

The Enigmas of Exile: Reflections on Edward Said

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When Edward Said, a public intellectual and professor of literature at Columbia University for over three decades, passed away in late autumn 2003, an era appeared to have come to an end. The worldwide outpouring of grief upon his death is ample testimony to the extraordinary, indeed magisterial, presence that Said came to exercise on the American intellectual scene, and the widespread approbation with which his peerless efforts to secure justice for the Palestinians were received. A leading Indo-Fijian writer, poet, critic and fellow traveler in politics who had never met Said wrote to me that he felt as though he had lost his own brother. Friends sent obituaries published in newspapers across the world, from Britain, Egypt, Pakistan and India, among many other places. Partha Chatterjee, whose own imprint on postcolonial studies and the study of history is palpable to scholars in numerous disciplines, wrote some two decades ago that Said jolted him from his slumbers.¹ As anyone who has used *Orientalism* in the classroom can attest, some in the present generation of students still experience Said as the intellectual figure who, uniquely, introduced them to critical thinking and instilled in them a form of political awareness they hardly thought possible.

Sometimes Said is likened to Noam Chomsky, whose own relentless critiques of American foreign policy have endeared him to millions around the world. The intellectual trajectories of these two figures certainly bear comparison in some respects: if Chomsky established himself as the dominant figure in linguistics before he launched into his political critiques of the American establishment and its ravenous and oppressive appetite for reckless adventurism, Said demonstrated his mastery over literary texts before he acquired a wider reputation as an unflinching advocate of the rights of Palestinians and an exponent of secular humanism. One might say, if only in hindsight, that both Chomsky and Said had the prudence to recognize that their scholarship, far from becoming a burden to them as it has become to many who have secured sinecures for themselves in the academy and equipped them to take on larger problems and broaden the horizons of their thinking. Though Said openly decried certain forms of 'expertise,' and rubbished, as indeed he should have, the alleged expertise of countless number of policy planners, Pentagon consultants, counter-terrorism specialists and the myriad of other parasitic mandarins who shamelessly stalk the corridors of power, both he and Chomsky understood that their expertise in their own disciplines lent an aura of authority to their political views. Neither could have been unaware that from their

positions of privilege as tenured professors at Ivy League institutions, their views were calculated to receive a hearing often denied to others of like sensibility.

Yet, for all their similarities and their incalculable place in certain segments of American public life, Said and Chomsky furnish vastly different conceptions of the life of the mind, the role of the public intellectual, and political and intellectual ecumenism. Easily the most commanding figure in the field of linguistics, Chomsky nonetheless wrote nothing that would have as wide an application in disciplines across the humanities and the softer social sciences as Thomas Kuhn's notion of the 'paradigm shift' or, two decades later, Said's notion of 'Orientalism.'² One of the most startling things about *Orientalism* is how widely it came to be read in fields as varied as film studies, literature, history and anthropology, not to mention area studies — barring, of course, the professional and lay study of the Middle East, whose exponents remained largely impervious to a withering critique that Said had directed principally at them. On the other hand, if Said's worldwide reputation may reasonably be viewed as arising from a keen awareness of his political views rather than from any sustained acquaintance, even among moderately well-educated people, with his more scholarly books, then one cannot doubt that Chomsky retained a much wider outlook on world politics. No one has so assiduously catalogued, critiqued and condemned American crimes as Chomsky, but perforce, considering the vast tentacles of the American military machine and corporate world, this required Chomsky to be involved in the affairs of the entire world. Whatever the limitations of Chomsky's worldview, such as his abiding (and, some would aver, morally necessary) faith in the American people as a repository of goodness who have simply been led astray by corporate fat cats and jingoistic politicians, or his inability to offer a systemic critique of modern knowledge systems as the bedrock of the institutionalized forms of violence so widely prevalent today, one cannot but be wholly admiring of his political and moral sensitivities that ensured that no form of injustice was outside the ambit of his concern.

Said, by contrast, leaves behind a different impression. He commented ceaselessly on Israel's atrocities and rightfully condemned Arafat's authoritarianism; and he was visibly angered by the wars waged upon Iraq in 1991 and 2003. Said had only undisguised scorn for the 'leaders' of the Arab world. Yet, as far as his overtly political writings are in question, most of the rest of the world seemed to matter relatively little. Said was inclined to view Israel's policies towards Palestinians as genocidal, and one would think that this would have brought him to a broader engagement with the genocidal violence of the twentieth century. Yet, from the dozen interviews that Said gave in the second half of the 1990s, no one would have known that 800,000 people were brutally dispatched to their graves over a short period of three months of 1994 in Rwanda.³ Why should it matter? Should we have expected Said to comment on everything, and would it not be reasonable to infer that someone with his broad humanistic outlook, political commitments and moral sympathies would have felt the injustices wherever they might have been taking place? It matters because, in an ironic and even disturbing reversal, the suffering of the Palestinians became for Said the paradigmatic case of oppression in our times

just as the Holocaust, in its allegedly sinister exceptionalism, became for the Jewish people (and the state of Israel) the paradigmatic case of exterminationist violence in the twentieth century.

However hazardous this suggestion, is it all that much of a stretch to think that Said's obsession with the oppression unleashed upon Palestinians, and his visceral contempt for Zionism, at least partly blinded him to other forms of injustice? Said, by his own admission, came to politics comparatively late in his life, and the turbulence of the 1960s left no impact on his life.⁴ When he did turn to politics, he did so with the proverbial zeal of the convert — and with the convert's extraordinary partiality for the chosen cause. Said became convinced, and said so often, that Arabs and Muslims were the *only* cultural or ethnic group against whom vile and racist nonsense could be uttered with nearly utter impunity in the West. 'There's an ugly phenomenon in this country,' he told an interviewer in 1987, and it 'is this: The last permissible racism here — and by permissible, I mean it's okay publicly in the media and elsewhere — is to be racist against Arabs.'⁵ Five years later, complaining about representations of Muslims as 'depraved,' Said reaffirmed that such commentaries 'could not be written about any other ethnic cultural group in the world today.'⁶ Considering that only this year the Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington — the same 'mad-dog Huntington' (as he was known to peace activists) who in the 1960s thought that the nuking of Vietnam would be a jolly good thing, and whose 'clash of civilization' doctrine has perhaps contributed as much to worldwide unrest as the ravings of mullahs and ministers — has published, to wide recognition, a large book whose central theme is that the growing Hispanic population is calculated to degrade the Anglo foundations of American democracy and thus suck the life blood of this country,⁷ one can only conclude that Said was unaware, which seems altogether improbable, of the contempt with which Hispanics and blacks are still viewed by large segments of white Americans, or that he was, without much justification, inclined to view the racism directed at Arabs and Muslims as *sui generis*.

The aforementioned collection of interviews furnishes other instances where Said's vision became peculiarly partial: to take one example, where for the rest of the world Martin Luther King, Jr. is chiefly and justly remembered as one of the chief architects of the civil rights movement, the pre-eminent prophetic voice of an aggrieved black America, King appears in Said's text twice *only* as an unequivocal supporter of Zionism.⁸ As far as I am aware, most of King's biographers have nothing to say on the subject.⁹ Doubtless, King had public differences with Stokely Carmichael and such members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) whose critique of Zionist imperialism verged, in King's view, on anti-Semitism. 'You cannot substitute one tyranny for another,' he explained, 'and for the black man to be struggling for justice and then turn around and be anti-Semitic is not only a very irrational course but it is a very immoral course, and wherever we have seen anti-Semitism we have condemned it with all our might.'¹⁰ Yet, *supposing* that King were a virulent Zionist, should not Said have asked himself how King, whose adherence to the principle that freedom is indivisible seems unquestionable, came to

embrace this anomalous position? And is King's Zionism all that we need to know of him?

Nevertheless, in thinking of Said that clichéd expression 'larger than life' readily comes to mind. The photograph that appeared of him on the front page of the *New York Times* in March 2001, hurling a stone from the Lebanese border at Israeli soldiers — so said the caption, quite incorrectly — is indelibly etched in the minds of his admirers and detractors alike.¹¹ Many a stone had been hurled at Said, but no one had previously seen an eminent public intellectual throw a stone. Said was, evidently, a man of immense passion, not to mention erudition and cultivation. He read widely, and his love of literature, music and art permeates his voluminous writings. When someone such as Christopher Hitchens, who is accustomed to thinking of *himself* as an unusually daring, perspicacious and enlightened Marxist, admits to feeling humbled in the presence of Said,¹² one can be certain that Said justly came to be viewed as a man of immense erudition. He had little patience for those who shouted themselves hoarse over 'dead white men,' but his love of the classics never prevented him from engaging in close and critical readings of texts. How else, as Said would have said, could one read them? At the same time, Said eagerly embraced what he deemed to be progressive, innovative and politically enabling interpretations of texts or intellectual traditions, as his enthusiastic advocacy of the 'Subaltern School' of Indian history demonstrates. He made a genuine effort to acquire versatility in at least the 'high' end of various cultural and literary traditions, and did so without ever conveying the appearance of being a consumer. The publication of *Orientalism* in 1978 gave him a readership that extended beyond the circle of literary scholars and other humanists; his writings on Islam and Palestine made him well known outside the academy; and his ruminations on music earned him still new audiences. He wrote for the *Nation* for many years; contributed frequently to *the London Review of Books* and became a columnist for *al-Ahram Weekly* in the last decade of his life.

Had Said achieved only this, he would have been exceptional; but, remarkably, his accomplishments grew as he struggled with an illness that eventually claimed him at 67. Diagnosed with leukemia during the Persian Gulf War of 1991, and warned by his physician to curtail his intellectual activities, Said scarcely slowed down. Quite to the contrary, he appeared to be set on a course of defiance. He wrote, lectured and traveled at a frenetic pace, and periodically had himself admitted to a hospital for recovery and treatment. One suspects that, by plunging himself into his passions, Said prolonged his life by several years. In the last years of his life, Said entered into an unusual musical partnership with the famous Jewish pianist and life conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Daniel Barenboim.¹³ The West-Eastern Divan Orchestra stood forth as a striking testimony of the collaboration possible between an Israeli and a Palestinian, though with his astute sense of the politics of culture and his impatience with the jejune satisfactions of pop psychology, one wonders what Said would have made of the bubbly enthusiasm with which all such enterprises are received by some people as expressions of 'the essential goodness of the human spirit,' the quest for 'universalism,' the supposed ability of art to transcend the political divide, and so on.¹⁴ Even in his illness,

and amidst the large range of activities into which he had thrown himself, he managed to retain the elegance for which he became equally famous among friends. An extraordinary number of his obituarists have recorded how Said was always impeccably dressed. Describing his first meeting with Said in 1972, Tariq Ali commented on Said's 'immaculate dress sense: everything was meticulously chosen, down to the socks. It is almost impossible to visualize him in any other way.'¹⁵ Hitchens' self-serving obituary, which should be read with the skepticism that one reserves for those afflicted by pure narcissism, nonetheless corroborates Tariq Ali's observation. Said was 'was always faultlessly dressed,' and for good measure he adds that Said once took Hitchens' own wife 'on a tour of the shops to advise her expertly on the best replacement for a mislaid purse.'

We have, then, the description of a sartorial Said. Despite the countless turns taken by cultural studies and the growing interest in the cultural and political history of material objects,¹⁶ no commentator has sought to inquire into the relationship between Said's tastes in music and literature and his dress sense. If one considers, by way of comparison, the life of Gandhi, it is abundantly clear that his endeavor to simplify his life, and his gradual transformation from a man over-dressed in coattails and top hat to the 'half-naked fakir' of Churchill's infamous expression, is inextricably tied to his advocacy of *ahimsa* (non-violence) and *aparigraha* (non-possession). Gandhi's stripped-down politics, his repudiation of realpolitik, his unadorned writing — all this is of a piece with the loin-cloth that took him to Buckingham Palace, into the bowels of Empire. Or consider Michael Moore: are we altogether surprised that this celebrated spokesperson for the working classes should be casually, even sloppily, dressed? Despite the catholicity of his intellectual interests, it is striking that Said never had any time for low-brow literature, mass culture, popular music or even those social and political movements that did not have in them the sense of the epic that one associates with the Palestinian struggle in an ancient land or with the resistance in war-torn Iraq of a people battered over the last few decades by the naked aggression of the United States.¹⁷

Whether one is speaking of Said's politics, his aesthetic sensibilities, his capacity for public engagements or his steadfast and principled critique of identity politics, it is unequivocally clear that Said was seldom tentative in his outlook or in the expression of his views. At one time, he worked closely alongside Arafat, but when they drifted apart, Said not only never looked back but was unremittingly harsh in his denunciation of Arafat's shortsightedness, authoritarian tendencies and hunger for power. Yet is there a major political figure anywhere that one would not be inclined to indict? Or consider these other examples. In a long interview in the early 1990s, he described as 'utter nonsense,' and as a species of 'sentimentalism,' discussions and evocations of 'universal values.'¹⁸ He thought the notion that the media had encouraged the *intifada* to be 'total nonsense,' and used precisely the same expression to characterize the view, attributed to the likes of William Bennett and Dinesh D'Souza, that Western culture can be hermetically sealed from all other cultures.¹⁹ In his defense, as is quite obvious, it can be averred that Said had

generally good reasons, and particularly in the spoken and more informal medium of the interview, to take the positions that he did. The idea of 'universal values' doesn't have much analytical purchase, and one can usefully inquire into the alleged universalism of such values. As Said noted on another occasion, he could not speak in 'favor of an abstract universalism, because it's usually the universalism of whoever happens to be most powerful.'²⁰ Might Said's unease with universal values have stemmed, in part, from his transparent reluctance to engage with the language of transcendence or with his fear that, considering the prerogative that religion claims over universal values, he would have had to enter into a dialogue for which he had absolutely no inclination? Still, in view of his advocacy of in-betweenness and delight in liminality, and his conviction that, so to speak, the problem of modern culture is the conflict 'between the unhoused and housed,'²¹ Said's unwavering firmness of opinion is at least a trifle surprising.

The 'unhoused' and the 'housed': that opposition is writ large in the principal narratives that informed the life and work of Said. The largest collection of his essays appeared under the title *Reflections on Exile*,²² and it can be argued that the entire tapestry of Said's writings is woven around multiple ideas of exile. The Marxist critic, Aijaz Ahmad, alleged that postcolonial intellectuals such as Said, quite oblivious of their own positions of immense privilege, had fetishized the intellectual in exile.²³ Ahmad viewed postcolonial theory as the handiwork of scholars who conveniently overlooked considerations of class and even made themselves out to be 'refugee' intellectuals. Yet Ahmad is scarcely the first critic to have pounced upon the fact that exile is a knotty subject. The poet Ovid, banished from Rome by Augustus in 8AD, famously declared '*Exilium mors est*' (Exile is death). Most likely any urbanite removed to a garrison town, rendered utterly bereft of the company of poets, aesthetes and women, would have felt the same. Victor Hugo, by contrast, found exile rejuvenating. In 15 years of exile on the island of Guernsey, Hugo penned some of his most famous works. He may well have said, '*Exilium vita est*' (Exile is life). So what is the space of exile occupied by Said? Did he have the comfort of embracing either position openly, or did he live somewhere in the space between banishment and belonging? What forms of banishment were akin to belonging, and what forms of belonging could Said only pity?

Said had a rather nomadic upbringing, one of many reasons why throughout his life he refused to be satisfied by any simple and nurturing conception of 'home.' He has often related how his life was a series of displacements and he felt himself to belong, if at all he belonged, between cultures. Though Said was born in Jerusalem in 1935, his parents were shuttling between Egypt and Palestine. His childhood summers were spent in Lebanon. In the predominantly Muslim Levant, where the Christians largely belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church, Said's father — who had acquired American citizenship — was an Episcopalian, while his mother was a Baptist. Asked to say something on his memoir, *Out of Place*, Said described the title as meaning 'not being able to go back. It's really a strong feeling I have. I would describe my life as a series of departures and returns. But the departure is always anxious. The return always uncertain. Precarious.'²⁴ One can speculate that Said must have found

it apposite, alarmingly apposite, that his family home in Jerusalem had been taken over by a fundamentalist Christian organization based in South Africa.²⁵ Not only did Said view Israel as an apartheid state, but he understood that fundamentalists gravitate towards each other just as rogues find rogues. Why should Christian fundamentalists not have found Israel hospitable, if not to their ambitions, at least to their idioms of totalitarianism? The house of humanism, Said saw for himself, had been built over by religious fundamentalists. Yet, however much Said might have wanted to reclaim the house where he had been born, he remained uncertain about wanting to be 'completely at home.' 'I suppose it's sour grapes,' Said told an interlocutor in 1996, 'that I now think it's maybe not worth the effort to find out' what it means to be at home.²⁶

Said saw modern Western culture as fundamentally a creation of exiles. One might be tempted to think that the experience of his own people, whom he described as largely 'dispersed exiles,' led Said to this conclusion. The ironies, Said would have been the first to recognize, were compounded in that the Palestinians had been rendered into exiles by another people of exile. Israel's 'War of Independence,' Said has reminded us, 'was a catastrophe for Palestinians: two-thirds were driven out of their homes and country, many were killed, all their property was seized, and to all intents and purposes they ceased to exist as a people.'²⁷ Pit exiles against exiles, and out comes a nation-state. And nation-states, as we know, are notoriously protective of boundaries, incorrigibly hostile to the nomadic modes of life. However much this may be the modern condition, and notwithstanding the fondness of a literary scholar for irony, Said had much more in mind in thinking of the inextricably exilic foundations of modernity. 'In the United States,' Said wrote in his 1984 essay 'Reflections on Exile,' 'academic, intellectual and aesthetic thought is what it is today because of refugees from fascism, communism, and other regimes given to the oppression and expulsion of dissidents.'²⁸ Nearly all the figures that Said held in esteem — C.L.R. James and Joseph Conrad, Erich Auerbach and Theodor Adorno, Mahmoud Darwish and Faiz Ahmad Faiz — were émigrés and intellectual refugees, as were those, such as T.S. Eliot, with whose aesthetic and political views Said was in acute disagreement, but whose centrality to the culture of the modern West was beyond question.

Throughout his life, Said retained a prolific interest in intellectuals and writers who had trafficked across borders, cutting across territorial and cultural boundaries. He was greatly moved by the idea of the noble life of the laboring intellectual in exile — an exile in which the labor was rendered more difficult, more poignant, marked by the 'sense of dissonance engendered by estrangement, distance, dispersion, years of lostness and disorientation,' and thus requiring 'an almost excessive deliberation, effort, expenditure of intellectual energy at restoration, reiteration, and affirmation that are undercut by doubt and irony.'²⁹ If Auerbach and Adorno remained for Said towering examples of the discerning intellect,³⁰ one has to ask how far Said thought that their experience of exile had furnished them with insights not ordinarily available to others. Joseph Conrad, a Polish émigré to Britain who scarcely knew a word of English before he was 20 and went on to become one of the greatest novelists in the English language, was the subject of Said's doctoral dissertation, and he

appears frequently in Said's writings as the supreme example of the exilic consciousness.³¹ Though Said remained unceasingly critical of Conrad's inability to see the non-West except through Western eyes, and scathingly characterized him as possessed of 'gringo eyes' that would not allow him to fathom 'other histories, other aspirations,'³² he never begrudged Conrad his literary genius, and, much more to the point for us, was quite certain that Conrad's writings bore the mark of the 'sensitive émigré's obsession with his own fate' and his ceaseless struggles to be securely moored in his new surroundings.³³ The exile not only sees with sharpened eyes, but ultimately gives birth to a new form of consciousness, the consciousness of those who are 'housed' by virtue of being 'unhoused.'

The idea of exile, then, must be read (in Said's language) *contrapuntally* — that is, against the grain, in intersection and conversation with thoughts that might be construed as the very opposite. In doing so, one begins to approximate Said's own understanding of the notion of 'exile as a permanent state,'³⁴ a notion otherwise at odds with the conventional sense of exile as a transient stage, a country from which one returns to one's homeland. The exile bears within herself or himself a recollection of what has been left behind and plays this against the present experience. Said has described this as 'counterpoint' in music, and it is illustrative of his method that he should have, so effortlessly and with such (dare we say) panache, carried over an argument from music to a much wider domain.³⁵ For Said, the notion of exile entails a different form of space-time compression as his essay 'On Lost Causes,' originally delivered as one of the Tanner Lectures in Human Values, so elliptically suggests. 'In contrast' to resigned capitulation, Said quotes Adorno, 'the uncompromisingly critical thinker, who neither superscribes his conscience nor permits himself to be terrorized into action, is in truth the one who does not give up. Furthermore, thinking is not the spiritual reproduction of that which exists. As long as thinking is not interrupted, it has a firm grasp upon possibility. Its insatiable quality, the resistance against petty satiety, rejects the foolish wisdom of resignation.'³⁶ The exilic mind, Said is here arguing, refuses to habituate itself to academic pieties, to accepted readings of texts, to the satisfactions of power, and to the comforts of surrender to some transcendent force. Elsewhere calling to mind Adorno's *Minima Moralia (Reflections from a Mutilated Life)*, Said says that 'language is jargon, objects are for sale. To refuse this stage of affairs is the exile's intellectual mission.'³⁷ To be alert, vigilant, critical, contrarian — to be all this is to be always in exile. Only the exile has that awareness which comes with contrapuntal understanding. One might add parenthetically that if the intellectual engaged in criticism is always in exile, one can also understand why Said had little sympathy for those who, abjuring the more difficult and enduring task of subjecting the classics to sustained inquiry and oppositional readings, launched into the 'canon wars' and found their salvation in 'identity politics,' the recovery of lost histories and other puerile exercises.³⁸

Ample as has been the climate of feeling and thought engendered by the frequent occurrence of the trope of 'exile' in Said's thought, the contrapuntal reading of Said must necessarily lead to at least a highly abbreviated note on the complete banishment of religion from Said's work. Said pushed religion

into a fugitive existence. He was a steadfast and uncompromising secularist, and he frequently pointed out that it is from the Italian humanist Giambattista Vico that he learned that men make their own history.³⁹ Said consistently argued for 'worldliness' — a sustained interest in the affairs of the world, an advocacy for the 'space of history' rather than the 'space of the sacred or divine,' and an awareness of the fact, which Said brought out with great subtlety in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), that many forms of otherworldliness and detachment were disguised forms of engagement with the world.⁴⁰ 'Worldliness, secularity, etc. are key terms for me,' Said remarked in 1993, and adds that alongside his 'critique of and discomfort with religion' he had become 'ill at ease with jargons and obfuscations,' with 'special private languages of criticism and professionalism.'⁴¹ In this respect, at least, Said was to signal his departure from the work of some famous contemporary postcolonial theorists.

I have remarked that Said remained, to the end of his life, a staunch secularist. Late in his life, as he grappled more intensely with his illness, Said became interested in what he has called 'late style.' Many people in his position would have turned to the comforts of religion. Somewhere the late and irascible Nirad Chaudhuri, who lived to a ripe 101 years, doubtless drawing much sustenance from his chosen vocation as gadfly, has remarked that scratch the skin of an atheist in India and he turns out to be a believer. The Indian Marxist, on his deathbed, invariably reveals himself a Hindu. (Being a Bengali, Chaudhuri was in the know.) Said denied himself this outcome: if men and women make their own history, he was not about to call upon his Maker. Said's integrity, intellectual liveliness and passion drove him, at this juncture, to a fuller exploration of some of the ideas that had crossed his mind over the years and were now fertilizing into a new set of reflections on music, the subject of exile, and the relationship of style and exile to death. The arguments of his posthumously published essay 'Thoughts on Late Style' are too complex to be taken up here in full, but even in passing form a fitting conclusion to this essay as they do to Said's own life.⁴² It is Adorno, once again, who had suggested, apropos the works — the last five piano sonatas, the Ninth Symphony, the last six string quartets, among others — belonging to Beethoven's third and last period, that 'late style' might constitute a form of multiple estrangement. Beethoven abandoned all interest in ensuring some commensurability between his music and the social order; indeed, Adorno has argued, he displayed indifference to the question of continuities in his own work. It is characteristic of late style that the artist, in Said's language, 'achieves a contradictory, alienated relationship' with the social ethos of the time. The late works of the artist 'are a form of exile from his milieu.' Said departed this life just as he came into it — in exile.

Notes

1. '*Orientalism* was a book,' wrote Chatterjee many years after its publication, 'which talked of things I felt I had known all along but had never found the language to formulate with clarity. Like many great books, it seemed to say for the first time what one had always wanted to say' (see Partha

- Chatterjee, 'Own Words,' in Michael Sprinker (ed.) *Edward Said: A Critical Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1992, p. 194).
2. Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992; Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Random House, 1978.
 3. Edward Said, *Power, Politics and Culture: Interviews with Edward Said*, edited with an introduction by Gauri Viswanathan, London: Bloomsbury, 2004.
 4. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, pp. 209, 264.
 5. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, p. 320.
 6. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, p. 388.
 7. Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004; Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998.
 8. In an interview given in 1993, Said revealed that he had been 'turned off by Martin Luther King, who revealed himself to be a tremendous Zionist.' In a previous interview given to the well-known journal *Social Text* in 1988, King is mentioned alongside Reinhold Niebuhr and Roger Baldwin as a 'powerful advocate of the Jewish state' (see Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, pp. 209, 327).
 9. There is no mention of King's alleged Zionism in any of these well-known biographies: Stephen Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, New York: Mentor Books, 1982; King: *A Critical Biography*, New York: Praeger, 1970; Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–1963*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988.
 10. Cited in Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, p. 456.
 11. *The New York Times* ran a correction the following day, stating that Said had flung the stone at an Israeli guardhouse, which was in any case half a mile away.
 12. See Christopher Hitchens, 'Edward Said,' *Slate*, 26 September 2003. Available online at: <http://slate.msn.com/id/2088944/>.
 13. Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said, *Parallels and Paradoxes: Explorations in Music and Society*, New York: Pantheon, 2002.
 14. For one moving and nuanced account of Said's warm admiration for Barenboim, see Tania Tamari Nasir, 'No ordinary concert,' *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, 4–10 September 2003. Available online at: <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/654/feature.htm>.
 15. Tariq Ali, 'Remembering Edward Said, 1935–2003,' *New Left Review*, 24 (November–December) (2003): 59.
 16. See, e.g., Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*, London: C. Hurst, 1996.
 17. On the subject of 'popular music,' Said remarked, in an interview published in 1992, that he did not 'obviously' accept 'all the hideously limited and silly remarks made about it by Adorno,' while conceding that it did not speak to him in the same way as it did to his interviewer or to his children. 'I'm very conservative that way,' Said admitted. Said's response to the arresting suggestion that the tradition of Western classical music was

- an 'unproblematic refuge of greatness' for him is an uncharacteristic silence, followed by an assertion about the 'persistence' of the Western classical tradition (see Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, p. 145). I know of only one essay, and a relatively uninteresting one at that, by Said on lowbrow culture — in this case, on the Tarzan movies of Johnny Weismuller (see 'Jungle Calling,' in Edward W. Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000, pp. 327–336).
18. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, pp. 132–133.
 19. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, pp. 137, 271.
 20. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, p. 390.
 21. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, p. 139.
 22. Said, *Reflections on Exile*.
 23. Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Nations, Classes, Literatures*, London: Verso, 1992; the chapter on Said was also published as 'Orientalism and After: Ambivalence and Cosmopolitan Location in the Work of Edward Said,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, 27(30) (1992): 98–116.
 24. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, p. 456.
 25. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, p. 454.
 26. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, p. 237.
 27. Said, 'On Lost Causes,' in his *Reflections on Exile*, pp. 544–546.
 28. Said, 'Reflections on Exile,' in his *Reflections on Exile*, p. 172.
 29. Said, 'Introduction,' in his *Reflections on Exile*, p. xxxiii.
 30. See, e.g., Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, pp. 126–128, 217.
 31. Said has written that more than once he was brought to the recognition that Conrad had been 'there' before him (see Said, 'Between Worlds,' in his *Reflections on Exile*, p. 556).
 32. Said, 'Through Gringo Eyes: With Conrad in Latin America,' in his *Reflections on Exile*, p. 277.
 33. Said, 'Reflections on Exile,' p. 179.
 34. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, p. 56.
 35. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, p. 99.
 36. Quoted in Said, 'On Lost Causes,' p. 553.
 37. Said, 'Reflections on Exile,' p. 184.
 38. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, pp. 224–225, 240–241.
 39. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, pp. 78–79, 129, 389. Said admits that the 'oppositional' quality of Vico's work, 'his being anti-Cartesian, anti-rationalistic, anti-Catholic,' appealed to him (p. 78).
 40. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, p. 222.
 41. Said, *Power, Politics and Culture*, p. 176.
 42. Edward Said, 'Thoughts on Late Style,' *London Review of Books*, 5 August 2004, pp. 3, 5–7.

