies about European women as sexually provocative.⁷ But the case has another even more dramatic dimension in the context of Christian reformation and the German *Kulturkampf*. Let us first briefly look at the theoretical underpinning of our story, which is built on mutual perceptions turning into normative epistemology in nineteenth century.

Orientalism

The crucial term in this context is Orientalism, which has different meanings, depending on the perspective in terms of time and space, heuristics and epistemology of those who study it. Initially, Orientalism was understood to be informed by scholarly interest and mutual respect.⁸ Soon, however, through a “history of memory,”⁹ Western scholars eventually tried to make sense of their own history in the face of the cultural encounters, particularly by reproducing genealogies and narratives of Judeo-Christianity to prove their own authenticity and legitimize their chain of tradition. This body of knowledge about Europe or invisible Occidentalism¹⁰ required rigorous and specialized training in the fields of philology and hermeneutics.

This phase of cultural encounter seems to be informed primarily by a heuristic Eurocentrism — so as to better understand Europe’s own past and glory in an era when Europeans and non-Europeans interacted in a seemingly non-hierarchical environment introduced by trade, mutual respect and curiosity.¹¹ In fact, some European enlightenment figures even went so far as to use the “Orient” as a didactic background to criticize their own urban societies, thereby setting out the frame of reference for their identities. The literary technique of contextual alienation and distancing, such as can be found in Montesquieu’s “Persian Letters” (1721) or Oliver Goldsmith’s “The Citizen of the World; or Letters from a Chinese Philosopher, Residing in London to His Friends in the East” (1762), was born in this period.¹² European scholarship even

⁷ See, B. Lewis and J. F. P. Hopkins, “Ifrandj,” in B. Lewis et al., eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 3: 1044–1046; Andrew Wheatcroft, *Infidels: The Conflict between Christendom and Islam 638–2002* (London: Viking, 2003).

⁸ See, the interesting and stimulating narrative by Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492–1800* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993); also Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche* (München: Beck, 1998) who analyzes the interactions in the context of European colonialism.

⁹ For the notion of “Gedächtnisgeschichte” see, Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003).

¹⁰ Juan R. I. Cole, “Invisible Occidentalism: Eighteenth-century Indo-Persian Constructions of the West,” *Iranian Studies* 25 (1992), 3–16.

¹¹ See, for instance, Jamal Malik, ed., *Perspectives of Mutual Encounters in South Asian History 1760–1860* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000).

¹² Cf., Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens*, 68ff, 275–296.

internalized Oriental knowledge but soon did so without taking proper account of Oriental scholarship. Cases in point were Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805) and Sir Williams Jones (1746–1794), who operated at a time when Orientalism was not yet a discourse of domination but one of reciprocal relations: Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Alī Khān Ārzū (1689–1756), the famous scholar and poet of Persian and Urdu, had already ascertained the affinity of Persian and Sanskrit a few decades before Sir Williams Jones, while Anquetil-Duperron was highly influenced by Dārā Shikōh’s Persian translations. Both the Europeans, however, appropriated the works of their Indian informants without mentioning their contributions. This gradual institutional erasure of Oriental knowledge occurred at a time when authorship emerged as a prime principle of textual attribution and accreditation. Apparently, this *Orientalist amnesia* heralded Orientalism’s transformation into a discourse on progressing colonialism’s domination.¹³ Heuristic Eurocentrism turned into normative Eurocentrism.

Based on various practical-philosophical ideas, nineteenth century colonial politics came to be perceived and consequently legitimized as evolutionary and modern. In contrast, the “Orient” was constructed as a cultural space diametrically opposed to the societally constituting values and norms of the West considered inherently universal. This unilateral social evolutionism eventually proclaimed Europe as embodying hegemonic power. In doing so, various discourses on the othering of the Orient promulgated its societal decline into dogmatism, despotism and irrationality.¹⁴ The period marks fundamental intellectual changes in what gradually had become “Europe” and “Asia.”¹⁵ Ontological fixation and valorisation of differences seen as congenital and inherent helped maximize disparities. Grounded in nineteenth century natural sciences, orientalist sciences started analyzing the object “Orient” in its historical development, making use of the Hegelian categories of alienation and reconciliation. In this way, colonial administrators were provided with a “scientifically proven” image, wherein the Orient was conceived as alienated from its classical high culture. Terms like “modern” and “traditional” thereby became scientific categories evolving into an epistemological superiority of Europe, compounded by a complex process of deploying known and accepted concepts and categories for describing the unknown Oriental other. Hermeneutically necessary prejudicial standpoints and translational processes

¹³ See, Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, “Orientalism’s Genesis Amnesia,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 16 (1996), 1–14.

¹⁴ Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens*, 15–37.

¹⁵ See, the seminal works by Wilhelm Halbfass, *Indien und Europa: Perspektiven ihrer geistigen Begegnung* (Basel/Stuttgart: Schwabe & CoAG Verlag, 1981); and Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens*.

also created a space in which the own personal experiences could be inserted ingeniously.¹⁶ One's own knowledge therefore served as a resource or reservoir for classifications¹⁷ — a phenomenon one can trace in Orientalist artefacts,¹⁸ such as the series of paintings displayed in the Erfurt city hall.

By analogy, eighteenth and especially nineteenth century Europe and Asia were constructed in terms of arenas of power politics. For instance, it was during this period that the eastern borders of Europe were conceptualized, with the Balkans and Transoxiana as buffers between the two. Thus, cartography lent an aura of authenticity to imperial narratives.¹⁹

Orientalism acquires this meaning in the context of movements of decolonization and subsequently subaltern movements, when knowledge and power are entangled. Edward Said's intervention in his celebrated work *Orientalism* (1978) was crucial in this regard, as it shed new light on the colonial gaze.²⁰ European studies of non-Europeans, he said, were primarily determined by colonial interest; they cannot raise a claim to truth as the ideological discourse was inseparably tied to European might.

Said's book *Orientalism* decries not only how the material inequalities generated by colonization resulted in the presentation of the Orient as inferior and underdeveloped, monolithically stereotyped, exoticized and essentialized, but also how the literary and scholarly productions of the Orient, in particular the canonical and mainstream traditions, were belittled.²¹ Most importantly Orientalist studies helped create European self-identity by defining the Oriental other, thereby seeking to intensify Europe's "own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is closer to it and what is far away."²² In Said's words, Orientalism is a "style for dominating, restructuring and having

¹⁶ See, Aleida Assmann, "Interkulturelle Übersetzung: Grenzen, Chancen, Aporien," in Alois Hahn and Norbert Platz, eds., *Interkulturalität als neues Paradigma* (Trier: Universität Trier, 1999).

¹⁷ Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens*, gives a splendid analysis of these various translational processes during eighteenth century cultural encounter.

¹⁸ See, for example Christine Peltre, *Orientalism in Art* (New York: Abbeville Publishing Group, 1998); Roger Benjamin, *Orientalist Aesthetics, Art, Colonialism and French North Africa: 1880–1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

¹⁹ See Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens*, 30–31.

²⁰ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism, Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979). It seems important to note that Anwar Abdel Malek hinted at a similar direction in the 1960s and thus became a major source of inspiration for Said. See, Anwar Abdel Malek, "Orientalism in Crisis," *Diogenes* 44 (1963), esp. 107–8.

²¹ Akeel Bilgrami, "Occidentalism, the Very Idea: An Essay on Enlightenment and Enchantment," *Critical Inquiry* 32 (2006), 389.

²² Said, *Orientalism*, 55.

authority over the Orient.”²³ In other words, Eurocentric institutional discourses sanitized Western history while patronizing and even demonizing the non-West.²⁴ Thus understood, Orientalism was a discursive product of Western imagination, and it was intrinsic to European self-understanding.²⁵

For sure, this Saidian argumentational base, i.e., superiority and enhancement of self-identity, was fiercely criticized by different quarters, yet his contribution opened up new vistas for probing into Oriental cultures to the extent that it generated Orientalism as a generic term,²⁶ with the Orient that was absolutely different from the West, timelessly essentialized and unable to change.²⁷ These enduring perceptions have a long genealogy harking back to the so-called Middle Ages and they are still floating around to reproduce powerful and enduring imaginaries, such as traceable in the canvases painted by Kaempffer.

The nineteenth century Orientalist image and action not only fostered the dominant representation of the Orient in the West. It also affected strongly the self-statement of the Orient itself and consequently changed non-Western practices concretely — from blind imitation of modernization to a total rejection of Western society, forming a “strange alliance” between western Orientalism and Muslim fundamentalism, in which one side satisfied the essentializing fantasies of the other and repeatedly provided for specific images of the other,²⁸ — a phenomenon that can be called “Deep Orientalism.”²⁹

Fascinating as this narrative might be, Said’s dichotomization is based on the assumption that Orientalism had no corresponding equivalent in the Orient. This idea seems to be one-dimensional as it is based on the observation that only a few Orientals visited Europe and therefore they hardly showed any intellectual curiosity in the Occident.³⁰ One could potentially, however, imagine a field symmetrical to it called *Occidentalism*.

²³ Ibid., 55, 88, 2, 3.

²⁴ Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (London & New York: Routledge, 1995).

²⁵ Couze Venn, *Occidentalism: Modernity and Subjectivity* (London: Sage, 2000), 3.

²⁶ James G. Carrier, introduction to *Occidentalism: Images of the West*, ed. James G. Carrier (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 2.

²⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, 96, 70.

²⁸ Aziz al-Azmeh, *Die Islamisierung des Islam: Imaginäre Welten einer politischen Theologie* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1996), 202.

²⁹ Sheldon Pollock, “Deep Orientalism? Notes on Sanskrit and Power Beyond the Raj,” in Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1993), 76–133.

³⁰ See, Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Nationalism Historiography* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 20.

Occidentalism

But the analogy is deceptive, for Occidentalism is neither comparable to modern academic knowledge of Occidental societies in the Saidian sense, nor is it an approach based upon ontological and epistemological distinctions between the Occident and the Orient. And it is definitely not an Oriental style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Occident. To develop the notion of Occidentalism that is analytically in analogy to Orientalism, one would have to look at it in a similar manner: the metaphor of the *firangi* provided basis for moral, spiritual, cultural and also political claim to authority over the West,³¹ as can be read into the eleventh century Arab author Usāma b. Munqidh who complained about the low moral standards of the Christian Franks which would affect the neighbouring Muslim communities. These encounters during the centuries were filled with prejudices culminating in the period of colonialism when the West was really convinced to bring enlightenment to the Orient whereas the Orient fell into a deep suppression.

To start with, *The American Heritage Dictionary* innocently defines Occidentalism — probably originated in 1830–40 — as

1. A quality, mannerism or custom specific to or characteristic of the Occident.
2. Scholarly knowledge of Occidental cultures, languages and peoples.³²

It took more than 150 years, until *Occidentalism* in 1991 was re-used in the Egyptian scholar Ḥasan Ḥanafī's book *Introduction to the Science of Occidentalism*,³³ however as a battle cry. He interrogated the primacy of Western culture's universality and the inferiority of all that was not Western.³⁴ Consequently, he called for combating Eurocentricity and thus for an objectivation of the Occident similar to Western approaches to the Orient. His proposal was to re-establish an independent Arabic intellectual tradition, an Arab renaissance. Whether there is causality between this sort of Occidentalism and a sense of humiliation or of defeat, which easily can turn humiliation into a cult on purity and authenticity, as some writers have suggested, is open to

³¹ Cf. also, "Occidentalism in Obscurity," <http://campcatatonia.org/article/507/occidentalism-in-obscurity>, accessed 6 June 2013.

³² The American Heritage, *Dictionary of the English Language*, 5th ed., <http://ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=Occidentalism>, accessed 6 June 2013.

³³ Ḥasan Ḥanafī, *Muqaddimah fi 'Ilm al-Istighrāb* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Fanniyyah, 1991).

³⁴ See also, Thomas Hildebrandt, *Emanzipation oder Isolation vom Westlichen Lehrer: Die Debatte um Hasan Hanafis "Einführung in die Wissenschaft der Okzidentalistik"* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998).

question. The matter of fact is that his project did not really take off. The answer had to come from within the Occidental discourse itself.

Hence, the term was probably first mentioned in the context of American cultural studies by James G. Carrier in 1992³⁵ and, in a more elaborated way, in 1995 in his edited volume entitled *Occidentalism: Images of the West*, wherein it seems to be a suitable marker to examine a variety of responses to colonialism and modernity³⁶ constructed and re-constructed in the light of historical and political contingencies. In this sense Occidentalism can act as an idealized reformulation of indigenous village life, as a negative Occidentalism, labeling “the West as inhumanly mechanistic and impersonal, in contrast to an . . . [Orientalised space] of human empathy and creativity.”³⁷

Yet, Occidentalism was not the mere reverse of Said's *Orientalism* but involved discursive, usually innocuous processes by which the West turned difference into hierarchy and reproduced existing asymmetrical power relations. Thus understood, “Occidentalism is not the reverse of Orientalism but its condition of possibility. . . [It] entails the mobilization of stereotypical representations of non-Western societies as part of the West's self-fashioning as an imperial power.”³⁸ This sort of Occidentalism would represent an intrinsic element in the genealogy of the becoming-West of Europe, hegemonized with modernization and the global reach of European colonization. Consequently, this sort of Occidentalism would go hand in hand with the imperial form of governmentality.³⁹

The different discourses suggest that the essentializing Saidian dichotomy is hard to overcome, for it serves institutionalized forms of power hierarchy, also visible in iconographic representations of the crusades. Yet, the term Occidentalism became even more popular with the 2004 publication entitled *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies*.⁴⁰ Herein Occidentalism is

³⁵ Carrier distinguishes four sorts of Orientalism/Occidentalism: 1) Distinguishing between middle-class academics and the rest in Western academia. 2) ethno-Orientalism: essentialist renderings of alien societies by the members of those societies themselves (idealized reformulation of indigenous society). 3) ethno-Occidentalism: essentialist renderings of the West by members of alien societies (materialistic West). 4) Occidentalism: The essentialist renderings of the West by Westerners. See, James G. Carrier, “Occidentalism: The World Turned Upside-down,” *American Ethnologist* 19 (1992), 195–212.

³⁶ Jonathan Spencer, “Occidentalism in the East: The Uses of the West in the Politics and Anthropology of South Asia,” in J.G. Carrier, ed., *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (Oxford University Press, 1995), 253.

³⁷ Carrier, introduction to *Occidentalism*, 27.

³⁸ Fernando Coronil, *The Magical State: Nature, Money, and Modernity in Venezuela* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 14.

³⁹ Venn, *Occidentalism*, 2, 19, 61, 83.

⁴⁰ Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (New

described as a cluster of images in the minds of the West's "haters" invoking a set of "Western" attributes, such as arrogance, feebleness, greed, depravity, decadence,⁴¹ as can be anticipated also from the cover of the book. Though the authors deal with a variety of misapprehensions about the West and what it positively stands for — basically, rationality and individual freedom — they reproduce the dichotomy in a lasting way. All the same, the complex points raised by Said are absent. Instead of unfolding a genealogy of Occidentalism, the apologetic book focuses on the perceived worst aspects of Western life — materialism, commercialism, alienation. The Islamist contribution to this track of Occidentalism is seen in the religious vision of purity according to which the idolatrous West simply has to be annihilated. One can sense *ressentiment* of the negative privileged, that is the Islamists, nourished by experiences of humiliation and persecution.⁴² The notion of retributive religion is radicalized in metaphors of moralism such as hellish sinfulness — *jāhiliyyah*⁴³ as "current jihadis see the West as something less than human, to be destroyed, as though it were a cancer."⁴⁴ Denouncing the jihadist discourse, the authors of *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* concede, however, that the critics of a perceivably decadent, alienated, materialist, morally soft and spiritually bereft West arose first in the West — with European romantic critics of the Enlightenment. Therefore, they conclude, Occidentalism is part of the counter-Enlightenment, a revolt against rationalism and secularism, but also against individualism, as well as against a soulless society addicted to creaturely comforts, animal lusts, self-interest and security. Thus, Occidentalism according to this reading, is anything which is against the achievements of the West; it is a universally present and unavoidable element in the modern world; a constant shadow to modernity.⁴⁵

This scenario reminds of Iranian Jalal Al-e Ahmad who in 1960 coined the phrase "Westoxification."⁴⁶ The attempt to indiscriminately borrow from the West and adapt to modern conditions through uncritical imitation of Western institutions and culture, this "Westomania," is indeed a major discursive tool for

York: Penguin Press, 2004).

⁴¹ "Occidentalism in Obscurity," <http://campcatatonia.org/article/507/occidentalism-in-obscurity>, accessed 13 Sept. 2013.

⁴² More on the nexus between *ressentiment* and Islamism in Jamal Malik, "Fiqh al-Da'wah in Global Context" (upcoming).

⁴³ Calling to mind Islamist notions of *jāhiliyyah*, see, also Bilgrami, "Occidentalism," 391.

⁴⁴ Ian Buruma, "The Origins of Occidentalism," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 50: 22, February 6, 2004, <http://chronicle.com/free/v50/i22/22b01001.htm>, accessed 6 June 2013.

⁴⁵ Marko Attila Hoare, "Occidentalism and "Anti-Imperialism," *Democratija*, June 18, 2006, <http://jeffweintraub.blogspot.de/2006/06/occidentalism-and-anti-imperialism.html>, accessed 13 Sept. 2013.

⁴⁶ Jalal Al-i Ahmad, *Occidentosis: A Plague from the West*, clandestinely published in Iran in 1962.

contemporary Islamic revivalists. This leads to the next section of this paper: the female body, about which Muslim nationalists and theologians have cut and dried opinions reciprocating European discourses about the harem, especially in recent times.

The Female Body

Conceiving the past in terms of decay and backwardness, these Oriental men of the nineteenth century “provide a narrative account that accommodates and reinforces the foundational myth of modern Orientalism, a myth that constitutes ‘the West’ as ontologically and epistemologically different from ‘the Orient.’”⁴⁷ This Occidental narrative basis for establishing Europe as the significant cultural Other was based on travelogues of Oriental men who had toured Europe, and for whom Western woman was an important heterotopos for projection;⁴⁸ her body served as a proven identity-marker and eventually as a site for cultural contestation. While positive accounts of European women were used for the nationalist call for unveiling and educating women, negative narratives encouraged the idea of a Europhobic discourse that alerted against the Westification of Oriental woman⁴⁹ ultimately rendering her into an icon of corruption and immorality par excellence.

For example, some Oriental travelers conceived public places in Europe such as theatres as meeting places of whores and adulteresses and rendezvous of well-experienced pimps where intermission between the performances was understood as an occasion for intimacy between performers and their customers. “In this land of diverse persuasions, women and girls are generally pantless and unveiled and have a constant desire for able pummelers. . . . They are addicted to pleasure and play, and are free from suffering and toil . . .” Thus, as Mirza Fattah Garmrudi cried out after travelling Europe in 1838, “a common characteristic of women is their extreme desire for sexual intercourse” so that “due to the enormity of a woman’s lust, a man does not have the strength to satisfy and realize her wishes promptly.”⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran*, 8.

⁴⁸ For the notion of heterotopos as the “other space” see, Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975).

⁴⁹ Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran*, 8, xiii.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 60, 66ff. For Garmrudi’s account see also, Naghmeh Sohrabi, *Taken for Wonder: Nineteenth-Century Travel Accounts from Iran to Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); also Esmail Mahmoudi, Ali Akbar Kajbaf and Asghar Foroughi Abari, “European Woman from the Viewpoint of Two Iranian Logbook-Writers,” *Journal of American Science* 9: 5 (2013), http://www.jofamericanscience.org/journals/am-sci/am0905/033_15280am0905_271_276.pdf, accessed 13 Sept. 2013.

Islamists have been eager to integrate such pornographic accusation of Europe into their discourses to disapprove of unveiling with the aim to silence female voices. Carrier gets to the point when paraphrasing Laura Nader that

various commentators in the Middle East construct and present images of the West that portray women there as devalued sex objects, exploited by a flourishing pornography, and constantly threatened by molesting, rape, incest, and family violence. These are paired with orientalisms of Islamic society as one that values women and in which they can be secure. . . . [so that one] function of these opposed essentializations is to solidify and legitimize patriarchal gender relations in the Middle East.⁵¹

As a matter of fact, “reports of the sexual laxity of European women provided the . . . [religious scholars] with effective moral ammunition to attack the modernists. . . .”⁵² The notorious Islamist discourse on women is a case in point.

Similar strategies of familiarization can be traced in European imaginations about the harem, which had become the exotic site for the projection of licentious and permissive fantasies. In fact, these sexual imaginations were intertwined with colonial discourse on feminisation of Islam, which actually reflected the process of feminisation of Christianity back in Europe projected onto the colony and culminated in the politics of colonial civilizing mission:⁵³ the colony was perceived in terms of *feminality* that had to be tamed and subdued by the stark male rescuing colonizer in order to be saved from her environmental disorder.⁵⁴

What Can We Learn from the Legend of the Earl of Gleichen?

From the span of cultural studies and the reciprocal itineraries of images between Orient and Occident let us now return to our local legend of the Earl of Gleichen and its context, the crusades.⁵⁵

We know that the crusades served different purposes, for example combining pilgrimage and war and popularizing the notion of Holy War among Christian knights: the middle classes foraged for expanding trade, at a time when many knights were destitute, as can be read in the chivalrous epic poem known

⁵¹ Carrier, introduction to *Occidentalism*, 9.

⁵² Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran*, 71ff.

⁵³ Cf., Jamal Malik, *Islam in South Asia, A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), Chap. 9.

⁵⁴ Shohat and Stam: *Unthinking Eurocentrism*, 156.

⁵⁵ For the criticism see, Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095–1274* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); and Rudolf Hiestand, “Gott will es!": *Will Gott es wirklich? Die Kreuzzüge in der Kritik ihrer Zeit* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1998).

as *Song of Roland*. Due to the latent fear of the Arabs, especially of the so-called Saracens (idolaters, magicians, promiscuitors) — a scenario which had arisen from biased translations of Qur'ānic verses — Islam was stylized to the religion of the sword. In consequence, a boundary and dissociation from Islam took place which now was endowed with an overall enemy image.

It is interesting to note that during the crusades the symbol of the cross was replaced by that of a sword, the symbol of the Christian Middle Ages par excellence. This interdependence between sword and cross was important for the crusaders' self-image, so much so that the sword became the ultimate symbol of cultural contact and Islam became conceived of as a pure sword-religion. This contributed to the self-affirmation of the knighthood: there could be no knight without a sword! By the same token, the idea of the culture of knighthood and its moral dimensions was applied to the imagined Oriental permissiveness: although Catholicism demanded strict and austere lifestyle as laid down in its doctrines; in reality libertinism was not uncommon, even in the high ranks of Catholic Church. Later, Protestant reformers like Martin Luther (1483–1546) criticized this concept of an ideal moral society based on well-ordered norms.

However, in reality Christian knights had only little to do with swords and permissiveness. Indeed, the mission to fight could barely be regarded as fulfilled; on the contrary, what they brought with them was the minstrel-song (German: *Minnegesang*) instead. And while the crusaders spoke of wars of liberation, for Arabs those fights were more or less protective fights only.

Similar anxieties in the trajectories of cultural translation and inverted Orientalisms can be depicted in the paintings of Kaempffer and the legend of the Thuringian crusader, according to which the two women and the Earl met at the feet of the castle of Gleichen, at a place henceforth called "Freudenthal," the *Valley of Joy*; the path from Freudenthal up to the Earl's castle is called "Türkinweg," the *Turkish Woman's Path*, embodied in the Austrian painter Moritz von Schwind's (1804–1871) monumental canvas (228 cm x 184 cm) dated 1864, "Return of the Earl of Gleichen."⁵⁶ The story was amplified by the imagination that the Earl and his two wives shared a three-way-bed,⁵⁷ the first

⁵⁶ See, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/de/thumb/9/94/Schwind_Rueckkehr_des_Grafen_von_Gleichen.jpg/220px-Schwind_Rueckkehr_des_Grafen_von_Gleichen.jpg, accessed 13 Sept. 2013. It is said that the production of the painting took some forty years; see Ulf Dingerdissen, *Moritz von Schwind und seine "Rückkehr des Grafen von Gleichen": Eine romantische Stellungnahme zur Ehe* (Saarbrücken: Vdm Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008).

⁵⁷ The legend has been itself object of fantasies as can be seen from artistic representation, such as the elaborated wooden three-way-bed in Bad Pyrmont, Lower Saxony, Germany. See, http://www.goethezeitportal.de/fileadmin/Images/db/wiss/bildende_kunst/illustrationen/sagenmotive/graf_von_gleichen/Gleichen_Bettstelle_772x500_.jpg, accessed 13 Sept. 2013; also, <http://img.zvab.com/member/n1013s/5301762.jpg>, accessed 13 Sept. 2013.

wife giving birth to a number of children, the second one — although by now a converted Christian — lovingly looking after his children but staying utterly infertile.⁵⁸

As interesting as the story of the Earl of Gleichen may be, it seems to be quite anachronistic, since from the sixteenth century onwards many considered the account of the bigamous Earl apocryphal, challenging the possibility of his confinement in the Orient in the thirteenth century and his simultaneous marriage to two women. Certainly, no such verdict can be traced in the Vatican archives.⁵⁹ Instead, it was stated that in reality the Earl married the second after the first had died. In fact, the Earl is supposed to have left for the crusade not in 1227 but in 1221. It is also testified that he stayed with Frederick II (1194–1250) in Italy and received an epistle from him in 1222, a time when he is said to have had returned to Germany. Thus, Gregory IX (d. 1241) cannot have issued a dispensation because he was elected pope only in 1227. Similarly, the sultan's daughter who saved the Earl's life was endowed her name only in the eighteenth century by the author and pastor Johann Musäus (1735–1787) from Weimar in Thuringia.⁶⁰ Henceforth the sultan's daughter was called Melechsala,⁶¹ calling to mind the then sultan of Cairo, al-Kāmil Muḥammad al-Malik (1139–1193), a nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī (d. 1193). The sultan's daughter's name, "Sala," might therefore refer to "Ṣalāḥ" in "Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn," while the Hebrew word "melech" resounds in the Arabic word "malik" (king). But actually the name Melechsala is reminiscent of the bone of contention: Margarethe von der Saale (1522–1566) (see below).

However, given its legendary setting and its iconoclastic representation let us try to contextualize the Orientalist narrative in the background of the above

⁵⁸ See Ludwig Bechstein, *Deutsches Sagenbuch* (Leipzig: Wigand 1853), 497–499, <http://www.slm.uni-hamburg.de/ifg1/Personal/Schmidt-Knaebel/Bechstein/Bechstein-Volkssagen-Deut.pdf>, accessed 13 Sept. 2013. Christian Friedrich Hunold (1681–1721), *Menantes Academische Nebenstunden allerhand neuer Gedichte* (Halle/Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Zeitler, 1713), 91ff, composed a poem on the three-way-bed.

⁵⁹ See, Helga Neumann, Manfred Neumann and Agnes Miegel: *Die Ehrendoktorwürde und ihre Vorgeschichte* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000), 150.

⁶⁰ C. M. Wieland, ed., *Deutsche Volksmärchen von Johann August Musäus* (Gotha: C.W. Ettinger, 1804), 1: 697–733; Johann Karl August Musäus, *Volksmärchen der Deutschen*. After the text of the first edition of 1782–86, with illustrations by Ludwig Richter, A. Schrödter, R. Jordan and G. Osterwald (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1977), 657–744, http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Mus%C3%A4us,+Johann+Karl+August/M%C3%A4rchen/Volksm%C3%A4rchen+der+Deutschen/Melechsala#Fu%C3%9Fnote_9, accessed 6 June 2013.

⁶¹ See, image, http://www.goethezeitportal.de/fileadmin/Images/db/wiss/bildende_kunst/illustrationen/sagenmotive/graf_von_gleichen/Melechsala_Musaeus_350x406_.jpg, accessed 13 Sept. 2013.

discussion on Orientalism and Occidentalism and the social, spatial, and temporal materialities and discourses. In doing so, reference must be made to Protestant tradition, even if the legend had become part of the cultural canon of Central Germany long before Protestantism came to play a prominent role in Thuringia. Martin Luther who had studied at the University of Erfurt, entered a closed Augustinian friary there, and vent his anger about the Turks in a number of books and pamphlets, seems to be of prime importance in this context. Fiercely denouncing institutionalized Catholicism,⁶² he polemicized among others against marriage being conceived sacramental and even rejected its validity, since human law, he argued, could not overrule god-inspired love. In fact, referring to specific exceptions particularly with reference to run-away spouses and adultery, he even preferred bigamy to divorce in his *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae* dated 1520, arguing that he could not “forbid a person to marry several wives, for it does not contradict Scripture.”⁶³ The statement did not necessarily imply the formulation of principle of marriage law of sorts but was rather an exemption to the rule. Yet, this reference became a battle ground for the following debates.

Approximately in same period the landgrave Philipp of Hesse (1504–1567), who was married to Christine (d. 1549), daughter of Georg *the Bearded*, Duke of Saxony (1471–1539) since 1523, became an ardent supporter of Protestantism in 1524. Philipp had been suffering from syphilis since 1539, alluding to his hypotrophic sexuality preventing him from the monogamous character of Christian marriage and its subsequent sacramentalization.⁶⁴ In fact, keeping playmates was not unusual, so he had a relationship with one seventeen years old Magarethe von der Saale. Her mother, however, a tutor at Philipp’s sister, wanted to take advantage of that relationship as there was the prospectus of a considerable dowry. Thus she argued that she would accept the relationship only if it was legalized through proper marriage.⁶⁵

⁶² He, for example, challenged the construction of the Basilica of St. Peter built with the money of poor believers. Interestingly, the capture of Constantinople by the Turks had bereft Christians of their central holy site, so that the Church ventured into another building enterprise to be financed through letters of indulgence that would remit the believer of sins in the hereafter. These letters yielded high income for the church, and became a bone of contention.

⁶³ Günther Wartenberg and Michael Beyer, eds., *Martin Luther* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 2009), 3: 317ff. Translation is mine. Thanks go to Christoph Bultmann for drawing my attention to this source.

⁶⁴ See, Wolfgang Breul, “‘Mit gutem Gewissen’: Zum religiösen Hintergrund der Doppelehe Landgraf Philipps von Hessen,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 119 (2008), 149-177. I am thankful to Anselm Schubert for drawing my attention to this article.

⁶⁵ Gerhard Müller, “Philipp, Landgraf von Hessen,” in Hans Dieter Betz et al., *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 6: 1270ff; Breul: “‘Mit gutem

Driven by his desires but also gnawed at his conscience, in 1539, Philipp through his mediator Martin Bucer (1491-1551)⁶⁶ initiated negotiations with the two leading protestant reformers in that area, Luther and his collaborator Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560), in order to obtain their affirmation to marry a second wife much younger than himself. In doing so he probably was inspired by a tomb slab displaying an Earl with two women and by the alleged papal blessing of the Earl's bigamy that had become part of Catholic cultural memory. As the reformers had already rejected the sacramental character of Christian marriage, approval of Philipp's marrying a second wife seemed to be no problem. If the landgrave was not able to shun from his lascivious life, the theologians were interested at least in an agreeable solution for the sake of his blessedness and his position and honor. It is another matter that Philipp threatened to ask for papal support otherwise.⁶⁷ The only possibility to do so was the exceptional rule of a secret marriage about which only very few confidants would know under the pledge of secrecy. The second wife was to be kept as a concubine — a practice common among nobility.⁶⁸

Hence, they did not issue a public statement⁶⁹ but a confessional and pastoral advice to Philipp who not only seemed to have been suffering from guilty conscience but also hinted at the precarious papal decree.

In a document referred to simply as 'Der Beichtrat' (or 'The Confessional Advice'), [24] Martin Luther granted the Landgrave Philipp of Hesse, who for many years had been living 'constantly in a state of adultery and fornication,' [25] a dispensation to take a second wife. The double marriage was to be done in secret however, to avoid public scandal. [26] Some fifteen years earlier. . . , Luther stated that he could not 'forbid a person to marry several wives, for it does not contradict Scripture'.⁷⁰

The marriage took place on 4th March 1540, and in return the reformers received compensation — app. 1000 liters of precious Rhinewine!

Gewissen.”

⁶⁶ For Bucer's ideas see, Herman Johan Selderhuis, *Marriage and Divorce in the Thought of Martin Bucer* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1999).

⁶⁷ Breul, "Mit gutem Gewissen," 169, 171.

⁶⁸ Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1987), 3: 206. That is a secret matrimony (*matrimonia clandestina*), which seemed to have quasi legal status at that time. For the medieval concubinage also see, Paul-Joachim Heinig, "Fürstenkonkubinat um 1500 zwischen usus und Devianz," in Andreas Tacke, ed., ". . . wir wollen der Liebe Raum geben": *Konkubinate geistlicher und weltlicher Fürsten um 1500* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006), 11-37.

⁶⁹ Brecht, *Martin Luther*, 3: 205-214.

⁷⁰ 'Ego sane fateor, me non posse prohibere, si quis plures velit uxores ducere, nec repugnat sacris literis'. See, <http://washparkprophet.blogspot.de/2009/05/martin-luther-on-polygamy.html>, accessed 13 Sept. 2013.

The “Confessional Advice” or dispense was nothing new but rather a conventional ecclesiastical mechanism, as the pope — and also the religious (Protestant) authorities in Wittenberg, where Luther had, in 1517, made public his ninety-five theses against the papal selling of indulgences — used to issue dispensation from specific prohibitions. These individual cases were indeed trivialized in the idiom that came to be known as confessional or pastoral advice or “Beichtrat.”⁷¹

The marriage, however, soon became the catalyst for Philipp’s political decline, and eventually caused a major crisis for the Protestants.⁷² Philipp however did not forebode that he would provide new material for world literature⁷³ as he is considered *spiritus rector* of the creation of our legend.⁷⁴ It is said that one of Melancthon’s students subsequently formed the myth into a historical factual report in order to legitimize Philipp’s side marriage with Margarethe von der Saale.⁷⁵

So the legendary narrative cast a thick cloud of the mood, experiences and adventures of the times of the crusades over Protestant activities; its message is clearly reflected in the paintings mingling Byzantine and Oriental motifs of adventure and fairy tales. Even more, the powerful iconography of the canvases helps monumentalize and actualize the memory of the crusades and through their representation in a public space makes them accessible to the wider public, thus keeping the message alive. As such, myths and legends amount to fundamental figures of memory, and their “constant repetition and actualization is one of the ways in which a society or culture affirms its identity.”⁷⁶

The idea of the Orient being a space to be reconquered is reverberated in the iconic paintings which also point to a latent male desire for polygamy, in retrospective sanctioned by leading Christian religious authorities — albeit couched in apocryphal narratives, situated in cultural faultiness. Military intervention, the idea of a masculinist fantasy of rescuing the Oriental beauty, libidinous obsession and inverted polygamy all point to significant residues of discursive practices. After all, the notions of “booty-Turks” (*Türkenbeute*)

⁷¹ See also, Heinz Schilling, *Martin Luther: Rebell in einer Zeit des Umbruchs* (München: C.H. Beck, 2012), 497–505. I am thankful to Christoph Bultmann for drawing my attention to this source. Breul, “Mit gutem Gewissen,” 155ff, 163–173, argues that Philipp was indeed suffering from crisis of conscience (due to extramarital relation) so that he even refrained to join the communion. Only after introspection and biblical studies he ventured to marry Margarete “with a clear conscience”.

⁷² Brecht, *Martin Luther*, 205–214.

⁷³ <http://www.mdr.de/geschichte-mitteldeutschlands/suche/suche112.html?q=gleichen>, accessed 13 Sept. 2013.

⁷⁴ Tebruck, *Erfurt und die Kreuzzüge*, 11ff.

⁷⁵ Apparently this *Historia de Comite quodam Glichense* was never printed.

⁷⁶ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 10.

brought home from war with the Turks and of “westificated Turk” (*gewesten Türk*) following smooth cultural assimilation⁷⁷ were quite popular at that time.

Thus, in our story a different world is conceived through the construction of another space with its own laws pertaining to time and space — the *heterotopos*. The story, however, remains utterly internalized and deeply silent until it can be “heard” from this other, imprisoned world. Only when made audible and publicly accessible to an imagined, implied or even idealized audience, can it become virulently active and alive to display its versatile meanings. Its liberation from the constraints of a unique and dramatically constructed spatio-temporal setting — the flight of the Earl and his beloved from the place of the ‘Other’, the Orient — is the *leitmotif* of this sort of Orientalist representation with its special iconography. Indeed, the subversive circumstances of the flight lend the story particular importance in the cultural memory of its audience; it creates curiosity and a specific, albeit biased and highly personalized, version of history. Furthermore, the Holy Land as the imagined mythological ideal place for which the Earl fought, the enigma attached to the sultan’s daughter’s name and her advocacy, the rescue and finally the papal sacralisation of their flight as well as the Protestant approval of bigamy make this story and its artistic representation seem all the more important and designated for this imagined tradition.

This insight in itself is quite yielding. But there is yet another — startlingly Occidentalist — side to it: the legend represented in the extensive and sumptuous paintings and the reproduction of the marriage issue and bigamy can be read in terms of a Protestant-Catholic controversy on sacrament. And here lies the actual hermeneutic bone of contention, because the canvases virtually communicate within the Christian cultural setting, but from a marked Protestant background, and they use Oriental(ist) symbolism as a projection field for their own reformist perception: by way of employing the dramatic paradigm of the crusades, that is, the Islamic-Christian frame of reference, they in fact consolidate the Protestant view into the local German discourse. In this way, the peripheral and the excluded (Oriental) reemerges in the midst of structures of the meaningful to capture the Christian imagination. Therefore this Protestant response to Catholicism can be seen as a reinvention of tradition of sorts through Oriental(ist) repertory. In this sense tradition is a highly contingent concept, rather than the sum of actual past practices that might have

⁷⁷ Cf., Hartmut Heller, “Beutetürken: Deportation und Assimilation im Zuge der Türkenkriege des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,” in Gerhard Höpp, ed., *Fremde Erfahrungen: Asiaten und Afrikaner in Deutschland, Österreich und in der Schweiz bis 1945* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1996), 159–167; Eva Verma, *Wo Du auch herkommst: Bi-nationale Paare durch die Jahrtausende* (Frankfurt, A.M.: Dipa-Verlag, 1993), 47–56.

perdured into the past. "...tradition is a modern trope, a prescriptive representation of socially desirable (or sometimes undesirable) institutions and ideas thought to have been handed down from generation to generation."⁷⁸ It can serve as a significant quarry for the reconstruction and reinvention of one's own history. Not only, that the construction of the past captures a prominent role in cultural memories; also the historical memory creates the sources it needs for its own reproduction. The careful making of the past — that is historiography — in fact meets the function of building identity and generating solidarity; and it is often focused on a place beyond or outside history, the "space of otherness," such as an imaginary Orient. Thus, historiography is always informed by the past, enmeshed in questions and interests of and in the present to serve the future.

Analysis of this sort becomes more plausible when one considers the historical circumstances in which the laborious images in effect emerged, backed by a powerful legend. The paintings were commissioned in 1883, the year of the Luther Memorial, and decreed as an occasion for Reformation festivities, that followed the years of the German culture war (*Kulturkampf*; 1871–1878) launched by the Prime minister of Prussia, Otto von Bismarck (d. 1898) against the Catholic Church.⁷⁹ Bismarck notoriously pursued liberal policies, such as anti-Catholic secularization, including the introduction of civil marriage. From the Protestant perspective, he was compared to Luther, who was at that time celebrated as an icon of reform and a national hero. The decision to display the iconographically impressive and effective public presentation and thereby facilitate the mnemohistorically lasting reanimation of the legend of the Earl of Gleichen can therefore without question also be conceived as a rehabilitation of Luther.

Whether such an interpretation offers more than exclusively Christian-Islamic studies on the subject of Orient and Occident and their reciprocal perceptions is beyond question. It is worthwhile to unveil these residuals and margins, in the complex and versatile history of cultural encounters between

⁷⁸ S. Vlastos, "Tradition: Past/Present Culture and Modern Japanese History," in S. Vlastos, ed., *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 3, quoted in, Max Deeg, "'Wer eine kennt, kennt keine. . .'" — Zur Notwendigkeit der Unterscheidung von Orientalismen und Okzidentalismen in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte," Peter Schalk et al., eds., *Religion im Spiegelkabinett: Asiatische Religionsgeschichte im Spannungsfeld zwischen Orientalismus und Okzidentalismus* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universität, 2003), 32, for details see, 27–61.

⁷⁹ Nicely represented in the caricature "Between Berlin and Rome" from *Kladderadatsch*, 16 May 1875. *Kladderadatsch* (onomatopoeic for "Crash") was a satirical Berlin-based German-language magazine; see, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Kladderadatsch_1875_-_Zwischen_Berlin_und_Rom.png, accessed 10 June 2013.

Orient and Occident and to reveal sediments which can help to set up a creative discourse that destabilizes, corrects and demythologizes the stereotypical imaginaries — a long and arduous journey indeed.

