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Rethinking the Genealogy of Orientalism; Intellectual Encounters Before and Beyond Edward Said

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Abstract. Orientalism, as a Western scholarly discipline, emerged as an intellectual enterprise concerned with the study of Eastern cultures, languages, literatures, histories, and religions. Geographically, the Orient generally refers to the regions east of the Mediterranean. In practice, however, the primary focus of Orientalist scholarship was often on Islam and Muslim societies, examined largely through Western intellectual frameworks. Consequently, the term "Orientalism" has frequently been used not merely in its geographical sense but also to refer to scholarly representations of Muslim societies across different regions. Orientalist scholarship has often been criticised for its essentialist assumptions and for its close association with Western political, economic, and colonial interests. Numerous scholars have examined the nature and implications of Orientalism. Although Edward Said is widely regarded as one of the most influential scholars in the critical study of Orientalism, considerable scholarly attention should be devoted to the works of earlier thinkers who engaged with the concept before Said. Among them are Anouar Abdel-Malek, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, Marshall G. S. Hodgson and. Their works provide important perspectives for understanding the

intellectual development and historical dimensions of Orientalism beyond the framework established by Said. This paper examines the contributions of these scholars and explores their respective works in relation to Orientalism. It briefly introduces their intellectual contexts, analyses their approaches to the study and representation of the Orient, and considers their significance for understanding the development of Orientalist thought before and beyond Edward Said.

Keywords: Orientalism, Colonization, Venture of Islam, Edward Saiad.

INTRODUCTION

Orientalism is a western intellectual entity which was formed in terms of studying the Oriental culture, language, literature, religion and all the factors related to the Orient. Although, geographically, the Oriental land also includes India, China, Japan, its discourses mainly focused on the Islamic oriented discussions. The people beyond this geography are those who called Orientalists. That's why, many a time, scholars like Taha Hussein, Egyptian writer who later became a modernist and wrote the book On Islamic Poetry, are never considered as the Orientalists.[1] The term "Orientalism" appeared in English literature in AD 11 and started to be used in 1830 in the French language. But the term "Orientalists" was already used in English and French respectively in 1779 and 1799.[2]

It's impossible to confirm an explicit chronology on the history of the category of Orientalism. While some scholars record the 11th century as the beginning of Orientalism as the result of certain conspiracies, others denote the 12th century. The Arabic language and the Islamic literature were started to be studied in the Europe at the 12th century. This is why some calculated to the 12th century. The decolonial scholars[3] (such as Ramon Grosfuguel and Ella Sohat) and some others argues the origin of Orientalism in the period of Muslim Spain or in the post-crusade time. However, these two events have undeniable role in this discussion.[4]

The immense expansion and magnification of Muslim intellectual tradition and knowledge system in the Medieval period have been caused the origination of hate and fear of Christian priests towards Islam. The crusade, which was started in order to the call of the Pop in 1096 and was ended up in the victory of Muslims under the command of Sultan Salahuddheen Ayyubi in 1270, convinced the Christians that it's impractical to defeat the them with the armed force. Following this awareness, it

[1] Ching-Jen Wang, *Azharists, modernists and orientalists: the intellectual rivalry in Egypt from the late 19th century to the early 20th century*, 'Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM Press), https://core.ac.uk/display/162018921?utm_source=pdf&utm_medium=banner&utm_campaign=pdf-decoration-v1, (accessed on 31/07/2023).

[2] Mustafa al-Siba'I, *Al Isthishraq Va al Musthashriqun Va Ma Lahum Va Ma Alaihim*, (Dar Al-Warraq Al Makthab Al Islami, 2018), p-16.

[3] Ramón Grosfoguel, *The Structure of Knowledge in Westernized Universities: Epistemic Racism/Sexism and the Four Genocides/Epistemicides of the Long 16th Century*, (Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge, 2013), https://scholarworks.umb.edu/humanarchitecture/vol11/iss1/8/ (accessed on 31/07/2023).

[4] Al-Siba'i, *Al Isthishraq Va al Musthashriqun*, p-17.

was the new idea that emerged in their mind, to misinterpret Islam in order to defend the Muslim movements to the Europe. It was indeed that the deep-rooted faith of Muslims should be destructed to destroy their well organised power. This was the context of Orientalism's expansion.

They were well aware of that it's impracticable to misinterpret the Islam devoid of the well understanding. So, they introduced numerous projects in which the immense efforts were recorded to translate the Islamic foundational texts and knowledges to the Latin language. But there can be seen another important event happened before these efforts that the Christian Pops travelled to Muslim Spain to access the knowledge. Jarbert De Araliak, who was a French Pop during AD 999-1003 with the name of Sylvester second, was the prominent of those travellers. He returned from Spain with different kinds of knowledges.[5] But the scholars argue that he shouldn't be considered as an explicit Orientalist due to his absence in writing and the lack of knowledge in Arabic language.

After this period, the idea of establishing study centres in Europe in terms of studying Islam and Muslim societies was emerged. The conspiracy of Muslim conversion to Christianity was also the motivation of this idea. Rojer bacon was one of the propagators. The Vienna agreement of 1312 under the command of Christian authorities made it happen. This can be denoted as the starting of Orientalism in its religious context. Following this agreement, the Islamic chairs were introduced in the European Universities like Oxford, Paris and Polonia.[6] The subsidiary relations between Medieval Europe and Ottoman Caliphate and the financial conductions between Spain, Italy and Egypt, Turkey and Syria have been caused the expansion of Orientalism.

Moreover, more objective researches and efforts to study Islam were conducted in the16th century Europe. In this period, Europe experienced more intellectual movement and thus they decided to conduct more spacious activities in the Middle East. The first Arabic study centre was established at 1539 in the College de France[7] in the leadership of Guillaume Postel, considered as one of the first absolute Orientalists, due to this decision.

Postal brought a great library of the Middle East to the Europe and immersed himself in teaching Arabic and other oriental languages. After the Arabic language project in College de France, several European Universities introduced the Islamic chairs. In 1636, Cambridge University established an Arabic and Islamic chamber. Simultaneously, numerous works became published in terms of misinterpret Prophet Muhammad (s) and Islam. Historical and critical dictionary (Dictionnaire Historique et Critique-1697- Roterdam), of the French philosopher Pierre Bayle, is one of those works.

In fact, an honest work which interpreted Islam devoid of fallacies and twists was also written in this period itself. Hadrian Relandi, professor of Arabic and oriental language studies in a Holland University, wrote the book "De Religion

[5] *Ibid,* p. 18-19
[6] Al-Siba'i, *Min Rawai'i Hadharathina*, (Dar Al-Warraq Al Makthab Al Islami, 1999), p-67-80.
[7] Founded in 1530

Muhammedica"(The Muhammedan Religion) in 1705. Its first part, of two, discusses the category of faith in Islam. The second corrects the misconceptions about Islam propounded in the West. Unfortunately, the church of Catholics prohibited this book which was written based on the Latin and Arabic works.[8] But it has been suddenly translated to English, French, Spanish, German and Dutch languages. In 1785, another college was established in Paris for the study of Oriental languages in the leadership of Sylvester de Sacy. This caused the expansion of Orientalism in France and the word Orientalism became more popular in this period.[9]

By the nineteenth century, the Orientalist projects were also started its working at the Oriental consulates of the West. Germany became the top of this project. Several Orientalist magazines became popular in this period itself. According to these historical facts, the category of Orientalism can be divided into five phases in accordance to the changes in its methodology in different contexts.

Movements to Muslim Spain

Muslims' movements to Europe through Spain weren't only the political domination. Rather it was a project of introducing the horizon of knowledge to the Europe. Muslim Spain was immersed itself in massive knowledge production, while the rest of the Europe was in darkness. Later the West was enlightened by the scholars studied from Muslim Spain.[10]

Gustave Le Bon denotes that, the books of Muslim scholars, especially scientific, were the only the syllabus of the European Universities around four or five centuries. The works in medical science, especially of Ibn Sina, is the undeniable examples. The scholars like Rojer Bacon depended only the Arabic works. Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd were highly influenced in the West.[11]

In short, Muslims achieved the top rank of all kind of disciplines like medicine, mathematics, chemistry, geography and astronomy. Simultaneously, they preserved the essence of Islam. The Christian Europe couldn't exist with their stuttered religious values towards the massive scientific progress of Muslims. Thus, the Christian Pops had to distract the mind of Christians. They call the Christians to resist the Islam by studying from Muslim Spain itself. The Jarbar de Araliak may be in this period. The translation of Islamic texts and works was the main project of this period. A particular group were appointed to accomplish the project of translation. Robert of ketton[12] wrote the first Quran translation in 1143, then its copies were distributed among the Christian churches throughout the world. Around sixty works of the prominent

[8] Al-Siba'i, *Al Isthishraq Va al Musthashriqun*, p-17-21.

[9] *Ibid*.

[10] Ramón Grosfoguel, *The Structure of Knowledge in Westernized Universities: Epistemic Racism/Sexism and the Four Genocides/Epistemicides of the Long 16th Century*, (Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge, 2013), https://scholarworks.umb.edu/humanarchitecture/vol11/iss1/8/ (accessed on 31/07/2023).

[11] Al-Siba'i, *Al Isthishraq Va al Musthashriqun*, p. 20-21

[12] Robert of Ketton (1110-1160) was an English astronomer, translator, priest and diplomat active in Spain. He translated several works of Arabic into Latin, including the first translation of the Quran into any Western language.

scholars like Ibn Sina and Razi were translated in 1187. In short, the project of translation was the first phase of the Orientalism.

The Project of Misinterpretation

This phase was started after the end of crusade wars. The first phase was only the translations. But the Christians understood that it's impractical to defend Muslims with armed force or any other ways. Then, they interacted with Islam in a very shameless way that they simultaneously misinterpreted Islam and stole the Islamic knowledge systems.

Allamah Shibly Nomani says that, they were highly thirsty of Muslim blood while they were stealing the knowledges of Islam.[13] They didn't avoid any chances to misinterpret Islam and the life prophet Muhammad (s). Because they knew that the only way to destruct Islam is the misinterpretation.[14] Orientalists propounded and alleged on Umar bin Khattab that he fired the big library of Alexandria. In fact, it was fired by the emperor Theodosius. This project, which organized under the command Church, misguided and led astray a lot of people, also Muslims.

The Project of Stealing Books from African and Asian Libraries

This was the period of industrial revolution by which all European powers immersed on their colonial interests. Their eagerness to invade the world also reached to the Muslim world. If the Muslim world, which was religiously, politically and intellectually advanced, was to be fully understood, it was necessary to understand their ways of life and so on. Direct communication with them required knowledge of the Arabic language. As mentioned earlier, Arabic chairs were established in European universities with this aim in mind. Those who studied here worked in the colonial administrative centres and foreign ministries of the Middle East (Muslim countries). Whenever they got a chance, they performed the task of injecting poison in the Muslim world. Plans were also made to smuggle as many Arabic books as possible to Europe. Oxford professor Edward Peckak smuggled a huge collection of precious books from Halab. It is said that the rare manuscripts of Arabic-Muslim books amounting two and a half lakhs were smuggled to Europe during the occupation. Those times were not like today when printing and other modern facilities were developed. All of them were handwritten defendants. Therefore, a single manuscript would have the value of a book with thousands of copies today. Two and a half lakhs of books were smuggled. Perhaps, there is no other copy of that one book. At the same time, many works on Islamic history and Islamic literature were written in Europe. In this way, there are about 60,000 books published only about Arabia during the period 1811-1950.[15]

After Napoleon's conquest of Egypt, many of its precious books were taken to France. Similarly, after 1857, the British also smuggled from India. Before long, the

[13] Haifa Shakiri, *Maqalaat Shibily fi-l- Islami wa-l-Musthashriqin*, (Al-alukha, 2015)

[14] Abdullah Muhammad Al-Amin Al-Naim, *Al-Isthishraq fi al-Siyrat al-Nabawi*, (House of Contemporary Thought, 2017), P-20-25.

[15] Najeeb Al-Aqiqi, *Al- Musthashriuqun*, (Dar al-Ma'arif, 2018), p-19-27.

libraries of Europe, which was an intellectual wasteland, were filled with precious collections of knowledge taken from India, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt, Syria and Iraq. In this way, it can be said that a great project of Orientalism was implemented through the activities of the foreign ministries and the theft of books. During this time, most of the attempts were made to destroy Muslim intellectuals and castrate their religious consciousness. As a result, Europe got some academic intellectuals (the world nicknamed them Modernists) from the Muslims who forgot the essence of Islam itself. Jamaluddin Afghani, Muhammad Abdu, Ahmad Amin, Taha Hussain, Mahmood Abu rayah, Qasim Amin etc. can be included in this list. Egypt has taken in more of them. In India, which was ruled by Muslims for six centuries, there were many books in Arabic, Urdu and Farsi. The Orientalists were eager to seize them. Attempts to distort the bright history of Indian Muslims also took place after 1857. They also tried to divide the Muslims and Hindus, who were co-existing, by distorting the past history. Sir Henry Eliot wrote an eight-volume book on this topic.

New Policies and Trends

This period was started when the colonized communities began to claim their freedom and to call for the resistance. Muslims also participated in these movements. So, the colonizers and Orientalists expanded their operation zones to resist these movements. Although they were ready to give up political power to Muslims, countries like Britain were not ready to give up the vast intellectual property of Muslims resting in their European libraries. Although it seems that the style of work has been changed in terms of performance, it has not retreated even a little from the underlying goals of distorting Islam and spreading Christianity.[16] That trend continued in the later period as well. Appeasement policy was adopted by the West during this period. They showed respect and reverence to Muslims like never before. This was so that the Muslim world, which is leaning towards western methods, does not slip from the handle. Many centres of Western learning were established in the Muslim world during this period to make this trend a huge success. At the same time, clear plans were secretly prepared and presented to break the unity and cohesion that had always been the strength of the Muslim world and to disintegrate their faith base.[17]

The Orientalists, working as advisers to the Foreign Ministries, were clearly charting the path to be followed in the colonies in the coming years. Many university professors were employed in security and military offices. Together with all of them, they were making up wolves in sheep's clothing to the Muslim world. The “Scarbrough Report”, which can be described as the Chapter of Modern Orientalism, was presented by Britain after the Second World War. This report, which explained many plans to be adopted further in the eastern region, also reminded the colonizers of the future consequences of ignoring them. H. A. R. Gibb's book Modern Trends in Islam, which unveils the new developments that were taking shape in the Islamic

[16] Al-Siba'I, *Al Isthishraq Va al Musthashriqun*, p. 23-24
[17] Al-Aqiqi, *Al- Musthashriuqun*, p-19-27.

world, also came out at this time. Many of the policies followed by the West in the Middle East today were formulated 50 years ago.

The Methodology Behind Denominational Divisions

This stage is also part of the above-mentioned period. Petrol, which enriched the Muslim world, was a hindrance for the dreams of the Orientalists. Later on, they made strong efforts to prevent the monopoly of petrol from getting out of hand, rather than studies about Islam, they studied about many groups among Muslims and the new possibilities and situations that arose among Muslims socially and economically. They tried to alienate different Muslim sects from each other. Thus, the Sunnis, the Shiites and the Kurds were kept at an irreconcilable distance. This state of disintegration has deprived the Muslims of the strength to present their many demands strongly to the world. Muslims are suffering from that curse even today.[18]

It is because of this lack of foresight and lack of sense of unity that Muslims are not able to adequately defend the plans prepared by the West many years ago with a long view. Zionism along with Orientalism has made a strong effort to create this predicament. Moreover, it is also true to say that the Jewish lobby was the one who planned all these projects. Many organizations were formed in the Western world during this period to study the new trends in the Middle East.[19] The middle east studies association of north America formed in 1966 in America and the British Society for middle-eastern studies formed in 1976 are some of these. Such organizations produced a large number of publications analysing the Orient.

This Orientalist tradition, which have played undeniable role in the project of identity formation of the West, have been studied by numerous scholars. Edward Said is the foremost considered theorist in this field of discussion. His renowned book, Orientalism, which is a penetrating critique on the discipline, is considered as the canonical work on the post-colonial theory. His critical engagement with various Orientalists and the discipline itself has been influential in different kinds of disciplines including history, sociology, politics, area studies, linguistic studies and anthropology. However, there are other numerous works, which have critically engaged with both imperialist movements for the political domination and the epistemological violences, published before Said's monumental work. They criticized the Western narratives and constructs to define the Orient and especially Islam and Muslim societies.

Scholarly Works Before Said

Before delving into Said's work, it is necessary to study what has been discussed about Orientalism prior to Edward Said. Said did not originate the term "Orientalism" or "Orientalist," but rather reused it to have a more negative connotation. The term was not limited to the nineteenth century; it was used in many fields of study, including sociology, political science, anthropology, history, and even finance. Said

[18] Turkey bin Khalid, *Al-Isthishraq inda Idward Said; Ru'ah Islamiah*, (Markaz al-Tha'sil lil-Dirasath wal-Buhuth, 2012)' p-95-105.

[19] *Ibid.*

essentially appropriated the term from several domains and gave it an entirely new significance. An Orientalist was someone who was either fascinated by or studied the Orient. Said changed the definition of the phrase by focusing it on ideology rather than description. However, Said was hardly the first intellectual to criticize the West's perception of the Orient. Abd-al-Rahman al-Jabarti, Anouar Abdel-Malek, Abdul Latif Tibawi, David Kopf, Bernard Cohn and Marshall Hodgson are the prominent scholars engaged with the same issue before Said.

Al-Jabarti and the Napoleonic Invasion

Abd-al-Rahman al-Jabarti (1753-1825), an Egyptian chronicler and scholar, wrote on Western Imperialism in the aftermath of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 [Napoleon in Egypt]. Not only was he concerned about Egypt's military commitment, but also about the epistemological approach to Napoleon and the West's reasons. Said cites Al-Jabarti as an illustration of the beginning of Western influence. Having said that, al-Jabarti commends Napoleon's army for their cooperation, effectiveness, and scholastic qualities.[20] Said is quick to use al-Jabrati's history to support his point, but he purposefully ignores al-Jabarti's favourable examinations. However, Al-Jabartî's chronicle offers a remarkable personal account of the events that occurred during this pivotal period in Egyptian history.

Abd al-Ramn al-Jabarti meticulously recorded the events of the French occupation as an eyewitness and a distinguished scholar of his time. His writings provide insights on military campaigns, the social and economic impact on Egyptians, and exchanges between French forces and civilians.

Anouar Abdel-Malek and the Crisis in Orientalism

Anouar Abdel-Malek [1924-2012] was an Egyptian-French historian, sociologist and political scientist. He was a well-known scholar who made substantial contributions to the study of colonialism, nationalism, and the political and social history of the Arab world. Abdel-Malek was born in Cairo, Egypt, but his academic career took him to France, where he lived the majority of his life. His research and writings mainly focused on the issues and trend of identity, nationalism and colonialism in particularly the political context of the Arab world and North Africa.

Anouar Abdel-Malek denoted in his work “Orientalism in Crisis,” the same ideologies and arguments of Edward Said. Abdel-Malek starts the discussion with the assertion that the post-World War II development of anti-colonial and national liberation movements throughout Asia, as well as the successes these movements obtained in the form of political independence, have seriously undermined the Orientalist profession. He asserts that the existing intellectual and political establishments have distorted the Orient through academic and scholarly channels, a topic Said would address nearly fifteen years later in a book.[21] What the scholar who was studying the Orient's motivations and goals were is an issue that Abdel-Malek

[20] Abd-al-Rahman al-Jabrati, *Napoleon in Egypt: Al-Jabarti's Chronicle of the French Occupation*, 1798 (Markus Wiener, 2004), p. 36

[21] Anouar Abdel-Malek, "*Orientalism in Crisis" Diogenes*, no. 44 (December 1963) p. 40.

asks. He was, as Said, fairly critical towards the Western approach in studying the non-Europeans, particularly the Oriental culture and society, through its own particular experience which neglects the Oriental traditions. The once-glowing past of Asia was thought to have vanished forever for a "decadence that is ineluctable," according to the orientalists, who saw Asia and the Asians as objects to be defeated, unveiled, and ruled over by the Europeans in terms of advancement and civilization. This is demonstrated by Abdel-Malek. The only way to understand current Asia was to study its past, particularly via the research of language and religions. The scientific contributions of native Asian scholars were ignored. This perspective on human progress has a startling Hegelian bias.[22] He criticized the misinterpretation of Orientalists on studying the Orient to establish their western identity. He explains that this was caused by the way in which numerous national liberation movements' achievements took different forms, which led to a crisis in the Orientalist profession. Thus, rather than treating the Orient as a subject to be studied, Orientalists ought to think of it as a sovereign subject. Abdel-Malek's work, which appeared over fifteen years before Said's Orientalism, was never widely read because it was published in French and did not receive the same amount of attention as Said's book.

Abdul Latif Tibawi and the English-speaking Orientalists

Abdul Latif Tibawi [1904-1981] was a Palestinian historian and a renowned scholar for his particular and massive contribution towards Arabic studies and Palestinian national movement. He was born in Nablus under the Ottoman caliphate.

A paper titled "English-speaking Orientalists" by A.L. Tibawi was published at the University of London and specifically critiqued the way Orientalists had portrayed Islam and the Arab world.[23] Tibawi's emphasis on the nearly everlasting and pervasive animosity between the Islamic and Christian worlds serves as his point of departure. This historical reality explains why the study of Asia and the Asian people was initially started in the first place. The classical orientalists who joined up with Christian missionaries and began to judge Islam and the Islamic cultures in exceedingly disparaging and disdainful terms were greatly impacted by this legacy of religious hatred.

Tibawi's criticism of orientalism is therefore primarily scientific because it can be stated that orientalists have displayed a fundamental ignorance of the essence of Islam itself.

A “second critique of English-speaking orientalists”, which Tibawi published in 1979, was a continuation of his first critique. In it, he showed how modern orientalists, motivated by their desire to understand Islam in order to fight the Muslims, caused

[22] Tobias Hübinette, *Orientalism past and present: An introduction to a postcolonial critique*, (Digitala Vetenskapliga Arkivet, 2003), http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A177974&dswid=6732, (accessed in 01/07/23)

[23] Abd-al-Laṭīf aṭ- Ṭībāw, *English-speaking Orientalists: A Critique of Their Approach to Islam and Arab Nationalism*, (Luzac, 1964), p. 25-30.

"colossal failures" among their indoctrinated students and prevented a Western scholar from adopting an honest perspective on Islam.[24]

Marshall Hodgson and The Venture of Islam

Marshall G.S. Hodgson (1922-1968) was an American historian and a scholar of Islamic studies in the University of Chicago. He wrote about the same subject matter in 1974 in his three-volume book entitled "The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization". Hodgson introduced an influential approach towards the issue of Orientalism that helped the scholarship and academia to reintroduce the Islam and Muslim culture and societies in an honest way of analysis. How a culture is defined should not, in Hodgson's words, "be hypostatized, as though it had a life independent of its human carriers." Hodgson has made an argument for how contemporary Westerners have propagated and promoted false representations of the East.

Hodgson's ideas, which criticize Western scholars for portraying the Orient in literature as inferior to the West's progressivism, are consistent with those of Said. Hodgson also objects to the term "East" being used to describe a diverse and substantial group of people.[25] Hodgson was also worried about how to distinguish between the Islamic and what he refers to as the "Islamicate." An Islamicate, according to Hodgson, refers to the cultural and social complex that has traditionally been connected to Islam and the Muslims rather than the religion of Islam itself.

David Kopf and Bernard Cohn

David Kopf (1937-2014) was an American scholar mainly known for his contribution to the study of South Asian and Indian History. Kopf contributed significantly to the study of Indian culture, history, and politics throughout his academic career. Indian society and its nuanced historical processes were the subject of Kopf's research and writing. He has also argued on the account of Orientalism, in his work "British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization" before Said's canonical work, Orientalism.

According to Kopf, the Orientalism is a social "acculturation" process that takes place among Europeans and Indians in this situation. In addition to being significantly changed under British control, British civil, judicial, and military authorities also "acculturated themselves to Indian society". Kopf contends that rather than being lost to time in India, the ancient scriptures of that country were supplanted or forgotten in favour of conventional wisdom. These texts were rediscovered and made particularly well-known once more by the Orientalists who were present in India. As a result, the Bengali regional elite was connected to modern

[24] Tobias Hübinette, *Orientalism past and present: An introduction to a postcolonial critique*, (Digitala Vetenskapliga Arkivet, 2003), http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A177974&dswid=6732, (accessed in 01/07/23)

[25] Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, (University of Chicago Press, 30 June 1975) Vol. I, p. 38.

Europe, creating a new intellectual middle class in India that finally developed a sense of national consciousness and a new appreciation for their own culture and heritage.[26] This is counter to what Edward Said supports. Kopf contends that there was a mutually beneficial relationship between these two communities. Said, in contrast, contends that there is no reciprocal relationship and that India is subject to a power framework imposed by the West, which Indian society is victimized. In short, Kopf analysed, in this work, that how the western Orientalist scholarship was caused and influenced the cultural, social and political renaissance of Bengal.

Bernard S. Cohn [1928-2003] was an American historian and anthropologist mainly renowned for his massive contributions on South Asian and African studies and colonial history. Cohn postulated and analysed the notion of Orientalism before Edward Said. Cohn advocates the idea of what both Foucault and Said wanted to do in their works on the misrepresentations of Indian Culture and society a decade before the publication of Orientalism [1978]. Cohn emphasizes the significance of equating an Orientalist perspective with Indian texts like the Manusmriti as "accurate guides to the culture and society of the Hindus," as well as how "The approval of a textual perspective on the society by the Orientalists also led to a depiction of Indian society as being static, eternal, and spaceless." Cohn also takes into account the ethnographic and empirical notions that the colonial state evolved into the caste and village system as well as how these concepts were a part of what Foucault later refers to as a discursive formation. This predates Said's idea of a dominating way of thinking that "others" a certain region of the earth and inaccurately or unfavourably describes another society.

Anyway, these are the prominent scholars critically engaged with the discipline of Orientalism before Said's canonical narrative of the post-colonial studies. But any of them didn't win a universal acclaim, which is won by Said, on criticizing the Western narratives on the Orient and the collaboration between Orientalists and Christian missionaries on misrepresenting the Oriental culture and societies.

CONCLUSION

Orientalism is an intellectual entity which was formed in terms of studying the Oriental culture, language, literature, religion and all the factors related to the Orient. Although, geographically, the Oriental land also includes India, China, Japan, its discourses mainly focused on the Islamic oriented discussions. The Westerners validated their identity formation and claimed their cultural supremacy via the discipline of Orientalism by constructing the racial subjects and unqualified "Others". In order to these gains, Orientalists misrepresented and misinterpreted the Islam and its authorial texts, Quran and Hadiths, to make the Muslims negative subjects. So, the narratives analysed this discipline can be chronologically introduced as before and after Edward said. However, the conceptualization of Said and his decolonial interlocuters, particularly Wael Hallaq, are deeply addressed in the upcoming parts.

[26] David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance -The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835*, (University of California Press, 1969), p. 275.

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