

Muhavere as a Strategy for Reconciliation in Ottoman Translation History

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Osmanlı Çeviri Tarihinde Uzlaşmaya Yönelik Bir Strateji Olarak Muhavere

Öz ■ Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 19. yüzyılın sonuna tarihlenen Tanzimat Dönemi, toplumda modernleşme çabalarının yoğunlaştığı dönemdir. Modernleşme bağlamında çeviri etkinliği Osmanlı edebiyat ve kültür çoğuldizgesinin merkezine yerleşmiş ve çevirmenler tarafından benimsenen farklı stratejilerle şekillendirici bir rol oynamıştır. Bu dönemde Batı'da din ile bilim arasında bir çatışma olduğuna dair gündeme gelen ve "çatışma tezi" olarak bilinen savın yankıları ise günümüze değin sürmüştür. Söz konusu tezi destekleyen başlıca eserlerden biri John William Draper'ın 1875 yılında basılmış olan *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* başlıklı kitabıdır. Bu eser Ahmed Midhat Efendi'nin *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din – İslam ve Ulûm* başlıklı çevirisiyle Osmanlı Türkçesine kazandırılmıştır. Bu makalenin amacı, Ahmed Midhat Efendi'nin ilgili eseri çevirirken *muhavere* stratejisini neden ve nasıl kullandığını Osmanlı çeviri tarihi çerçevesinde anlamak ve yorumlamak, böylece çevirmenin Osmanlı edebiyat ve kültür çoğuldizgesi bağlamında "belagatlı bir arabulucu" olarak oynadığı rolün önemine (yeniden) tanıklık etmektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı çeviri anlayışları, çatışma tezi, çeviribilim, *muhavere* (diyalog), yönlendirme.

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1. Introduction

Tanzimat (Reorganisation) Period marked a drastic change in Ottoman society in all areas of life. It witnessed belated efforts on the part of the government to improve the country with the western ideals of liberty and welfare. Developments in the west were closely followed, and necessary investments were made in the army, education, and sciences alike.¹ Certain genres found their way into Turkish literature with translations from the west at the time.² Özlem Berk underlines the impact of literary translations that contributed to westernization in this era in which “[t]he old established models were considered outdated and rejected by the younger generation. New concepts taken from Europe began to influence first the Ottoman elite by means of contacts that were now established through Ottoman embassies abroad, student missions in Europe, and foreign instructors and teachers invited to the Empire to manage and staff new schools.”³

In this hectic period of westernization, all members of the learned class were for the development but there was an encampment, that of materialists and conservatives. The former advocated for progress, while the latter cautiously imitated western practices. They attached importance to preserving the local and moral values as well. Ahmed Midhat Efendi belonged to this second group of scholars. His conservative stance extended to the religion of the society, as evidenced by his works written against missionary activities. His translation of John William Draper’s *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (1875) into Ottoman Turkish from the intermediary language French belongs to these efforts of preservation. Ahmed Midhat made the translation of the book in four volumes, and he included his reservations and answers to the same book in a *muhavere* (dialogue) form. In the present descriptive study, we aim to show the manipulative and interruptive translation strategies of Ahmed Midhat as an author-translator who attempts to interfere often to refute the parts where he deems the author was mistaken. We claim that the author-translator utilized *muhavere* as a translation strategy to write about a subject, wishing to reconcile with the author in a

1 Özlem Berk, *Translation and Westernisation in Turkey – From the 1940s to the 1980s* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2004), pp. 11-17.

2 Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, “Translation, Presumed Innocent: Translation and Ideology in Turkey”, *The Translator*, XV/1 (2009), p. 37.

3 Özlem Berk, “Translating the ‘West’: The Position of Translated Western Literature within the Turkish Literary Polysystem”, *Review of Literatures of the European Union*, 4 (2016), p. 2; (Accessed on July 30, 2022).

dialogue, and by using the same strategy, he mediated the author's views to his readers in the target culture.

As the present study mainly deals with the translation of a book that was quite influential when written and translated, it is essential that we start by providing a description of the source and target texts.

2. About the Source Text

The source text (ST) appeared in 1875 with the title *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (for the cover, see Appendix). The book is a study on the discrepant relationship between the data from sciences and interpretations of religion in different periods of history. Science and religion are the two parties of the conflict, which is underlined in the book. The religion mentioned here specifically represents the Roman Catholic Church because the author chiefly excludes Protestant and Greek Churches. He finds that the former was never effective in any period in history and that the latter was always in service of science. By treating the subject with a lively recount of historical events and employing conflicting arguments from both sides throughout, the book started up heated discussions about the conflict.

For the purposes of this study, it is important to see if the author of the ST favors any one side of the conflict. The preface of the book professes to treat both science and religion fairly without taking sides by seeking “to represent a clear and impartial statement of the views and acts of the two contending parties”.⁴ In addition, the author seems to have let the reader decide on the subject by leaving the matter “to the considerate judgment of the thoughtful reader”.⁵ However, the tone of the author shows that he takes the side of science. This is evidenced by the biased depictions he offers for the two to his readers, according to which science never attempts to prevail by “inflicting social ruin on any human being”.⁶ The book was superseded a year later by Andrew White's *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (1896). That is why the conflict thesis was also known as Draper-White Thesis.

4 John William Draper, *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1875), p. ix.

5 Draper, *History of the Conflict*, p. xvi.

6 Draper, *History of the Conflict*, p. xi.

Draper's book was translated into many languages and received the frown of the Roman Catholic Church, and it was anathematised by the Pope. It is thanks to this blacklisted book that the subject attracted attention of readers worldwide. In the 20th century, there emerged scholars like Horace B. English (1926), who endorsed the existence of the conflict and wondered about the values of scientists in the future.⁷ Interest in the subject was alive in the continent throughout the 20th century, with books such as Émile Boutroux's *Science et Religion dans la Philosophie Contemporaine* (1908) and Bertrand Russell's *Religion and Science* (1935).

Nevertheless, the relation between religion and science became an area of research that has spawned studies systematically only since the 1960s. Then Oxford University conferred the title of Professor of Science and Religion. In 1966, the first area-specific journal, *Zygon*, was published.⁸ Conflict thesis is still a subject for studies in this field of science and religion. Recent research shows that Draper's and White's books served a starting point for western historiographers to build more sophisticated historiographies. However, what they missed was that the conflict narrative did not start with them. Theirs were reflections of the 19th century views of science and religion,⁹ and apart from being "anti-Catholic propaganda" "as a quest for cultural dominance", having "anti-religion intent", the conflict thesis has a long Protestant pedigree.¹⁰

3. About the Author of the Source Text

The author of the ST is Professor John William Draper (1811-1882), an instructor from New York University. He received an education of medicine in Pennsylvania University and received his professorship in Chemistry in New York University. Besides his books on scientific issues, he also wrote on history. His *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* (1865) and *A History of American Civil War* (1867) had great success. His interest in history and ability to compare

7 Horace B. English, "The Conflict between Science and Religion", *The Scientific Monthly*, XXIII/5 (1926), p. 423.

8 Helen De Cruz, "Religion and Science", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Fall 2022 Edition. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2022/entries/religion_science/.

9 James C. Ungureanu, "Relocating the Conflict between Science and Religion at the Foundations of the History of Science", *Zygon*, LIII/4 (2018), pp. 1109-1115.

10 James C. Ungureanu, "'Your God is Too Small': Retracing the Origins of Conflict between Science and Religion", *Theology and Science*, XX/1 (2022), p. 25.

conflicting views, besides the favor which the two said books received everywhere, gave him confidence and enough courage to write *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*.¹¹ The author is credited with the first daguerreotype photograph of the moon (1840) as well as with the first, in the United States, intriguing photographic portrait of a person, his sister, Dorothy Catherine Draper in 1839. He also wrote a book titled *Scientific Memoirs* (1878). He is best known in the world of science by his research on radiant energy.¹² It may seem intriguing that a scientist would be interested in history writing. However, although his attempts at historiography were criticised as doctrinaire and superficial by professional historians later, and despite the fact that his scientific work became obsolete after specialisation began in the sciences, he will be remembered as one of the last philosophers of the 19th century.¹³

4. About the Target Text

The target text (TT), *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din – İslam ve Ulûm*,¹⁴ was penned by Ahmed Midhat (1844-1912), a prolific writer, translator, and journalist of the *Tanzimat* Period. The book came out in four volumes between 1895 and 1900. It was the translation of the ninth French edition of the ST published in 1893, *Les Conflits de la Science et de la Religion* (for the cover, see Appendix). The translation bore two titles on the cover: *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din*, authored by John William Draper; and *İslam ve Ulûm*, authored by Ahmed Midhat. The two titles were merged in one, resulting in an enormous book of around 2,000 pages.

The book can also be regarded as a *reddiye*. This Ottoman word is used to describe works that aim to disprove and refute adversary beliefs. The Muslim tradition of *reddiye* sometimes employs the words *redd* or *nakz* in the titles of

11 Draper, *History of the Conflict*, p. viii.

12 George Frederique Barker, *Memoir of John William Draper 1811-1882*, text of speech made by George Frederique Barker at National Academy of Sciences on 21 April 1886, p. 361. <http://www.nasonline.org/publications/biographical-memoirs/memoir-pdfs/draper-john.pdf>.

13 Richard H. Shyrock, "John William Draper and the Religion of Science by Donald Fleming", *The American Historical Review*, LVII/1 (1951), pp. 179-181.

14 For three intralingual translations of the book published to date, see Mustafa Yıldırım, *Ahmet Midhat Efendi'nin Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din Adlı Eseri* (Ankara: Gece Akademisi, 2018); Bünyamin Tan, *J. W. Draper, Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din; Ahmed Midhat, İslâm ve Ulûm* (İstanbul: Çizgi, 2021); Mustafa Alper, *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din: İslam ve Ulûm* (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2022).

books to indicate criticism therein although most titles may not contain them. There is a colossal literature of *reddiye* written by Muslim scholars against other religions or against other Islamic sects.¹⁵ For the purposes of this paper, we will briefly mention a few that were penned by Ahmed Midhat and his contemporaries.

At that time, Ernest Renan and later, Reinhart Dozy were critical of Islam. Renan gave a biased view about Islam in a conference in 1883, claiming that Islam was an impediment before progress. His views were refuted by foreign writers like Charles Mismar, as well as locally in *Servet-i Fünun* newspaper, and by Namık Kemal in his *Renan Müdafaaanâmesi* among several others.¹⁶ The second *reddiye* we will mention was on Dozy's *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme*, which was translated by Abdullah Cevdet. It received criticism from Manastırlı İsmail Hakkı, who released his *reddiye* in book form, *Hakk ve Hakikat* (1913) after publishing it in feuillets in 30 issues of the journal *Sırat-ı Müstakim*. Dozy's book was banned in 1910. Although there were few supporters of the translator, Abdullah Cevdet, the criticisms ensued well into the Republican era.¹⁷ Lastly, Ahmed Midhat himself wrote a *reddiye* against materialism titled *Ben Neyim?* as well as his *Müdafaa*, another *reddiye* written against Christian missionaries.

It is essential for a *reddiye* to refer to the book to which it opposes. However, what is unusual in our TT is that the author-translator made the translation and produced his answer as a reaction just after each section he translated. While rendering *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din*, which he claimed to be the translation of Draper's book, he used a small typography and announced the start of the translated section with the wording: "He [Draper] says". When it came to adding his part to the arguments in the book, he used a larger typography and announced the start of his arguments with the wording: "We say". For example:

15 Mustafa Sinanoğlu, "Reddiye", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 2007, XXXIV, p. 516.

16 Dücane Cündioğlu, "Ernest Renan ve 'Reddiyeler' Bağlamında İslam-Bilim Tartışmalarına Bibliyografik Bir Katkı", *Divan: Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi*, 2 (1996), pp. 1-94.

17 İbrahim Hatiboğlu, "Osmanlı Aydınlarınca Dozy'nin Târih-i İslâmiyyet'ine Yöneltilen Tenkitler", *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3 (1999), pp. 197-213.

دراپہ مقدمہ سنہ شوسوزلہ باشلاپور. دیور کہ:	بزدیورز کہ : — خرسیدانانگ بر قوہ سیاسیه حکمنی آلمغه باشلامسی « قیصره عائد اولانی قیصره
Draper mukaddimesine şu sözle başlıyor. Diyor ki: [Draper starts his Preface with the following words. He says:]¹⁸	Biz diyoruz ki: [We say:]¹⁹

Figure 1. Extract from “Draper’s Preface and Our Review”

The translator explained that thanks to his presentation of what he described as “words” of the two sides in a form of *muhavere* (dialogue), the readers could easily follow the translated text and see the translator’s responses to this text, one after another, as in a conversation.

Ahmed Midhat, while discarding one chapter from the ST, added an extra chapter to his TT, too. Apart from being a part of the title, *İslam ve Ulûm* was also the title of this extra chapter. It was, too, written in the form of *muhavere*.

The co-existence of the two titles of the book, namely *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din* (Conflict between Science and Religion) and *İslam ve Ulûm* (Islam and Sciences), suggests that it merged two different ideas in one. It seems it is plausible to say that the book searched a consensus through translation.

Ahmed Midhat mentions J. W. Draper as the *muharrir* [author] of *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din* and himself as the *muharrir* of *İslam ve Ulûm*. There is no mention of himself as *mütercim* [translator] of the former on the cover. However, in the first notification by the translator we understand that he translated it (see Appendix for cover and notification). The following section will provide information about the author-translator.

5. About the Author-Translator

The author-translator of the TT, Ahmed Midhat (1844-1912) spoke Arabic, French, and Persian. The translator owned a printing house and produced profusely during this period of change. His contribution into Turkish journalism and

18 Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din – İslam ve Ulûm*, I (Istanbul, 1895-1900), p. 19.

19 Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din*, I, p. 23.

literature is immense. More than a hundred books were published by him, several among which still wait to be put into Latin script.

There have been many academic studies on his works, novels, and translations. As noted by Senem Öner, a pioneering scholar who has studied Ahmed Midhat's works within the scope of Translation Studies is Işın Bengi Öner.²⁰ In her doctoral thesis, Bengi Öner established Ahmed Midhat as an "eloquent mediator" between the European and Ottoman cultures. Her descriptive study of prefaces, epilogues, and title pages of Ahmed Midhat's 20 literary translations gives valuable insight about his manner of translation. In addition, through her analyses of *La Dam O Kamelya*, translated by Ahmed Midhat, she dismisses claims by critics such as Mustafa Nihat Özön and İsmail Habib Sevük that he made a partial translation, and shows that Ahmed Midhat made a full and adequate translation, close to the ST norms. In a previous article, Bengi Öner points to the oscillation between two different poles of orientation in Ahmed Midhat's translations,²¹ namely between those of acceptability and adequacy.²² Similarly, Cemal Demircioğlu establishes him as an important "agent of translation" and "of change" in the Ottoman society, who, acting with the capacities of a translator, a novelist, a teacher, a literary critic, a publisher, a journalist, and an entrepreneur during a period of change, worked for the advancement of his society.²³ Berna Kılınç compares Ahmed Midhat to Adnan Adıvar, and finds the former more civilization-bound and the latter more universal in terms of their views about science.²⁴

During *Tanzimat*, Ahmed Midhat's influential persona was surrounded by grand writers, poets, and novelists of the period especially around the daily *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, of which he was the editor-in-chief, and his circle of friends

20 Senem Öner, "Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, Saliha Paker and John Milton, *Tradition, Tension and Translation in Turkey*", *The Translator*, XXII/3 (2016), p. 383.

21 Işın Bengi Öner, "The Eloquent Mediator: Ahmed Midhat Efendi", *Proceedings of the XIIIth Congress of the International Comparative Association*, eds. R. Bauer and D. Fokkema, 5 (1989), pp. 391-392.

22 According to Gideon Toury (1995, 56-57), if the translation adopts the norms of the source culture, then the target text will be "adequate"; if the target culture norms prevail, then the translation will be "acceptable".

23 Cemal Demircioğlu, "Translating Europe: The Case of Ahmed Midhat as an Ottoman Agent of Translation", *Agents of Translation*, eds. Milton John and Paul Bandia (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009), p. 154.

24 Berna Kılınç, "Ahmed Midhat and Adnan Adıvar on History of Science and Civilizations", *Nuncius*, XXIII/2 (2008), p. 293.

convened in his residence for intellectual discussions. He expressed his views on translations from the West in *Klasikler Tartışması* [the Classics Debate], with the leading journalists and writers of the period. His presence in this debate serves as evidence of his influential authorial image and competence, directing the poetics of his time. Ahmed Midhat initiated the debate that would last around 3 months by mentioning the need to translate classics.²⁵

As noted above, Ahmed Midhat aimed the advancement of his society. His instructive character is reflected in his nickname, *Hace-i Evvel* [first teacher], given to him on account of the course book he published for students while in Baghdad and when he opened his printing house in Istanbul.²⁶ For him, novels are edifying, and they teach people new things. Therefore, in his novels he always offered his readers a moral of the story, either by letting the readers find it, or by openly explaining what is to be learned from the story.²⁷

His interest in the civilized west led him to write either travel novels set in Europe (such as *Acaib-i Âlem* and *Ahmed Metin ve Şirzad*) or novels the antagonists of which were Europeans (such as *Haydut Montari* and *Diplomalı Kız*). Besides, there were adventures of Ottoman youth in European countries (such as *Hasan Mellah* and *Demir Bey*). According to him, the most important source for learning was European countries and their peoples with their good sides to copy and bad sides to refrain from.²⁸

By translating and writing novels, Ahmed Midhat contributed to the development of this genre in Ottoman literature. He generally published his and other people's novels in feuilletons in his newspaper. As the case is with his novels, "in his translations, too, Ahmed Midhat prioritized the 'benefit' that the readers receive from the work."²⁹ For this, he made sure that the source texts are easy to understand for his readers, and by making necessary interventions in the source text, including its syntax, he maintained an "Ottoman way of saying".³⁰

25 Ramazan Kaplan, "Klâsikler Tartışması (Başlangıç Dönemi)", *Türkoloji Dergisi*, XI/1 (1993), pp. 161-208.

26 Mustafa Baydar, *Ahmet Mithat Efendi Hayatı Sanatı Eserleri* (İstanbul: Varlık, 1954).

27 Selçuk Çıkla, "Ahmet Mithat Efendi'nin Roman Yazma Yöntemi", *TÜBAR*, XXXVII (2015), p. 80.

28 M. Orhan Okay, *Batı Medeniyeti Karşısında Ahmed Midhat Efendi* (İstanbul: Dergâh, 2017).

29 Fazıl Gökçek, "Ahmet Mithat Efendi'nin Çevirileri ve Çeviri Anlayışı", *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 4 (2011), p. 28.

30 Gökçek, "Ahmet Mithat Efendi'nin", p. 29.

Ahmed Midhat also wrote several books on religious matters and published apology literature against rising materialism and atheism in Europe. For instance, he wrote about the spread of Islam abroad in *İstibşar*, against Christian missionaries' activities in the Empire in *Müdâfaa*, about the heralded prophecy of Moham-mad in *Beşair*, and the conflict between religion and science in *Nizâ*.³¹ These had prepared him to his expertise *Tarih-i Edyan*, namely history of religions, which he would teach at Darulfünûn [university] and Medresetü'l Vaizîn [preachers' school].³²

As the present study focuses on *muhavere*, a textual practice witnessed in his translation of *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din – İslâm ve Ulûm*, we will continue with a section on *muhavere* to establish its position in Ottoman literary writing.

6. About *Muhavere*

How *muhavere* (dialogue) came to be a part of text production practice in Ottoman lands requires a small journey to the formation of this literary tradition.

Assuredly, the term dialogue has its roots in the oral tradition, and we owe it to Socrates, who aimed the truth by means of constant questioning of his interlocutor, a practice he allegedly borrowed from Aspasia of Miletos.

As indicated by Kemal Işık, when Islam conquered foreign lands, Muslims came into constant contact with the population from what is now modern Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, and North African countries as far as Spain. These people were set free in their daily activities so long as they paid tax to Muslim governments. Thus, their former religions, which ranged from Judaism and Christianity in Syria and Egypt to Zoroastrianism, Mazdakism, etc. in Iraq and Iran, as well as their reasoning, began to affect Muslims as they started to occupy important positions and as their interactions with the Muslims increased. This led to an ardent desire on the part of Muslims to put under scrutiny theological subjects, which they could not venture to do before because of strict interdictions. This desire for reasoning and argumentation later evolved into efforts to defend Islam against the detrimental effects of philosophising. To defend their religion and/or to reconcile philosophy and religion, *Mutezile* party was born. This party was also the

31 Merve Topbaş, "Ahmed Midhat Efendi'nin Modern Çağ Ateizmine Karşı İslam İnançlarını Müdâfaası" (Master's Thesis), Necmettin Erbakan University, 2017.

32 Bilal Patacı, "Ahmed Midhat Efendi'nin Müdâfaa Adlı Eserinin Mukaddimesi", *Milel ve Nihal*, IX/1 (2012), pp. 179-187.

progenitor of the Islamic theological science of *kalam*. The founder of *Mutezile* [literally, deserters of a group] party, Vâsıl bin Âtâ, entered into dialogues and discussions with people from different religions by using reasoning and argumentation.³³ These theologians first used *cedel* (dialectics), which they learned while translating Greek writings.³⁴ There they found proofs to defend their arguments, criticised Greek philosophers with their *reddiyes*, and opened the door to struggle between Islamic dialectics and Greek philosophy.³⁵

The Islamic debate tradition of *muhavere* could be clarified by what the Koran has to say. In his book that explains human communication in Islamic tradition by referring to ayahs in the Koran, Muhammed Emin Yıldırım says that dialogue is *hivar* in Arabic. The word *muhavere* comes from *hivar* in Arabic, which in turn comes from the root *hare*, meaning return, change. The word *hivar* was shown to be used in Kefh: 34 and 37 in the Koran to mean “mutual conversation”. The writer goes on to say that a similar word is *cedel*, but it is used to mean struggle or harsh discussion. To differentiate between the terms, the manner of discussion is the key. Muslims could enter into *muhavere* (dialogue) with each other or with people from other religions. However, *cedel* (struggle) is forbidden among Muslims and is strictly reserved for those from other religions.³⁶

This debate of conflicting ideas to find consensus could be followed in titles contemporary to Ahmed Midhat. İsmail Kara denotes that an early Ottoman book that has the word in its title is *Muhaveretü'l-Müslih ve'l-Mukallid*, which was written in 1907 by Reşid Rıza, an Egypt-born representative of early modernist Islamic thought. It is a dialogue between *Mukallid* (a traditionalist master who copies his teachers) and *Muslih* (his innovative student). For Kara, *muhavere* receives its worth when what the traditionalist says is deemed as important as the words of the innovator.³⁷

33 Kemal Işık, *Mutezile'nin Doğuşu ve Kelâmî Görüşleri* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1967), pp. 32-34.

34 Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society*, trans. Lütü Şimşek (İstanbul: Kitap, 2003), p. 75.

35 Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Uyanış Devirlerinde Tercümenin Rolü* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2009), p. 66.

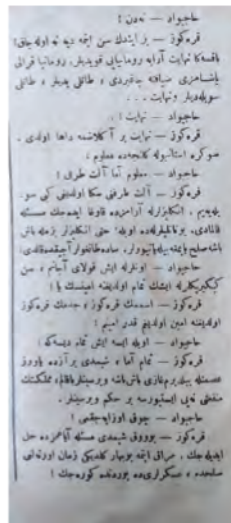
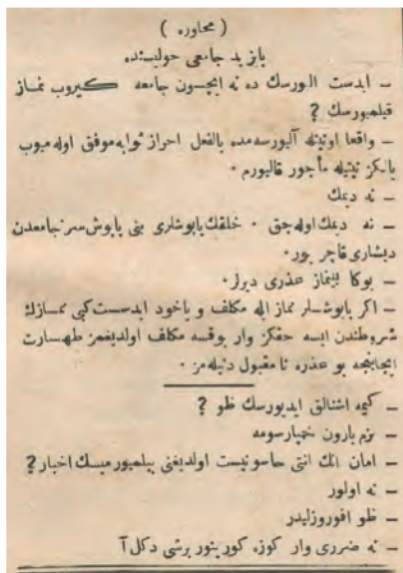
36 Muhammed Emin Yıldırım, *İnsani İlişkilerde İlahi Ölçü* (İstanbul: Siyer, 2021), pp. 195-196.

37 İsmail Kara, *Din ile Modernleşme Arasında: Çağdaş Türk Düşüncesinin Meseleleri* (İstanbul: Dergâh, 2003), pp. 202-203.

The term *muhavere* also appeared in the first translated book on western philosophy in the Ottoman capital. Mehmet Tahir Münif Efendi (a.k.a. Münif Paşa) translated passages from François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, and François-Marie Arouet Voltaire and made them “talk” on eleven different themes in *Muhaverat-ı Hikemiyye* (1859) [Philosophical Dialogues].

Beşair-i Sıdk-ı Nübüvvet-i Muhammediye (1894) [Heralding the Prophecy of Mohammad] was the book authored by Ahmed Midhat one year before *Nizâ-i İlm ü Din – İslam ve Ulûm*. This book also included a *muhavere* that was between Ahmed Midhat and a Catholic theologian. Intrigued by what he had read in *Nisvan-ı İslam* (1892) [Women of Islam] by Fatma Aliye Hanım, the theologian would like to learn whether the prophecy of Mohammad had been heralded in the Testaments. Ahmed Midhat's reaction to this question and the ensuing conversation were printed as a voluminous book.

There is a long tradition of *muhavere* as witnessed in satires and in texts that have an edifying character and that are composed both orally and in written forms.



Figures 2 & 3. (left) from Diyojen, dd. 01.12.1870,
(right) from Karagöz, dd. 17.02.1923.

In the *Tanzimat* period, the twice or thrice-weekly *Diyojen* (1870-1873) incorporated a *muhavere* almost in every issue to point at urgent social issues requiring attention. Decades after that, *Karagöz* (also titled *Cara-Guez*) (1908-1968), a bilingual (Turkish-Français) twice-weekly illustrated humour magazine, employed *muhavere*, thus continuing the long tradition of shadow puppetry based on conversations between comic characters of the curtain: *Karagöz* and *Hacivat*.

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA) lists *muhavere* under a similar term, *münazara* [debate], which was defined as a literary genre in which opposite entities are compared for their superiority. Ağâh Sırrı Levend classifies *münazara* under three categories of style: humoristic, moral (philosophical, sufi), and artistic. It is common in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish literatures.³⁸ The oral tradition of dialogue that started with the Islamic theologians of *Mutezile* as *muhavere* and *münazara* found their equivalent in written tradition as *reddiye* or *müdafaa* trying to refute the negative assertions of the other party of the debate.

How to conduct a scientific discussion was clearly defined by Taşköprü(lü) zâde Ahmet Efendi (1494-1561), an important Ottoman science historian and encyclopedic author, in his *Adabü'l-Bahs ve'l-Münazara* [Manners in Conversation and Debate]. In this booklet, he explained the duties of the interlocutors and established codes of conduct to follow during a *münazara*. These prohibited verbosity, unknown vocabulary, talking in a loud voice, laughter, intervention without understanding the other party first, being imprecise, despising the opponent, as well as debating with a loved/respected opponent.³⁹

The main text of *Adabü'l-Bahs* was by Şemseddîn Semerkandî, who died in the first half of the 14th century, and his work was the general *ars disputandi*. Later treatises composed up to the 20th century did not try to unseat it but were extensions to it to adapt to the needs of their respective audiences.⁴⁰ Alongside Taşköprüzâde, Mehmet Kadri Karabela counts Kemalpaşazâde (d. 1543), Mehmed Birgîvî (d. 1573), Saçaklızâde Muhammed Maraşî (d. 1737), and Gelenbevî (d. 1791) as individual contributors to the subject besides a dozen or so prominent

38 M. Fatih Köksal, “Münazara”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 2020, XXXI, p. 579.

39 Abdürrahim Güzel, “Taşköprülüzade’nin Adabü’l Bahs ve’l Münazara İsimli Risalesi (Tanıtım – Tercüme – Tahkik)”, *Erciyes Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, VIII/7 (1990), pp. 203-214.

40 Abdessamed Belhaj, “Adab al-Bahth wa-al-Munazara: The Neglected Art of Disputation in Later Medieval Islam”, *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, XXVI (2016), p. 293.

figures from the 17th, 18th, and late 19th centuries.⁴¹ Taşköprüzâde's basic principles continued to be accepted in later centuries as the handbook was continued to be used.⁴² Similarly, Arif Paşa, an officer of the Sultan's Army and Hilmi Efendi, a military school instructor, both contemporaries of Ahmed Midhat, published a booklet of 32 pages in which they explained how to conduct a successful *münazara* [debate]. In *Kanun-ı Münazara* [Law of Debate], they indicated that it is an art of speaking to uncover the facts. The authors pointed at two different styles, one agreeable and one unacceptable. The agreeable style is one that takes into consideration both the good and the bad sides of the subject to avoid mistakes. The style that is unacceptable was shown to be one that cancelled the other side's argument without proper refutation. The agreeable style was unanimously accepted as the beneficial one.⁴³

Bereketzade İsmail Hakki looked at *muhavere* as a literary style defining it as the orator's or author's way of showing his ideas and feelings in an imaginary conversation to give his word a "burning effect" in his article "Edebiyattan Bir Parça – Muhavere" [A Piece from Literature – Dialogue]. There the author gave examples of *muhavere* from Cicero, Demosthenes, and François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon. From Fénelon, his example was a *tereddüd* [hesitation], a subtype of *muhavere*, where, not knowing what to do, the orator asks questions and answers himself in a soliloquy.⁴⁴

Muhavere found its proper use in education in philosophical and pedagogical texts: in literature; in verses and prose as well as in half-verse-half-prose texts.⁴⁵ In entertainment; in folksongs and troubadour tradition⁴⁶ and in journalism and politics as shown in the present study; in satires and humor that aim to bring

41 Mehmet Kadri Karabela, "The Development of Dialectic and Argumentation Theory in Post-Classical Islamic Intellectual History" (Doctoral Thesis), McGill University, 2010, p. 3.

42 Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 74.

43 Arif Paşa and Hilmi Efendi, *Kanun-ı Münazara* (Istanbul: Muhib Matbaası, 1869), pp. 1-32.

44 Bereketzade İsmail Hakki, "Edebiyattan Bir Parça – Muhavere", *Mecmua-i Ebuzziya*, (1911), pp. 106-108.

45 Gunnar Jarring, "Some Notes on Eastern Turki (New Uighur) Munazara Literature", *Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litteratum Ludensis*, 2 (1980-1981), pp. 5-27.

46 Köksal, "Münazara", p. 579.

an important matter into the agenda. In summary, philosophers, men of letters, journalists, and musicians, who, wishing to be edifying, entertaining, and thought-provoking, wanted to reveal the truth, to obtain a result, and/or to reach an agreement, have made ample use of this style.

Inclusion of *muhavere* within Translation Studies research has been made possible by the descriptive paradigm, which allowed to examine various forms of translational text production as objects of study and to which the below section is devoted.

6.1. About *Muhavere* in Translation Studies

Translation Studies became a fully-fledged independent discipline with the inclusion of its descriptive field, which made it possible to define and study its subject matter, that is, translations. Descriptive field in Translation Studies mainly deals with translations with a view to compile, analyse, and understand translations systemically in their historical settings. To attain these purposes and with a target-oriented approach, researchers start studying the TTs as finished translations.

At that point emerges the question of how to differentiate between translation and non-translation. According to Gideon Toury, for the purposes of a descriptive study on literary translations in their environment, what counts is how a text is classified in the target culture: “When one’s purpose is the descriptive study of literary translations in their environment, the initial question is not whether a certain text is a translation (according to some preconceived criteria which are extrinsic to the system under study), but whether it is regarded as a translation from the intrinsic point of view of the target literary polysystem.”⁴⁷

The same line of thought continued with the notion of “assumed translation”: “...for the purpose of a descriptive study, a ‘translation’ will be taken to be any target-language utterance which is presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on whatever grounds.”⁴⁸

47 Gideon Toury, *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (Tel Aviv: The Potter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics - Tel Aviv University, 1980), p. 43.

48 Gideon Toury, “A Rationale for Descriptive Translation Studies”, *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, ed. Theo Hermans (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 20.

By thus identifying its subject matter as target-language utterances, the descriptive approach went on to announce that “translation is a norm-governed behavior.”⁴⁹ Toury built a construct that is vital in concretizing ethereal phenomena such as conditions that shape decisions and choices translators make as they grapple their way in their texts: translation norms. These include preliminary norms, initial norms, and operational norms. Operational norms are further broken into two: matricial norms and textual-linguistic norms. Translation norms are not directly observable but have to be constructed from textual, paratextual, and metatextual sources.

The changing power of translations in literatures and cultures and their place in target literary systems have been subject of lots of research with the theoretical background of Itamar Even-Zohar’s polysystems approach in literature.

Trying to understand the intention of translators and other agents of change with their respective literary texts, the researchers in Translation Studies found solid argumentation for their research in André Lefevere’s cultural theory of translation as rewriting. For Lefevere, along with other forms (namely anthologisation, historiography, criticism, and editing), translation is a form of rewriting. Thus, mediators of original texts to the target culture such as anthology compilers, historiographers, critics, editors, and translators bring about a change in the target literature. The intention behind these rewrites could lead to the distortion or manipulation of the STs. Such manipulation is shaped by the rewriters’ (translators’ in this case) ideology and poetics.⁵⁰

Using Ahmed Midhat’s works as corpus for his study, among the different translation-related text production practices of the late Ottoman literary tradition and under the historicised umbrella term *terceme* [translation], Demircioğlu mentioned two translation-related terms with the following explanations: “*muhavere* [dialogue and the translator’s response as part of dialogue]” and “*muhavere suretine koymak* [to put into the form of dialogue]”.⁵¹ The said work, *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din – İslâm ve Ulûm*, the subject matter of the present study, was classified un-

49 Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995), pp. 56-57.

50 André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 99-160.

51 Cemal Demircioğlu, “From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking ‘Translation’ (Terceme) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition” (Doctoral Thesis), Boğaziçi University, 2005, pp. 282-284.

der *muhavere* as the sole specimen from the mentioned corpus. In a later article, Demircioğlu concludes upon analyses of paratextual information that Ahmed Midhat used various translation strategies to enter into dialogue with the West.⁵²

Some terms that attempt to define translation-related writing practices of the period, however, seem to designate more than one phenomenon. Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar points to the *blurred borders* between translation and original writing in late Ottoman literature well into the twentieth century literature and warns that a plethora of terms employed to denote translation-related writing practices as listed in the above work “were also ones often used to describe indigenous writing”.⁵³

Saliha Paker underlines that Ottoman *terceme* [translation] practices belong to or are peculiar to Persian-Arab-Ottoman tradition, which in turn has its roots in the text production techniques witnessed in the practices of transfer in the 8th to 10th centuries from Greek. Then translation practice entailed a kind of rewriting which meant literal translation of the source text plus the translator’s expansion or omissions according to his views or to other sources. In any case, understanding of translation differed from what we understand nowadays.⁵⁴

Demircioğlu’s work listed *muhavere* as one of the translation-related writing practices of the period. Nevertheless, despite scholarly interest on *Nizâ-ı İlmi ü Din – İslam ve Ulûm* from various fields ranging from *kalam* to history, *muhavere* was not studied extensively as a translational phenomenon with a view to describe and define it by probing it with contemporary approaches of translation theories.

7. Material and Text Analysis Method

For a proper comparative analysis of translation, it is indispensable to determine the actual ST from which the translation was made. As over time the publishing house had changed hands and an editor had updated some dates and numbers and some outdated technological expressions in French, it was seen that the actual ST was the 9th edition in 1893 of *Les Conflits de la Science et de la*

52 Demircioğlu, “Translating Europe”, p. 153.

53 Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, “Scouting the Borders of Translation: Pseudotranslation, Concealed Translations and Authorship in Twentieth-Century Turkey”, *Translation Studies*, III/2, p. 174.

54 Saliha Paker, “Terceme, Te’lif ve Özgünlük Meselesi”, *Metnin Hâlleri: Osmanlı’da Telif, Tercüme ve Şerh*, eds. Hatice Aynur, Müjgân Çakır and Hanife Koncu (Istanbul: Klasik, 2014), p. 42.

Religion. For the present study, a transcription (intralingual translation from Ottoman script into Latinized script) of the TT *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din – İslam ve Ulûm* was made for future comparison with the ST, namely *Les Conflits de la Science et de la Religion*.

After diligent transcription work, the resulting TT was analysed. It was compared to the ST to identify additions, omissions, and modifications. After that, representative examples from the TT were chosen to exemplify themes to describe Ahmed Midhat's translation in terms of Toury's target-oriented theory.

7.1. Ahmed Midhat's Translation in Terms of Initial Norms

Initial norms reflect the translator's initial decision regarding whether the translation should adhere to the norms of the source or the target system, determining whether the translator aims for adequacy or acceptability. These norms may not be immediately obvious but can be revealed through text analysis.⁵⁵

To describe the initial norms in the work under scrutiny, the sections titled "Bizim Mukaddimemiz" [Our (the translator's) Preface] and "Draper'in Mukaddimesi ve Mütalaatımız" [Draper's Preface and Our Views] were analysed. In addition, the translator's answer to a reader's letter in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, the newspaper where the translation first appeared temporarily as a feuilleton, was analysed as metatext.

⁵⁵ Toury, *Descriptive*, pp. 56-61.

TT in Ottoman Script	TT in Turkish Script
کتاب مذکورک تدقیق و تنقیدینی بر محاوره صورتنه قویقم بزم ایچون مرام اکلامق و مرام اکلامق خصوصنده ۱۳ برمدار تسهیل عد اولئیدی . دراپه رک اثرلرندن لزومی قدر سوزلری بالترجه آنلری بره سوزء اعتبار ایلدکن سکره طرفزدن سولنه چک سوزلردخی بره جوابء تشکیل ایده چکله رندن بوصورنده بوروتیله چک مباحثه نك طبع قارئنه کلال دخی و بریه چکی امید اولئیدی . بوراجقده شونی ده اخطار ایدمه لکه : دراپه رک سوزلری میاننده یک چوق مکررات واردر و بعض سوزلر دخی بترجه بالکلیه خارج از مقصودر . بو مکرراتک طرفزدن دخی تکرار اولئامسی و بومالایمیلرک ترجمه لرینک ترک ایدلسی برطریق اختصار عد اولئیدی ایسده معلم مومی الیه ک اصل مرامی اصل فکری اصلا تبدیل اولئیوب ترجمانلق	Kıtab-ı mezkûrun tetkik ve tenkidini bir muhavere suretine koymak bizim için meram anlamak ve meram anlatmak hususunda bir medar-ı teshil addolundu. Draper'in eserlerinden lüzumu kadar sözleri bit-tercüme onları bir "söz" itibar eyledikten sonra tarafımızdan söylenecek sözler dahi bir "cevap" teşkil edeceklerinden bu surette yürütülecek mübahasenin tab'ı karî'ine kelâl dahi vermeyeceği ümid olundu. Buracıkta şunu da ihtar edelim ki: Draper'in sözleri meyanında pek çok mükerrerat vardır ve bazı sözleri dahi bizce bil-küllîye haric-ez-maksaddır. Bu mükerreratın tarafımızdan dahi tekrar olunmaması ve bu malayanilerin tercümelerinin terk edilmesi bir tarik-i ihtisar addolundu ise de muallim-i mumailayhin asıl meramı, asıl fikri asla tebdil olunmayıp tercümanlık için la-büdd ve la-cerem olan sadakatten ser-i muy inhiraf edilmedi. Lüzumu dahi yoktur ki böyle bir hıyanete mecburiyet görülsün. (Ahmed Midhat, p. 12-14)

Table 1. Excerpt from "Our Preface" and Its Transcription

In "Our Preface", the translator explains his manner of translation as shown in Table 1 above. Here the translator says that putting the inspection and criticism of the said book into a dialogue was considered as a means of facilitating understanding both the translation and its critique. After translating some necessary parts from Draper's work and considering them as a "statement" (söz), how the translator replied was deemed as a "response" (cevap). The translator hopes that publishing them together in the form of a conversation will not be tiring for the reader to read. He states that the author repeats some of his statements, which the translator finds irrelevant and does not translate. However, he claims not to have changed the main ideas presented by the author and to have remained loyal to the text.

It is seen from this excerpt that the translator realized a partial translation, in addition to paraphrasing. He put translated parts and his review into a conversation form for ease of reading by the reader.

The following excerpt is taken from “Draper’s Preface and Our Views”, which succeeds “Our Preface”.

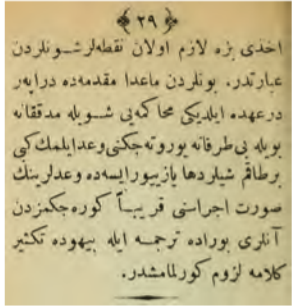
TT in Ottoman Script	TT in Turkish Script
(افاده) ایسته دراپرک مقدمه سندن  اخذی بزه لازم اولان نقطه لر شونلردن عبارتدر. بونلردن ماعدا مقدمه ده دراپر درعه ده ایلدیکی محاکمه یی شوبله مدققانه بویله نی طرفاته یوروته چکنی وعدا یلمک کی برطاق شیلرده یازیور ایسه ده وعدلرینک صورت اجرائسی قریباً کوره چکمزدن آناری بوراده ترجمه ایله بهوده تکثیر کلامه لزوم کورلما مشدر.	(İfade) İşte Draper’in mukaddimesinden ahzı bize lazım olan noktalar şunlardan ibarettir. Bunlardan ma’ada mukaddimede Draper deruhte eylediği muhakemeyi şöyle müdekkikane böyle bîtarafâne yürüteceğini vaad eylemek gibi birtakım şeyler daha yazıyor ise de vaadlerinin suret-i icrasını kariben göreceğimizden onları burada tercüme ile beyhude teksir-i kelama lüzum görülmemiştir. (Ahmed Midhat, pp. 28-29)

Table 2. Excerpt from “Draper’s Preface and Our Views” and Its Transcription

Here, in his *ifade* [statement] at the end of “Draper’s Preface and Our Views”, the translator indicates that he translated from the author’s preface “only the parts that are necessary for us”. Furthermore, he adds that he omitted the parts in the preface in which the author made promises about giving a scrupulous and impartial judgement of the two sides’ arguments. He designates that it is futile to translate them as they (the translator and the readers) will closely see whether he will keep his promises or not at all.

It can be seen that he made a partial translation of the author’s preface. He indicates that these were “the parts necessary for us”, which means his translation was made according to the target pole.

Metatexts related to the translation are also worthy of inspection to learn about and reconstruct the initial norms. One such example is from *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* newspaper, where the TT was published in feuilleton.

One of the readers of the feuilleton sends a letter to Ahmed Midhat. He requests explanation by kindly criticising him on his rendering of the verb “accuser” in French. The following is the translator’s response on 26.02.1896 underneath the facsimile of the reader’s letter:

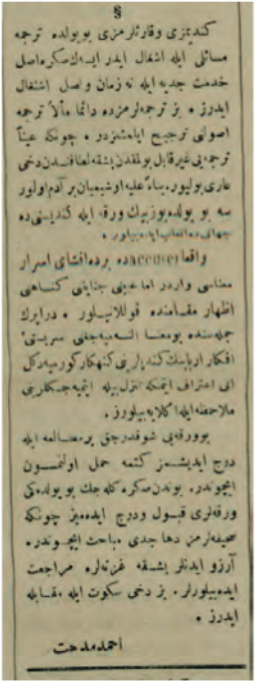
T ^T in Ottoman Script	T ^T in Turkish Script
	Kendimizi ve karilerimizi bu yolda tercüme mesaili ile işgal eder isek sonra asıl hizmet-i ciddiye ile ne zaman nasıl iştigal ederiz. Biz tercümelerimizde daima mealen tercüme usulünü tercih eylemişizdir. Çünkü aynen tercümeyi gayri kabil bulmaktan başka letafetten dahi ari buluyorum binaenaleyh üşenmeyen bir adam olursa bu yolda yüz bin varaka ile kendisini de cihanı da it'ab edebilir. Vakia "accuser" de bir de ifşa-yı esrar manası vardır amma ayıbını cinayetini günahını izhar makamında kullanılır. Draper'ın cümlesinde bu mana alınamayacağını serbesti-i efkâr erbabının kendilerini günahkâr görmeye değil onu itiraf etmeye tenezzül bile etmeyeceklerini mülahaza ile anlayabiliriz. Bu varakayı şu kadcarcık mütalaa ile derç edişimiz ketme haml olunmasın içindir. Bundan sonra gelecek bu yoldaki varakaları kabul ve derç edemeyiz çünkü sahifelerimiz daha ciddi mübahis içindir. Arzu edenler başka gazetelere müracaat edebilirler. Biz dahi sükût ile mukabele ederiz. Ahmed Midhat (<i>Tercüman-ı Hakikat</i>, 26.02.1896)

Table 3. Excerpt from "Special Document" in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* and Its Transcription

Ahmed Midhat's response is as follows:

If we busy ourselves and our readers with translation issues, how can we find time to be of significant service? We have always preferred paraphrasing in our translations, because I find literal translation impossible and devoid of charm. Therefore, anyone who has time may tire himself and the entire world with a thousand documents.

Actually, "accuser" has this other sense that means, "reveal one's sins and crimes". But we can see that it is not possible to use this sense in rendering Draper's statement simply by thinking that free thinkers do not see themselves as sinners nor will they ever condescend to confess it.

Our inclusion [in the newspaper] of this document with a little explanation is to dismiss any attributions to silence on our part. We may not accept and publish any further documents as our pages are reserved for more significant issues.

Those who wish may resort to other newspapers, to which we will counteract by guarding our silence.⁵⁶

(Ahmed Midhat, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 26.02.1896)

Here, again, it is seen that Ahmed Midhat preferred paraphrasing to literal translation. We also understand that he defends his word choice and translation style.

7.2. Ahmed Midhat's Translation in Terms of Preliminary Norms

Preliminary norms pertain to the translation policy and the directness of translation. They explain the reasons for selecting a specific work for translation and determine whether the translation is from the original language of the work or from an intermediate language.⁵⁷

The ST chosen for the translation was the 9th edition of *Les Conflits de la Science et de la Religion* published in 1893. As indicated in the translator's preface, the book was given to Ahmed Midhat by a young woman writer, Fatma Aliye, who asked for his opinions on the book.

Fatma Aliye, the daughter of Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, was an important figure in Ottoman literary scene. As the first woman novelist, she was one of the proud and happy *protégées* of Ahmed Midhat, for whom he wrote prefaces and reviews.⁵⁸ He even co-authored a novel, *Hayal ve Hakikat* (1891) with Fatma Aliye, one year before her first novel *Muhadarat* (1892) not to mention the fact that he presented her in a biography, *Fatma Aliye Hanım yahud Bir Muharrir-i Osmaniye'nin Neş'eti*. In addition to her novels, Fatma Aliye also wrote about history and philosophy.⁵⁹

It seems possible to say that Ahmed Midhat felt the need to be informative for a young intellectual audience. As Remzi Demir puts it, Ahmed Midhat spotted a void, which he found "could not be filled by books written by Europeans".⁶⁰

56 Unless otherwise stated, translations from Ottoman Turkish to Turkish and English belong to the authors of this article.

57 Toury, *Descriptive*, p. 58.

58 Sema Uğurcan, "Ahmed Midhat Efendi ve Elinden Tuttukları", *Merhaba Ey Muharrir! Ahmet Mithat Üzerine Eleştirel Yazılar*, eds. Nüket Esen and Erol Köroğlu (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2006), p. 290.

59 Firdevs Canbaz, "Fatma Aliye Hanım'ın Romanlarında Kadın Sorunu" (Master's Thesis), Bilkent University, 2005.

60 Remzi Demir, "Ahmed Midhat Efendi ve Din-Bilim İlişkileri", *Kebikeç*, 47 (2019), p. 115.

He indicates that Ahmed Midhat's translation of and polemic-inducing additions to Draper's book belonged to a period of historiography of science in Turkey, specifically in the second half of the 19th century, when orientalist western thinkers, with their superficial claims, criticised Muslims and Turks for their non-contribution to science. Demir adds that this period was characterised by defense on the part of the Turkish historiographers. Seeing that Turkish literature lacked resources, Ahmed Midhat took it seriously and contributed to this defense in the domains of history and philosophy of science. His *Tarih-i Edyan* [History of Religions] (1912), his translation of Draper's *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* between 1895 and 1900, as well as his attempt, as hinted in the said translation, to write a possibly unfinished *Tarih-i Ulûm* [History of Sciences] could be counted as cases in point.⁶¹

As for the directness of translation, the ST was the most recent edition of the book then available in French, and French was the lingua franca of the day.⁶² Ayşe Banu Karadağ points to the prestige enjoyed by French, as it was the intermediary language for Ottoman modernisation in that period of reforms, when France represented the targeted civilization. She explains that the adoption of indirect translation from French could be "attributed to France always being on the foreground in relations established with the West in sociopolitic and sociocultural levels."⁶³ She further underlines that intermediary translators' membership to or the translated novel's being praised by Académie Française was also presented by publishers and translators in translated books as an endorsement of French as the language of the dominant culture during the *Tanzimat* Period.⁶⁴

61 Demir, "Ahmed Midhat Efendi", pp. 115-117.

62 Ayşe Banu Karadağ, "Batı'nın Çevrilmesini 'Medeniyet' Odağıyla Yeniden Okumak: Tanzimat Dönemi/Sonrası Çeviriler ve 'Çekinceli' Cesur Çevirmenler", *Tanzimat ve Edebiyat: Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Modern Edebi Kültür*, eds. Mehmet Fatih Uslu and Fatih Altuğ (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası 2014), p. 485.

63 Ayşe Banu Karadağ, "Tanzimat'tan II. Meşrutiyet'e Çeviri Roman Hâllerine Ön Söz/Son Söz Tanıklıkları", *Metnin Hâlleri: Osmanlı'da Telif, Tercüme ve Şerh*, eds. Hatice Aynur, Müjgan Çakır and Hanife Koncu (İstanbul: Klasik 2014), p. 121.

64 For valuable paratextual information in the form of translator's prefaces and epilogues in literary translations made from the West during *Tanzimat* and First Constitutional Monarchy Periods, see Ayşe Banu Karadağ's *Çevirmenin Tanıklığında Tanzimattan II. Meşrutiyet'e Çeviri Tarihini Yeniden Okumak*, I-II (İstanbul: Diye, 2014). For paratextual information for the period between 1908 to 1928, see Eshabil Bozkurt's Doctoral Thesis.

7.3. Ahmed Midhat's Translation in Terms of Operational Norms

Operational norms are the norms at work when the translator is actually rendering the text into another language. They are also constructed by the analyses of matricial features and textual-linguistic features of the TT.

ST: <i>Les Conflits de la Science et de la Religion</i>	TT: <i>Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din – İslam ve Ulûm</i>
1 preface	2 prefaces (1 addition)
12 chapters	1 extra chapter (1 addition) 11 chapters translated (1 omission) Sections of indigenous writing (additions)

Table 4. Distributions of Sections of the ST and TT

The textual segmentation and distribution of the TT reveal its matricial features. As shown in Table 4, there is a difference in the distribution of sections between the ST and the TT. The author-translator made a *zeyl* [addition] to the 5th chapter of the ST. He also made a *tenkîsat* [omission] by excluding the 12th chapter of the ST. However, he never mentioned this omission anywhere in the book.

The table also shows sections of indigenous writing. These include introductory phrases before paragraphs and at the beginning of chapters, reminders to the reader, and paragraphs that start with: “we say” and “note that”.

Textual-linguistic features of the TT also provide information about the rendering of the text. The following table shows examples of expansion made by the translator:

ST: <i>Les Conflits de la Science et de la Religion</i>	TT: <i>Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din – İslam ve Ulûm</i>
...harpies, gorgones, centaures, cyclopes	...(ve yüzleri kadın vücudları kuş şeklindeki) harpiler , cadılar (ve başı insan vücudu at şeklindeki) santorlar (ve yalnız alnı ortasında bir gözü olup cehennemde Vulkan’a muavin olan zebaniler ...
...construite sur le modèle de l'Eolipile. (p. 22)	... Eolipil 'in modeli üzerine inşa olunmuştur. (Bu eolipen alat-ı fizikiyeden bir alettir ki kudemâ onunla buharın derece-i kuvvetini gösterirler idi). (Vol. 1. p. 97)

Table 5. Expansion of the Contents of the ST

The translator used explanative paraphrasing in parenthesis to make explanations for the reader in the target culture. Mythological creatures such as harpies, gorgons, centaurs, and cyclops, as well as technical gadgets such as the *eolipile* were given such a treatment.

7.3.1. *Muhavere* or Manipulation of the Matricial and Textual-Linguistic Features of the ST

From the matricial and textual-linguistic features of the TT, we understand that the author-translator has used the literary style *muhavere* to oppose and at times to reach a consensus with the author of the ST.

We classified *muhavere* here according to its addressees. The first addressee was the author. By manipulating the matricial features of the ST, the author-translator formed the resulting text as a dialogue with the author.

Draper mukaddimesine şu sözle başlıyor. Diyor ki: [Draper starts his Preface with the following words. He says:] (p. 19)	Biz diyoruz ki: [We say:] (p. 23)
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Table 6. Excerpts from the “Author’s Preface”

Starting from the “Authors’s Preface” and until the end of the book, the author-translator made partial translations from the ST and interrupted them to include his notifications or comments in the TT. The author-translator marked the beginning of these segments by the phrases: “Draper says” and “We say”. This turn taking resembles mutual conversation.

The next strategy was omission. As seen in Table 4 above, the author-translator omitted an entire chapter from the ST along with a paragraph from the preface referring to that chapter. The said chapter is the 12th chapter of the ST, which the author titled “Impending Crisis”. Briefly, it tells about the history of papal interventions into and expectations from European nations’ status quo to overthrow Protestantism to control Europe’s intellectual development. The translator never mentioned why he did not translate the chapter.

The following strategy was addition of indigenous writing:

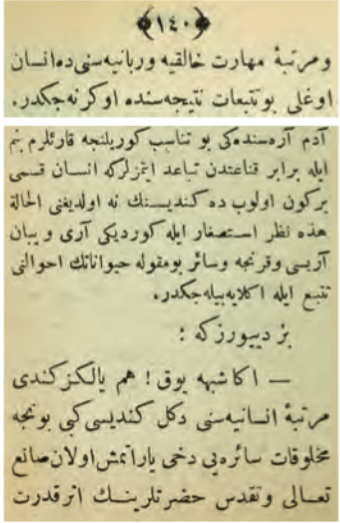
TT in Ottoman Script	TT in Turkish Script	TT in English
	Karilerim benim ile beraber kanaatten tebaüd etmezler ki insan kısmı bir gün olup da kendisinin ne olduğunu el-halet-i hazihi nazar-ı istisgar ile gördüğü arı ve yaban arısı ve karınca ve sair bu makule hayvanatın ahvalini tettebbu ile anlayabilecektir. Biz diyoruz ki: Ona şüphe yok! Hem yalnız kendi mertebe-i insaniyesini değil kendisi gibi bunca mahlukatı saireyi dahi yaratmış olan sanî tekaddes hazretlerinin eser-i kudret ve mertebe-i maharet-i halikiye ve rabbaniyesini de insanoğlu bu tettebbuat neticesinde öğrenecektir. (p. 139-140)	My readers are not far from sharing the view that humankind will one day be able to understand who he is after carefully studying the animals such as bees, wasps, ants and similar small animals that he looks at in disdain today. We say: No doubt about that! At the conclusion of such meticulous study, humankind will learn not only his level of humanity but also the effect and level of the divine power of creation of God Almighty behind his and other creatures' existence.

Table 7. Extract Showing Interventions

In “we say” and “note that” sections, the author-translator added his views, approvals, and rejections as an answer to each section he translated. This is where his voice is heard and the conversation with the author continues. Table 7 shows an example where the author-translator used a spoken form to answer the author in a “We say” section and accepted the author’s views.

Besides, addition of a chapter could be deemed as an answer. As seen in Table 4 above, the author-translator added a chapter to the TT after translating Chapter 5 of the ST. This was titled “Beşinci Bab’a Tarafımızdan Zeyl – Ulûm ve İslâm [Our Addition to Chapter Five – Sciences and Islam]”. This section is an answer as indigenous writing to Chapter 5, aiming to respond to the author and to inform the audience about Islam’s and probably his position about sciences. Here there is a debate between two Islamic thinkers, Gazali and İbn-i Rüşd, that seems to be

employed here by the author-translator, as indicated by Demir (2019, 120), to show the difference between the approach of Church fathers and Islamic scholars towards sciences.

From this point on in our analysis, we will show how *muhavere* was addressed to the readers. The author-translator entered into constant dialogue with the readers to justify his omissions, summarizing, and arguments, and to add warnings and suggestions for the readers. The first of these was informed omissions from the text.

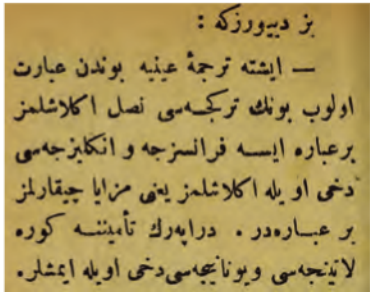
TT in Ottoman Script	TT in Turkish Script	TT in English
	Biz diyoruz ki: - İşte tercüme-i aynıye bundan ibaret olup bunun Türkçesi nasıl anlaşılır ibare ise Fransızca ve İngilizcesi dahi öyle anlaşılır yani mezâyâ çıkarılmaz bir ibaredir. Draper'ın teminine göre Latince ve Yunancası dahi öyle imişler. (vol. 1, p. 259)	We say: - Here is the literal translation. We cannot make any sense of these words in Turkish. Nor can we make any sense of them in French or in English. Draper assures us that their Latin and Greek are equally incomprehensible, that is almost devoid of meaning.

Table 8. Example of an Informed Omission

Using *ifade* [statement] or other notifications in “We say” parts, the author-translator omitted certain passages in the ST by giving the readers reason or actual proof for his non-translation. Here the author-translator, after translating a certain passage as an example, informs the readers why he will not translate the quotations from St. Augustine in Draper’s book.

Using notifications in the TT, the author-translator explains to the reader why he summarized certain sections of the ST.

TT in Ottoman Script	TT in Turkish Script	T ^T in English
بوندن صكره دراپه اسكندر و فاتيه ملكي جنراللى بىندنه تقسيم اولديغنى وقطعه مصر يه نك بطلموسلره دوشوب آنلرا يسه ذوالقرينك بنا ايلديكى اسكندر يه شهرينى ﴿ ٦٢ ﴾ مقر حكومت اخذ ايدرك بابل اسارتدن قورتاردقلى برچوق يهوديلر ايله برابر لرند بولان برچوق يونانيلىر اصل يرلى اهالى اولان مصر ليلره قاتوب اوراده يكيدين بر اهالى مختلطه وجوده كتوردكاري و اوك ماھر معمارلرك بوشهرى عالى سرايلر تياترولر مدرسeler و سائر ايله تزئين ايدرك حتي اسكندر كيكر نغشى دخی اورايه نقل اولديغنى فلانى تفصيل ايلوركه بولار تاريخ ترقيات علومه بيله متعلق اولمديغندن او يولدهكى تفصيلات بوراده هپ مالا ينى جمله سندن عد اولمشدر. نهايت دراپه	Bundan sonra Draper İskender'in vefatıyla mülkü generalleri arasında taksim olduğunu ve kıta-i mısriyenin Batlamyuslara düşüp onlar ise Zülkarneyn'in bina ettiği İskenderiye şehrini –(p. 62)– makarr-ı hükümet ittihaz ederek Babil esaretinden kurtardıkları birçok Yahudiler ile beraberlerinde bulunan birçok Yunanileri asıl yerli ahali olan Mısırlılara katıp orada yeniden bir ahali-i muhtelita vücuda getirdiklerini ve en mahir mimarların bu şehri âli saraylar tiyatrolar medreseler ve saire ile tezyin ederek hatta İskender-i Kebir'in naaşı dahi oraya nakil olduğunu falanı tafsil eyliyor ki bunlar tarih-i terakkiyat-ı uluma bile müteallik olmadığından o yoldaki tafsilat burada hep malayani cümlesinden addolunmuştur.	Hereafter Draper relates the details of how the estate of Alexander was divided among his generals after his death; and that Egypt fell into the share of Ptolemy and that they turned Alexandria, that was built by Dhul-Qarnayn, –(p. 62)– into capital, and that they formed a mixed population there by adding Jews they saved from Babylonian slavery to the Greeks who accompanied them and to locals of Egypt, and that the most talented architects embellished the city with the most exquisite palaces, theatres, madrasahs, etc. He even mentions the transportation of Alexander the Great's body thereto. As these details do not even pertain to the History of the Progress of Sciences, it is meaningless to count them here.

Table 9. Example of Informed Summarizing

As seen in the excerpt above, the author-translator explains readers after summarizing 6 paragraphs (around 2 pages) from the ST that he finds it meaningless to include the details of the part he summarized.

In addition, the author-translator made additions in order to enter into dialogue with the readers:

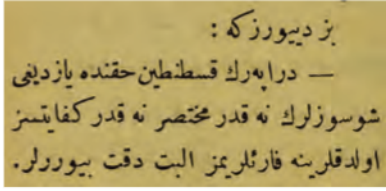
TT in Ottoman Script	TT in Turkish Script	TT in English
	Biz diyoruz ki: Draper'ın Kostantin hakkında yazdığı şu sözlerin ne kadar muhtasar ne kadar kifayetsiz olduklarını kârilerimiz elbet dikkat buyururlar. (Vol.1, p. 155)	We say: Our readers would surely notice how abridged and inadequate are the words employed by Draper to describe Constantine.

Table 10. Additions of Complaints

The author-translator intervened to make complaints about the author, descriptions of the ST, and recommendations to the reader on further reading. These also included warnings about how to read the forthcoming section.

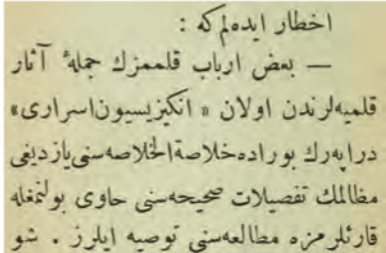
TT in Ottoman Script	TT in Turkish Script	TT in English
	İhtar edelim ki: Bazı erbab-ı kalemimizin cümle-i asar-ı kalemiyelerinden olan “Engizisyon Esrarı” Draper’ın burada hülasatü’l hülasasını yazdığı mezalimin tafsilat-ı sahihasını havi bulunmakla kârilerimize mütalaasını tavsiye eyleriz.	Note that: We recommend our readers to read the work of a local man of letters, “The Secrets of Inquisition” as it comprises of the real details of the atrocities which Draper barely mentioned here.

Table 11. Addition of Book Recommendations

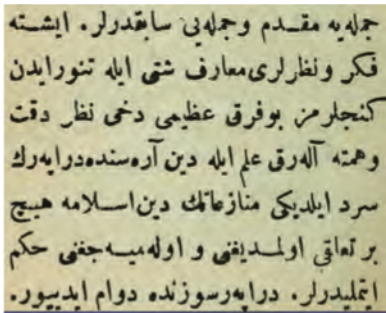
TT in Ottoman Script	TT in Turkish Script	TT in English
	İşte fikir ve nazarları maarif-i şettâ ile tenevvür eden gençlerimiz bu fark-ı azîmi dahi nazar-ı dikkat ve himmete alarak ilm ile din arasında Draper’ın serdeylediği münazaatın din-i İslâm’a hiçbir taalluku olmadığını ve olamayacağını hükmetmeliler.	Therefore, our youth whose thoughts and horizons are illuminated by various sciences should consider this great difference and should conclude that the conflict between science and religion as asserted by Draper does not and could not have any relation with Islam.

Table 12. Addition of a Warning

As seen in the examples in Tables 10, 11, and 12 above, the author-translator addresses the readers to complain about the author, recommends a book, and warns the readers about the pitfalls while reading. We can conclude that the author-translator used his conversation strategy with the readers as well.

8. Concluding Remarks

The aim of the present study has been to understand and interpret, in the framework of Ottoman translation history, why and how Ahmed Midhat used *muhavere* as a translation strategy in *Nizâ-ı İlmi ü Din – İslâm ve Ulûm*, the Ottoman Turkish translation of John William Draper's *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (1875). It also aimed to (re)witness the importance of the role the translator played as an "eloquent mediator" within the Ottoman literary and cultural polysystem, where translation occupied a central position in the context of modernisation during the end of the 19th century.

Our study has shown that by putting the translated text and his reactions to the text in a dialogue in a four-volume book, Ahmed Midhat gained full visibility as author-translator and as an intercultural mediator. It could be argued that there is a manipulation and the author-translator overtly directs the readers in their acceptance or denial of the translated parts of the ST. The authorial power of Ahmed Midhat to enter into continuous dialogue with the author and with the readers in the TT echoes the "translator's ethos as discursive image", to quote a construct by María Laura Spoturno. According to her, this image is established at two levels: one at intra-textual level, "characterized by the discursive activity and commitment shown by the translator within the translated text", and the other is, pre-discursively established within the scope of metadiscourse about the text, the writer or the translator's persona. Thus, we observe—from the analysis of the pieces of the translated text and indigenous writing by Ahmed Midhat—that he worked at both levels to strengthen his power as an intercultural mediator in his dialogue with the author.⁶⁵

It is obvious that Ahmed Midhat's powerful authorial image and active journalism (publishing novels and translations in *feuilletons* as editor-in-chief) gave him authority over the readers, at least enough to tell them how to read and comment on a translated section. The tradition of *reddiye* gave him authority

65 Maria Laura Spoturno, "The Presence and Image of the Translator in Narrative Discourse: towards a Definition of the *Translator's Ethos*", *Moderna Språk*, CXI/1, p. 191.

to enter into negotiation and *muhavere* [dialogue] with an established Western authorship as well according to his aims.⁶⁶ These even included interpellations and accusations.⁶⁷

It should be noted that the author-translator Ahmed Midhat seemed to play the role of an “eloquent mediator”. As seen in the examples discussed above, the author-translator did not hesitate to take liberty to add his opinions, responses, etc. to converse either with the author or with the reader. He did so to accept or to refuse/refute the ideas presented by the author and employed his interventions as a guide as to how to receive them.⁶⁸ Therefore, it seems very much possible to categorise this work under a construct of writing practice, that is “terceme yollu yazmak” [indigenous writing through translation] as spotted in earlier works in the *literary* translation discourse of Ahmed Midhat.⁶⁹ Paker finds this kind of writing strategy as a way of appropriation⁷⁰ “through translation”.⁷¹ In the Turkish tar-

66 For a recent study on the problematization of the “authority” and “superiority” associated with the source text within the context of East/West opposition in translation history, see Nilüfer Alimen, “Batı’nın Doğu Çevirisi Olarak Oryantalizm ve Oryantalist Metinlerin Türkçeye Çevirileri”, *Çeviribilimde Araştırmalar*, ed. Seda Taş (İstanbul: Hiperlink, 2019), pp. 59-92.

67 However, we are cognizant of the time-bound character of such ventures by a translator in Turkish translations. The interlingual retranslation history of *Les Misérables* in Ottoman Turkish and later its intralingual retranlations during Republican Era as depicted in a recent study by Umut Can Gökduman and Ayşe Banu Karadağ [“Retraduction et Paratexte: Les Retraductions Interlinguales des Misérables dans l’Empire Ottoman et leurs Retraductions Intralinguales dans la Turquie Moderne”, *Moderna Språk*, CXV/4 (2021), pp. 50-70] point to a case in modern times, where an editor-intralingual translator adds a locutionary footnote to contradict Victor Hugo, accusing him to talk nonsense. The result was the suppression of that footnote by the publishing house in their latest edition in 2019 after reactions from three newspaper articles that brought the event into the agenda.

68 For a study illustrating a contemporary case of guiding the reader on what is true and what is not through editorial footnotes in the translation of a historical work, see Hilal Öztürk Baydere, “Geçmişin Çeviri Yoluyla Anlatısında Güç Mücadeleleri”, *RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5 (2019), pp. 401-412.

69 Demircioğlu, *From Discourse*, p. 285.

70 For a study addressing ‘appropriation’ in Turkish translation history with a specific focus on Reşat Nuri Güntekin’s intralingual and interlingual translations, see Muhammed Baydere, “Betimleyici Çeviribilim Araştırmalarında Yeni Açılımlara Doğru: Reşat Nuri Güntekin’in Diliçi ve Dillerarası Çeviri Eylemlerindeki Çeşitliliğin Kavramsallaştırılması” (Doctoral Thesis), Yıldız Technical University, 2021.

71 Paker, “Terceme, Te’lif ve”, p. 56.

get system, we see various examples of this in the formation of new literary genres⁷² as well as in the production of works for existing or newly created repertoires.⁷³

The present paper has also put in the foreground the conceptual boundaries between the author and the translator. While the authorial aim in the ST as indicated in the present paper is to let the reader decide about the winning side of the conflict, the author-translator's manipulation and expert mediation in the TT directs the reader as to how to comprehend the translated text. The author-translator's overt interventions seem to hint that he undertook the responsibility of "his word" as an author. Ahmed Midhat's erudition and even expertise in matters ranging from history to religion might have given him that authority.⁷⁴

It could be said that Ahmed Midhat was driven by oral and written *münazara*, *muhavere*, and *reddiye* tradition, some examples of which we tried to include in this study. These belong to Islamic textual methods and seem indispensable in efforts to compete with and/or reconcile opposite points of view.

72 A recent study on early Turkish detective stories [Özge Altıntaş and Ayşe Banu Karadağ, "İlk Türk Polisiye Serilerini Çeviribilim Bağlamında Yeniden Düşünmek", *RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5 (2019), pp. 387-400.] underlined that this kind of appropriation continued after *Tanzimat* period and it entailed a "reappropriation of the foreignness" of a source text, a process in which source text(s) are transferred into target culture by way of indigenous writing through translation.

73 Boy and Karadağ [Hülya Boy and Ayşe Banu Karadağ, "Molière'in *Les Fourberies de Scapin*'inden 'Osmanlıların Molière'i' Âli Bey'in *Ayyar Hamza*'sına: 'Çeviri' Yoluyla 'Telif'", *Synergies Turquie*, 15 (2022), pp. 115-132.] suggest that the work *Ayyar Hamza*, produced by Âli Bey through 'terceme', in which both interlingual and intralingual translation was employed, and introduced to the repertoire of the Ottoman Theater, has usually been presented as an 'original'—and received as such—in the Turkish target system.

74 Muhammed Baydere ["Kavramsal Sınırların Yeniden Ele Alınması: 'Çeviri' Yoluyla 'Telif Olan", *Çeviribilimde Araştırmalar*, ed. Seda Taş (İstanbul: Hiperlink, 2019), pp. 149-176.] gives an account of how the translator becomes the author through the translation adventure of *The Great Siege: Malta 1565* in Turkish. In his study, Baydere ascribes the inability of the author-translator to denote overtly the interventions he actually made on the original to the TT's being represented as a translation and him being represented as translator in the preface of the first edition. Nevertheless, the author's identity as a historiographer seems to enable him to count the said work among one of his publications in the third edition and elsewhere (cf. Baydere, "Kavramsal Sınırların", pp. 168-169). For a study that interrogates the limitations of the traditional notions of "translator" and "translation" see Muhammed Baydere, "A New (Mis) Conception in the Face of the (Un) Translatable: 'Tercüme'", *transLogos Translation Studies Journal*, 1 (2018), pp. 92-120.

As a final remark, we would like to underline that the ST of the present study was translated and presented to the Ottoman society with additions, omissions, and modifications in a period of change, when expert mediation and guidance by the learned was eminent. Putting translated part (as “author’s word”) and author-translator’s reaction (as “our word”) in a conversation, by way of negotiation and consensus, seems to be a strong attempt at reconciliation and, as Paker indicates, “to belong to the subtleties of the transference of European ideas”,⁷⁵ which was, as she deems, the prioritized intellectual activity of the *Tanzimat* Period.

Muhavere as a Strategy for Reconciliation in Ottoman Translation History

Abstract ■ The *Tanzimat* (Reorganisation) Period, which coincided with the end of the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire, sparked efforts towards modernisation in society. In the context of modernisation, translation occupied a central position in the Ottoman literary and cultural polysystem and played a shaping role with different strategies adopted by translators. It was during this period that “the conflict thesis” arguing for a conflict between religion and science was raised in the West, with its reverberations continuing well into our day. One of the leading works supporting this thesis was John William Draper’s book *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*, which was published in 1875. The book found its way into Ottoman Turkish through Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translation, *Nizâ-ı İlmi ü Din – İslam ve Ulûm*. The aim of this paper is to understand and interpret, in the framework of Ottoman translation history, why and how Ahmed Midhat Efendi used *muhavere* strategy in this translation in order to (re)witness the importance of the role the translator played as an “eloquent mediator” within the Ottoman literary and cultural polysystem.

Keywords: Ottoman conceptions of translation, conflict thesis, translation studies, *muhavere* [dialogue], manipulation.

⁷⁵ Paker, “Terceme, Te’lif ve”, p. 46.

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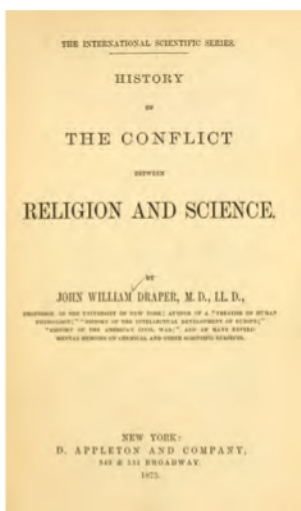
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Appendix



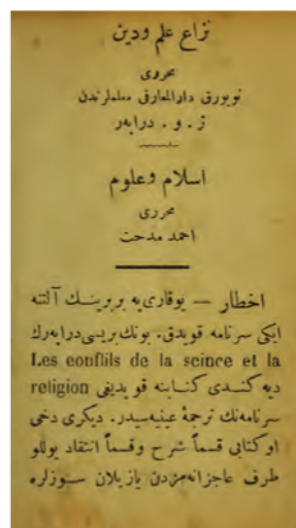
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