Re-constructing the Western Self in the Ottoman Mirror: A Study of 'Negative Auto-Occidentalism' in the Contexts of American-Ottoman and Anglo-Ottoman Encounters*

Batılı Benliğin Osmanlı Aynasında Yeniden Yapılandırılması: Amerikan-Osmanlı ve İngiliz-Osmanlı Karşılaşmaları Bağlamında 'Olumsuz Oto-Oksidentalizm' Üzerine Bir İnceleme

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Abstract

With reference to the recent developments and trends in, mostly western, humanities and social science research on the subjects of Orientalism and Occidentalism, this article first provides an overview on the paradigm shifts taking place in the post-Saidian era and argues for the urgency of the need for new terms and concepts which can more efficiently and accurately address the issues in these fields. In the second section, a new post-Saidian set of terms and concepts are proposed for studies of Orientalism and Occidentalism. While the third section of the article elaborates on the term "Auto-Occidentalism," which was first coined by Lindstrom (1995), and expands this term into the newly-introduced terms Affirmative Auto-Occidentalism and

Negative Auto-Occidentalism, the fourth section consists of a brief discussion on why Negative Auto-Occidentalism can and should be related to studies of anti-imperialism in literature and an illustration of the argument with reference to selected examples of anti-imperialist texts. The fifth and the last section argues for the possible variations of Negative Auto-Occidentalist discourses as induced by the West's encounters with different Eastern entities, and those with other entities that are situated in the middle of the West and the East, such as the Ottoman Empire. To illustrate how the new terminology of Negative Auto-Occidentalism, in relation to Affirmative Auto-Occidentalism and with other concepts such as "the Objective Orient," may be put into use in the contexts of American-Ottoman and Anglo-Ottoman encounters, the article offers textual analyses of James Ellswort De Kay's *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832, by An American* (1833) and Frederick Burnaby's *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1877).

Keywords: Occidentalism, Auto-Occidentalism, Orientalism, post-Saidian theory, travel literature

Öz

Son dönemde özellikle Batı'da beşeri ve sosyal bilimler alanlarında Oryantalizm ve Oksidentalizm konularına ilişkin araştırmalarda öne çıkan gelişmeler ve eğilimler ışığında, bu makalede ilk önce Edward Said sonrası dönemde meydana gelen paradigma değişimleri kısaca anlatılmakta ve bu alanların çalışma konularını oluşturan meselelerin daha etkili ve daha doğru bir şekilde ele alınabilmesini sağlayacak yeni terim ve kavramlara duyulan ihtiyacın aciliyeti vurgulanmaktadır. Makalenin ikinci kısmında, Said sonrası dönemde Oryantalizm ve Oksidentalizm incelemeleri için önerilen yeni terimler ve kavramlar tanıtılmaktadır. Makalenin üçüncü kısmı Lindstrom (1995) tarafından adlandırılan "Oto-Oksidentalizm" terimini ele almakta ve bu terimi burada yeni önerilen Olumlu Oto-Oksidentalizm ve Olumsuz Oto-Oksidentalizm terimlerine doğru genişletmektedir. Dördüncü bölüm Olumsuz Oto-Oksidentalizm kavramının neden edebiyatta emperyalizm karşıtlığı incelemeleri ile ilişkilendirilmesi gerektiğini kısaca anlatmakta ve bunun nasıl uygulanabileceğini belirli emperyalizm karşıtı edebiyat metinlerine atıfta bulunarak örneklendirmektedir. Beşinci ve son bölüm ise, öncelikle Batı'nın farklı Doğulu toplumlar ile ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu gibi Doğu ile Batı arasında yer alan bir toplum ile karşılaşmalarından ortaya çıkacak Olumsuz Oto-Oksidentalist söylemlerin birbirlerinden farklı olacağını ifade etmektedir. Daha sonra da, Olumlu Oto-Oksidentalizm ve yine bu makalede önerilen "Nesnel Doğu" kavramı gibi kavramlarla olan ilişkileri de göz önünde bulundurularak, Olumsuz Oto-Oksidentalizm teriminin Amerikan-Osmanlı ve İngiliz-Osmanlı karşılaşmaları bağlamında edebiyat metinlerine nasıl uygulanabileceği, James Ellswort De Kay'in *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832, by An American* (1833) ve Frederick Burnaby'nin *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1877) başlıklı seyahatnamelerinin analizleri ile gösterilmektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Oksidentalizm, Oto-Oksidentalizm, Oryantalizm, Said sonrası kuram, seyahat edebiyatı

The Post-Saidian Paradigm Shift and Occidentalisms

From its first institution as a critical term by Edward Said, "Orientalism" has contained its opposite, its 'Other,' namely "Occidentalism." The relationship between these two concepts is such, however, that they are – to improve Carrier's simile of the elder and the younger "siblings" (1995, p.13) – also like twins, the only difference between them being the momentary pause which separates the birth of the first sibling from that of the second one. By virtue of being the first-born, Orientalism has been the prioritized and privileged Saidian paradigm. For Said, Orientalism referred, at least primarily, to the systematic and essentialist way in which the Orient and the Oriental were discursively constructed as the Eastern 'Other' of the West and the Western 'Self' respectively. However, Said himself had implied a latent Occidentalism in this discursive formation (1978, p.43), which, in turn, implied a similar essentialism in the construction of the image of the West. In other words, Said's implication of Occidentalism was a reference to the stereotyping of the West by Westerners themselves as being 'rational,' 'modern,' 'civilized,' 'superior,' and definitely not to a similar discursive construct originating in the East and essentializing the West.

After Said, James Carrier, an anthropologist, elaborated on Saidian terminology and offered to explore the dialectical relationship between these twin discourses:

> Seeing Orientalism as a dialectical process helps us recognize that it is not merely a Western imposition of a reified identity on some alien set of people. It is also the imposition of an identity created in dialectical opposition to another identity, one likely to be equally reified, that of the West. Westerners, then, define the Other in terms of the West, but so Others define themselves in terms of the West, just as each defines the West in terms of the Other. (Carrier, 1992, p. 197)

Carrier first seemed to promise a 'reverse gaze' point of view when he mentioned what he called "ethno-Occidentalism, essentialist renderings of the West by members of alien societies" (1992, p. 198), but fell short of elaborating on this possibility when he put his main emphasis on Occidentalism as "the essentialistic rendering of the West by Westerners" (1992, p. 199). In *Occidentalism: Images of the West* which was published in 1995, Carrier was still, for his own purposes of studying "anthropological Occidentalism" (1995, p. 15) as it was seen among anthropologists in the West, using the term Occidentalism as Western discursive constructions of the West. Nonetheless, by 1995 when he edited *Occidentalism: Images of the West*, he was aware of a gap which existed in understanding the possibilities of Occidentalism and wrote:

> Sadly, however, I must point to an important gap in the collection. That gap is the way that scholars in non-Western societies, less likely to share common Western academic occidentalisms, can reveal the ways that those occidentalisms have shaped Western interpretations of non-Western societies. […] And, of course, those non-Western scholars

themselves are likely to have their own occidentalisms that would be interesting to analyse. (1995, pp. ix-x)

As a matter of fact, the consequent filling, though slowly, of the gap Carrier referred to, especially with reference to the "occidentalisms" of "non-Western" entities seems to owe a lot to Lamont Lindstrom, the author of one of the chapters in *Occidentalism: Images of the West*, who provided a corrective to the use of the term Occidentalism by Carrier, to which Carrier also agreed (1995, pp. 13-14). Recently, Woltering refers to *Occidentalism: Images of the West* by mentioning Carrier's definition of "Occidentalism" and criticizes his use of the term "Occidentalism" which refers, the way Carrier uses it, to essentializations of the West by Westerners themselves (Woltering, 2011, p. 4), which ignores the possible agency of the non-Western to essentialize the West. "The preferred description in my opinion" Woltering continues, "would be to refer to […] (auto-) Occidentalism, thereby avoiding the impression that Western actions are necessarily the standard against which the other actions are qualified" (2011, p. 4). Interestingly enough, Woltering seems to have missed an entire article in *Occidentalism: Images of the West* by Lindstrom, who actually coined the term "autooccidentalism," again as a corrective to Carrier's use of "Occidentalism" in the very same volume and clarified the concepts as follows: "occidentalism is discourse among orientals about the West. What Carrier and others have called occidentalism, I will call autooccidentalism – the self-discourse of Westerners" (Lindstrom, 1995, p. 35). The answer to the possible question about "who first coined the term Auto-Occidentalism," (no matter how spelled; *i.e.* what Lindstrom called "autooccidentalism" in 1995, Woltering referred to as "(auto-) Occidentalism" in 2011, and for my purposes I use the term as "Auto-Occidentalism" in this article) and provided clarity to Occidentalism being obvious, what is more important is that the so-called gap began to be filled in by scholarly enquiry over the past decade or so and will be explained in detail later in this article. However, it is worth noting that just before the beginning of the new understanding of Occidentalism referring also to the Eastern discursive construction of the West, as early (and as late) as the year 2000, Couze Venn's *Occidentalism: Modernity and Subjectivity* came out as yet another discourse on Occidentalism, understood as how the West constructs itself. Venn used the term to refer to "the process of the becoming-West of Europe and the becoming-modern of the world" and further explained: "Thus, occidentalism refers at once to the space of intelligibility of a triumphalist modernity and to the genealogy of the present as a history of the transformations that have in the course of time instituted the forms of sociality and the lifeworlds that inscribe occidentalism (2000, p. 8). In other words, around the beginning of the new millennium, Saidian terminology was still very much saturated with the West and the Westerner.

In the final analysis, then, there are two Occidentalisms, a situation which has led James A. O. C. Brown to provide the following explanation in his study of Anglo-Moroccan relations in the early modern age with reference to Saidian and post-Saidian terminology:

Some have defined it to mean the discursive creation of the 'Self' implicit in Said's description of an Oriental 'Other'; that is to say, "the self-discourse of Westerners" or "auto-occidentalism." Others have inverted Said's term in a different way by discussing 'Occidentalism' as a discourse of non-Western cultures which essentializes the West, possibly in a similarly dehumanising way. (2005, p. 8)

Even though this article will employ Auto-Occidentalism – and expand it by offering new terms under it – as a critical term to study selected travel writing accounts by American and English writers who travelled to the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century and presented their self-discourse upon encountering the Ottomans, a similar explanation of the development and studies of Occidentalism "as a discourse of non-Western cultures which essentializes the West" (Brown, 2005, p. 8) must also be briefly given for here.

As a result of the immediacy of Occidentalism as Said, Carrier and Venn understood it, the interpretive possibilities of Occidentalism as "discourse among orientals about the West" (Lindstrom, 1995, p. 35) have for a long time been left unexplored and unelaborated in Post-colonial literary criticism and cultural studies, which have so far been overwhelmingly preoccupied with the Western constructions of the East. As Woltering has recently observed, the visible discrepancy in these fields "betrays an ironic Eurocentrism" (Woltering, 2011, p. 3). Carrier's explanation below helps one understand the historical reasons for this disparity:

Although dialectical and essentialist definitions of the familiar and the alien can occur whenever two sets of people come into contact, Thomas[1] […] is correct when he points out that 'the capacities of populations to impose and act upon their constructions of others has been highly variable throughout history'. In this larger, inter-social arena, Westerners have been more powerful and hence better able than people elsewhere to construct and impose images of alien societies as they see fit. (1995, p. 10)

However, Carrier's observation does not by itself explain the disparity that has for so long governed the academic studies of these discursive practices. In fact, as I have explained elsewhere, this ironic Eurocentrism is quite easy to understand for its practicality:

Academia of the West both created and sustained Post-colonialism, as it served as a very convenient means of apologizing for the colonial past; and scholars and researchers from the non-Western world were more than ready to welcome such an opportunity to "write back,"[2] to

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[1] Carrier's reference here is to Nicholas Thomas's 1991 article "Anthropology and Orientalism," *Anthropology Today*, 7, 12: 4-7.

[2] Here the reference is to the title of one of the founding texts of Post-colonial literary theory and criticism, i.e. Ashcroft, Bill, et al.'s *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London: Routledge, 1989).

> use a catchphrase of Post-colonial literary criticism, and to discharge the historical frustration and the consequent anger in their non-Western societies, which were caused by the experience of being colonized and exploited. (Akıllı, 2009*a*, p. 93)

As a result of this practicality, harsh criticism of the literatures and cultures of, and certain individual authors from, the countries responsible for the age of European Colonialism became so fashionable in Post-colonial studies that, sometimes even scholars from countries which were not colonized by the West joined the trend of Post-colonialism,[3] and some went so far as to attempt to apply the terminology of Post-colonial literary theory to the literatures of, or Western literature about, their own un-colonized societies. At other times, the prejudiced and rash criticism of individual authors from former European imperial centers and their literary output became dominated by sweeping generalizations and accusations and even those European authors who were clearly opponents of imperialism came under critical attack.[4] In other words, by the early years of the twenty-first century Post-colonialism had already been so much exaggerated and readily granted so much credit that it would have probably imploded by itself, which would most probably reverse the mainstream critical attention in the opposite direction, to the study of Occidentalism. But the explosion came, unfortunately, in the form of terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.

Even though it has a long tradition of scholarship on literary history, the attempts of the West to try and understand the literary and cultural lenses through which the Western world was seen by the East is only about a decade old. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 were without a doubt the reason for the beginning of a systematic and penetrating intellectual and scholarly campaign in the West to excavate into literary and social history with the hopes of finding clues about the historical construction of the images of the West in non-Western, and especially Islamic, societies. A little more than a year after the attacks of 9/11, on January 17, 2002, *The New York Review of Books* featured an essay entitled "Occidentalism" by Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, which formed a part of the book *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies*, published in 2004 by the same authors. Even though the title chosen by the authors promised to offer a study of the historical reasons for "the loathing of everything people associate with the Western world, exemplified by America" (Buruma and Margalit, 2004, p. 4) and "the dehumanizing picture of the West painted by its enemies" (Buruma and Margalit, 2004, p. 5) especially in the Islamic world, the book's conclusions did not fully address the general concern about the perceived hostility between the East and the West. As Buruma

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3   My criticism here targets Post-colonialism as a critical and political movement, and not the scholarly study and appreciation of what has been alternatively termed "World Literatures in English," "Literatures in English," and even "Commonwealth Literature."

4   Critical evaluation of the popular adventure novels by Henry Rider Haggard from a Post-colonial perspective is a case in point. For a discussion of this case, see my *Late Victorian Imperial Adventure Novel: A Site of Contestation between Pro-imperialism and Anti-imperialism* (Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011) and my chapter on Haggard in *The Future of Ecocriticism: New Horizons* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2011).

and Margalit announced that "Occidentalism, like capitalism, Marxism, and many other isms, was born in Europe, before it was transferred to other parts of the world" (2004, p. 6), *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies*, as yet another Eurocentric account, traced the historical roots of the prejudices against the West back to the West itself. At this point, I should express my agreement with Woltering for his criticism of the inadequacy of the Buruma-Margalit "Occidentalism" model (Woltering, 2011, pp. 7-9). Looking back on 2004, it becomes obvious that their work's main achievement was not to establish Occidentalism as a concept through which to study the discursive constructions of the West by the East, but its call for restraint in the West's reaction against the Islamic world so that it would not be "fighting fire with fire" (Buruma and Margalit, 2004, p. 149). Obviously, more was needed to establish Occidentalism also "as a discourse of non-Western cultures which essentializes the West" (Brown, 2005, p. 8) or as it is understood by Woltering in the following:

> I do not presume Occidentalism to have a specific content, be it positive or negative. I do presume it to be stereotypical, in the sense that I presume it to stand in a dialectical relationship with images of the Self. [...] In other words, I seek out images in which the West has taken the place of the typical Other. (Woltering, 2011, p. 26)

Over the past decade or so, a renewed scholarly interest in the East-West relations, this time from a post-Saidian position which avoids the essentialist Orientalism/Occidentalism debate resulted in the discovery of previously unknown aspects of the encounters that involved the civilizations of the East and those of the West. For instance, in *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (2007),[5] Gerald Maclean explored the influences of Ottoman culture on English/British culture in the early modern period. *Looking East* was in fact an extension and an illustration of a new, objective and more sober understanding of the East-West relations in history, which had been put forth in an earlier volume: *Re-orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East* (2005).[6] Maclean himself had edited *Re-orienting the Renaissance* and William Dalrymple had contributed with a foreword entitled "The Porous Frontiers of Islam and Christendom: A Clash or Fusion of Civilisations?" in which he challenged the 'clash of civilizations' thesis. In 2008, *Europe Observed: Multiple Gazes in Early Modern Encounters*,[7] a collection of

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[5] For my Turkish translation of this book, see MacLean, Gerald. *Doğu'ya Bakış: 1800 Öncesi İngiliz Yazmaları ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*. Ankara: METU Press, April 2009. Trans. Sinan Akıllı. Trans. of *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

[6] In fact, the publication, in 2005, of the compilation of essays entitled *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*, edited by Gerald Maclean and William Dalrymple, is evidence that in the first few years of the twenty-first century, some scholars in the Western academy had already been exploring the possibilities for other critical frames for a more even-handed analysis of the East-West relationships, especially as they were in the Renaissance and early modern period.

[7] For my review of this book, see Akıllı, Sinan. "Kumkum Chatterjee and Clement Hawes (Eds). *Europe Observed: Multiple Gazes in Early Modern Encounters*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008." *Hacettepe University Journal of British Literature and Culture* 16 (2009): 93-101.

essays edited by Kumkum Chatterjee and Clement Hawes, reinforced this new critical position by emphasizing the agency and, to some extent, the dominant position of the East in these exchanges. In *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (2008),[8] Donna Landry presented yet another extended illustration of how the new critical position can be put into practice by studying the culture and practices surrounding the horses brought to the British Isles from the East in roughly the same historical period covered by the previously-mentioned works.

Generally speaking, one common aspect of all of the critical studies listed above was their interest in and references to the cultural encounters and exchanges between Europe, more specifically Britain, and the East, especially the Ottoman Empire. The only exception is *Europe Observed*, which comes closer to what may easily slide into becoming a study of Occidentalism than all the other works listed. In *Europe Observed* Chatterjee and Hawes describe their understanding of 'the gaze,' as suggested by the title of the volume, "as an unalloyed mode of domination" or as the constituent of "visual mastery of one group for and by another" (2008, p. 18). However, it must be noted here that the critical frame offered by the editors of *Europe Observed* rejects the presence and inevitability of only one direction in the act of gazing in the early modern period, because, developing their argument around the concept of 'agency,' to which "the act of observation" is central (Chatterjee and Hawes, 2008, p. 13), they explain that in the encounters between Europeans, however defined, and non-Europeans, there were "multiple gazes," and, in fact, "a reasonably equal exchange of gazes" (2008, p. 18), if not an unequal exchange in favor of the latter group. Accordingly, of the nine articles which form *Europe Observed*, four typically employ the metaphor of visual perception in their titles, which suggest the multiplicity and exchange of gazes: "Native Andeans Observe Colonial Spaniards" by Irene Silverblatt, "Spain through Arab Eyes, c. 1573-1691" by Nabil Matar,[9] "Seeing England Firsthand: Women and Men from Imperial India, 1614-1769" by Michael H. Fisher, and "Stranger in a Strange Land: Europeans through the Eyes of Gustavus Vassa/Olaudah Equiano" by Vincent Carretta. In providing a commentary on the totality of the findings in the volume, Chatterjee and Hawes argue that seen or observed in association with a wide range of not very agreeable images from "poor personal hygiene (as regards a culture-clash of toilet practices) to a defective social conscience (as regards the private accumulation of wealth), to religious hypocrisy (as regards "actually existing" Christianity)," and as manufacturers of "inferior commodities," the Europeans were by no means the unquestioned masters and were sometimes "the weaker party" in the early modern period (2008, p. 2). Writing against 'the clash of civilizations' thesis though, Chatterjee and Hawes never tried to establish the implications of these findings as an essentialist Occidentalism.

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[8]   My Turkish translation of Landry's book is in progress at the time of the writing of this article and is to be published by E Yayıncılık, İstanbul by the end of 2013.

[9]   In collaboration with other leading scholars such as Gerald Maclean, Matar has published prolifically on the general subject of Islam and Britain, Islam and the West, and Anglo-Arab encounters in the early modern period and his work may set good examples for further research in the context of West-Ottoman/Turk encounters in the same period. For Maclean and Matar's most recent work on the subject, see *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

Studies of Occidentalism as the Eastern discursive constructions of the West, entails, by the nature of the subject, the involvement of non-Western scholars who can research, read and contextualize the texts from which such discourses about the West originate. Not surprisingly, almost all of the scholars mentioned above are of non-Western origin and that is most probably the reason why their research may not reach beyond evening out the number and magnitude of exchanges as they appear in the continuum of history. By the very same token, Chatterjee and Hawes seem to have implied their surprise in the face of the fact that no major study by Turkish scholars on this subject has yet appeared,[10] even though "Ottoman Empire, adjacent to Europe and strategically concerned with it throughout much of the early modern era, provides enough material that one can compare observations from different historical moments" (Chatterjee and Hawes, 2008, p. 15), but could not include a chapter on the Ottoman Empire. Nonetheless, it seems that up until the late eighteenth century, the cultural influence of the Ottoman world on Europe was significantly more than the European cultural influence on the Ottoman world. Therefore, to refer to the logic that I have expressed at the end of my recent study of the early modern constructions of the image of the Turks in England through texts of apocalyptic eschatology, astrology and prophecy:

> similar research must be done in the reverse direction, that is, through a study of the beliefs and assumptions about the Europeans in general and the English in particular as they may have been discursively expressed in similar Ottoman and other Islamic astrological and prophetic manuscripts, so that the other half of this general scholarly inquiry can be completed. (Akıllı, 2012, p. 49)

That is to say, any study of the gazes, whether one wishes to avoid the essentialist Orientalism/Occidentalism dichotomy or not, which were exchanged between the West and the non-West in history necessarily entails a study of the texts originating in the Ottoman Empire. The task requires comprehensive and systematic research primarily in Turkey and elsewhere and is naturally and primarily expected from an interdisciplinary team of Turkish scholars. The undertaking of this task may also yield very interesting results about the Ottoman Empire itself, as, to refer to a remark by Carrier, "occidentalisms and orientalisms serve not just to draw a line between societies, but also to draw a line within

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10 To the best of my knowledge, the earliest significant work related to the study of the 'reverse gaze' produced by scholars in Turkey is Nur Gürani Arslan's *Türk Edebiyatında Amerika ve Amerikalılar* (America and Americans in Turkish Literature) (2000), which, despite its achievement as an early example, cannot go much beyond providing bibliographic information. Among the very few other titles I was able to find by Turkish scholars writing on this general subject, though none in the early modern context, are Mürsel Gürses's articles "Meşrutiyet Dönemi Gezi Kitaplarında Oto-Oryantalist ve Oksidentalist Söylemler" (the author's choice of the English title for this article written in Turkish being "Auto-Orientalist and Occidentalist Discourse in the Travel Books of the Constitutional Period") which appeared in *Turkish Studies - International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 7, 1 (Winter 2012): 1269-1303, and "Meşrutiyet Dönemi Gezginlerinin Gözlemleriyle Avrupa'da Türk İmgesi" (the author's choice of the English title for this article written in Turkish being "The Image of Turk in Europe with the Perspective of Travelers at the Period of Constitutional Monarchy") published in *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi/The Journal of International Social Research* 5, 21 (Spring 2012): 133-157.

them. This process is likely to be particularly pronounced in societies that self-consciously stand on the border between occident and orient" (1995, pp. 22-23). With such exciting prospects though, the conceptual tools for the task must also be very carefully considered and designed. The reason is that in dealing with the Ottoman Empire in this context, one needs to question and clearly decide on which side, if any or both, of the discussion the Ottoman Empire should be placed, as even in its worst days it was referred to as the 'sick man of Europe,' and not as the 'sick man of Asia.' Obviously, it would again be out of context and historically incorrect to deal with the encounters between Europe and the Ottoman Empire in the same mode as commenting on Europe's exchanges with the areas formerly colonized by Europeans and vice versa.[11]

New Post-Saidian Set of Terms and Concepts for the Study of Orientalism and Occidentalism

With reference to the above discussion, it is quite obvious that there is an urgent need for a new set of concepts and terms for the studies of Orientalism and Occidentalism.[12] At this point, I will propose my version of what this new post-Saidian set of terms and concepts might look like (see *Figure 1* and *Figure 2* for heuristic representations of the terms and concepts). These new concepts and terms may prove to be useful for post-Saidian Western and Eastern literary and cultural studies, or for studies in the histories of the West and the East, as well as similar studies aiming at the unique context of the Ottoman Empire, which stood right in the middle of the West and the East, representing and partaking from both. Since an extended discussion and illustration of all of these concepts would exceed beyond the limits of an article, here I will only present very brief definitions of these terms, explaining what they refer to.

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[11] Gerald Maclean's *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (2007), for instance, illustrates how between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries the English 'looked' east to the Ottoman Empire "as a strategic ally against the Spanish, a model of social and political governance that often put their own to shame, a grand and functioning empire that seems effortlessly control vast lands and seas, [and] a model of culture and civilization" (2007, p. 61).

[12] This urgency of this need is obvious, for instance, in Banu Kangal's 2009 study of Orientalism in the eighteenth-century dramatist and poet Hannah Cowley's play *A Day in Turkey* (1792) when the author of the article observes that "Cowley feminizes the East and embodies sexual desire as related to the East while questioning these qualities from an *Eastern perspective* [italics mine]" (Kangal, 2009, p. 35). In the absence of appropriate terms, Kangal's discussion, even though it acknowledges the existence of multiple perspectives in this so-called Orientalist text, inevitably resorts to 'explanations,' like other similar critical accounts of other texts, including my own earlier work. Again, the urgent need for a new perspective and terminology in studies of Orientalism and Occidentalism is explicit with regard to – to refer to a relatively recent study by a Turkish historian – Gürsoy Şahin's *İngiliz Seyahatnamelerinde Osmanlı Toplumu ve Türk İmajı* (2007), a study of selected British travel writing texts about the Ottoman Empire in terms of the construction of the image of the Turks, typically declaring Said's Orientalism as the main conceptual framework of the study (Gürsoy, 2007, p.23). Even though Şahin acknowledges the presence of multiple, and objective, discourses, especially as they characterize the British writings of certain centuries, his conclusions are mostly still under the typical Orientalism argument (2007, pp. 323-336), pointing to perhaps what can be termed as 'academic Occidentalism.'

Orientalism: The totality of the discourses which essentialize the East negatively and/or positively through the construction of stereotypes and/or images of the East by Western and/or Eastern agents.

Affirmative Orientalism (Said's Orientalism): The discourse which essentializes the East negatively, and – in dialectical process – the West positively, through the construction of stereotypes and/or images of the East by Western agents.

Negative Orientalism: The discourse which essentializes the East positively, and – in dialectical process – the West negatively, through the construction of stereotypes and/or images of the East by Western and/or Eastern agents.

Auto-Orientalism (Lindstrom's Auto-Orientalism): The totality of the discourses which essentialize the East positively and/or negatively through the construction of stereotypes and/or images of the East by Eastern agents.

Affirmative Auto-Orientalism: The discourse which essentializes the East negatively, and – in dialectical process – the West positively, through the construction of stereotypes and/or images of the East by Eastern agents.

Negative Auto-Orientalism: The discourse which essentializes the East positively, and – in dialectical process – the West negatively, through the construction of stereotypes and/or images of the East by Eastern agents.

Occidentalism: The totality of the discourses which essentialize the West negatively and/or positively through the construction of stereotypes and/or images of the East by Western and/or Eastern agents.

Affirmative Occidentalism (Said's Implied Occidentalism): The discourse which essentializes the West positively, and – in dialectical process – the East negatively, through the construction of stereotypes and/or images of the West by Western and/or Eastern agents, the latter's agency being overlooked by Said but introduced into this system by Carrier.

Negative Occidentalism: The discourse which essentializes the West negatively, and – in dialectical process – the East positively, through the construction of stereotypes and/or images of the West by Eastern and/or Western agents.

Auto-Occidentalism (Lindstrom's Auto-Occidentalism): The totality of the discourses which essentialize the West positively and/or negatively through the construction of stereotypes and/or images of the West by Western agents.

Affirmative Auto-Occidentalism: The discourse which essentializes the West positively, and – in dialectical process – the East negatively, through the construction of stereotypes and/or images of the West by Western agents.

Negative Auto-Occidentalism: The discourse which essentializes the West negatively, and – in dialectical process – the East positively, through the construction of stereotypes and/or images of the West by Western agents.

The Objective Occident, and the Objective Occidental: Affirmative Auto-Occidentalism and Negative Auto-Occidentalism as individual discourses may co-exist, in a dialectical, and dialogic[13] – I must add, relationship with one another, in the same corpus of texts representing a given cultural and/or historical context, or in the individual works of individual authors. The amalgamation of the images and utterances from each of these sides, together with certain ideas from Negative Occidentalism by Eastern Agent, and Affirmative Orientalism can give us what I will call the 'Objective Occident,' an unbiased, honest, and fair concept of the Occident and the 'Objective Occidental,' a similar image of the Occidental, deriving from both the positive and negative discourses and images by both the Western and Eastern agents.

The Objective Orient, and the Objective Oriental: Similarly, Affirmative Auto-Orientalism and Negative Auto-Orientalism may co-exist, again in a dialectical and dialogic relationship with one another, in the same corpus of texts representing a given cultural and/or historical context, or in the individual works of individual authors. The amalgamation of the images and utterances from each of these sides, together with certain ideas from Negative Orientalism by Western Agent, and Affirmative Occidentalism can give us what I will call the 'Objective Orient,' an unbiased, honest, and even-handed concept of the Orient and the 'Objective Oriental,' that is to say, an image of the Oriental which is free from bias, again, deriving from both the positive and negative discourses and images by both the Eastern and Western agents.

As the above explanations – the individual units of which may seem very mechanical and essentialist at the first glance – suggest, neither the Orient nor the Occident can be understood as being isolated from the respective constructions by both Western and Eastern agency. They are, and have always been as recent scholarship by people like Gerald MacLean and others writing in the same vein showed, in a complex relationship which cannot be explained away and made sense of by resorting to simplistic essentialism. Neither the Occident and the Occidental nor the Orient and the Oriental are homogeneous monoliths. They have been agents of a dialogical relationship. Just like Orientalism and Occidentalism, they are twins, separated only by the pause between their moments of birth.

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13 I am obviously using this term in the Bakhtinian sense. In fact, not only the term "dialogic" but the entire Bakhtinian thought promises to be an ideal breeding ground for the appreciation of the "polyphonic," "heteroglot" – and even "carnivalesque," as the title of Carrier's 1992 article "Occidentalism: The World Turned Upside Down" suggests – body of texts that come under critical interest for studies of Orientalism and Occidentalism in literature. To illustrate the point I have made about the relevance of "polyphony," it would suffice to remember that, though with reference to Dostoevsky's novels, Bakhtin explained that, as different from homophonic or monological texts, what "unfolds" in polyphonic texts is not "a multitude of characters and fates within a unified objective world, illuminated by the author's unified consciousness, but precisely *the plurality of equal consciousnesses and their worlds*, which are combined here into the unity of a given event, while at the same time retaining their unmergedness" (1973, p. 4). As such, polyphonic texts, or bodies of texts for that matter, are also characterized by a principle of not merely an inclusion, but more importantly, an "affirmation of another man's 'I'" (Bakhtin, 1973, p. 7), which may refer to what I propose as Negative Occidentalism or Negative Auto-Occidentalism.

Figure 1: The Relationships among and the Contents of the New Post-Saidian Set of Concepts Proposed for the Studies of Orientalism and Occidentalism.
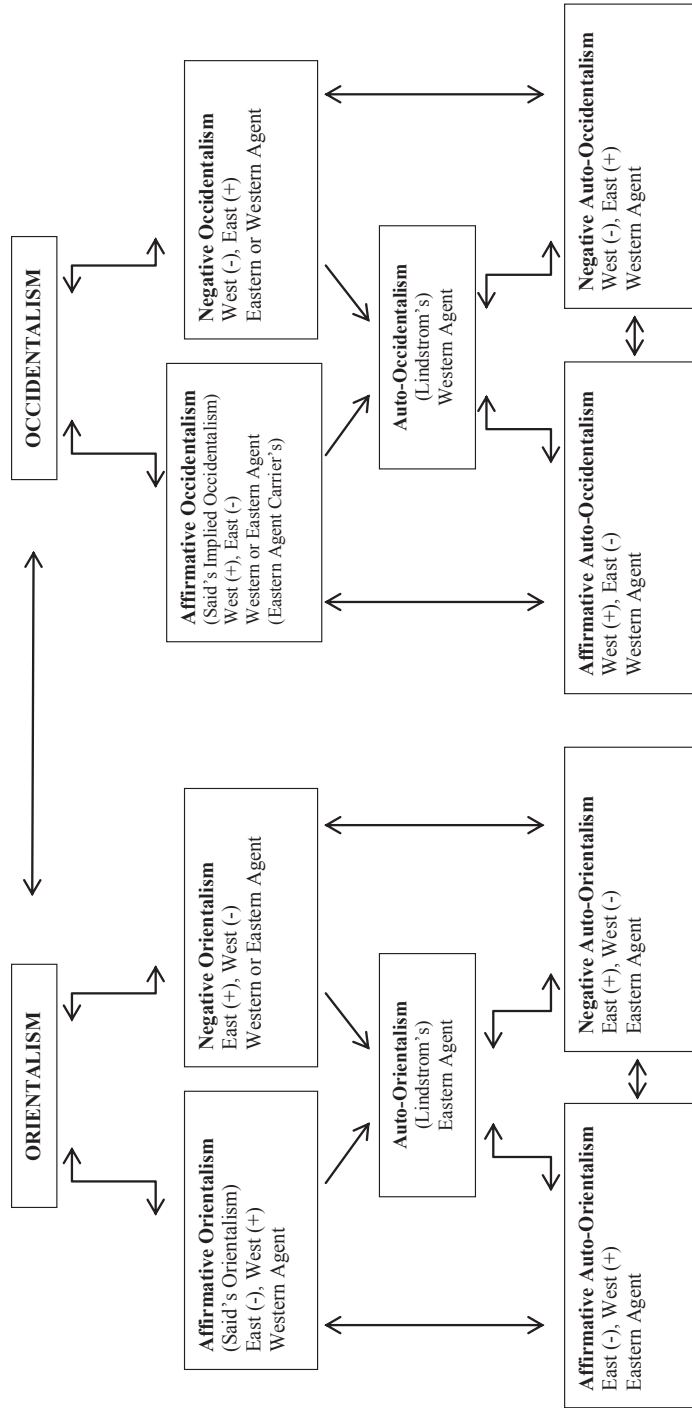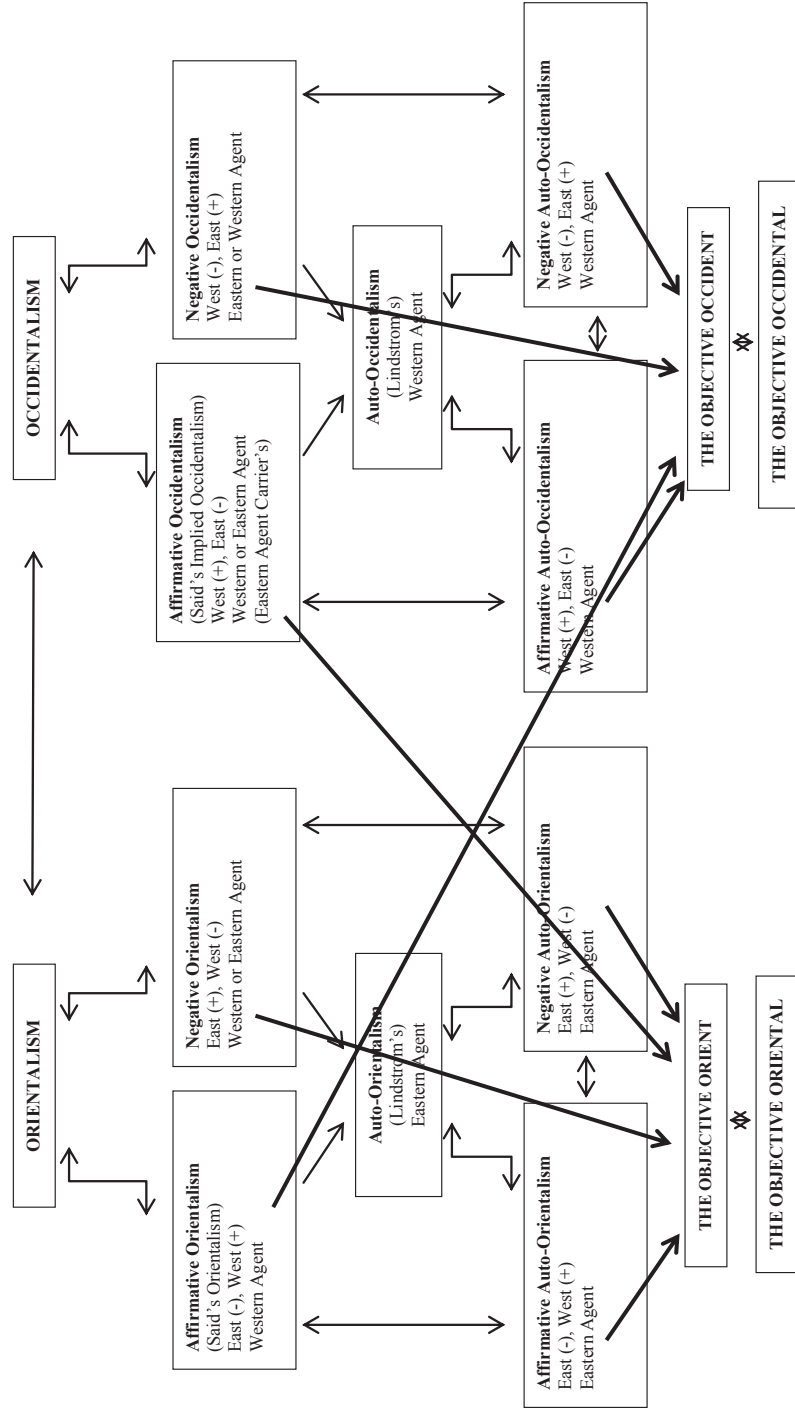
Figure 2: Constructions of the 'Objective Orient,' the 'Objective Oriental' and of the 'Objective Occident,' the 'Objective Occidental.'

"Auto-Occidentalism," Affirmative Auto-Occidentalism, and Negative Auto-Occidentalism

In this third section of the present study, I will elaborate further on "Auto-Occidentalism" and try to justify my introduction of the terms Affirmative Auto-Occidentalism and Negative Auto-Occidentalism. As I have mentioned earlier in this article, Carrier (1992; 1995) and especially Lindstrom (1995) have already set the foundation of Occidentalism and Auto-Occidentalism as discourses upon which further elaboration is possible. However, in order to avoid any possible confusion about the terms, one needs to keep in mind that when Carrier employs the term Occidentalism, his reference is always to what Lindstrom called Auto-Occidentalism. On the other hand, both Carrier's Occidentalism and Lindstrom's Auto-Occidentalism, being discourses which contain dualities, correspond sometimes to what I have termed Affirmative Auto-Occidentalism and at other times to what I have called Negative Auto-Occidentalism in the second part of this article.

Carrier, taking Said's *Orientalism* – which he acknowledges to have "a title that encouraged an easy inversion, to occidentalism" (1995, p. viii) – as his starting point, in his discussion of the context of "the 'West', [and] its distinction from the orient" which his account of Occidentalism requires, observed how in addition to the distinctions "common in scholarly and popular thought," the Occident was also distinguished from the Orient spatially, "for it is Western" and temporally, "for it is modern" (1995, p. 18). So far, Carrier's remarks refer to 'affirmative' discourses about the West by Western agents. However, he also wrote about how "[i]n defining the quintessential West, Western occidentalism creates an alien within the gates. Put differently, it defines certain sorts of people in Western society as not being valid Westerners – as being backward, and hence subordinate and even dangerous (Carrier, 1995, p. ix). Carrier further explained this "alien within the gates" as follows:

> However, the familiar can be defined narrowly, in which case the alien can be as close as poor people in Liverpool or religious fundamentalists in Virginia. Because anthropologists are largely white, middle-class, well-educated people, they are able to define much as alien. This fluidity is manifest in the fact that many anthropologists who have turned their attention to the West have analysed yet another set of aliens, closer to home than the Bororo, but still different. They can be different because they are isolated socially, as are Mediterranean peasant villagers or mountain-dwellers of Appalachia. Equally, they can be different because they lack important social or cultural attributes, such as working-class people in Philadelphia who are ignorant of modern medical facts […] or Montana townspeople who are ignorant of their own history […]. (1995, p. 6)

What Carrier claims in these remarks is that the West has also 'negatively' Auto-Occidentalized some groups in the Western society in order to ensure social pressure and control over these groups. Since this use of the term Occidentalism can only explain

what I call Negative Auto-Occidentalism by Western agents within the context of internal social control in the West, it does not seem to be a very useful tool for post-Saidian studies of Orientalism and Occidentalism resulting from East-West encounters. Put differently, Carrier's Occidentalism, either 'affirmative' or 'negative,' cannot account for why such an early nineteenth-century American traveler to İstanbul as James Ellswort De Kay, re-constructing his 'Self' image in the Ottoman mirror, would at times reflect, in his *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832, by An American*, that Americans and/or Europeans are 'backward,' 'selfish' and 'violent' when compared with Ottoman Turks. Nor would it be able to satisfactorily explain the myriad instances in Thomas Edward Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom: A Triumph*, in which the author clearly expresses sympathy – notwithstanding the Arab rebels – with the Turks, and especially the Turkish Nationalist movement of the early twentieth century and antagonism with the British and French governments and officials. This last point becomes even more interesting considering the fact that Lawrence's autobiographical account of the Arab Revolt has so far been the subject of many studies in Orientalism, starting perhaps with Said's *Orientalism*, which clearly ignored or, in the absence of appropriate terminology, could not make sense of the other voices in this text.[14] The presence in these texts of such a plurality of Occidentalist voices is in fact more meaningful with regard to Carrier's argument that "[a]s an object of study [Occidentalism] relates most directly to the topic of cultural identity and similar phenomena. National, ethnic, and racial identities revolve around an opposition between an us and a them, and in many parts of the world those identities reflect in part an assumption or rejection of 'the West' in one or another of its guises (1995, p. 12). Carrier did not really elaborate on either the 'assumption' or the 'rejection' of the West in ways that would provide new insight for cultural studies on identity. Nor did he say much about the 'guises' which he mentioned. So, I propose to capitalize on the possibilities of Carrier's argument, and call this "assumption" of the West, Affirmative Occidentalism and its "rejection," Negative Occidentalism. Furthermore, if the "assumption" is by a Western Agent, I call it Affirmative Auto-Occidentalism, and if the Western Agent's discourse is one of "rejection," I call it Negative Auto-Occidentalism. I completely agree with Carrier, however, when he observes that "[t]he occidentalized West is an imagined entity that, in its memorable clarity, obscures the vast areas of Western life that conflict with its vision" (1995, p. 28). Again, the terms I offer here, especially the 'Objective Occident' and the 'Objective Occidental,' can reach out to these "vast areas of Western life that conflict with its vision" (Carrier, 1995, p. 28).

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14 On September 27, 2012, I gave a paper entitled "The Author as Mirage: Polyphony, Multiple Authorship and Mythification in *Lawrence of Arabia*" at the *Seventh Annual International Association of Adaptation Studies Conference: 'Visible and Invisible Authorships'* held at the University of York. At the time of my presentation of this paper, which is still unpublished material, I too lacked the set of terms and concepts offered in this article, and hence have been struggling to put together some ideas for the progress of my work on *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. Back then, using Bakhtinian terminology, I could only explain the pro-Turkish statements as being not much more than voiced 'sympathies,' and the anti-British and anti-French statements as the words of a Romantic anti-imperialist, which arguments were indeed found controversial but reasonable enough; nevertheless, not extremely satisfactory.

As observed earlier, when compared with Carrier's arguments, Lindstrom's understanding of Occidentalism, though not particular enough to break new ground, seems to be more elaborate and more sophisticated, which is evident in the following: "The boundary between occident and orient is porous along much of its reach. Occidentalism/ Orientalism, as a doubled discourse, occasionally admits similarity and common humanity into its story as well as marked differences (Lindstrom, 1995, p. 35). Even though Lindstrom seems to be opening up the study of the dialogic possibilities found in these discourses, his focus remains on a more Affirmative Auto-Occidentalist discourse, only implying but not really dwelling on Negative Auto-Occidentalist possibilities: "Orientalism produces the Orient but also reveals and is a commentary on Occidental institutions, styles, and interests. The Orient, and Orientalism, necessarily presume an Occident and a parallel if sometimes less clearly spoken discourse of Occidentalism" (1995, p. 33). Lindstrom does not distinguish between the possible positive and negative forms in which this "commentary" may appear, but he does employ the mirror metaphor when he observes that

> [The Orient] may reflect as reversed image, a looking-glass wonderland.
> It may serve within evolutionary or dialectical models as the primitive,
> the ancient, or the grandfather. Equally, it may be the savage, the child,
> or the younger brother. It may be female to an occidental male. It might
> be nature to occidental culture; or sinful heathen to God's elect. Or it
> may lurk as radical other, a territory that is totally alien to the self. (1995,
> p. 34)

But then again, the possibility of this mirror's reflecting a not-so-favorable image of the Occident is left largely unaccounted for. The specific kinds of Auto-Occidentalism defined in this article may account for both the positive and the negative "commentar[ies] on Occidental institutions, styles, and interests" (Lindstrom, 1995, p. 33) and the possibility of the Orient reflecting 'a looking-glass wasteland' back at the Occident. Therefore, explorations of Negative Auto-Occidentalism as offered in this article, also keeping the concept of "the Objective Occident" in view, may be a good starting point for a renewed appreciation of texts which stem from East-West encounters. I will provide an example of how this new term may be put into use in the critical appreciation of literary texts in the fifth section of this article. Before moving on to that, however, another important point, namely the possible relationship between Negative Auto-Occidentalism and Anti-imperialism, must be touched upon, even though very briefly, in order to provide a larger scope for future studies possibly adopting the terminology proposed here.

Negative Auto-Occidentalism and Anti-imperialism in Literature

I shall begin this section by acknowledging inspiration from a section in Carrier's account, which is again related to politics of cultural identity, but this time in an explicitly imperial context. Carrier reminded us that, "[i]n one of his more convoluted sentences, Said […] observes" (1995, p. 12) the following: "I doubt that it is controversial ... to say

that an Englishman in India or Egypt in the later nineteenth century took an interest in those countries that was never far from their status in his mind as British colonies" (Said, 1978, p. 11). In explaining Said's remark, Carrier added his comment on the reverse situation, which according to him was "also true: it seems likely that an Englishman in the later nineteenth century took an interest in England in which its colonial mastery, its relationship with other countries, was never far from his mind" (1995, p. 12). In other words, according to Carrier, an Englishman who lived in the late Victorian Britain would always construct his 'Self' image as being a colonial master, superior to the colonized in every possible way, relying also on his material wealth, his "money" (Carrier, 1995, p. 20). Clearly, Carrier again has in mind only what I call the discourse of Affirmative Auto-Occidentalism. This approach is not enough to account for, to use Carrier's own words, "the vast areas of Western life that conflict with its vision" (1995, p. 28).

Even though the context is not India or Egypt, the most obvious examples in English literature that one could refer to to oppose Said's remark and Carrier's comment on this remark, is Henry Rider Haggard's novels *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) and *Allan Quatermain* (1887), which were very popular in the late nineteenth century. As I have established with textual evidence elsewhere, even though he had been considered an exclusively pro-imperialist author by many literary critics, in these two novels, but also in his other less famous works of fiction,

> with all his privileging of African 'savagery' over British 'civilisation,' African 'moral' values over British 'material' values, his denouncing of the popular Victorian assumptions about Anglo-Saxon racial superiority, and finally his depiction of Africa as a continent metaphorically raped by imperialist colonisers, Haggard's attitude towards British imperialism is notably doubtful, critical and at times harshly antagonistic … (Akıllı, 2011*b*, p. 317).

With the new terminology offered by this article I can now argue that Haggard was clearly employing a Negative Auto-Occidentalist discourse. To give specific examples from the novels just mentioned, I would first refer to the way Haggard depicts civilization without privileging or celebrating it and without implying the cultural superiority of the British (Akıllı, 2011*b*, p. 298), through the first person narrator of *Allan Quatermain*:

> Ah! This civilization, what does it all come to? For forty years and more I lived among savages, and studied them and their ways; and now for several years I have lived here in England, and have in my own stupid manner done by best to learn the ways of the children of light; and what have I found? A great gulf fixed? No, only a very little one, that a plain man's thought may spring across. I say that as the savage is, so is the white man, only the latter is more inventive, and possesses the faculty of combination; save and except also that the savage, as I have known him, is to a large extent free from the greed of money, which eats like a cancer into the heart of the white man. It is a depressing conclusion,

but in all essentials the savage and the child of civilization are identical.
(Haggard, 1887, p. 4)

As a matter of fact, it would be a naïve interpretation of this quotation if one disregards how well Haggard knows the possible reaction of his reader to his arguments pertaining to the essential similarity between an Englishman and an African, whereby he disturbs the presumptions of the former as regards his cultural superiority (Akıllı, 2011*b*, p. 298). Likewise, Haggard's opinion of 'savage' life is so much motivated by a sense of admiration that towards the end of *King Solomon's Mines* it grows into a sense of protectionism (Akıllı, 2011*b*, p. 277). As the plot approaches the end, the three English characters led across the imaginary Kukuanaland by the hero Allan Quatermain find the chamber where the legendary treasure of King Solomon is hidden, and as they eventually depart from the chamber "Quatermain, Curtis and Good are the only white and 'civilised' men on the earth's surface to know the place of Kukuanaland and King Solomon's treasure, isolated from the outer world by mountains and deserts" (Akıllı, 2011*b*, p. 277). And through them, their friend Ignosi, the Noble Savage type, sends the following message to the White world:

> But listen, and let all the white men know my words. No other white man shall cross the mountains, even if any man live to come so far. I will see no traders with their guns and rum. My people shall fight with the spear, and drink water, like their forefathers before them. I will have no praying-men to put a fear of death into men's hearts, to stir them up against the law of the king, and make a path for the white men who follow to run on. If a white man comes to my gates I will send him back; if a hundred come I will push them back; if armies come, I will make war on them with all my strength, and they shall not prevail against me.
> (Haggard, 1885, pp. 284-285)

In the above message, the rejection of white civilization, which is perceived as a corruptive force is obvious (Akıllı, 2011*b*, p. 278). My earlier interpretation of this episode in the novel was based on Haggard's anti-imperialism, but such an interpretation can now be coupled with an account of Haggard's use of a Negative Auto-Occidentalist discourse.

One last point about the relationship between Negative Auto-Occidentalism and anti-imperialism as exemplified by Henry Rider Haggard's novels is centered on the issue of ecological sensitivities. Indeed, Carrier himself has suggested this combination when he wrote:

> Likewise, Orientalisms of the Noble Savage, whether as a person of generosity, peace, and dignity, or more recently as a wise ecologist attuned to a fragile nature, can be paired with occidentalisms of a violent, rapacious, and heedless West in an effort to challenge existing Western practices and structures and advance new ones. (1995, p. 10)

He did not give names to these "occidentalisms" but obviously had in mind Negative Auto-Occidentalism. This kind of Negative Auto-Occidentalism based on ecological

sensitivities and discursively constructing the West as "violent, rapacious, and heedless," can also be illustrated with reference to Rider Haggard's popular novels, which I discussed in a chapter entitled "Henry Rider Haggard: An Early Ecocritic?" in *The Future of Ecocriticism: New Horizons* (2011). In this chapter I concluded that "since the overall worldview which emerges from my reading of Haggard is one that privileges Nature over Culture, Henry Rider Haggard should be redefined not only as an anti-imperialist author, but also as an early ecocritic" (Akıllı, 2011*a*, p. 308). In his 1912 novel *Marie*, for instance, Marie, young Allan Quatermain's girlfriend at the time, in spite of her being a Boer, treks with her father to the interior of what is today South Africa to escape from British rule, and some months after the departure of the Boer group a letter arrives from Marie telling that everyone in her camp is about to starve and she asks for urgent help, upon which Allan departs (Akıllı, 2011*a*, pp. 305-306). Along the way he observes a certain natural landscape and regrets its impending corruption:

> On the third morning, to my great relief, for I was terrified lest we should be delayed, the Seven Stars sailed with a favouring wind. Three days later we entered the harbour of Delagoa, a sheet of water many miles long and broad. Notwithstanding its shallow entrance, it is the best natural port in south-eastern Africa, but now, alas! lost to the English. (Haggard, 1912, p. 115)

Another instance, this time in *Allan Quatermain*, which can be referred to in explaining Haggard's treatment of Africa, concentrates on the fauna of the continent, and hence Haggard's criticism on the white man's disrespect for animal life and its significance for the inhabitants of the land. As the group of heroes make their way accidentally to the lake near the city of Milosis, the capital of Zu-Vendis, on their boat Captain Good "spied a school of hippopotami on the water about two hundred yards off us, and suggested that it would not be a bad plan to impress the natives with a sense of our power by shooting some of them if possible. This, unluckily enough, struck us as a good idea ..." (Haggard, 1887, p. 126). As the hippopotami were being killed "some of the parties in the boats began to cry out with fear; others turned and made off as hard as they could; and even the old gentleman with the sword looked greatly puzzled and alarmed, and halted his big row-boat" (Haggard, 1887, p. 126). Initially the white heroes cannot make any sense of the alarmed behaviors of the people of Zu-Vendis, because they perceive the hippopotami as mere animals. However, they later learn that "for some reason or other the hippopotamus is a sacred animal among them. […] Thus it came about that in attempting to show off [the heroes] had committed sacrilege of a most aggravated nature" (Haggard, 1887, p. 141). What Haggard tries to assert by this incident is the incapability of white civilized men when it comes to understanding nature as a whole, and thus a criticism of the British imperial project which has been carried out most of the time at the expense of nature in Africa, with its flora and fauna.

To relate the above discussion to the main concern of this article, that is to the justification and illustration of the new post-Saidian set of terminology introduced hereby, I argue that Haggard's novels represent a Negative Auto-Occidentalist discourse. Indeed,

I can further argue that Negative Auto-Occidentalism is probably an inherent aspect of all anti-imperialist literature, and therefore all Western literary works which represent an anti-imperialistic worldview, if not a clearly and explicitly stated anti-imperialist ideology, need to be revisited with respect to this new term. In British literature, such critique of imperialism can be observed long before and long after Haggard's time. The origins of such critique, as Walter Allen has suggested, date back to the Restoration period in the form of Aphra Behn's prose fiction *Oroonoko; or, The Royal Slave* (1954, p. 34), and the same attitude has been maintained up until the beginning of World War II, in Joseph Conrad's admission in *Heart of Darkness* that "the conquest of the earth, which mostly means taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much" (1902, p.10); and also in E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India*, in which Aziz cries to Fielding:

> Down with the English now! That's certain. Clear out, you fellows, double quick I say. We may hate one another, but we hate you most. If I don't make you go, Ahmed will, Karim will, if it's fifty or five hundred years we shall get rid of you, yes, we shall drive every blasted Englishman into the sea [....] (1924, p. 316)

A similar view is expressed also in George Orwell's 1936 essay "Shooting An Elephant," where his narrator reflects: "Here was I, the white man with his gun, standing in front of the unarmed native crowd – seemingly the leading actor of the piece; but in reality I was only an absurd puppet pushed to and fro" (1993, p. 2231). This anti-imperialistic self-criticism is further articulated through Joyce Cary's discontent with the corruption caused by the British civilization in Africa, voiced in his novel *Mr. Johnson* through the character of Mr. Rudbeck, the District Officer, who feels "more and more disgusted and oppressed, like a man who finds himself walking down a narrow, dark channel in an unknown country, which goes on getting darker and narrower; while he cannot decide whether he is on the right road or not" (1939, p. 247). As this quick list suggests, this is a task which cannot be attempted within the confines of a single article. However, in what follows, I will offer an illustration of how Negative Auto-Occidentalism may be used as a critical term to appreciate travel literature.

"Auto-Occidentalism" and Negative Auto-Occidentalism in the Context of West-Ottoman Encounters: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Western Travel Writing on the Ottoman Empire

The new set of post-Saidian terms and concepts proposed in this article for academic studies of the encounters and interactions between the West and the East, particularly those between the West and the Ottoman Empire with reference to Orientalism not only disturbs the mental sense of security of the scholar who – either inevitably or habitually – takes an essentialist shortcut to assert arguments, but it also upsets the easy and lazy shortcuts to the East/West or West/East binary oppositions. Again, the latter point applies especially to the context of the Ottoman Empire, but is in fact the subject of another

lengthy and meticulous discussion which will not be attempted here. For the purposes of the present article, I will focus on "Auto-Occidentalism," in the particular context of Negative Auto-Occidentalism by Western agents as induced by the Ottoman mirror. Needless to say, the Western agent's Negative Auto-Occidentalist discourse induced by the Ottoman mirror would significantly be different from other similar discourses induced by, say, the Indian, the Arab, and the Chinese mirrors, the image of the West reflected by these also being different from one another.

To provide textual examples for my main argument in this paper, I will briefly present my comments on one American travel account from the early nineteenth century, and one English text from the late nineteenth century, the deliberate variation in context aiming to illustrate the independence of my arguments from the restrictions of temporal and cultural contexts. Moreover, to answer a possible question in advance, my choice of both of the texts from the same century was also deliberate, for choosing travel accounts too much apart in time would have run the risk of comparing texts which would have most probably been written on different societies. As will be observed in the following pages, both James Ellswort De Kay's *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832, by An American (1833)* and Frederick Burnaby's *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1877) are rich in Negative Auto-Occidentalist discourses, but then the Negative Auto-Occidentalist discourse is by no means the only discourse in these texts. As suggested above, these are polyphonic texts in which both the Negative and the Affirmative Auto-Occidentalist discourses exist in a dialogic relationship. Moreover, these texts also illustrate how the dialogic couple of Auto-Occidentalist discourses also communicate, at times, with Affirmative Orientalist (in the Saidian sense) discursive statements, which essentialize and/or stereotype.

Negative Auto-Occidentalism James Ellswort De Kay's Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832, by An American *(1833)*

As we learn from Recep Boztemur, who is the editor of the Turkish translation of De Kay's travel account,[15] De Kay was originally a physician who later turned to natural sciences, to zoology in particular, and who traveled to İstanbul in 1831-1832 with his father-in-law as a ship's physician to conduct research on Asiatic cholera and published his observations in 1833 (Boztemur, 2009, p. viii). Even though his motivation for the travel was professional, as De Kay himself states in the 'Introduction' to his book, his motivation to write and publish an account of this travel is remote from occupational concerns:

> In the following pages I have attempted to preserve a record of my own impressions, without reference to the descriptions of many preceding tourists, who seem to have taken a marvellous pleasure in exaggerating the vices and suppressing the good points of the Turkish character. It

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[15] For the Turkish translation of De Kay's book, see De Kay, J. E. (1833). *1831-1832 Türkiye'sinden Görünümler*. Trans. by Serpil Atamaz Hazar. (2009). Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık.

will be found that in my estimate of the Turks I coincide with a reverend traveller, who asserts that "There is no people without the pale of Christianity who are better disposed towards its most essential precepts." (1833, p. iii)

Even though De Kay's judgment of character takes Christian notions about character as reference point, though indirectly stated, and therefore implies an Orientalist point of view, the above quotation also indicates De Kay's Negative Auto-Occidentalist discourse manifested in his establishing an image of previous Western travel writers as being essentially prejudiced and deliberately false, despite the fact that there were other travelers from the West who had come to Ottoman lands before De Kay and had quite objectively written also in favor.[16] Nonetheless, De Kay's position is determined and he even speculates about the possible reason for such exaggerations by travel writers as he relates information about burial rites and procedures in Turkey:

It is scarcely worthwhile to notice the absurd stories that the Turks are buried with their faces downward, and that their nails are allowed to grow as long as possible in order that they may be the better enabled to scratch their way into Paradise. It is with such childish fables that too many travellers in the East have chosen to disfigure their works; and it would seem that his popularity is the greatest who has accumulated the greatest number of these silly inventions. (1833, p. 130)

Of course, the popularity of an author would bring sales and here De Kay implies the West's love of material gain, which may be achieved at the expense of the 'Other.' De Kay's reference to western materialism as part of his Negative Auto-Occidentalist discourse also seems to be deliberate and systematic. Elsewhere, as he relates observations about the ethics of commercial affairs as practiced in Turkey, De Kay makes sure to address his fellow westerners and urge them to learn from Turks:

In all their transactions with the powers of Europe the Turkish government have been most egregiously duped; for their treaties have been so framed that the Turks are unable to raise the duties on foreign imports, either to protect their own manufactures, or for the purposes of revenue. We do not profess to be versed in the metaphysics of commerce, and indeed have given up the idea of ever being made to comprehend its intricacies, when we were instructed that it was far more beneficial to pay a foreigner six cents for an article, than to purchase it from a neighbour and fellow

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16 A good example is Dr. William Wittman's *Travels in Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria and across the Desert during the Years 1799, 1800, and 1801 in Company with the Turkish Army, and the British Military Mission: also through Germany, Holland etc on the Return to England: to which are Annexed Observations on the Plague and on the Dieases Prevalent in Turkey, and a Meteorological Journal* (1804). For a Turkish translation of Wittman's travel account, see Wittman, William. (1804). *Osmanlı'ya Yolculuk 1799-1800-1801: Türk Ordusu ve İngiliz Askeri Heyeti ile Birlikte Küçük Asya, Suriye ve Çöl Yoluyla Mısır'a Yolculuk*. Trans. by Belkıs Dişbudak. (2011). Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık.

> countryman at the same price, or who will take something from us which
> will be an equivalent. The advocates for free-trade will find a beautiful
> example of its operation in Turkey. (1833, p. 193)

On the surface, the comment is about the Turks who are easily "duped," but the inverted image of the Westerner which this "duped' Turk reflects is one who is inclined to dupe others, a dishonest and aggressive opportunist. To further construct the West as being morally corrupt, De Kay observes, in relating the account of a visit to a paper manufacturing facility, that "[a]mong the many pretended discoveries which the nations of Europe assume to themselves, that of paper may be mentioned, which is now well known to be of oriental origin" (1833, p. 123).

De Kay's observations and comments address a great variety of aspects of Turkish life, and most of the time, his remarks favoring the Turks and their way of life comes coupled with an emphasis on the western prejudice and superstition about these practices. One significant example is his comments on the western prejudice about the place of women in Turkish society:

> It is gravely stated, and repeated by every traveller in this country, that
> the Turks firmly believe their females to have no souls. We once asked
> a sly old Mussulman the opinion of his countrymen on this subject, and
> the only reply was a contemptuous sneer at our gullibility; but when he
> was assured that such stories were printed all over Europe, he took the
> liberty of indulging in a most undignified fit of laughter. (1833, p. 263)

Even though De Kay does not elaborate on it, the old man's "fit of laughter" in this quotation is Bakhtin's "carnivalesque" laughter, subverting the integrity of the western Self and that Self's belief in the authenticity and authority of Western knowledge "printed all over Europe." In fact, elsewhere De Kay offers a picture of this 'world-turned-upside-down' position by observing that

> Every person who has been in Turkey, and is not afraid of speaking out
> his real sentiments, instead of timidly acquiescing in the loose reports of
> ignorant or prejudiced travellers who have preceded him, will agree with
> us when we state that women in Turkey actually enjoy more liberty than
> in the other countries of Europe or in America. (1833, p. 269)

While the statement of the superiority of Turkey over "the other countries of Europe," instantly categorizing the Ottoman Empire as a European entity, is quite significant in itself, De Kay's comparison of Turkey and America, his home country, is also evidence of his objective position. Such a Turco-American comparison is also observed with reference to cleanliness as a sign of civilization in these two societies when De Kay reports that

> Every stranger is struck with the numerous contrivances around
> Constantinople for supplying it with pure and wholesome water.
> Belonging to a city in the United States which has long been distinguished
> for its nauseous and detestable water, and for the culpable negligence

of its rulers on a subject of so much importance, no opportunity was neglected to obtain all the information in our power in regard to the hydraulic establishments in this neighbourhood. The result, however mortifying, must not be concealed, and we therefore state, that on a subject intimately connected, not only with the comfort, but with the health of the people, the commercial emporium of the United States is some centuries behind the metropolis of Turkey. (1833, p. 110)

The American traveler discursively constructs the Ottoman Turk as a 'clean' individual – and in dialectic process, the Westerner as 'dirty' – because he thinks that "the quantity [of water] used by each family must far exceed that of any other city in the world (1833, pp. 104-105), not only in America, and then juxtaposes this image of the Turks with an image of the Christian communities in İstanbul:

The streets of Scutari afford a strong contrast with those of the capital, being wide and airy, and apparently laid out with much more regularity. […] It is almost exclusively inhabited by Turks; and the neatness and order which prevail in the place strikingly contrast with the quarters solely occupied by the filthy Franks of Galata and Pera. (1833, p. 381)

But then again, it would be essentialist to the extreme to read De Kay's Negative Auto-Occidentalist remarks as being the Objective Occident, as surely there were many 'clean' people in America and not all "Franks of Galata and Pera" were "filthy." Nonetheless, De Kay is persistent in terms of constructing negative images of the Christian communities in the Ottoman capital, especially the Greek. In relating the story of an incident from the history of the island of Scio, De Kay refers to "a party of Greeks from Samos, whose inhabitants, according to an English authority, are the most unprincipled miscreants in existence, landed upon the island. Joined by a number of the Sciots, they commenced an attack upon the Turkish garrison (1833, p. 41). In De Kay's text such depictions of the Greek population in Turkey are not uncommon, as they are constructed as people living in "dirty little Greek village[s]" (1833, p. 105).

De Kay's praising of Turkish character and conduct expands into narratives about how in the case of a personal item being lost, "if it should be found by a Turk it would undoubtedly be restored (1833, p. 253); about how young Turkish men's conversations about women "would form an amusing contrast with the ordinary conversation of our well-educated young men" which remark De Kay continues by concluding that "the advantage on the score of morality, to say nothing of propriety, is much in favour of the Moslem" (1833, pp. 265-266); of how, as he reflects on the institution of slavery as practiced in early nineteenth century Turkey, he "know[s] of no country in the world where the relative situation of master and slave is accompanied with fewer galling conditions on the part of the latter than in Turkey (1833, p. 281), because the slaves in Turkey "in fact are considered more in the light of humble friends than as purchased slaves" (1833, p. 280). Likewise, De Kay's account offers remarks about how important, contrary to common Western prejudice, the concept of honor is among the Turks (1833, p. 330);

about how the Turks set a perfect example of social charity, for "[i]n no country in the world are beggars treated with more kindness and consideration than in Turkey, or their wants more speedily relieved" (1833, p. 358); and lastly, about religious tolerance of the Ottoman Turks as follows:

> Although [Islam] is the religion of the state, other creeds are allowed; and it would be difficult to point out the most enlightened country of Christendom where there exists a more perfect toleration. Of the influence of Islamism upon the actions and lives of its professors we have already treated, and it only remains to add that its direct tendency is to counteract and mitigate the severity of despotic governments, which in the East have always found a congenial soil. It produces an equalizing effect, and is in fact a sort of religious republicanism, only extending much further than in our country, where a difference of complexion is fatal. (1833, p. 362)

As can be observed in almost all of the above-mentioned remarks by De Kay, there definitely is a multiplicity of discourses in his text. His Negative Auto-Occidentalism stems from the way he compares the European and the American with the Ottoman. What is primarily expected of travel literature is to present images about the 'Other's country and society, but De Kay's travel account creates, almost primarily, images of the 'Self's country and society, and these images cannot be explained by referring to Said's "Orientalism" and implied "Occidentalism," and even "Auto-Occidentalism" at the level Lindstrom defines it. To illustrate the complex web of discourses that characterize De Kay's text, I will comment on one last, but by no means least, point as it relates to De Kay's discursive representation of the West, because it supports a point I made about the relationship between Negative Auto-Occidentalism and anti-imperialism in literature on the basis of ecological sensitivities.

There are quite a few instances in De Kay's narrative in which he reports his observations of the way Ottoman Turks treat animals, and contrasts the Turkish way to the western way. [17] The first of these observations comes as he narrates his boat trip on the Bosphorus:

> The waters were covered by myriads of seafowl, which, as they are undisturbed by the Turks, exhibited no signs of fear on our approach. Indeed, they were so entirely free from alarm, that they would merely move out of the reach of the oars, without rising from the water. Considerations of policy have undoubtedly had their influence in preventing these birds from being disturbed, for they perform a useful part as scavengers, in removing the animal and vegetable matter which

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[17] De Kay's specific emphasis on human-nature relationships may be explained with reference to his occupation as a natural scientist, but more importantly, to the 'Transcendentalist' ideas of Thoreau and Emerson that were circulating in the United States in the early nineteenth century.

must necessarily be daily discharged from a large city. I have, however, already had opportunities of witnessing the kindness universally manifested by the Turks towards the brute creation. (1833, p. 91)

In this quotation De Kay, in fact, refers to the Turk's respect for nature, but read in isolation may seem to be implying mere practicality and government policy as being the reason for such respect. Elsewhere, however, he clearly establishes a religious, if not philosophical, source for the Turkish respect to nature in general, and to all sorts of animals, in particular:

> Kindness to the brute creation is also frequently recommended in the Koran, and the traveller in this country has many pleasing proofs of the scrupulousness with which these commands are obeyed. The harbour of Constantinople is covered at many seasons with millions of wild fowl, which just paddle out of the reach of the oar, seemingly aware that they will not be injured. The open boats into which grain is discharged are literally covered with ringdoves, and the devout Mussulman scarcely dreams of even driving them gently away. This kind feeling extends to the whole brute creation, even to dogs (although regarded as unclean), and is not confined to the ox which treadeth out the corn, or which has fallen into the pit on the Sabbath day. (1833, p. 361)

More important for the purposes of this article, however, is the way he contrasts such kindness "to the whole brute creation" with the implications of such a depiction as follows:

> Leaving the paved and dirty lanes of our village, we were soon scampering across the lovely valley already described, over a paved road about twelve feet wide, which extended rather more than two miles into the country. The road was lined on both sides with shrubs, among which our blackberry was the most common; and clouds of blackbirds passed over us, followed by numerous Frank sportsmen. (1833, p. 103)

De Kay obviously did not have much opinion of his fellow westerners who lived in the Ottoman capital. Accordingly, his Negative Auto-Occidentalist discourse creates stereotypes about these "numerous Frank"s.

De Kay's account, however, is by no means, and in fact can never expect to, contain only one type of discourse. Accordingly, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832, by An American* does not always provide remarks in favor of the Turks. Among a few other points of criticism, De Kay keeps stressing that "the value of time the Turks do not appear to have the smallest fraction of an idea" and illustrates the "dilatory habits of the [Turkish] people" with reference to "[t]heir favourite proverb, that 'in a cart drawn by oxen you may overtake a hare' the (1833, p. 431). Elsewhere, he refers to "slow and easy manner so characteristic of the Turks, and which will one day prove their ruin (1833, p. 311). Of course, De Kay is worried about the future of a people, who, even though

they do not understand the value of time like westerners do, can set perfect examples to the West in several other aspects of character and conduct. De Kay's particular concern, which is apparent in the conclusions he states at the end of his narrative, is with the threat Russia, as a hostile neighbor, poses to the Ottoman Empire when he observes: "although now upheld by the conflicting interests of the various European powers, the time is not far distant when she will be crushed by the colossal power of Russia, and her fate will certainly be hastened, if not almost invited, by Mashallah, Inshallah, and Bakallum" (1833, p. 432). This early nineteenth-century American remark about the Russian threat to the Ottoman Empire provides a transition to the next travel account to be discussed in this paper, which is a late nineteenth-century English text.

Frederick Burnaby's Politically-informed Negative Auto-Occidentalist Discourse in On Horseback through Asia Minor *(1877)*

In the harsh winter of 1876-77, during his annual leave, a captain of the British Army was traveling across Anatolia, the heartland of the Ottoman Empire. Combined with his military discipline, Captain Frederick Burnaby also had an adventurous spirit which had taken him to Russian-controlled Central Asia in the previous winter. Burnaby was a soldier and an adventurer, but most importantly, an imperialist who lost his life in 1885 when fighting in the Sudan as a member of the relief column sent to Khartoum to save General Gordon, and was buried in the desert (Hopkirk, 1992, p. 362). Accordingly, his objectives in taking the trip to Anatolia were, firstly, to see if the accusations directed by the European and more specifically British newspapers against the Ottoman Turks for cold-bloodedly and systematically massacring the Christian subjects of the Empire were based on reality;[18] and secondly and more importantly, to observe if the Ottoman state had the means and the strength to stand against a possible military attack by Russia,[19] the new imperial power in Eurasia which considered itself as the protector and guardian of these Christian populations, but posed a great threat to British interest in the Mediterranean and in Central Asia. What makes Burnaby's travels across Anatolia important for the purposes of this article, however, is his writing of a narrative account of his travels, namely *On*

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[18] Burnaby was obviously disturbed by the biased judgments of some writers of the British press, and had certainly read, before he came to Anatolia, William E. Gladstone's pamphlet entitled "Bulgarian Horrors" (1876), in which the author blamed the Turks for all the violence in the Balkans. His personal observations and the information he collects from Christians across Turkey soon convince him about the exaggerated and fabricated nature of such stories as told by Gladstone and other pamphlet writers. To support this argument, in Appendix IV of *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (pp. 331-336), Burnaby presents an extract from an official dispatch sent by Sir Austen Henry Layard, the British Ambassador in İstanbul (1877-1880) to the Earl of Derby, dated May 30, 1877, in which the ambassador expresses his disapproval of some English journalists "who boast that they invented these stories with the object of 'writing down' Turkey" (pp. 334-335).

[19] Both Appendix B. (XVI.), entitled "Sir John Burgoyne on the Defences of Constantinople," and Appendix B. (XVII.), entitled "The Chekmagee Lines" in *On Horseback through Asia Minor* are reports by military experts, which contain strategic information for the prevention of a possible invasion of İstanbul by Russians.

Horseback through Asia Minor (1877). The significance of this book, in turn, stems from the fact that it represented a politically informed discourse, one with a "Russophobe-Turcophile" (Hopkirk, 1992, p. 361) tone, and propagated it for a growing reading audience in Britain,[20] the latter point being very relevant to discursive image construction and stereotyping about a foreign society.[21]

As regards his discourses about a foreign society, apparently, the way in which a traveling British officer is received in a given country had strong implications for Burnaby as to the general attitude of the people of that country and its government towards the Britain. So he reports in a delighted tone how before leaving London he writes to the Turkish Ambassador to ask if there might be any objections to his travel, and how to his letter he receives "the most courteous reply," which informs him that "every Englishman could travel where he liked in the Turkish Empire, and that nothing was required but the ordinary foreign office passport, one of which His Excellency enclosed" (Burnaby, 1877, p. x). To build upon the effect created by this impressive first contact, later in the book Burnaby frequently informs the reader that "the hospitality of the Turkish nation is proverbial. The generosity of the Turks is equally great" (1877, p. 75), and that in Anatolia, "no matter where an Englishman may ask for shelter, he will never find a Mohammedan who will deny him admittance" (1877, p. 85). Burnaby is clearly fascinated by the Turkish custom and is eager to share his fascination with his British readers. Yet making a direct statement to that end would probably not be good for his assumed objectivity and impartiality. Therefore, he conveys his message indirectly by mentioning a story he hears about a fellow European Christian, one Mr. Thompson, who was offered a clean bed and food by a Turkish villager when there were not any vacant rooms at the inn he was hoping to stay. The English Consul who tells the story to Burnaby and whose status adds to the authoritativeness of his view asks: "the Turk was a Mohammedan, and Mr. Thompson a Christian; if the Turk had been in England, and found himself placed in a similar predicament to Mr. Thompson, do you think that there are many Englishmen who would have behaved so generously to an utter stranger?" (Burnaby, 1877, p. 73). Burnaby's aim here is to impress his English readers by implying the moral superiority of the Turks even to themselves with regard to the specific virtues of hospitality and generosity, thereby creating a Turcophile tone. But then, such a discursive statement is also in complete contradiction with the typical Orientalism argument.

Like De Kay, Burnaby also criticizes the misinformation and partiality of the reports,

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[20] For full-length accounts of the emergence and growing of a mass reading audience in Britain from the 1870's onwards as a result of concurrent technological, social, economic and political developments, see Altick, R. D. (1957). *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, and Blake, A. (1989). *Reading Victorian Fiction: The Cultural Context and Ideological Content of the Nineteenth-Century Novel*. Houndmills: Macmillan.

[21] Burnaby was "a hero of Victorian England" with "an unparalleled reputation," which is still alive in our day, and his best-selling books of travel, *A Ride to Khiva* (1876), as well as *On Horseback through Asia Minor*, were so popular that without them "no Victorian bookshelf was complete" (Champkin, 30 July 2000, p. 54). In other words, his widely-circulated works must have greatly influenced the discursive construction of the Ottoman Empire and Turks in late Victorian Britain.

about the Ottoman Turks especially the ones that appear in the British media of the time. Burnaby's host in Ankara, for instance, is unhappy about the one-sided account of the turmoil in Bulgaria given in British newspapers. So, the Turkish host complains:

> your newspapers always published the accounts of the Bulgarian women and children who were slaughtered, and never went into any particulars about the Turkish women who were massacred by the Bulgarians, or about our soldiers whose noses were cut off, and who were mutilated by the insurgents in the Herzegovina. A Turk values his nose quite as much as a Christian. (1877, p. 67)

Since one of the pre-defined purposes of Burnaby's travel in Anatolia is to see if the news about the maltreatment of the Christian populations who are living there are based on reality, in each city on his itinerary he talks with the Christians and enquires into the accusations of the impalement of the Christians, the news of which appear in British papers. However, the Christians in each city admit that they are on good terms with the Turks there, but in his next destination probably he would witness the maltreatment of Christians. As he proceeds from west to east, from İzmir to İstanbul, from İstanbul to Ankara, from Ankara to Sivas, from Sivas to Erzurum, and so forth he hears the same story, and eventually after inquiring about the truth of some accusations directed to the Turkish soldiers who allegedly outraged some Christian women near Erzurum, he writes: "Like many other statements which had been made to me by the so-called Christians in Anatolia, it turned out to be a fiction" (Burnaby, 1877, p. 157). To make his point more credible, in the matter of the impalement of Christians, he even reports the testimony of three American missionaries residing in Sivas, who, when asked the question were surprised and explained to Burnaby that "the Turks were by no means a cruel race; but that their system of administering justice was a bad one" (Burnaby, 1877, p. 143). After numerous such revelations of the other side of the story by document and testimony, Burnaby even gives advice to his readers by the following of which they can free themselves from the prejudices they have against the Turks: "People in this country who abuse the Turkish nation, and accuse them of every vice under the sun, would do well to leave off writing pamphlets and travel a little in Anatolia. […] in many things writers who call themselves Christians might well take a lesson from the Turks in Asia Minor" (Burnaby, 1877, p. 75). Again the presence of these multiple voices and perspectives create a discursive construct which cannot be explained away by resorting to Saidian terminology. In revealing the true story about the status of Christians in Anatolia, Burnaby also uses a Negative Auto-Occidentalist discourse which stereotypically constructs an image of British journalists as being essentially prejudiced and given to falsity.

To very briefly deal with a particular aspect of the 'politically-informed' nature of Burnaby's Negative Auto-Occidentalism, one may refer to his comments about British Liberals. Having established his Russophobic-Turcophilic point to a great extent in the main parts of his account of travel in Anatolia, towards the end of the narrative, Burnaby now begins to openly criticize the Liberal circles, and Gladstone himself for asking in "Bulgarian Horrors" a change of the British policy of preserving the territorial

integrity of the Ottoman Empire, into a policy of extinction of Turkish power in Eastern Europe, and their expulsion from the region "with their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbachis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage" (Gladstone, 1876, p. 38). Of course the retreat of the Turks from Eastern Europe automatically meant the establishment of Russian influence in the region in those days and Gladstone was not bothered by this. After all, according to him Russia was "the Torch-bearer of Civilization and the Protector of the Unprotected" (Burnaby, 1877, p. 309). Burnaby's criticism of Gladstone's pamphlet is given in his sarcastic response to Gladstone's pro-Russian political views:

> Why was the author of 'Bulgarian Horrors' silent when his own officials reported the crimes of the Russian soldiery? We have been told that Russia is the torch-bearer of civilization, and our military attaché at St. Petersburg […] has stated that he believes the Muscovite soldiers are incapable of the atrocities laid to their charge. Mr. Gladstone has quoted this officer as an authority. It may be that our military attaché is ignorant of what took place during the Crimean War. He was a child in petticoats at the time. But Mr. Gladstone cannot assign extreme youth in his own case as an excuse for bad memory. (1877, p. 308)

As stated above, Burnaby used his travel account to create a Russophobic-Turcophilic effect in the minds of his readers, thereby contributing to the British pro-imperialist propaganda apparatus of the Great Game period. So much so that, the last paragraph of *On Horseback in Asia Minor* reads more like a paragraph from a propaganda pamphlet, rather than from a book of travel. At the end of this book Burnaby concludes that, "[a]n English contingent force of fifty thousand men could defend Constantinople against all the Russian armies. It is to be hoped that the Tzar has thrown down the gauntlet to England by taking action on his own part against the Sultan. We should accept the challenge, and draw our swords for Turkey" (1877, p. 328). This last remark is definitely not an Orientalist position but a fine example of employing Negative Auto-Occidentalism to support a given political position.

Nonetheless, in support of my argument about the dialectical and dialogic relationship between Affirmative and Negative Auto-Occidentalist discourses, I must also point attention to the sections in Burnaby's narrative which essentialize and criticize some aspects of the Turkish character and those of Ottoman society. Like De Kay before him, Burnaby is also critical of the inefficiency of the Ottoman Turks when he observes: "It surprises a traveler to find that the Turks make so little use of their mines. […] With intelligent engineers to explore the mineral wealth of Anatolia, Turkey would be able to not only pay the interest of her debt, but would speedily become one of the richest countries in the world" (1877, p. 83). The same point about Burnaby's negative comments about the Turks is true also with reference to his following report of the views of one of the American missionaries he meets in Anatolia: "'No, [Turks] are not cruel […] but they are pig-headed – that is their great fault. They will not advance with the times in which they live; if they adopt European inventions, they copy them blindly, and without

adapting them to circumstances'" (1877, p. 149). Last, but not least, Burnaby repeats De Kay's criticism of the Turks with respect to their tardiness and slowness by stating that "'Not-today, to-morrow:' this is the stereotyped answer which a Turk has always at the tip of his tongue. Until the Sultan's subjects can shake off the apathy which prevails throughout the empire, it will be difficult for them to hold their own against other nations" (1877, p. 239). These negative remarks – put together and read in isolation from the other positive remarks – seem to construct an image of the Ottoman Turks as being ineffective, unintelligent, imitative, and lazy. So far, only these negative remarks about the East, singled out from the rest of the text, received scholarly attention as they could very easily be identified as the words of an Orientalist. However, previous studies seem to have missed the obvious point that, notwithstanding the insufficiency of understating a text as a monological universe, such a one-dimensional and negative discourse about the Turks would not serve but undermine Burnaby's propagandist goal in writing *On Horseback in Asia Minor*.

To conclude, humanities and social science research and scholarly debates on the subjects of Orientalism and Occidentalism in the West, in Turkey, and in the East urgently need a reconceptualization of the Saidian tools that they have long been using. In this paper, I proposed my version of such a reconceptualization and illustrated it with reference to nineteenth-century American and English travel literature on the Ottoman Empire. Similar studies in the near future, hopefully adopting the new vocabulary proposed here, may give us a better understanding of what I call "the Objective Orient" and "the Objective Occident," whatever they may be looking like. Internalization of these concepts will require objectivity, honesty and openness to self-criticism, as the results may not always be affirmative of one's favorable assumptions about one's culture, society, and even history. Therefore, I would also like to illustrate this attitude by expressing that, if I may be allowed to express my own Affirmative Auto-Orientalist opinion, I, being a Turk, would to a significant extent – but not completely – agree with Burnaby, and with De Kay for that matter, in their criticisms of the Turks' carelessness about time. Whether in the East, in the West, or in between, we all need to learn to look into mirrors and see who we really are. It is only after we see and accept our true selves that we can all appreciate and be thankful for the fact that our world has not really ever been, does not have to be, and actually, is not a world that is fated to a 'clash of civilizations.'

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