

(RE)TRANSLATION AS A TOOL OF NARRATIVE (RE)PRODUCTION:  
CHARLES DARWIN'S THEORY OF EVOLUTION IN TÜRKİYE

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(Re)translation as a Tool of Narrative (Re)production:

Charles Darwin's Theory of Evolution in Türkiye

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## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Nesrin Conker, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

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## ABSTRACT

(Re)translation as a Tool of Narrative (Re)production:

Charles Darwin's Theory of Evolution in Türkiye

This dissertation studies the (re)translations of Charles Darwin's *The Origin* (1859) that were produced and (re)published in the Turkish publication field between 1970 and 2022. Embracing a sociological framework, the study aims to establish the relationships between the ideological dispositions of the agents of (re)translation and their translatorial interest in *The Origin*. For that, the study focuses on the translated texts (translations proper) and the abundance of paratextual materials the agents of (re)translation produced surrounding their translations. The study also elaborates on the *Atlas of Creation* (2006-2012) volumes published by the Islamic Creationist Harun Yahya group. It is seen that Islamic Creationism and related public narratives that started gaining prominence in the Turkish setting in the 1970s had a catalyzing impact on the emergence of *The Origin* (re)translations and (re)publications. The study shows that producing paratextual elements for the translations of *The Origin* has become a norm followed by the majority of (re)translation agents. It also demonstrates that (re)translating and (re)publishing Darwin's *The Origin* provided the majority of the agents with new narrative spaces to discuss the theory in relation to various overarching meta-narratives such as Materialism, Socialism, Capitalism, and Creationism. These discussions were framed from the perspective of the agents' ideological dispositions.

## ÖZET

(Yeniden) Çevirinin (Yeni) Anlatılar Üretmek için Araçsallaştırılması:

Türkiye’de Charles Darwin’in Evrim Teorisi

Bu tez çalışması, Charles Darwin’in *Türlerin Kökeni* (1859) eserinin Türk yayıncılık alanında 1970 ile 2022 yılları arasında üretilen (yeniden) çevirilerini incelemektedir. Sosyolojik bir kuramsal çerçeveyi benimseyen çalışma, (yeniden) çeviri eyleyicilerinin ideolojik eğilimleri ile *Türlerin Kökeni*'ne gösterdikleri çeviri odaklı ilgi arasındaki ilişkiyi ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmada, hem çevrilmiş metinler hem de çeviri eyleyenlerinin bu çevirilerle bağlantılı olarak ürettikleri yan metinsel malzeme analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmada ayrıca, İslami-Yaratılışçı Harun Yahya grubunun yayımladığı *Yaratılış Atlası* (2006-2012) ciltleri incelenmiştir. Bu bileşen, 1970'ler itibariyle Türkiye bağlamında giderek öne çıkmaya başlayan İslami Yaratılışçılık ve bununla bağlantılı anlatıların *Türlerin Kökeni*'nin birçok kez (yeniden) çevrilmesi ve bu çevirilerin (yeniden) yayımlanması üzerinde katalizör etkisi yarattığını ortaya koymaktadır. Çalışmada, *Türlerin Kökeni* çevirileriyle ilişkili yan metinsel malzeme üretiminin, (yeniden) çeviri eyleyenlerinin çoğunluğu tarafından izlenen bir norm haline geldiği görülmüştür. Ayrıca çalışma, ilgili çeviri eyleyenlerinin büyük çoğunluğu için, Darwin'in *Türlerin Kökeni* eserini (yeniden) çevirmenin ve/ya (yeniden) yayımlamanın, evrim teorisinin Materyalizm, Sosyalizm, Kapitalizm, Yaratılışçılık gibi çeşitli meta-anlatılarla ilişkilerini kendi ideolojik perspektifleri çerçevesinde tartışabilecekleri yeni anlatı alanları sağladığını göstermektedir.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION .....	1
CHAPTER 2: CHARLES DARWIN’S THEORY OF EVOLUTION BY NATURAL SELECTION AND ITS DIVERSE SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS .....	15
2.1 Pre-Darwinian conceptions of the transmutation of species .....	15
2.2 Darwin formulates the theory of evolution by natural selection .....	21
2.3 Evolution today: the modern synthesis .....	27
2.4 Socio-political implications of Darwin’s theory .....	28
2.5 Reception of evolutionary theories in the Turkish context .....	51
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....	62
3.1 Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of action .....	64
3.2 Studying retranslations within the framework of Bourdieu’s social theory: aging, symbolic time and marks of distinction .....	72
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK .....	75
4.1 Gideon Toury’s descriptive methodology .....	77
4.2 Gérard Genette’s paratexts, peritexts and epitexts .....	80
4.3 Mona Baker’s narrative model .....	82
CHAPTER 5: TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF HARUN YAHYA’S <i>YARATILIŞ</i> <i>ATLASI</i> VOLUMES AND THEIR ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS .....	92
5.1 The structure and content of the <i>Yaratılış Atlası</i> volumes .....	94
5.2 The translators of the <i>Yaratılış Atlası</i> volumes .....	104
5.3 An analysis of the Darwin references and partial translations in the <i>Atlas</i> <i>of Creation</i> and <i>Yaratılış Atlası</i> volumes .....	106

CHAPTER 6: TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE TURKISH TRANSLATIONS OF <i>THE ORIGIN</i> .....	120
6.1 Agents of (re)translation and (re)publication .....	121
6.2 Ideologically conflictual elements in <i>The Origin</i> and their Turkish (re)translations .....	164
6.3 Translation norms adopted by the agents (re)translation .....	246
CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS .....	272
APPENDIX A: TRANSLATED LONG QUOTES IN ORIGINAL LANGUAGE .....	294
APPENDIX B: ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL .....	314
REFERENCES .....	315

## LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1. Covers of the Turkish (re)translations of *The Origin* (1859) published between 1970 and 2022 (including the apparently plagiarized translations) .. 9
- Figure 2. Physicist Brian Miller delivering a seminar on the design and optimization of the human eye during a conference co-sponsored by the Discovery Institute (Discovery Science, 2024) ..... 48
- Figure 3. The Turkish and English versions of the first volume of *Atlas of Creation* (Yahya, 2006a & 2006b)..... 96
- Figure 4. One of the sections in the *Atlas of Creation*, where Malthusian elements in Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection are criticized (Yahya, 2006a, p. 722)..... 100
- Figure 5. (left) The first page of the two-page introduction on Harun Yahya; (right) One of the many pages in the *Atlas of Creation* that compares a fossil record with a living species (Yahya, 2006a, p. 513) ..... 104
- Figure 6. Darwin's original context in *The Origin* (1859) and the selectively appropriated partial translations (highlighted in yellow) in Yahya's *Atlas of Creation* (2006a) ..... 109
- Figure 7. Öner Ünalın's *Darwin Ne Yaptı?*(1995) published by Saypa, Papirüs, Evrensel and Ginko Publishing Houses ..... 126
- Figure 8. Öner Ünalın's translation of *The Origin* republished by Evrensel (on the left), Kor (in the middle) and Ginko (on the right) Publishing Houses ..... 130
- Figure 9. The news article published by *Evrensel* after Öner Ünalın passed away 136
- Figure 10. Bahar Kılıç appearing on several digital platforms in the aftermath of her Darwin retractions ..... 146

Figure 11. Covers of Darwin translations published by Gün Yayıncılık in the early 2000s .....	149
Figure 12. Harun Yahya and Prof. Özsoy discussing Creationism and evolution on a popular broadcast channel.....	161
Figure 13. Interview with Prof. Özsoy on the popular intellectual YouTube channel FluTv .....	229
Figure 14. Prof. Özsoy interviewed by Ateizm TV on his academic research and popular writings on evolutionary biology .....	231
Figure 15. Muzaffer İlhan Erdost’s article titled “Darwin’i Şeriatın Süzgecinden Süzmek” (Interpreting Darwin from the Lens of Sharia), (Cumhuriyet, 2009) .....	237
Figure 16. Kılıç’s blogpost criticizing the Natural History Museum in Ankara for providing creationist web links on its website (Kılıç, 2012) .....	244
Figure 17. Textual and peritextual elements in each <i>The Origin</i> (re)translations...	254
Figure 18. Some of the pages with visuals in <i>The Origin</i> translation published by Alfa Bilim in 2017 .....	256
Figure. 19. Özsoy’s one-and-a-half-page long end-note (endnote no.4) in chapter VI “Difficulties of the Theory” (Özsoy, 2022b, pp 655-656) .....	261

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Darwin Quotation I in Yahya’s <i>Yaratılış Atlası</i> (2006b), its Back-translation into English, and the Translation of the Same Quote in the <i>Atlas of Creation</i> (2006a).....	110
Table 2. Darwin Quotation II in Yahya’s <i>Yaratılış Atlası</i> (2006b), its Back-translation into English and the Translation of the Same Quote in the <i>Atlas of Creation</i> (2006a).....	113
Table 3. Darwin Quotation III in Yahya’s <i>Yaratılış Atlası</i> Vol II (2007b), its Back-translation into English, and the Translation of the Same Quote in the <i>Atlas of Creation</i> Vol II (2007a).....	115
Table 4. The Apparently Plagiarized <i>The Origin</i> (1859) Translations by Birol (2016) and İlhan (2009) Compared with Belli’s Translation (2009).....	154
Table 5. The Second Example from the Apparently Plagiarized <i>The Origin</i> (1859) Translations by Birol (2016) and İlhan (2009) Compared with Belli’s Translation (2009).....	155
Table 6. A Malthus Reference in <i>The Origin</i> (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the Related Paragraph.....	167
Table 7. Another Malthus Reference in <i>The Origin</i> (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the Related Paragraph.....	169
Table 8. An Example of Darwin’s Counter-arguments against Special Creation in <i>The Origin</i> (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the Related Paragraph.....	200

Table 9. Another Example of Darwin’s Counter-arguments against Special Creation in <i>The Origin</i> (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the Related Paragraph.....	202
Table 10. An Example of Darwin’s Theological References to a Creator in <i>The Origin</i> (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the Related Paragraph .	214
Table 11. Another Example of Darwin’s Theological References to a Creator in <i>The Origin</i> (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the Related Paragraph .	217
Table 12. Darwin’s Remarks about the (In)compatibility of Religion with the Theory of Evolution in <i>The Origin</i> (1859).....	223
Table 13. Darwin’s Remarks about the (In)compatibility of Religion with the Theory of Evolution in <i>The Origin</i> (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the Related Paragraph .....	224
Table 14. Terminology Differences in Different (Re)translations of <i>The Origin</i> (1859).....	265

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) magnum opus, *On the Origin of the Species or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (henceforth abbreviated as *The Origin*) (1859) introduced natural selection as the fundamental mechanism of evolution. The multi-faceted repercussions of Darwin's groundbreaking theory would influence generations to come.

As Jonathan Hodge and Gregory Radick (2003) state, Darwin's *The Origin* (1859) includes two main proposals. The first proposal is that "all the species that have ever lived on earth may form a single tree of life" (Hodge & Radick, 2003, p. 3). Based on this proposal, Darwin further contemplated that all plant and animal species may share common ancestry when the branches of the tree are traced sufficiently back in time. Secondly, unlike the creationist approaches that still prevailed during the eighteenth century, Darwin's *The Origin* (1859) asserted that "natural selection has been the main cause or agency responsible for all this divergent, adaptive and progressive change from ancestral to descendent species" (Hodge & Radick, 2003, p.3).

Many of Darwin's ideas, such as the notions of common descent and natural selection as the primary mechanism for variation and speciation, carried implications that reached beyond the boundaries of the scientific realm. *The Origin* (1859) prompted its readers to address fundamental ontological issues concerning the place of humanity within the expansive scope of biological diversity. The ontological, religious, and political implications of the theory's emphasis on the factor of chance and arbitrariness of the evolutionary processes made it controversial for generations

to come. Attacks on the theory of evolution, especially from creationist circles, which view it as inseparable from materialism and atheism, prevail to this day. It is not surprising that Capitalists and Socialists alike found aspects of Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection appealing, often seeking to incorporate or critique specific elements of the theory to align with their respective socio-political ideologies. For this reason, as C. Kenneth Waters (2003, p. 117) suggests, *The Origin* (1859) “elicited a more dramatic shift of thought than that brought about by any scientific treatise of the Victorian or perhaps any era”, and the book pushed both Darwin’s contemporaries and the future generations to reconsider certain foundational assumptions regarding the role of humans in the natural order.

Another significant aspect of Darwin’s *The Origin* (1859) is its undeniable contribution to empirical methods and thinking, which were already on the rise starting from the Scientific Revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To support his ideas, Darwin deployed an enormous amount of data obtained from his observations, experiments, readings, and consultations with various experts. With the robustness of Darwin’s scientific method, his theory of evolution by natural selection is now regarded as a milestone in the development of not only biology and related disciplines but also positivism in general.

Along with Darwin’s other titles, *The Origin* (1859) is still a popular read today. However, the scientific, philosophical, theological, and political implications of Darwin’s theory of evolution by natural selection continue to make *The Origin* (1859) as controversial as it has always been. The theory of evolution by natural selection is certainly not embraced and accepted wholeheartedly all around the world. For example, according to the global analytics and consultancy firm Gallup’s 2019 questionnaire, 40% of the U.S. population ascribe to the creationist view of

human origins whereas only 22% believe that God was not involved in human evolution (Brenan, 2019).

Given the crucial role of translation in the circulation and (re)production of knowledge, Darwin translations were key assets in popularizing Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection on a global scale. Not surprisingly, translations of Darwin's works produced in various historical and linguistic contexts have attracted scholarly attention. For example, Acuña-Partal (2021) examined Darwin's autobiographical writings and his correspondence with continental translators and publishers who worked on the (re) translations of various editions of *The Origin* (1859). Acuña-Partal (2021) concludes that Darwin was well aware of the role of translations for an accurate interpretation of his theories abroad and had objections to some initially authorized translations into other European languages, which led him to seek out alternative translators to produce unbiased versions of his works.

The first German translation of *The Origin* (1859) is one of the exemplary cases that demonstrates Darwin's discontent with certain translatorial strategies (2009). According to Kohler and Kohler (2009, p. 340), when German zoologist and paleontologist Heinrich Georg Bronn (1800 – 1862) translated *The Origin* in 1860, he and Darwin held different views on evolutionary mechanisms. In his translation, Bronn decided to use *Natürliche Züchtung* (natural breeding) as the equivalent of Darwin's key metaphorical term "natural selection". He also made many other terminology choices and added translator's notes Darwin was unhappy with. Acuña-Partal (2021) further notes that Bronn added to his translation an epilogue, where he voiced his disagreement with the main thesis of *The Origin* (1859), in addition to leaving out some sentences in the original that he did not approve of. It was only in the third German edition by Julius Victor Carus, following Bronn's death, that new

alternatives to Bronn's terminological choices were found and his notes were removed (Kohler & Kohler, 2009, p. 340).

Another interesting study that investigates Darwin translations was by Annie Brisset (2002), who analyzed Clémence Royer's (1830 – 1902) first French translation of Darwin's *The Origin* (1859). Brisset (2002, p. 175) commences her article by examining the diverse intellectual pursuits of Royer, which resulted in numerous contributions to various scientific, philosophical, and social currents of her time. Brisset then analyses the linguistic and stylistic shifts in Royer's translation. Her analysis shows that Royer's translation resulted in an increased degree of certainty in the target text, through the shifts she made in modal expressions. Royer's additional decisions to add a preface and multiple notes to her translation helped her to adjust Darwin's work to the French positivistic style. Brisset (2002, p. 184) further argues that Royer's strategies helped her portray the Darwinian argument in such a way that it reflected her personal convictions, in other words, her own radical evolutionary views.

In a more recent study on the French translations of *The Origin* (1859), Sylvie Vandaele (2019) combines quantitative and qualitative research methods and performs a lexicometric analysis of six English editions Darwin published during his lifetime and the French retranslations that were performed using the 1st, 3rd, and 6th editions. According to Vandaele (2019) the source corpus is lexically more homogeneous while the translated corpus includes variations that result from translators' choices. Based on this Vandaele argues that French-speaking readers lack the same access to the concepts of Darwinian evolution afforded to readers of the original English editions. Vandaele (2019, p. 417) notes that the evolution of concepts and language in time, and different modes of thought that apply to different

periods when the translations were performed also corrupt access to the original text through translation.

In the Dutch setting, Vandepitte et al. (2011) conducted quantitative and qualitative analyses on two Dutch translations of *The Origin* (1859), building on Brisset's (2002) study. Based on the assertion that Darwin frequently used epistemic modal verbs "to contemplate his discoveries from diverse perspectives, presenting them as potential scenarios within different conceivable worlds" (Vandepitte et al., 2011, p. 294), their corpus compared two Dutch translations performed in 1860 and 2000, respectively. Their comparative linguistic analysis, which was informed by an epistemic scale of ranking, showed that both translations conveyed "a sense of Darwin's ideas with a level of confidence that surpasses the cautious tone he intentionally adopted" (Vandepitte et al., 2011, p. 295).

Darwin translations have not only been investigated in the European context. For instance, Xiaoxing Jin (2019) explores the first translation of *The Origin* (1859) into Chinese, performed by Ma Junwu (1881 – 1940). Studying this translation, Jin takes into consideration multiple aspects such as the translator's personal background and the history of evolutionary thinking in China, which was predominantly influenced by the Chinese Spencerian Yan Fu's paraphrased translations of Thomas Huxley's works. Although he does not embed his findings within a sociological framework, Jin (2019) concludes that the distorted and transformed translation by Ma Junwu presented Darwin's theory as pointing to a linear progressive evolution since his translation was a culturally conditioned reinterpretation of *The Origin* (1859).

As this literature review indicates, Darwin translations performed in different socio-cultural and temporal contexts have been investigated from various social,

historical, and linguistic perspectives. When the attention is directed to the Turkish setting, it becomes evident that there is an obvious gap in terms of research exploring the translations of Darwin's works into Turkish. The majority of the scholarly publications on evolution in the Turkish setting (e.g., Alkan, 2009; Öktem, 2011; Yolun, 2017; Karaömerlioğlu & Yolun, 2020; Ceyhan, 2022, etc.), focus on the pro-and-counter evolutionary ideas that were developed by the Turkish intelligentsia during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

When examining the history of Darwin translations in the Turkish context, I discovered that Darwin's works have garnered considerable interest in recent decades. Notably, *The Origin of Species* has been frequently retranslated since the 1970s, as illustrated in Figure 1. However, it must also be noted that Turkish translations of Darwin's works were not available for a long time. It was only in 1968 that the first Darwin translation was performed, namely by a medical doctor, Yavuz Erkoçak, (1925 – 2016) who translated the first chapter of *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (İnsanın Türeyişi), for Sol Yayınları (Leftist Publishing), using its German translation as his source text. Two years later, Sol Yayınları had *The Origin* translated by Öner Ünalın (1935 – 2011), an agricultural engineer, teacher, translator, author and Marxist intellectual. In the following years, Ünalın translated *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* as two separate titles.

Onur Yayınları remained the sole publisher of Darwin translations in Türkiye until 2001. In the 2000s, Orhan Tuncay, a former corporate executive who transitioned into a productive translator and author, translated three books by Darwin for Gün Yayıncılık. *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (İnsan ve Hayvanlarda Beden Dili) was published in 2001, *The Descent of Man* (İnsanın

*Türeyişi*) was published in 2002, and *The Origin (Türlerin Kökeni)* was published in 2003, respectively.

In 2008, *The Descent of Man*, and in 2009, *The Origin* were (re)translated by Sevim Belli (1925- ), a medical doctor, translator, and famous figure in the Turkish Marxist movement. These retranslations were commissioned by Onur Yayınları and replaced Ünalın's translations.

UNESCO declared 2009 as the Darwin year since it marked the 200th anniversary of the birth of Charles Darwin, and the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publication of *The Origin* (1859). In 2009, along with many translated popular science books on evolution, one new (re)translation and one (re)publication of *The Origin* (1859) were introduced to the Turkish publishing market. The (re)translation was published by Alter Yayıncılık, with the translator named Hasan İlhan. Evrensel Basım Yayın started (re)publishing the first translation of *The Origin* (1859) by Öner Ünalın in the same year. In the following years, Evrensel Basım Yayın started (re)publishing Ünalın's translations of *İnsanın Türeyişi (the Descent of Man)* and *Seksüel Seçme (Sexual Selection)* as well.

In 2016, another retranslation was published by Yason Yayınları, with the translation by Göksu Birol.<sup>1</sup>

Following the shutting down of Evrensel Basım Yayın in line with a statutory decree issued in 2017, the owners and the editorial board launched new publishing companies in the aftermath. Öner Ünalın's translation of *The Origin* (1859) was republished by Kor Kitap in 2017, and by Ginko Kitap in 2018, respectively. Ginko Kitap continued (re)publishing Ünalın's translations of *İnsanın Türeyişi (the Descent of Man)* and *Seksüel Seçme (Sexual Selection)* in the following years.

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<sup>1</sup> As discussed in detail in Section 6.1.4, Göksu Birol's retranslation and Hasan İlhan's retranslation appear to be plagiarized versions of Sevim Belli's translation.

In 2017, a new (re)translation of Darwin's *The Origin* (1859) was introduced by the science (bilim) division of Alfa Yayınları. The (re)translation was performed by Bahar Kılıç, a dentist and a vocal advocate of evolution and atheism through her contributions to various digital and printed media. In the following years, Kılıç continued to (re)translate other titles by Darwin for Alfa Yayınları. The (re)translation of *the Descent of Man (İnsanın Türeyişi)* was published in 2019. In 2020, the (re)translation of *Selection in Relation to Sex (Cinsel Seçilim)* and in 2021, the (re)translation of *the Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals (İnsanda ve Hayvanlarda Duyguların İfade Edilmesi)* were published by Alfa Yayınları.

At the end of 2022, a new (re)translation of *The Origin* (1859) was published by İş Bankası Yayınları. This (re)translation was performed by Ergi Deniz Özsoy, is a professor of biology who specializes in molecular genetics, in addition to being a popular science figure who is frequently invited to participate in televised discussion programs on evolution.



Figure 1. Covers of the Turkish (re)translations of *The Origin* (1859) published between 1970 and 2022 (including the apparently plagiarized translations)

It is clear that the interest in (re)translating and (re)publishing Darwin's works in the Turkish publishing sector has been increasing since the late 1960s. In addition, the majority of the agents of (re)translation contributed to the (re)production of public narratives on various aspects of *The Origin* and Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection in the extensive "paratextual materials" (Genette, 1997) they produced surrounding their *The Origin* (re)translations. One notable aspect of these

narratives is their criticism and even outright rejection of Islamic-Creationist narratives produced by various Turkish fraternal movements since the 1970s. Against this backdrop, this study aims to examine the (re)translations and (re)publications of Darwin's *The Origin* (1859) published in Turkey between 1970 and 2022. This examination considers the agents of (re)translation and the public narratives they produced on different aspects of Darwin's theory of evolution. In studying these narratives, considerable attention is paid to the relevant socio-political context in Türkiye during the period covered and the sociological and ideological backgrounds of the related agents. This is because these elements furnish the kind of contextual background against which an analysis informed by sociology and narrative theory needs to take place.

Given the multitude of the (re)translations and (re)publications of Darwin's works in Turkish, I opted to concentrate on a particular title for the sake of limitation. This approach allows for a comprehensive examination of both the (re)translated and (re)published texts of the same title, along with the paratextual materials surrounding these (re)translations and (re)publications to understand how the agents of (re)translation (re)framed (Baker, 2006) Darwin's magnum opus with the narratives they produced on various aspects of Darwin's theory. *The Origin* (1859) was selected as the Darwin title to be examined because it is the book that introduced Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection to the world and still maintains its popularity, with annual sales ranging from 75,000 to 100,000 copies worldwide (Kohler & Kohler, 2009, p. 344). As an indication of its ongoing popularity, in 2015, when participants in a survey in England organized by prominent academic booksellers, librarians, and publishers were asked to choose

from a list of 20 academic books, *The Origin* was voted the most influential academic book ever written (Alison Flood, 2015, *the Guardian*).

Embracing an interdisciplinary approach, this study will situate the Turkish (re)translations and (re)publications of *The Origin* (1859) into the historical and political contexts in which they were produced, with a focus on the sociological backgrounds of the agents of translation. As such, this study follows the trajectory of socio-translation studies drawn by Daniel Simeoni (1998, 2007a, 2007b), who argued that greater attention should be given to the translating subject rather than concentrating on translating practices per se. Thus, the study will explore the links between the (re)translations and (re)publications of *The Origin* (1859) and the related translating subjects within the framework of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of action (1986, 1990, 1991, 1998). In doing so, this study aims to answer the following questions:

- (1) Why were several (re)translations and (re)publications of Darwin's *The Origin* (1859) produced in Türkiye in the course of the last six decades?
- (2) What kind of differences (if any) are there among these (re)translations?
- (3) What can we say about the sociological backgrounds and socio-political dispositions of the agents of (re)translation?
- (4) Did the agents produce Darwin (re)translations and (re)publications to further their social, cultural, political, or ideological agendas in certain ways? If so, what kind of connections can we establish between the agents' sociological backgrounds, their translatorial strategies, and their efforts to popularize Darwinism in Türkiye?
- (5) Did the agents of (re)translation contribute to the (re)production of public narratives on Darwin and this theory by translating *The Origin* in the Turkish

setting? If so, what kind of narratives did they produce on Darwin and his theory and why?

As a complementary component that provides further contextual background, the textual analysis performed within the scope of this study starts with the four volumes of the *Atlas of Creation* (2006-2012) authored by Harun Yahya, who is described as "perhaps the most prominent contemporary Creationist in the Islamic world" (Hameed, 2010, p. 139). Yahya's books are particularly famous for their anti-evolutionist and anti-Darwinist content, which also constitutes a significant portion of the group's Islamic creationist narrative. Since my preliminary analyses show that many agents of (re)translation have criticized Islamic Creationism in the narratives they produce in their paratextual materials, studying the Harun Yahya group and its anti-Darwinist works provides rich insights into the motivations of those agents of (re)translation who produced *The Origin* retranslations and republications. Thus, the works of Harun Yahya constitute a secondary research corpus, which is followed by analyses of *The Origin* (re)translations (the translation proper) and of the related paratextual materials, which constitute the primary research corpus. In other words, studying Yahya's *Atlas of Creation* prior to focusing on the primary research corpus provides a more comprehensive perspective on the anti-Darwinist and creationist narratives produced in the Turkish context as well as illuminating the counter-narratives subsequently produced by the agents of *The Origin* (re)translations.

The approach towards the phenomenon of retranslation has gradually shifted in Translation Studies within the last few decades. If we remember the retranslation hypothesis, first introduced by Berman (1990), it was believed that each retranslation enhances the previous one(s), offering a fuller representation of the original foreign source text. This rather source-text-oriented approach has been challenged

frequently, with various studies performed on retranslations that concern different text types, genres, socio-cultural contexts, historical periods and agents of retranslation. Koskinen and Paloposki (2010, p. 296) underline that while “ageing and alleged outdated features of the previous translation [and] the increased knowledge of the source text, author and culture” seem to be the first reasons people tend to associate with retranslations, a broader reconsideration on retranslations and republications can potentially provide new insights into the myriad of functions (re)translation assumes in diverse intellectual, social, and political contexts. Similarly, highlighting the significant role the agents of retranslation play in structuring these intellectual, social, and political contexts, Berk-Albachten and Tahir-Gürçağlar (2019a, p. 7) underscore that they can “use retranslation to further their social, cultural, literary, or ideological agendas”. Considering the fact that many retranslations and republications of Darwin’s *The Origin* have been published in the Turkish publication field, this study provides an interesting case study for elaborating on the instrumentalization of (re)translations in diverse intellectual, social and political contexts. This study also aims to highlight the role of (re)translations and related agents of translation in the circulation of ideas, popularization of scientific theories, and in the (re)production of narratives surrounding these theories, or conceptual narratives. Another contribution this study hopes to make is emphasizing the valuable insights researchers can gain by critically examining (re)translation as a tool used by social agents with diverse ideological dispositions to acquire different forms of capital in their respective fields of operation and as a ground of narrative production. Thus, this study aims to demonstrate the benefits of integrating translation sociology and a narrative analysis for an in-depth understanding of translation agents’ agendas and the impact of their ideological dispositions on their

overall translatorial production. In addition, this research will contribute to the literature concerned with the reception of evolutionary theories and Darwinian ideas in different locales.

The following chapter will offer readers insights into the reasons for the widespread attention Darwin's theory has garnered from scientific and ideological circles. Chapter 2 also discusses certain aspects of the theory that have been interpreted and appropriated differently by different ideologies over time. Chapters 3 and 4 respectively will offer in-depth discussions of the theoretical and methodological frameworks that will underpin this research. These discussions will encompass Pierre Bourdieu's (1986, 1990, 1991, 1998) theory of action, the norm-oriented analysis framework proposed by Gideon Toury (1995) in his *Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)*, Gérard Genette's (1987/ 1997) taxonomy of paratexts, and the narrative model Mona Baker (2006) introduced to analyze conflictual and competing narratives produced by translators and interpreters. Chapters 3 and 4 will also detail how these different frameworks will be combined for the purposes of this study. Following this, in Chapter 5, the first textual analysis will be conducted on Harun Yahya's *Atlas of Creation* volumes (2006-2012) and their corresponding Turkish versions, which constitute the secondary and contextual corpus of the study. Subsequent to this initial analysis, in Chapter 7 a detailed examination will be conducted of the Turkish (re)translations of *The Origin*. This primary research corpus will encompass both the (re)translations (the translations proper) and the accompanying paratextual elements, with particular emphasis on the sociological backgrounds of agents involved in the translation processes. The findings and contributions of these analyses will be discussed in the final chapter.

## CHAPTER 2

### CHARLES DARWIN'S THEORY OF EVOLUTION BY NATURAL SELECTION AND ITS DIVERSE SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

Since the publication of Darwin's groundbreaking work, *The Origin* in 1859, his theory of evolution by natural selection has sparked profound inquiries into the origins and diversity of life on Earth, as well as humanity's place within this intricate biological diversity. His theory has been embraced and debated by various ideological factions, each advancing its own agendas. The following sections aim to offer a comprehensive overview of Darwin's life, his intellectual and scientific journey leading to the development of the theory of evolution by natural selection, and the diverse interpretations and applications of this theory across different ideological spheres. This overview will make it easier to establish the proposed connections among the sociological dispositions of the agents of (re)translation, their interest in (re)translating *The Origin* (1859), and the narratives they produced on Darwin's theory of evolution.

#### 2.1 Pre-Darwinian conceptions of the transmutation of species

Although Darwin is probably the first name that most people associate with evolution today, the possibility of species change is an old concept that dates back to Antiquity. During the Pre-Socratic era, for instance, natural philosophy was concerned with explaining the origin of the cosmos, and how an inchoate existence evolved into an organized cosmos (Kirby, 2013, p. 33). Sloan (2019) states that Plato's (427 – 327 BCE) writings, particularly his long creation myth, pioneered the teleological intelligent design approach that was destined to be embraced for

centuries to come. In Plato's creation myth, living beings result from the actions of an intelligent Craftsman (Demiurgos), who organizes mathematical matter into a rational cosmos following eternal archetypes. Thus, Plato initiated the long tradition of rejecting chance-like processes to explain the origins of life. Aristotle supported Plato's views by holding that "Creation, as it were, would make God's existence less contemplative" (Kirby, 2013, p. 36) and developed his account of teleological causation (material, formal, efficient, and final causes), by drawing parallels with handicrafts and origins. Sedley (2007) and Sloan (2019) note that this teleological approach was incorporated into the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic concepts of creation. Hence, from the Medieval Age until the Enlightenment, the Biblical account of creation was generally held to be true in Europe. The argument from design, which asserts that complex structures of organisms could not have resulted from chance-like processes and thus are "evidence for the existence of an unimaginably powerful and intelligent creator" (Radcliff-Richards, 2005, p.1) was a major argument used in defending the existence of God.

Advances that the Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment brought in natural sciences, especially in geology, had a transformative impact on how scientists and philosophers started to view natural history. One of the first major advances of the era was proposed by the Swedish botanist, zoologist, and taxonomist Carolus Linnaeus (1707 – 1798), who formulated new conventions for classifying species. Until then, Aristotle's method of classification, which organized life in a ladder-like hierarchy by placing plants on the bottom, animals in the middle, and humans on top, had been the accepted system of classification. This method of classification was also in harmony with the Biblical view which places humankind at the center of the universe and above all other living beings. Linnaeus' work, on the other hand,

formed the foundations of modern taxonomy for naming and grouping organisms (in domains, kingdoms, phyla, classes, orders, families, etc.). His work was deemed scandalous for its era since he was the first naturalist to include man within the animal kingdom, placing humankind under the class he called Quadrupeds (which he later changed into mammals) and then under the order Anthropomorpha (which he later changed into primates) (Charmantier, 2020). While Linnaeus' taxonomy marked a significant change of approach in terms of the position attributed to humankind in the classification of living beings, Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–1788) contested certain commonly held ideas, especially the estimates concerned with the age of the Earth. In the seventeenth century, the prevailing view held by naturalists was that the world was only a few thousand years old. Influenced by Newtonian physics, Buffon proposed that the earth must be around 70,000 years old, based on his calculation of the time that was necessary for the molten rock to cool off. While Buffon also proposed that species might go through changes as an outcome of migration and that certain species might have disappeared in the course of time, it was the French naturalist Georges Cuvier's (1769–1832) careful studies on the fossils of elephants and other mammals which demonstrated that certain species had actually gone extinct. Cuvier attributed extinction to sudden changes that Earth went through in the course of time. He proposed that the Earth's formation had been shaped by cataclysmic events in the past, such as “the sudden action of volcanoes, floods, rapid climatic cooling” (Sloan, 2003, p. 26). Cuvier's doctrine of sudden changes was later named catastrophism and it became generally accepted by the geologists of the era. However, Scottish geologist Sir Charles Lyell (1797–1875) proposed a different geological principle in his *Principles of Geology* (1830–1833). This publication gradually established Lyell as a significant figure in the realm of

geological theory although Cuvier's catastrophism remained dominant in Britain until the mid-nineteenth century. According to Lyell's (1830) principle, which was later dubbed uniformitarianism, the natural order in the past mirrored that of the present. This meant that all geological phenomena could be ascribed to the gradual operation of modern geological processes over a protracted span of time.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed growing discussions on scientific methodologies. The English polymath John Herschel (1792– 871), for example, discussed methods of scientific investigation and the relationship between observation and theorizing in his famous *A Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy* (1830). Herschel argued that a scientific theory should appeal to the principle of *verae causae* (*vera causa*), or true causes, a methodological approach that is currently known as inferences to the best explanation (IBE). According to Herschel, a theory had to be able to explain several distinct classes of phenomena.

From the early years of the Enlightenment, evolution (or transmutation as it was called at the time) was also already a growing area of interest among European naturalists. As the historian and philosopher of science Michael Ruse (2013, p. 40) points out, in parallel with Enlightenment ideas, organic change started to be associated with human progress and the potential of humankind to further improve its living conditions through science and reason. Thus, as Bowler argues (1988, pp. 40-50), the application of science to nature was not limited to improving agricultural and horticultural products but was also concerned with improving the human condition. Not surprisingly, this perspective engendered a more welcoming attitude towards the concept of transmutation although concerns regarding the teleological final causes inspired by Aristotle's views were not completely eradicated.

One of the leading scientific figures to tackle the subject of transmutation was the French naturalist and biologist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744–1829), who described his theory of inherited acquired characteristics in his book *Philosophie Zoologique* (1809). According to Lamarck, “organisms had a kind of internal drive to adapt to the demands of their surroundings” (Lewens, 2007, p. 44). Lamarck referred to this developmental drive as a *sentiment interieur* or internal sentiment. According to this notion, the traits an organism acquired would be passed on to their offspring, a process now frequently referred to as “the inheritance of acquired characters.” One of the examples Lamarck used to exemplify his theory, which was later called transformism, was the long giraffe neck. Lamarck believed that the giraffe neck had gradually reached its current length as the ancestors of giraffes had been stretching their necks to eat the leaves out of their reach for centuries. As the historian Pietro Corsi (2005) has shown, Lamarck’s views found popularity in the scientific circles of France during the early nineteenth century.

Conversely, if we shift our attention to the Anglophone world, we can argue that natural history was approached from a standpoint characterized by natural theology and teleology. Robert Boyle’s (1627–1691) *A Disquisition about the Final Causes of Natural Things* (1688) and John Ray’s (1627–1705) *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation* (1691) were among the most influential works that perpetuated this theological and teleological approach. Boyle and Ray argued that “the abundant evidence of design in nature, and especially in animate nature, showed the existence, intelligence, and goodness of God” (Radick, 2003, p. 152–153). William Paley continued this tradition and suggested in his book *Natural Theology* (1802) that “organisms, with their many parts contrived to serve particular ends, could no more come into being without a designing intelligence than could

functioning watches” (Radick, 2003, p. 153). It should also be noted that the concept of adaptation was “the most distinctly anglophonic subject of natural history and subsequent evolutionary ideas” (Gould, 1998, p.4) during the Enlightenment Era.

Darwin’s grandfather, Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802), a medical doctor, was among the first Britons to write about evolution. In his *Zoonomia; or the Laws of Organic Life* (1794 – 96), Erasmus Darwin discussed his belief that all animals

have a similar cause of their organization, originating from a single living filament, endued indeed with different kinds of irritabilities and sensitivities, or animal appetencies; which exist in every gland, and in every moving organ of the body and are as essential to living organization as chemical affinities are to certain combinations of inanimate matter. (Darwin, 1794, p. 546-47)

Erasmus Darwin’s arguments made him a target of the conservative forces in the British government. During this period, evolutionary ideas were associated with radical politics in Britain, since the French Revolution had driven British politics towards conservatism, revitalizing natural theology.

Probably the most sensational Anglophone work that elaborated on the concept of evolution in the nineteenth century was *Vestiges of Creation*, which was published in 1844. The book was first published anonymously, and it was later understood that it had been penned by an Edinburgh bookseller and journalist, Robert Chambers (1802–83). *Vestiges of Creation* (1844) offered an “account of lawful progressive development throughout nature and society, from nebulae condensing into stars in the heavens to men descending from apes here on earth” (Hodge, 2013, p. 2268). The book found both vehement opponents and ardent supporters although it “contained a fair amount of sloppy or inaccurate science” (Steffoff, 1996, p. 79). Historian James Secord documents in his *Victorian Sensation* (2000) that many social, cultural, and economic factors, such as developments in

print techniques and the British rail network, and the growing middle-class readership, were effective in making *Vestiges* available to a broader audience.

## 2.2 Darwin formulates the theory of evolution by natural selection

Charles Robert Darwin (1809-1882) was born on 12 February 1809 in Shrewsbury, Shropshire, to medical doctor and financier Robert Darwin and Susannah (Wedgwood) Darwin. Both the Darwins and Wedgwoods were landowning families and Unitarians. As a child, he attended the Unitarian Chapel with his five siblings. In 1825, his father Robert Darwin decided to send Charles to medical school at Edinburgh University in Scotland, where both he and his father, Erasmus Darwin, had received their degrees in medicine. As the work of Jenkins (2008) and Corsi (2021), amongst others have shown, in Edinburgh, Darwin found himself in an intellectual environment that embraced free thought and liberal ideas. In England, in contrast, prominent universities of the time, such as Cambridge and Oxford, were “entwined with the political establishment and the established church” (Pallen & Pearn, 2013, p.213) and required their teachers and students to announce their commitment to the Church by subscribing to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican communion.

In Edinburgh, Darwin joined the Plinian Natural History Society, a student organization founded by a group of students who shared an interest in natural history. In the Plinian Natural History Society, radical issues of the time such as materialism and transmutation – primarily Lamarckian evolutionary ideas – were frequently discussed (Browne, 1995, p. 72-75). Darwin also became gradually more intrigued by natural philosophy while developing an interest in animal physiology, bioelectricity, and reproduction (Sloan, 2003, p. 21). He became a pupil of Robert

Edmond Grant, a physician and early advocate of Lamarckian transmutation. Grant's radical, materialistic, and anti-monopolist views met severe criticism in the conservative scientific community of England in later decades (Desmond, 1984).

While Darwin seemed happily preoccupied with his interest in natural philosophy, his father disapproved of his neglect of medical studies. He decided to send young Charles to Christ's College, Cambridge so that he could eventually become an Anglican country parson. The following academic year, Charles Darwin started to pursue a Bachelor of Arts degree at Cambridge. To become entitled to a BA degree, he was subsequently examined "on Euclid, Newton, and Locke, on classical texts and on logic, on the New Testament, and William Paley's *View of the Evidences of Christianity* (1794) and *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785)" (Pallen & Pearn, 2013, p. 213).

During his Cambridge years, Darwin joined the Cambridge Philosophical Society where discussions addressed a wide range of contemporary scientific issues related to chemistry, geology, botany, electrical theory, mathematics, optical theory, plant physiology, and animal and plant classification (Sloan, 2003, p. 22). During his Cambridge years, Darwin developed a close relationship with Adam Sedgwick (1785–1873) and John Stevens Henslow (1796–1861), who had established the Cambridge Philosophical Society. It was Henslow who recommended the fresh graduate Darwin to the Naval Admiralty Office as a naturalist to accompany the young commander, Captain Robert FitzRoy, during the forthcoming HMS Beagle voyage. The voyage aimed to survey the tip of South America and to gather data for the British government for the improvement of the sailing charts used by the navy. Before Darwin started his Beagle voyage in 1831, Henslow also gave him the first

edition of Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830), accompanied by the warning that he had better approach the content of the book with caution.

During the Beagle voyage, Darwin explored a totally new world as the vessel surveyed the little-known coasts and harbors in South America including Argentina, Chile, the Falkland Islands, and Tierra del Fuego. An exceptionally significant destination during his Beagle voyage was the remote and isolated Galápagos Islands, a volcanic archipelago in the Pacific Ocean. There, Darwin collected several plant, fish, bird, insect, and seashell specimens. He realized that most of the specimens he found were in fact unique to the Galápagos Islands although they shared a certain degree of similarity to the other specimens he had gathered in South America. Darwin realized that the habitat of the Galápagos island group “was ‘a little world within itself’” (Steffoff, 1996, p. 15). In addition, he observed that the plant and animal species on each island were also different from those in other Galápagos islands. It is known that Darwin's observations in the Galápagos islands marked a starting point for his life-long engagement in the transmutation of species since he concluded that the taxonomic and biogeographic uniqueness and diversity he had observed could have arisen only “through transmutation from the nearby mainland species” (Radick, 2003, p. 146). As Janet Radcliffe-Richards (2005, p. 15) notes, Darwin's observations on finches, in particular on their beaks (each Galápagos island had an endemic finch with different characteristics, most prominently different beak shapes), strengthened his belief in evolutionary change. Ayala (2009, p. 10037) adds that his discovery of fossil bones from large and long-extinguished mammals in Argentina also had a significant impact on Darwin's later reflections on species change.

In the years following his return from the Beagle voyage, Darwin “lived as a gentleman of independent means from his various inheritances” (Hodge, 2009, p. 405) while he started to develop his theory of evolution in his Kentish home, which he shared with his wife Emma Wedgwood and their children. Being able to provide a comfortable life for his family allowed Darwin the time to dwell further into his Beagle observations and the countless specimens and personal notes he brought along with him.

Before publishing *The Origin* (1859), Darwin had already proved himself as a prominent naturalist. *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1839), *The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs* (1842), *Geological Observations on the Volcanic Islands* (1844), and *Geological Observations on South America* (1846) were among the works Darwin published prior to *The Origin* (1859). It should also be noted that the years Darwin dedicated to studying barnacles (cirripedes) played a significant role in shaping his theory of evolution and carrying the theory to a higher plane by providing further empirical proof for the theory’s main arguments (Kean, 2021). Buchanan & Bradley (2017, p. 529) argue that the barnacle project gave Darwin the necessary confidence for his species theorizing since he “was only selectively and strategically open about his belief in transmutation prior to his barnacle project”. In addition, Darwin’s readings and observations concerned with human-led domestic breeding helped him establish an analogy between artificial selection and natural selection. He argued that “inheritable variation accumulates selectively in nature too, but with the result that, over long stretches of time, much greater changes can be achieved than on the farm” (Hodge & Radick, 2003, p. 4). Using the analogy between domestic breeding and natural selection provided Darwin with a strong

foundation to present evolution by natural selection as a more evidentially plausible theory.

Reflecting on the scientific and intellectual journey Darwin took in the course of developing his evolution theory, Radick (2003, pp. 145-147) notes that reading political economist Thomas Robert Malthus' "Essay on the Principle of Population" in 1838 was a significant milestone for Darwin in finalizing his theory. Malthus' concept of the *Struggle for Existence* helped Darwin explain adaptive change and extinction.

Even after finalizing his theory, Darwin was reluctant to publish it due to his concerns about the potential reactions his work would receive. As Desmond and Moore (1992, p. xviii) state, evolution was still dangerous knowledge in early Victorian Britain since the majority of Anglicans "damned it false, foul, French, atheistic, materialistic, and immoral". Darwin's reluctance to publish was destined to end when he received a letter from the biogeographer and specimen collector Alfred Russel Wallace in 1858. Wallace (1823–1913), coming from a much humbler background compared to that of Darwin, had undertaken expeditions to the Amazon rain forest, Indonesia, and Malaysia, working on the topic of species and evolution at the same time. In his letter, Wallace asked for Darwin's opinion on his article, which summarized much of the theory Darwin had been working on for years, and requested Darwin to pass his manuscript to Lyell. Since Lyell and Hooker were aware that Darwin had been working on the theory of evolution by natural selection and had written "hundreds of pages of the book he planned to call *Natural Selection*" (Steffoff, 1996, p. 85), they suggested that Darwin and Wallace present their evolutionary theories at the approaching meeting of the Linnean Society, the world's oldest biological society, based in London. Less than one year after the Linnean

Society meeting, Charles Darwin published the first edition of *On the Origin of the Species or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* in 1859.

As discussed earlier, Darwin was not the first naturalist to propose variation and change in the natural world. However, he introduced a well-thought-out mechanism, natural selection, to explain species change and extinction. *The Origin* (1859) argues that “all biological life on Earth is the descendant of one (or a few) ancient ancestors, having evolved to the present state primarily by natural selection acting upon random variation, among other natural processes” (Dilley, 2012, p. 29). In doing so, Darwin also diverged significantly from the popular Lamarckian view of transformism which attributed transmutation solely to the conditions of life. Darwin saw adaptation as “a two-stage process, which couples chance variation to an environment that preserves any variations that happen to be favourable” (Lewens, 2007, p. 44). The ontological, religious and political implications of the theory’s emphasis on the chance factor and arbitrariness of the evolutionary processes made it controversial for generations to come.

Darwin continued to revise *The Origin* (1859) before the publication of each new edition. He revised the text to incorporate new evidence, address criticisms, and refine his arguments. Thus, the 1860, 1861, 1866, 1869, and 1872 editions contain various textual changes in comparison to the first edition. More than a decade after the first publication of *The Origin*, in *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871), Darwin extended his theory of evolution by natural selection to the origins of humankind. As Beck notes (2009, p. 296), he had purposefully avoided dealing with the question of the origin of the humankind in *The Origin* (1859) and he was encouraged by the positive reception of his work in the following years in certain scientific circles.

### 2.3 Evolution today: The modern synthesis

For Darwin, how parents transmitted their characteristics to their offspring was a great mystery. As Nyhart (2009, p. 209) notes, his central claims regarding variation and heredity were that “modifications tended to supervene at a not-very-early stage of life” and “such modifications would tend to be inherited at a corresponding age in the offspring”. He later culminated his views on variation and inheritance in his hypothesis of pangenesis. He proposed that each part of the body produced small particles or as Darwin named them, gemmules, that record and carry information about the characteristics of that specific organ. “Since gemmules were produced throughout an organism’s life span, a changed organ would produce changed gemmules” (Endersby, 2003, p. 80).

Drawing on Darwin’s pangenesis hypothesis, Müntzing (1959, p. 191) states that Darwin sometimes could not “distinguish between purely environmental modifications and changes caused by alterations in the hereditary constitution”, which is why he finds it tragic that Darwin was not aware of Gregor Mendel’s (1822-1884) research on heredity. Mendel’s research established the foundations of genetics, and our knowledge of the mechanisms that govern inheritance rapidly increased. Later advances made in cellular biology, especially the discovery of DNA (deoxyribose nucleic acid) in the 1960s, were ground-breaking developments. In 1963, Julian Huxley, the grandson of Thomas Henry Huxley, discussed DNA in relation to evolution, an approach that was gradually dubbed the modern synthesis.

Huxley wrote:

The various properties of DNA which I have mentioned make evolution inevitable. The existence of an elaborate self-reproducing code of genetical information ensures continuity and specificity; the intrinsic capacity for mutation provides variability; the capacity for self-reproduction ensures potentially geometric increase and therefore a struggle for existence; the existence of genetic variability ensures differential survival of variants and

therefore natural selection; and this results in evolutionary transformation.  
(Huxley cited in Mirsky, 2009)

While advances in genetics, molecular biology, and other related fields have debunked certain aspects of Darwin's approach, such as the pangenesis hypothesis as an explanation for heredity, the theory of evolution is widely accepted by the scientific community and is considered one of the fundamental principles of modern biology.

#### 2.4 Socio-political implications of Darwin's theory

Ever since the initial publication of *The Origin* (1859), Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection has been appropriated in many ways to promote or attack a myriad of ideologies. Thus, in addition to understanding the scientific and intellectual currents of the time that influenced Darwin's research and theorization, it is no less crucial to grasp the multi-faceted repercussions of his theory. The fact that the agents of (re)translation that produced the retranslations and republications of *The Origin* in Turkish also produced new public narratives on these multi-faceted repercussions of Darwin's theory adds additional significance to the following discussion.

##### 2.4.1 Struggle for existence, laissez-faire capitalism and Social Darwinism

As discussed in the previous sections, Darwin incorporated Malthus' views on population and the concept of struggle for existence into his theory to explain the causes of adaptive change and extinction. In his "An Essay on the Principle of Population" (1798), Malthus argued that natural resources, especially food supply, increase in an arithmetic ratio while the human population multiplies in a geometric ratio, leading to a fatal gap in between. Thus, the population would always grow

faster than the available food supply, gradually leading to catastrophic consequences such as food shortage, famine, and war, which predominantly affect the poor.

According to Ruse (2009, p. 3), through reading Malthus's work in 1838, Darwin found the natural equivalent of artificial selection. Darwin concluded that a similar inclination for exponential population growth applies to animal and plant species in nature as well, resulting in an intense struggle for resources between individuals and species. As a result, only those that successfully compete for resources and eventually survive the struggle for existence can reproduce and pass on to their offspring the beneficial traits/ variations that helped them survive in the first place. Thus, Darwin concluded that all organisms were interlocked in complex relationships with one another and with their environment. He summarized how he incorporated the notion of the struggle for existence into his theory as follows:

This is the doctrine of Malthus, applied to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms. As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive; and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it varies, however, slightly in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be naturally selected. From the strong principle of inheritance, any selected variety will tend to propagate its new and modified form.  
(Darwin, 1964, p. 5)

Although Darwin stated in *The Origin* (1859) that he used this notion “in a large and metaphorical sense” (Darwin, 1964, p. 62), Darwin's choice persuaded some economists and members of the middle class to draw parallels between natural selection and free market competition. For them, Darwin's theory meant a justification for laissez-faire capitalism.

During the years Darwin was working on his theory, Malthus was already a popular figure in England, especially among the Whigs. Influenced by the Malthusian ideas, the Whig government introduced the 1834 Poor Law Amendment

Act.<sup>2</sup> Describing the political atmosphere Darwin met in England when he returned from the Beagle voyage in the mid-1830s, Desmond and Moore (1992, p. 196) highlight how power was shifting “from decent Tory Anglicans to Whig manufacturers, shopkeepers, and atheists”. They also interpret the New Poor Law as “an assertion of middle-class Malthusian values”, which meant that “Malthus’ doctrine of population, progress, and pauperism was no longer academic” (Desmond & Moore, 1992, pp. 196-197). Considering the resistance New Poor Law encountered from the working class and reformers, which was marked by protests and riots across different regions of England, it becomes evident that Malthus’ ideas were already a focal point of socio-political and economic polarization during the 1830s.

In the following decades, controversy prevailed with respect to the implications of Malthus’ population theory in terms of the condition of the poor and on the matter of whether adopting free-market competition or social welfare policies would be for the common good of society. Darwin’s incorporation of Malthus’ theory into his evolutionary mechanism also paved the way for diverse interpretations of the extent to which the theory of evolution should apply to society. In fact, there were many in Darwin’s close circle who supported Whig policies informed by Malthus’ views on population. According to Desmond and Moore (2009, p. 138), despite being ardent supporters of legislation that would “eradicate moral evils such as slavery”, the industrial Wedgwood family also believed that “natural evils arising from excess population and hunger were God’s blessings in disguise [as] they made men work hard and control their lusts” (Desmond & Moore, 2009, p. 138). Thus,

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<sup>2</sup> The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act was enacted to reform the system of poor relief (charity) in England. It introduced the workhouse system, which required poor individuals and families to enter workhouses to receive relief, despite the harsh living conditions in workhouses. Hence, the new system intended to encourage people to seek employment rather than rely on public assistance.

considering his family's political positioning and support of Malthusian politics, it does not come as a surprise that Darwin was influenced by Malthus's views in the course of developing his own theory. According to Piers Hale (2014), Darwin was not merely influenced by Malthus; he also consciously endeavored to align his evolutionary theories with the political perspectives of the burgeoning middle class, which was predominantly represented by the Whigs during Victorian England. Hale (2014, p. 11) further contends that in doing so, Darwin redefined the identity of evolutionary politics, reshaping the perceived relationship between humanity and nature, as well as the relationship between individuals. While radicals adopted an evolutionary perspective rooted in the inherent tendency of living beings to cooperate for survival and progress, Darwin's views were perceived as advocating for competitive individualism (Hale, 2014, p. 11-12). Thus, one can easily argue that the politics of evolution were fervently debated both before and after the publication of *The Origin* in 1859. At the center of these debates, Darwin's theory had not only substantial scientific significance but also profound political repercussions.

Darwin's incorporation of the Malthusian notion of the struggle for existence into his theory and the support the Darwin and Wedgwood families showed to Whig policies, when combined, might have increased the degree of criticism directed at the theory of evolution by natural selection, especially by Marxists, which will be explored in Section 2.4.3. Nonetheless, some historians and philosophers of science have entirely distinct interpretations regarding the type of social order Darwin implied in his theory. Some stress that Darwin frequently emphasized the complex relations organisms enjoy with each other and their environment in many paragraphs of *The Origin* (1859). This has been a focal point for those who deny that Darwin legitimized laissez-faire capitalism. Reminding that Darwin described "the relation

of organism to organism the most important of all relations”, Beer (2008b, p. xxv), for example, argues that Marx failed to see that Darwin's theory also opened up the possibility of an alternative to the existing societal order. Ernst Mayr (1964, p. xvii) also notes in his introduction to the Facsimile edition of *The Origin* that Darwin's emphasis on the significance of mutual dependence is further underscored by his examination of the neuter castes in social insects. In fact, in several sections of *The Origin*, Darwin also criticized “our ignorance on the mutual relations of all organic beings” (1964, p. 78), citing this ignorance as one of the major reasons that prevent a deeper understanding of nature’s mechanisms. He also described examples of co-dependence in nature, such as in the case of a flower and a bee, where they “might slowly become, either simultaneously or one after the other, modified and adapted in the most perfect manner to each other, by the continued preservation of individuals presenting mutual and slightly favourable deviations of structure” (Darwin, 1964, p. 95). However, for those who looked to Darwin’s theory of evolution as further scientific evidence that competition was the ideal driver of human progress, Darwin’s emphasis on the struggle for existence as a key element of natural selection overshadowed his references to interdependence among certain species in *The Origin*.

An extreme interpretation of the concept of struggle for existence and what it meant for society belongs to Herbert Spencer (1820 – 1903), the founder of the (in)famous Social Darwinism doctrine. Spencer started writing about transmutation as early as 1842, in a series of letters he named “On the Proper Sphere of Government”. In these letters, he underlined the interrelation between animate creatures and their environments, noting that each creature “had appropriate organs and instincts adapted for the performance of its life activities”, and that these

instincts and organs were “preserved only as long as they are required” (Beck, 2009, p. 297). Ingold (1998, p. 80) suggests that readings of German embryologist Karl Ernst Ritter von Baer influenced how Spencer viewed progress. Based on von Baer’s view that “the development of any organism consisted of a process of structural differentiation” (Ingold, 1998, p. 80), Spencer concluded that the principle of development applies not only to the constitution of living organisms but also to the constitution of societies. He immediately started substituting evolution for progress. Reading Malthus’ views on population, he concluded that “the pressure of population increase is the proximate cause of progress” (Beck, 2009, p. 298) and that all men were also subjected to a similar population pressure in society, which meant that only the competent and provident (the fittest) should survive under such dynamics. Based on this reasoning, he formulated his progressive account of evolution, which also encompassed human culture and societies, and coined his famous phrase *Survival of the Fittest*. Upon the recommendation of Alfred Russel Wallace, in the fifth edition of *The Origin*, in the chapters “Struggle for Existence” and “Natural Selection”, Darwin added within quotation marks the Spencerian notion of the survival of the fittest. Wallace believed that this alteration would compensate for the confusion caused by the natural selection metaphor. While selection suggested a deliberate process akin to human choice, with natural selection Darwin actually described a random evolutionary process that did not involve conscious decision-making by nature, or by a deity, but rather the differential success of individuals based on their adaptation to environmental conditions. To prevent wrong interpretations resulting from the term selection, Wallace recommended that Darwin use “survival of the fittest” as a synonym. However, Darwin’s agreeing to incorporate the Spencerian notion of the survival of the fittest into *The Origin* was to spark further criticism in

the coming decades regarding his theory's socio-political and economic repercussions.

According to Spencer, government policies that aimed at protecting the poor and underprivileged were against the law of nature and would have horrible results on human evolution. He believed that governments were in fact “blind to the fact, that under the natural order of things society is constantly excreting its unhealthy, imbecile, slow, vacillating, faithless members ... [while] unthinking, though well-meaning, men advocate an interference which not only stops the purifying process, but even increases the vitiation” (cited in Beck, 2013, p. 196). Spencer's doctrine found supporters all around the world for decades to come. In late nineteenth-century America, for example, Spencer's theory attracted the attention of not only social thinkers but also the middle class since they held that a social order in which only the best competitors would win was only natural and “that this process would lead to continuing (if slow) improvement” (Paul, 2003, p. 224).

According to Lewens (2007, p. 220), despite incorporating “survival of the fittest” into *The Origin*, Darwin distanced himself from Social Darwinism as he frequently mentioned in his writings that the evolutionary process also laid the foundation of the moral and ethical responsibility civilized individuals feel towards each other in the form of sympathy. Gayon (2003, p. 242) stresses that Darwin “did not want his scientific theory to be confused with Spencer's philosophical speculation”, which was the main reason why he did not want to use the term evolution in his writings and publications until the 1870s. According to Gayon (2003, p. 242), Darwin was aware that the term evolution connoted development whereas what his theory described was a progressive tendency towards increased complexity, not perfection. In *The Origin* (1859) Darwin explicitly states that

"natural selection will not produce absolute perfection" ([1859] 1964, p. 202). Steffoff (1996, p. 108) also points out that Darwin's theory "makes no claims for adaptation in any particular direction, for overall progress or improvement." Thus, it is important to note the difference between how Darwin and Spencer viewed evolution due to their varying approaches to progress. Hence, one can infer that Spencer's Social Darwinism, which recognized progress as linear, was more in line with Lamarckian transformism. To this end, Ingold (1998, p. 80) argues that Spencer in fact "never thought of Darwin's work as anything other than an accessory to his own synthetic philosophy".

#### 2.4.2 Eugenics and racism

When socio-political policies that used Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection as a means of legitimization are revisited, we should not ignore eugenics, which emerged as a practical application of the principles of Social Darwinism in the late nineteenth century, as well as countless atrocities committed around the world by the advocates of eugenics. Developed by Francis Galton (1822–1911), Darwin's cousin, eugenics focused on the inheritance of character traits in people and defended selective breeding to improve the fitness of human populations. Defenders of the doctrine were opposed to humanitarian practices of governments. According to them, humanitarian aid caused the least desirable elements in society (the physically and mentally weak) to outbreed the strongest and fittest. Eugenics largely fell from favor in the aftermath of the Second World War, although it had enjoyed popularity during the early twentieth century. In this period, brutal and inhumane measures were developed to prevent the reproduction of the defective. Sterilization laws were passed "by thirty American states, three Canadian provinces, a Swiss canton,

Germany, Estonia, all of the Scandinavian and most of the Eastern European countries, Cuba, Türkiye and Japan” (Paul, 2003, p. 230). The implications of the doctrine basically reached everywhere. In New Zealand, for instance, it was used to justify the suppression and even extermination of the Maori. The most brutal eugenics practices, on the other hand, were witnessed in Germany. “Anti-Semitic Social Darwinian biological racism became an important element in the worldview of Adolf Hitler and Nazi ideologues” (Swetlitz, 2013, p. 497), which gradually caused the extermination of six million Jews and other undesirable groups that were regarded as defective, such as homosexuals and the mentally ill.

In many regions, those supporting eugenics employed Darwin's theories in their narratives to rationalize racial conflicts and efforts to eliminate specific ethnic groups. Perpetrators of these atrocities considered themselves as the fittest to survive in a social order that followed the same struggle for existence that was being waged in the natural world. It might also be argued that certain elements of Darwin’s narrative, such as his attribution of a higher position to civilized nations in the evolutionary development of intellect, provided social extremists with useful material to legitimate their racist policies. For example, in *The Descent of Man* (1871), Darwin discusses racial extermination as an outcome of disparate intellectual evolutionary processes between civilized and barbaric societies:

At the present-day civilised nations are everywhere supplanting barbarous nations, excepting where the climate opposes a deadly barrier; and they succeed mainly, though not exclusively, through their arts, which are the products of the intellect. It is, therefore, highly probable that with mankind the intellectual faculties have been gradually perfected through natural selection; and this conclusion is sufficient for our purpose. (Darwin, 1981, p. 160)

Such examples have also been used by the opponents of Darwin’s theories in their attempt to disparage his work by associating Darwin with racism. Accusations of

racism constitute a significant component of the narrative crafted by creationist organizations against Darwin. This also applies to the case of Türkiye, which will be detailed in the following sections. Against these efforts, historians of science have long argued that Darwin wanted to distance himself from the extremist social interpretations of his theory, such as Social Darwinism and eugenics. There have also been efforts to highlight the humanitarian side of Darwin. According to Eric Charmetant (2013, p. 189), for example, Darwin was haunted for the rest of his life by the scenes of brutality and slave torture he witnessed in Brazil during his Beagle voyage, which was one of the determining factors why, “for all of his future Victorian prejudices, Darwin was always very suspicious of claims that white people are superior to peoples of other colors”. Charmetant (2013, p. 189) goes on to cite Charles Darwin’s *Beagle Diary* (1988), where he noted his critical account of Gauchos’ treatment of their slaves, charging them with being “a little superior in civilisation [but] inferior in every moral virtue”. Another example of this initiative is Desmond and Moore’s book *Darwin’s Sacred Cause: How a Hatred of Slavery Shaped Darwin’s Views on Human Evolution* (2009). Desmond and Moore’s central argument posits that Darwin’s evolutionary endeavors were primarily motivated by his humanitarian aspirations. Hence, according to Desmond and Moore, Darwin’s main concern was showing that shared ancestry, i.e., the common descent black and white races share, was indicative of the “Adamic unity and the brotherhood of men” (Desmond & Moore, 2009, p. xvii). It is further emphasized throughout the book that Darwin’s main ambition in writing his subsequent book, *The Descent of Man* (1871), was tackling the real question of whether the black race was “a moral being, of one blood with white people” (Desmond and Moore, 2009, p. 356). Although Desmond and Moore’s book was generally greeted with enthusiasm, it also received criticism.

Allen Esterson (2013), for example, argues that the authors fail to provide substantial evidence to make their case that Darwin's humanitarian concerns played a greater role than his zeal for natural science, which started from his childhood and developed into a more organized scientific activity during his Edinburgh and Cambridge years.

#### 2.4.3 Darwinism and the Left

It was not only the laissez-faire capitalism camp that incorporated certain principles of Darwin's theory into their discourse. As soon as the first edition of *The Origin* (1859) was published, Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection received the attention of Marxists and socialists as well.

Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) praised and disputed different aspects of Darwin's theory. Marx voiced his admiration of the theory's positivist, non-theological and non-teleological nature in a letter he penned in the aftermath of the publication of *The Origin* by stating that "Despite all deficiencies, not only is the death-blow dealt for the first time here to teleology in the natural sciences, but its rational basis is empirically explained" (Marx & Engels, 1965, p. 123). In a similar fashion, Engels praised Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection. In his pamphlet *Socialism: Utopian and scientific* (1880), for instance, Engels highlights the contribution of Darwin's theory to dialectic thinking, which constitutes an integral part of Marx and Engels's historical materialism thesis. He also prioritizes, similar to Marx, the contribution of Darwin's theory to the growing tendency in scientific circles to explain natural phenomena on the basis of natural laws instead of teleological and theological arguments. In his pamphlet, he underlines that modern materialism and dialectic thinking embrace recent discoveries of natural sciences and goes on to praise Darwin:

Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern science that it has furnished this proof with very rich materials increasing daily... In this connection Darwin must be named before all others. He dealt the metaphysical conception of Nature the heaviest blow by his proof that all organic beings, plants, animals, and man himself, are the products of a process of evolution going on through millions of years (Engels, 2012, p. 22)

It is important to note, however, that Marx and Engels also criticized Darwin for incorporating the Malthusian principle of the struggle for existence into his theory. In a letter he wrote to Engels, Marx charged the Malthusian elements of Darwin's theory as the justification of the British capitalism by stating "it is remarkable how Darwin rediscovers, among the beasts and plants, the society of England with its division of labour, competition, opening up of new markets, inventions and Malthusian struggle for existence" (1965, p. 128). Radick (2003, p.154) notes that Marxists continued to view the Malthusian elements of Darwin's theory as Darwin's purposeful strategy to "legitimize hierarchical relations of power in Victorian Britain" in later years as well. Nonetheless, despite the conflicting implications of the Malthusian struggle for existence for Marxist ideals, there was an explosion of literature that aimed to demonstrate "the intellectual compatibility of Marxism and Darwinism" (Stack, 2000, pp. 682-83) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The complex interest in Darwin had its roots in the left's enthusiasm for scientific legitimation. Simply put, it was argued that just as Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection explained the inherent laws of life, Marx and Engels were explaining the inherent laws pertaining to the evolution of human society. Hence, one might suggest that Marx and Engels were using Darwin's theory of biological change as the scientific justification of their socialist doctrine. As a demonstration of this agenda, Marx wrote in another letter to Engels that "Darwin's book is very important and serves me as a natural-scientific basis for the class

struggle in history” (Marx & Engels, 1965, p. 123). Similarly, in the aftermath of the publication of *Das Kapital*’s first volume, Engels praised Marx for grasping human evolution truly “in all its complex economic, social, and political relations” (Beck, 2013, p. 310), and marking the book “as the most important scientific innovation in the field, indeed as comparable to Darwin’s achievement in the realm of biology” (Beck, 2013, p. 310). While Engels was referring to Darwin for scientific justification, his narrative was simultaneously attributing Marx’s theory an even higher value compared to Darwin’s theory, which, according to him, concerned only biology. Engels’ strategy exemplifies how Marxists chose to concentrate on Darwinian biology and ignored the Malthusian elements of the theory, arguing that “their view of social change through class struggle was confirmed by Darwin’s work in biology” (Runkle, 1961, p. 116).

In their attempts to appropriate Darwin’s theory of evolution to increase the scientific legitimacy of their doctrine, Marxists either ignored or downgraded the significance of the notion of the struggle for existence in Darwin’s theory. With this agenda, prominent leftist figures in the late nineteenth century such as Henry George and David Ritchie attempted to invalidate the Malthusian aspect of Darwin’s theory by claiming that natural law is no longer applicable to the human world as they saw the birth of human consciousness as the point of transition from animal to human (Stack, 2000). In addition, Marx and Engels viewed the transition from animals to humans in materialistic terms. They argued that man had the power to change even nature itself by means of labour since only man had the capacity to use tools with a conscious purpose, which gave him the power to “realize himself through labour” (Stack, 2000, p. 703). Marx’s materialistic interpretation of Darwin’s theory is evident from the following argument in *The German Ideology* (1832):

The first premise of all human history is, of course, the existence of living human individuals. Thus the first fact to be established is the physical organisation of these individuals and their consequent relation to the rest of nature. (...) Men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion or anything else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organisation. By producing their means of subsistence men are indirectly producing their actual material life. (Marx & Engels, 2004, p. 42)

Beck (2009, p. 307-308) points to another fundamental divergence between Marx's view of evolution and Darwin's theory of natural selection based on his praise of the French ethnologist Pierre Trémaux's (1818–1895) book, *Origine et transformations de l'homme et des autres êtres* (1865). In his 1866 letter to Engels, Marx stressed that Trémaux's theory was significantly more advanced than Darwin's, since he saw evolution as progress compared to the chance factor Darwin attributed to biological change. Trémaux maintained a Lamarckian approach by claiming physical conditions of the Earth as the main cause of transformation. According to Beck, this is a clear indication of Marx's attachment to the causal determinism Lamarck's transformism offers, since Lamarck's approach suited "Marx's claims concerning the overriding importance of material conditions of existence in determining the nature of individuals as well as their intellectual and social existence" (2009, p. 308) better than Darwin's biology of chance variations.

According to Todes (2009), Darwin's theory of natural selection was more severely rejected by Russian scientists. Todes (2009, p. 36) attributes this reaction to the fundamental differences in the physical environments in which Russian scientists conducted research (in largely empty Siberian expanse compared to the field experiences Darwin and Wallace enjoyed in densely populated tropical environments), and to the Russian criticism of the Malthusian elements in Darwin's theory "as an infusion of the British enthusiasm for individualistic competition into

natural science”. Anarchist geographer Peter Kropotkin's mutual aid theory, which he detailed in *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (1902) was influential in terms of how Russians approached evolution in the early twentieth century. Kropotkin’s work promoted subsequent discussions on cooperation and altruism in biology and the social sciences. In the following decades, with the personal encouragement of Joseph Stalin, Trofim Lysenko (1898-1976) harshly criticized “Darwin’s Malthusian Error” in a new evolutionary theory, Lysenkoism, which “endorsed the Lamarckian inheritance of acquired characteristics, rejected the gene as a material unit of heredity, and denied the evolutionary role of overpopulation and intraspecific competition” (Todes, 2009, p. 37).

#### 2.4.4 Darwin and Christianity

As explored in more detail in Section 2.1., teleological reasoning, which relied on Biblical creation stories to account for natural phenomena, was prevalent in Europe starting from the Medieval Era. With the advances in natural sciences and growing interest shown in adaptation in scientific circles, prominent scientific and philosophical figures of eighteenth-century England, such as Boyle, Ray, and Paley, wrote on adaptations, viewing them as God’s signature in nature. Their works were influential in boosting natural theology in Britain further in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Following the rapid expansion of the British Empire thanks to the scientific and technological advances achieved with the Enlightenment, their arguments “became a means of allying the new empirical science to Christian consensus and the prosperity it fostered” (Radick 2003, p. 152-153).

It was against this background that Darwin argued species were not created separately and natural selection was the chief agent of variation and speciation.

Clearly, his proposal of natural selection as opposed to special creation represented a rejection of the design argument. Attributing human origins to branching descent by natural selection also challenged the belief among Christians, along with the practitioners of other Abrahamic religions, in the special status of man in God's divine plan and creation. Darwin's theory would mean that humankind is also a product of random chance variations. Hence, Darwin's position indicated that "humans are part of a continuum with all living things" (Pallen & Pearn, 2013, p. 216).

It is important to note that Darwin's non-teleological approach to adaptation and variation also increased the Anglican Church's fears of losing its authority against the rise of positivism. As Brooke (2009, p. 258) notes, the Anglican Church in Britain was already dealing with other serious authority crises at the time, such as the emerging new theological trends critical of the historical interpretations of the Holy Scripture, "suggesting that the Bible should be read like any other book, its authors men of their times, inspired but fallible in their understanding" and the growing number of dissidents among its denominations. Ruse (2013, p. 39) adds that the negative influences of the Reformation movement on Western Christianity and the discoveries in the East of non-Christian faiths which did not view the natural world based on creation stories also contributed to the weakening of Christian theology and the authority attributed to its teachings for explaining natural phenomena. Under these circumstances, Darwin's theory represented yet another crisis for the Anglican church. For devoted Catholics, on the other hand, "Darwinism [was] inseparable from 'naturalism,' 'materialism,' 'rationalism,' 'socialism,' and other creeds taken to be atheistic" (Haight, 2013, p. 485). Lastly, Darwin's

attribution of human origins to ape-like ancestors was another major reason for the religious antagonism shown toward the theory.

Despite the initial attack by religious authorities, a debate still persists concerning the extent to which Darwin resorted to theology in detailing his theory. Cosans (2005, p. 366), highlights the opening epigraphs in *The Origin* (1859) by the Anglican priest and scientist William Whewell (1794 – 1866) and Francis Bacon (1561 – 1626) as the first indicators of natural theology in Darwin’s argument. For example, the epigraph from Bacon’s *Advancement of Learning* (1605) emphasized “the need to study both scripture and science to understand the world”. In addition to these epigraphs, Darwin’s references to Genesis when discussing the initial appearance of the first few life forms in the final chapter of *The Origin* (1859) have also sparked disputes concerning the extent of natural theology in Darwin’s work. One of the most debated Genesis references in this sense is where Darwin attributes the emergence of a living form(s) to divinity:

Analogy would lead me one step further, namely, to the belief that all animals and plants have descended from some one prototype. But analogy may be a deceitful guide [...] Therefore I should infer from analogy that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth have descended from some one primordial form, into which life was first breathed. (Darwin, 1964, p. 484)

Another widely debated reference to Genesis is found in the famous concluding sentence of the book:

There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved. (Darwin, 1964, p. 490)

In the second edition of *The Origin* (1860), the theological reference Darwin used to explain the first appearance of the primordial life form(s) was amplified with the addition of the word “Creator”, with the relevant sentences reading as follows: (1)

“...into which life was first breathed by the Creator” ([1860] 2008, p. 356) and (2) “having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one” ([1860] 2008, p. 360). This addition was maintained in all subsequent editions of *The Origin*. Many historians interpret these references as measures Darwin employed in his book to mitigate the harsh criticism that could arise from religious sentiments. Steffoff, for example (1996, p. 90) views Darwin’s reference to a “Creator” as the power that breathed life into the first form(s) of life as an indicator that Darwin adopted Lyell’s public-relations tactics into his language to reassure the skittish reader. From a similar perspective, Numbers (2013, p. 476) refers to a letter Darwin penned to his close friend Hooker in 1863, which indicates that Darwin, in fact, lamented his decision to refer to God to explain the emergence of life on Earth:

trucked to public opinion, and used the Pentateuchal term of creation, by which I really meant ‘appeared’ by some wholly unknown process. It is mere rubbish, thinking at present of the origin of life; one might as well think of the origin of matter. (Numbers, 2013, p. 476)

Dilley (2012, p. 30) approaches the debate on the sincerity of *The Origin*’s (1859) theological references from a different point of view and finds it likely that Darwin believed most of them. He also suggests that theological references “shaped the content of his theory and, more importantly, they all served (or purported to serve) as epistemic support for evolutionary theory” (Dilley, 2012, p. 30) by filling a gap where Darwin failed to explain how life first emerged on Earth. Based on his analysis of the first edition of *The Origin*, Dilley (2012, p. 56) further claims that Darwin “articulated science from the vantage of semi-deism” instead of separating science from theology completely. While Dilley defines Darwin as semi-deistic, many others conclude that he no longer believed in Christianity in later phases of his life. Pallen and Pearn (2013, p. 211), for example, state that Darwin “gradually lost

any belief in Christianity as a divine revelation and described himself variously as a theist or agnostic”.

It is important to note that there have been significant changes in Catholic religious authorities’ approach to natural science and the theory of evolution in recent decades. In 1950, for instance, Pope Pius XII of the Roman Catholic Church, “accepted that the hypothesis of the evolution of the human body could be reconciled with Catholic doctrine, while also stating that the soul was created by God” (Price, 2008, p.132). In 1996, Pope John Paul II, “sent out a letter endorsing not just evolution per se, but modern theories of organic change” (Ruse, 2003, p. 333).

Religious controversies around the theory of evolution, on the other hand, prevail to date in many countries. The United States is the leading industrial country where evolution is more dominantly rejected (Miller, Scott, & Okamoto, 2006). The influence of creationist views on the public opinion on evolution in turn influences the teaching of evolution in American schools as well since, as Evans & Lane (2011) point out, biology teachers feel that they need to resort to creationist explanations while teaching their students about evolution.

#### 2.4.5 Darwin, Creationism, intelligent design and atheism

Creationism and intelligent design are the two leading doctrines that oppose Darwin’s theory of evolution by natural selection from theological perspectives. The ideological influence and popularity of both doctrines go beyond the U.S. since both creationist and intelligent designist organizations provide international funding for organizations that represent their views in other countries. Creationists take the Bible, particularly the early chapters of Genesis as a basis to explain how the universe and the various forms of life on Earth, including the humankind, were

created by God. Creationism can be viewed as a product of American fundamentalism and it dates back to the early nineteenth century. In 1925, Creationists were also one of the ardent supporters of the Scopes Trial, or the Scopes Monkey Trial, which was concerned with a Tennessee high school teacher accused of violating state laws by teaching human evolution in a state-funded school. Although the initial US-based creationist movement dissolved in the 1920s, the establishment of the American Scientific Affiliation (ASA) in the 1940s and the subsequently establishment of the Creation Research Society (CRS) in the 1950s gave the American fundamentalist antievolution movement a new momentum (Numbers, 2009, p. 480).

The intelligent design view was formulated in the 1990s in the USA with the publication of *Darwin on Trial* (1991) by the Berkeley law professor, Phillip E. Johnson. According to Numbers (2013, p. 482), Johnson was upset by the attacks on natural theology and Christian doctrines by Darwinists, especially those by popular scientific figures like Richard Dawkins, and he eventually decided to “expose what he saw as the logical weaknesses of the case for evolution, particularly the assumption made by its advocates that naturalism is the only legitimate way of doing science”. While Johnson’s work refutes Darwin’s theory of evolution, the movement builds on a version of the argument from design that borrows from William Paley’s views in his *Natural Theology* (1802) that each part of an organism is contrived to serve particular ends, which indicates a designing intelligence. Just like Paley did, members of the intelligent design movement also resort to the analogy between the human eye and the telescope as a perfect example of the existence of an intelligent divine designer, as Figure 2 demonstrates. Although the intelligent design argument is considered pseudo-science by scientific circles, those that defend it continue to

receive considerable funding support, especially from the Discovery Institute.

Discovery Institute is the leading organization that works to popularize the intelligent design movement by funding research and publications by scientific figures.

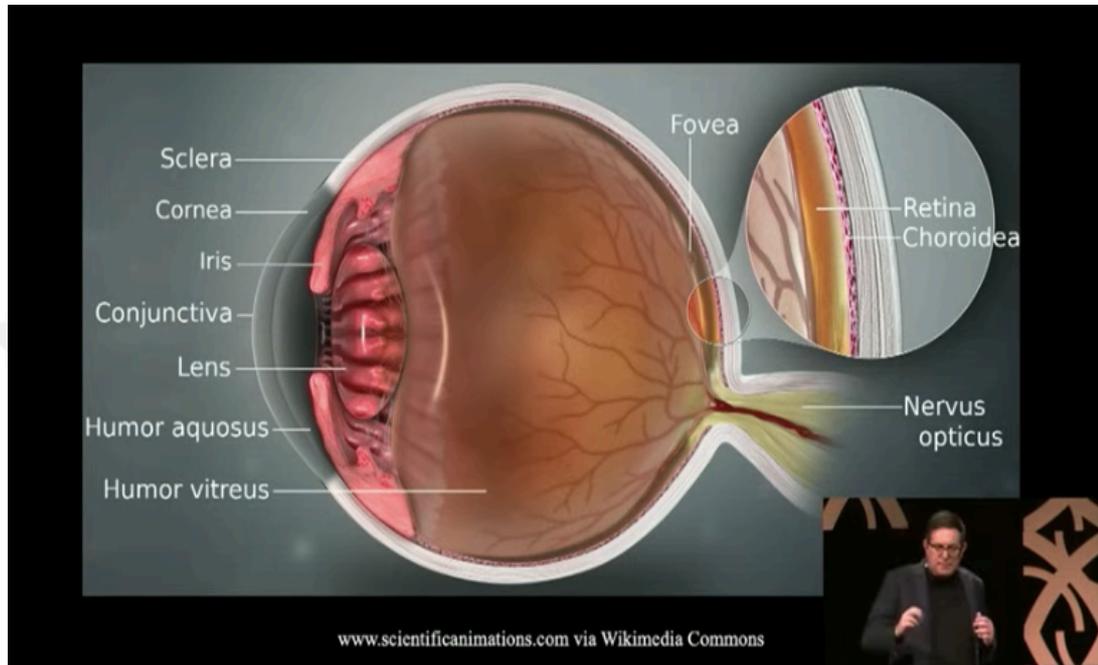


Figure 2. Physicist Brian Miller delivering a seminar on the design and optimization of the human eye during a conference co-sponsored by the Discovery Institute (Discovery Science, 2024)

The most popular defendant of the intelligent design argument is Michael Behe (1952-), a professor of biochemistry, who proposed the irreducible complexity argument to support intelligent design in his book *Darwin's Black Box: The Biochemical Challenge to Evolution* (1996).<sup>3</sup>

Since the evolution theory formulated by Charles Darwin is often seen as a foundational aspect of modern scientific understanding, which invalidated natural

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<sup>3</sup> Behe (1996) focuses on a bacteria named flagellum, which is a whip-like filament that twirls around, and propels it as a proof of intelligent design. According to him, flagellum could not perform the twirl or any other function if a single part of it was removed. Hence, according to Behe, the flagellum example makes it impossible to believe that it could have been produced by the accumulation of numerous small mutations.

theology and teleological approaches to natural phenomena, it is embraced by atheists as a key component of their worldview. As discussed earlier, from the first day Darwin published his theory, it was received as an attack against fundamental religious doctrines, such as special creation, which made Darwinism a significant component of the Atheist narrative. In his book, *Atheism: What Everyone Needs to Know* (2015), which explores the concept of atheism in relation to science, ethics, and religion, Michael Ruse notes how, in some circles, being an evolutionist is nowadays equated with being an atheist. He discusses his experience as an atheist and historian of science specializing in Darwinian evolution as follows:

Being an atheist in the American South today is not like being, say, an African American in Mississippi in 1930 or a Jew in Germany in 1938. But as my own experience shows, there is prejudice—and note that I was shunned because as an evolutionist, it was concluded that I must be a nonbeliever and hence immoral or otherwise undesirable. (Ruse, 2015, p. 66)

Although there seems to be a much more welcoming approach adopted by religious authorities towards evolution in recent decades (if we remember, for instance, the letter by Pope John Paul II), the divide between certain pro and anti-Darwinist circles still prevails. The debate over the compatibility of religion and science, which has been going on since the nineteenth century, is one of the major aspects of the divide between certain conservative circles that align themselves with the perspectives of Creationism or intelligent design and those that believe in evolution. Some atheist scientists, such as evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins, defend the supremacy of natural sciences over metaphysics. In *The God Delusion* (2006), for instance, Dawkins argues that recent scientific advances, including those concerned with the origin and evolution of life, make belief in a supernatural creator, or God, almost certainly impossible. Meanwhile, various atheist associations in the U.S., such as American Atheists, Freedom From Religion Foundation (FFRF), Center for Inquiry

(CFI), and the Richard Dawkins Foundation for Reason & Science (RDFRS) continue to promote scientific literacy, the understanding of evolutionary biology, and the teaching of evolution in schools as opposed to the inclusion of Creationism or intelligent design in science education.

It should not be forgotten that while some see science and religion as inherently conflicting, others argue for compatibility or even mutual enrichment between the two domains. Hence, it would be simplistic to claim that views on the compatibility of evolution and religion (especially in an Abrahamic religion) are divided into two sharp poles.

#### 2.4.6 Darwin and Islam

According to C. Mackenzie Brown (2020), three key challenges Darwin's theory posed to Christian traditions provoked the thoughts of Asian and Muslim respondents as well. Brown (2020, pp. 2-6) lists these challenges as (1) non-teleological implications, which favor the chance factor and purely mechanistic causation against a purpose; (2) the notions that natural selection and the concept of survival of the fittest contradict morality and any idea of a divine or transcendent moral template; and (3) the theory's implication that humanity was neither physically nor spiritually unique and shared a common ancestry with animals.

The theory of evolution received different reactions from the Islamic schools of thought influential in different parts of the world. In their attempt to reconcile science and religion, some creationist scholars attacked the Darwinian theory of evolution as *false science* (Gutron & Baudouin, 2016, p. 628, emphasis in the original). Others, on the other hand, defended that Islam and the theory of evolution do not contradict since the Qur'an does not contain a story of creation equivalent to

the one in Genesis. Riexinger (2013, p. 500), on the other hand, defines this approach as an “apologetic allegation” (2013, p. 499), and argues that the theory of evolution still conflicts with certain religious pre-conceptions of Islam “no less than those of traditional Christianity” (p. 500). According to Riexinger (2013, pp. 499-500), the contradiction is due to certain Qur’anic verses that elaborate on the special creation of man, the abundance of references made to Genesis, and the Hadith tradition.

Salman Hameed (2010) notes that there is typically a wholehearted acceptance of technology and science in the modern-day Muslim world, with the belief that science plays a crucial role in advancing progress and achieving economic independence. However, the theory of evolution presents a unique challenge to Muslims since “it is often singled out as responsible for the spread of secularism and atheism in western societies, and Muslims therefore view it as a cultural threat” (Hameed, 2010, p. 136), despite the awareness that it is a cornerstone of modern biology and scientific thinking. Hameed (2010, p. 139) also warns that “there is no unified Islamic position on evolution” since Islam is not monolithic and the contemporary Muslim world represents a broad spectrum of culture and politics, from secularism to theocratic democracy, and conservative monarchy.

## 2.5 Reception of evolutionary theories in the Turkish context

### 2.5.1 The late Ottoman period

The theory of evolution began attracting the attention of Ottoman intellectuals during the Tanzimat Period (1839-1876), a time that witnessed a modernization movement primarily in the military and educational contexts (Öktem, 2011, p. 241; Toprak, 2012, p. 22; Karaömerlioğlu & Yolun, 2020, p. 2). It is worth mentioning that these intellectuals entertained a materialist worldview and strived to promote materialist

thinking among the Ottoman youth through their publications. Prominent intellectual figures of the time, such as Süleyman Memduh, Abdullah Cevdet, Beşir Fuat, Baha Tevfik, and Ahmed Nebil, were introducing Ottoman audiences to leading materialist philosophers and evolutionary thinking. According to Cemil Ozan Ceyhan (2022), Ahmet Mithat Efendi and Subhi Ethem were two influential figures in popularizing Darwin in the late Ottoman Period. Ahmet Mithat mentioned evolution in his book *Hace-I Evvel* (Elucidator of the People) (1870) in addition to citing Jean Baptiste Lamarck's works in his journal *Dağarcık* (Repertoire) (Alkan, 2009). According to Koray Sarıdoğan (2014), due to some of his articles in *Dağarcık*, Ahmet Mithat was later condemned as a "materialist, positivist, [and] atheist" and was temporarily exiled to Rhodes. Subhi Ethem, who was also known for his socialist views (Ceyhan, 2022, p.163), wrote a book titled *Darvenizm* (Darwinism) (1911), which consisted of his natural history lecture notes given at the Monastir Military Academy. According to Ceyhan (2022, p.166), Subhi Ethem complained that Ottoman society resorted to notions rooted in superstition when explaining the origins of life and he argued that Darwin's theory could help people understand and explain all natural phenomena on scientific grounds, based on natural laws (Ceyhan, 2022, p. 176). Ceyhan (2022, p. 178) also notes that Ethem's book triggered strong criticism from conservative circles of the era, with prominent publishers of Islamic periodicals, such as Reşad Macit, maligning Ethem's book as the first stain thrown on Islam and Darwinism as a major step towards irreligion.

By the end of the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1920), many books by well-known Western scientists who supported evolutionary ideas, such as Ludwig Büchner, Herbert Spencer, and Ernest Haeckel, had been translated into Turkish (Alkan, 2009). However, no Darwin translation was available in Turkish during this

period. One potential reason for this phenomenon could have been the dominant influence of the French language and culture on Ottoman intelligentsia at the time. Analyzing popular books of the era on Darwinism, Cemil Ozan Ceyhan (2009) also points to the strong French influence on the evolutionary ideas that Ottoman intellectuals aligned themselves with. Ceyhan (2009, p. 70) further argues that the strong French influence reverberated in the content Ottoman intellectuals produced on Darwin and Darwinism as well, making it harder for them to differentiate between Lamarck's and Darwin's views of evolution. Ceyhan (2009, p. 70) also argues that the first French translation of Darwin's *The Origin* by Royer, which was discussed in more detail in the Introduction section, was also partially responsible for this confusion since this translation was the one that introduced Darwin to the Ottoman intelligentsia. Royer saw evolutionary biology, including Darwin's theory, as the scientific legitimization of a social system that was based on unlimited individual liberty and free competition, based on her belief that men were unequal by nature (Beck, 2009, p. 303). Ceyhan (2009, p. 70) states that many Ottoman intellectuals attributed high value to Social Darwinism since Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection and Social Darwinism had similar implications for the Francophone world in the late nineteenth century. Murat Yolun (2017, p. 8), on the other hand, attributes the interest shown in Spencer's Social Darwinism, along with other progressive evolutionary theories of the era, to the fact that the Ottoman intellectuals saw these theories as significant components of their own progressive political agenda, which aimed to save the Ottoman Empire from its state of decline. Yolun also reflects on the anti-Darwinist publications during the late Ottoman period in detail. According to Yolun (2017, pp. 139-141), anti-Darwinist intellectuals associated Darwin's theory heavily with materialism while several intellectuals,

authors, and religious scholars of the era such as Mehmed Emin Feyzi, İsmail Fenni (Ertuğrul), and Said Nursi (Bediüzzaman) challenged evolution in an anti-materialist context in their writings.

### 2.5.2 The early republication era

Interest in the theory of evolution continued following the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Zafer Toprak (2012) observes that evolution was included in biology course books prepared for high school students during the first decades of the Republic. These course books included a detailed overview of evolution from both Darwin's perspective and other evolutionary schools of thought, such as Lamarckism. It is known that during the single-party period, which lasted until 1945, the founding leader of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, personally requested a translation of H.G. Wells' famous book *Outline of History* (Toprak, 2012, p. 25). Wells' book covered a great number of the popular positivist and scientific discussions of the time, including evolution. During this period, a biography of Darwin was penned by Galip Ata within the scope of the *Büyük Adamlar* (Great Men) series and published by the Ministry of Education in 1931.

It can be argued that intellectuals in the Early Republican Period approached evolution with an interest that went beyond purely scientific aspirations. Edis, (2020, p. 20) notes that the Turkish Revolution marginalized traditional Islam in favor of Westernization and emphasized science, including concepts like evolution, in education. To this end, Karaömerlioğlu and Yolun (2020, p. 3) note that the ruling elite of the early Turkish Republic welcomed the theory of evolution “in the effort to formulate a materialist, secular conceptualization of Turkish nationalism based on science”. Evolution was instrumentalized to justify the Turkish History Thesis,

which found great support from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the members of the single-party regime. According to Zürcher (2004), this theory postulated that “Turks were descendants of white (Aryan) inhabitants of Central Asia, who had been forced by drought and hunger to migrate to other areas” (p. 191), eventually establishing the world’s great civilizations such as the Sumerians and the Hittites. During this period, anthropology became the prominent discipline for the formulation of a science-based nationalism in support of the Turkish History Thesis. Although regarded as a pseudo-science nowadays, phrenology was used by Turkish anthropologists to boost the desired sense of pride in national identity.<sup>4</sup> To this end, in the 1930s, they measured Turkish citizens’ skulls and declared that Turks have a brachycephalic skull structure, which meant that Turks belonged to the Caucasoid, Alpine race as opposed to the Mongoloid race. Findings of these phrenological studies were also included in the biology course books taught nationwide in the 1930s (Toprak, 2004, p. 31).

### 2.5.3 From the Second World War until the early 2000s

As the previous discussion indicates, the popularization of evolution was part of the official scientific policies during the early decades of the Republic. On the other hand, Edis (2020, p. 20) notes that, despite the changes observed in Turkish educational policies and the strong Westernization movement during this period, a majority of Turks remained under the sway of religious conservatism, while later democratic reforms encouraged a conservative populism that embraced both economic and technological modernization.

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<sup>4</sup> Phrenology, also referred to as crainology, is a theory of human behavior based upon the belief that an individual's character and mental faculties correlate with the shape of their head/skull.

Similar to the rest of the modern-day Muslim world, Turkish conservative circles maintained their critical distance from the theory of evolution. During the 1940s, socialist intellectuals started showing an interest in evolution in their intellectual socialist periodicals. One example in this regard is the *Yurt ve Dünya* (Homeland and the World) periodical, which was owned and co-founded by Behice Boran, (1910–987) a Marxist-Leninist politician, author, and sociologist. In one of its final issues before the periodical was banned in 1944, prominent anthropologist Muzaffer Süleyman Şenyürek (1915–1961) and prominent sociologist Niyazi Berkes (1908 –1988) wrote essays titled “Charles Darwin: Hayatı ve Eserleri” (Charles Darwin: Life and Works) and “Darvinizm Karşısında İleri ve Geri Düşünüşler” (Counter Views against Darwinism), respectively. In these articles, in addition to discussing the general outlines of Darwin's theory Şentürk and Berkes also criticized the misappropriation of Darwinism by imperialist propaganda. For example, Berkes (1944) noted that Darwinism should not be confused with Nietzscheanism and Fascism, pointing out that Darwin actually rejected the notion of the superior man before Nietzsche introduced it. Behice Boran also wrote on evolution and Darwinism from a sociological perspective. For example, in her article titled “Sosyal Evrim Meselesi” (The Issue of Social Evolution), Boran (1943) criticized the academic tendency to dismiss social evolution as a scientific concept.

Alkan (2006, p. 26) asserts that prior to the 1970s, evolution was discussed within the Turkish educational realm beyond the confines of religious beliefs and positivist ideologies, despite the re-emergence of Islamist rhetoric in Turkish political circles following World War II. The second half of the twentieth century saw the proliferation of the Islamic nationalist discourse and the revival of an anti-Darwinist position from an Islamist point of view. The emergence of influential faith

movement(s) played a major role in this revival. They took as their basis the Kurdish Muslim scholar Said Nursi's (1878–1960) teachings, primarily his 6000-page opus magnum *Risale-i Nur*.<sup>5</sup> The political atmosphere of the 1980s, namely the coup d'état performed by a military junta and the succeeding right-wing government (established by the Anavatan Party) provided a favorable atmosphere for faith movements to operate more visibly. In this political atmosphere, as of the late 1970s, one of the strongest creationist attacks on the theory of evolution came from the Nur movement, also known as Nurcus (disciples of the Divine Light). This was a continuation of Nursi's extensive criticism of the influence of Western naturalist and materialist ideas on Turkish politics and society (Özervarli, 2003, p. 320; Ross-Solberg, 2013, p. 119). It was the founder of the Nur movement, Fethullah Gülen (1941 – ) who started to aggressively argue against the theory of evolution during a series of lectures, or more precisely sermons, he delivered. A disciple of Nursi and his teachings, Gülen protested the dominance of secular ideology in Turkish civil and political life with an ambition to empower religious individuals and his model of modernist Islam instead. As Riexinger (2013, p. 501) notes, the Gülen movement saw fighting against the theory of evolution and Darwinism as a strategic move that

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<sup>5</sup> Said Nursi, born in the 1870s, was an influential religious figure until his death in 1960. He was educated in the traditional madrasa system. Considered one of the most important architects of Islamic thought in modern Türkiye, Nursi proposed founding a university to close the gap between secular and religious education. Despite finding support from Sultan Rashad (1909–1918) during the final years of Ottoman rule, his proposal was rejected by succeeding Turkish governments as it ideologically clashed with the secular position of the Young Turks. Although he had supported and taken an active part in the War of Independence, Nursi later fell out with the ruling members of the new Republic, including Mustafa Kemal. He and his students stood several trials, served prison sentences, and were exiled to different provinces within the country as their activities were found ideologically dangerous. According to Riexinger (2013, p. 501), although Nursi did not specifically condemn Darwin and his theory of evolution, he believed that “all events are directly arranged by God in the framework of an atomistic concept of time and not by an independent natural causality”, making the arbitrariness of natural selection irreconcilable with how he viewed nature and natural laws.

could potentially “help them to combat Marxist materialism in a convincing way at a time when the confrontation between the Left and the Right climaxed in Türkiye”.

It was during the 1980s that Minister of Education, Vehbi Dinçerler (1940–), introduced Creationism to high school biology course books as an alternative hypothesis to the theory of evolution. According to Sayın and Kence (1999), the Creationism Dinçerler integrated into the high school curriculum was an adaptation of Scientific Creationism, formulated by Henry Morris (1918 – 2006), the founder of the U.S.-based Institute for Creation Research (ICR) and the Creation Research Society. It is noteworthy that American Creationists showed a keen interest in Türkiye during the 1980s and 1990s. The mid-1980s also witnessed the emergence of another Islamic fraternal organization, the Harun Yahya group, which has been linked by many with ICR and Creation Research Society.

The group was established and led by the preacher Adnan Oktar, who also used the penname Harun Yahya. Although he was not trained as an Islamic scholar, Oktar was influenced by the writings of Nursi (Ross-Solberg, 2013, p. 4 & p. 50; Gutron & Dupret, 2016, p. 629) and started to deliver sermons during his years as a university student. Yahya presented a modernist interpretation of Islam and argued against Marxism and the Darwinian theory of evolution. He believed that Darwinism promoted “materialism, atheism, and derivative ideologies” (Gutron & Dupret, 2016, p. 630). The foundation of the Bilim Araştırma Vakfı (BAV) (The Science Research Foundation) in 1990 by the Adnan Oktar group increased the reach of Oktar’s voice. The BAV became the platform through which the group managed its activities, from organizing creationist conferences to “distributing many of the books published in the name of Harun Yahya for free” (Ross-Solberg, 2013, p. 5). Sayın and Kence (1999, p. 19) underline that the BAV was dedicated to “spreading an Islamic version

of scientific Creationism in Türkiye” and imported its ideology from the U.S.-based ICR. However, Sayın and Kence (1999) also note that the BAV’s Islamic Creationism was not a carbon copy of ICR’s Creationism since they merely incorporated ICR’s ideology into their own view of Islam. In doing so, the BAV emphasized the flexibility the Qur’an allows Muslim believers for the possible co-existence of science and religion since the Qur’an does not provide a specific timeline for the creation and the age of the earth. The group’s activities continued until 2018, when Oktar and many members of his organization were arrested and later tried for several charges, including fraud, blackmail, and detention.

2009 was another year that marked the politicization of the theory of evolution in Türkiye. As mentioned earlier, UNESCO declared 2009 the Darwin year to commemorate Darwin’s 200<sup>th</sup> birthday and the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first publication of *The Origin*. Within this scope, *Bilim ve Teknik*, a prominent popular science magazine published by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye (TÜBİTAK) since 1967, was expected to dedicate a special issue to Darwin. However, TÜBİTAK decided to cancel the Darwin issue with a last-minute decision. This decision sparked severe criticism from Turkish academia and oppositional leftist media. TÜBİTAK became the center of criticism regarding its approach to the theory of evolution once again in 2013. Several newspapers claimed that the agency’s popular science books division removed the books on the theory of evolution from its publication portfolio. Deniz Ayhan (2013) from *Sözcü*, one of the leading oppositional newspapers in Türkiye, wrote “TÜBİTAK erase Darwin”, noting that books on the theory of evolution had not been available for purchase on the agency’s publication portfolio for a long time. Some of the titles that were removed from TÜBİTAK’s publication portfolio are *Darwin and the Beagle* (Darwin

ve Beagle Serüveni) (1969) by Alan Moorehead, *Ever since Darwin* (Darwin ve Sonrası) (1977) by Stephen Jay Gould, *The Blind Watchmaker* (Kör Saatçi) (1986) by Richard Dawkins, and *The Roots of Life* (Hayatın Kökleri) (1988) by Yves Coppens.

Changes in TÜBİTAK's publication policies were met by an increase in the number of popular science books published on evolution and the number of private publishing houses that publish such titles. Although no academic research has been performed on the translated popular science books on evolution in the Turkish setting, as an outcome of my personal interest in this genre, I have had the chance to observe the rapid increase in the Turkish publication field in this regard since the late-2000s. It should be noted that Ginko Bilim and Alfa Bilim, two publishing houses that have (re)published *The Origin* (re)translations, are among the leading publishers of translated popular science books on evolution. In addition, independent popular science platforms started to emerge in recent decades, which can be regarded as forms of reaction against the growing anti-Darwinist and creationist practices and public narratives in Türkiye. One of the most famous examples of these digital venues is the Evrim Ağacı (Tree of Evolution) platform, which was established in 2010. The platform produces content on popular science and primarily in areas related to evolution. The platform's YouTube channel, for example, has more than 3,5 million followers at the moment.

In 2016, the Gülen movement staged a failed coup against the Turkish Government. The movement has been officially designated as a terrorist organization ever since. Thousands of the movement's followers, some of whom were previously employed in different state cadres, were charged with treason while the organization's publishing and broadcasting activities have been banned.

In 2017, the theory of evolution was removed from the biology curriculum for high schools. This decision sparked both local and international criticism from scientific circles. According to Alison Abbott (2017, p. 286), for example, the Turkish government's decision did upset Turkish scientists, who "have long been ill at ease with Türkiye's complex politics and its tensions between secular, religious, and military forces".

Before concluding this chapter, it is important to note that while pro-Darwinist arguments often stemmed from materialist and socialist circles, and anti-Darwinist views were commonly associated with conservative circles, Turkish society's perspective on evolution is heterogenous and diverse, as in many other locales. For instance, Turkish philosopher Caner Taslaman (2007, p. 304) sheds light on this diversity by categorizing individuals' religious affiliations regarding their acceptance or rejection of evolution. These categories include atheists who embrace evolution, theists who reject it, and evolutionist theists who believe in an evolutionary process guided by God. Taslaman also suggests considering a fourth group in this categorization as well, since some deists may adopt an agnostic stance toward evolution (Taslaman, 2007, p. 338).

The following chapter will explain the theoretical framework that guides the sociological assessments applied to the outcomes of the comparative textual and paratextual analyses conducted on the research corpus.

## CHAPTER 3

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In recent decades, there has been growing interest in the role agents of translation – translators, editors, publishers, patrons, etc. – play in translation processes. This increased attention has led to the concept of agency gaining prominence in Translation Studies (TS). Particularly within sociological approaches to translation research, arguments have been made regarding the oversight of agency within traditional descriptive frameworks and Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). In the aftermath of the cultural turn, DTS brought translation practices to the attention of theory, the emphasis being on the social constraints of translation, i.e., translation norms. However, in his seminal paper “The Pivotal Status of the Translator’s Habitus”, Daniel Simeoni (1998) charged DTS with ignoring certain dimensions of the translator’s agency. Simeoni acknowledged that research informed by DTS validated the “principle of rigorous subjection to norms” by translators since they “adhere to them more often than not” (1998, p. 6). However, he also argued that DTS endorsed the subservient image of the translator by envisaging “near-complete submission to the norms” (1998, p. 6). To this end, Simeoni (1998) proposed investigating the translatorial mind by focusing on a variety of settings in which translation is, and has historically been, performed. He proposed integrating Bourdieu’s concept of habitus into TS as a theoretical tool that can be used for a sociological investigation of the translator to better understand how translators’ individual perspectives and backgrounds shape their work.

Simeoni’s call prompted Translation Studies scholars to propose various theoretical solutions to address the issue of agency. They introduced different

theoretical frameworks and concepts to analyze translation from a sociological perspective and to assess the role of agency within translation. A growing number of TS scholars interested in the sociological dynamics of translation and interpreting started integrating into their research Pierre Bourdieu's sociological approach (for example Gouanvic 1995, 2002, 2005, 2014; Inghilleri 2003, 2005, 2006, 2009; Sela-Sheffy 1991, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010; Simeoni 1995, 1998, 2005, 2007a, 2007b; Wolf 2007a, 2007b, 2010; Hanna 2014, 2016; Vorderbermeier, 2014, etc.). While Simeoni embraced Bourdieu's concept of habitus as a novel theoretical tool that could help TS scholars gain broader insights into the role of agency in translation and interpreting practices, many TS scholars who followed in Simeoni's steps underscored the potential theoretical and methodological contributions of integrating habitus into translation research together with other concepts Bourdieu developed. For example, with reference to Bourdieu's notions of doxa and hexis, Jean-Marc Gouanvic (2014) highlights the potential of using the full array of concepts Bourdieu's social theory has to offer, because of the interwoven character of Bourdieu's concepts. Similarly, Sameh Hanna (2014, p. 61) notes that "it is almost impossible to appreciate the explanatory power of habitus without locating it within the complex nexus of such key Bourdieusian concepts as field, capital and illusio".

Elaborating on the sociographies of the agents of retranslation in a quest to investigate the reasons behind their translatorial interest in *The Origin* and the correlations between their ideological dispositions and the narratives they produced on Darwin's theory, this study also builds on Bourdieu's theory of social action, including in its theoretical framework his concepts of habitus, field, capital (economic, cultural, scientific and symbolic), marks of distinction and symbolic time.

### 3.1 Pierre Bourdieu's theory of action

As David Swartz (1997) notes, in his reflexive practice of sociology, Bourdieu places agency and structure in a dialectical relationship. Thus, he opposes the dichotomy of conceptualizing human action at micro or macro level, either “as a direct, unmediated response to external factors”, or “as the simple outgrowth from internal factors, such as conscious intentions and calculation” (Swartz, 1997, p. 8).

Bourdieu's conceptual framework introduces certain concepts such as field, habitus, and capital, which allow for an in-depth study of the dialectical relationship between agents and structures embedded in a social system. In view of these conceptual tools, Bourdieu conceives the social world “as a series of relatively autonomous but structurally homologous fields of production, circulation, and consumption of various forms of cultural as well as material resources.” (Swartz, 1997, p. 40).

This study aims to study the retranslations of *The Origin* (1859) not only by comparing the translations on a textual level (in other words, by studying the translations proper) but also by reflecting on the agents that produced them and the contributions they made to the reception of Darwinism in Türkiye through their other textual and paratextual productions. In parallel with Bourdieu's reflexive sociology, the study hopes to clarify where the agents' efforts to (re)translate and (re)publish Darwin translations fit when the dialectical relations between their actions as social actors and the social spaces they operate in are examined. For this reason, I believe that Bourdieu's theory of social action and his related concepts provide me with an effective theoretical framework while elaborating on the journey of *The Origin* (1859) in Türkiye through (re)translation. Using Bourdieu's approach and concepts will allow me to clarify the potential links between the translatorial agents' sociological backgrounds, their interest in Darwin's theory and his works, their

translational strategies, and the impact they aimed to have on the Turkish scientific and intellectual life through their translational production. This theoretical framework will also help me elaborate on the narratives the agents of (re)translation produced around their Darwin (re)translations. While Mona Baker's model of narrative analysis which she presents in her seminal book, *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account* (2006), will form the basis for the theoretical conceptualization of the multiple narratives the agents of (re)translation produced on Darwin and his theory, the insights obtained from studying these narratives will help to situate the agents' translational efforts around *The Origin* (1859) into a sociology-oriented framework by interpreting them through the lens of Bourdieu's social action theory and his other related concepts used for the purposes of this research.

In the following sub-sections, I will first discuss the notions of Pierre Bourdieu which I will benefit from while studying, from a sociological perspective, the agents of (re)translation that contributed to the circulation of Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection in the Turkish setting.

### 3.1.1 Habitus

According to Bourdieu's action theory, social agents exist and compete within social fields based on the knowledge, status, and material and symbolic goods they produce, circulate, and appropriate. The production, accumulation, and appropriation of these material and immaterial goods are directed by their habituses, while, at the same time, agents' respective efforts to produce, accumulate, and appropriate these goods help further structure and strengthen their habituses. Hence, Bourdieu (1991, p. 29-30) defines habitus as the structure that "effects an active inventive structuring of the world but one that proceeds according to structures which result from the

internalization of the objective structures of the social world and of the field”.

Bourdieu (1991, p. 29) states that his notion of habitus was designed with the purpose of overcoming the dichotomy within which human action was viewed as taking place “either under the influence of external causes or under the impulse of internal reasons”. Based on this, in another publication, he defines habitus as:

[S]ystems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor. (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53, emphasis in the original)

As Bourdieu also highlighted in his above-quoted definition, a significant aspect that one should not forget concerning habitus is that it is not a fixed structure. For this reason, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 133) underline that habitus consists of “an open system of dispositions” which indicates that habitus is a structure that can be (re)structured through the social agent’s personal experiences in life.

While habitus is not necessarily a fixed structure, it is clear that the actions of social agents (including agents of translation) are directed by their individual habitus and individual and/or collective dispositions in their fields of operation. Reflecting on the relationship between habitus and practice, Sela-Sheffy (2014, pp. 44-45) emphasizes that people's actions and methods are usually not the result of rational calculations or the application of explicit rules. Instead, they are guided by what Bourdieu (1990) describes as a feel for the game, acquired through socialization. From this perspective, translators, like all other social agents, are inclined toward particular practices that align with their sense of identity and belonging (Sela-Sheffy, 2014, p. 44-45). For this reason, while analyzing the textual and paratextual

properties of *The Origin* retranslations, the related agents' overall intellectual backgrounds, their previous intellectual productions, publications, their relationships with their publishers, the degree of their interest in Darwinism and evolution prior to and in the aftermath of their *The Origin* (re)translations will be taken into consideration. This way, it will become easier to understand not only how their habituses and dispositions influenced their interest in (re)translating and (re)publishing Darwin's magnum opus but also what kind of contributions these translatorial efforts had on these agents (particularly on their respective habituses) and on their fields of operation.

### 3.1.2 Field

It is social agents' habituses that determine their immanent dispositions in social life, and consequently their dispositions in the respective social fields they are willing to invest. For this reason, habitus operates and stands in constant relation to the field. Thus, there is a dialectic relationship between the habitus and the field, similar to the relationship between agency and structure. A field constitutes "the objective external structure", whereas habitus constitutes the "internal, subjective structure born from the incorporation of the objective structures" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 20). The habituses of social agents are shaped by the principles of vision and division and the categories of perception that govern the social universes (fields) into which the agents are born and in which they position themselves throughout their lives. For this reason, habitus and field are two notions that complement one another as an outcome of the inevitable intersection between them.

Jean-Marc Gouanvic (2005, p. 147) suggests that translation practice can be incorporated into Bourdieu's heuristic model, as it emerges from the interplay

between external textual instances (linked to Bourdieu's notion of field) and internal instances encompassing textual productions, products, producing agents, and their habitus. Gouanvic (2005) further explores the connection between the social trajectories of agents and the fields they engage in, emphasizing a mutual influence. He describes a reciprocal relationship where agents shape fields through their habituses, while fields also mold the habituses of agents, habitus being, as previously mentioned, not a static construct. Thus, as Gouanvic (2005, p. 148) suggests, research guided by Bourdieu's theory in Translation Studies should prioritize analyzing “the differential relationship between the habitus of translation agents [...] and the determinant factors of the target field as the site of reception of the translation”.

In his exploration of the implications of Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production for the study of translation, Sameh Hanna (2016) stresses the significance of the positions agents take in social fields. Hanna (2016, p. 25) highlights that the positions available in a field are distributed in oppositional terms and goes on to elucidate this by referring to Bourdieu's (1996) itemization of the following positions and oppositions in the literary field: “novel versus poetry, social novel versus avant-garde novel, politically committed literature versus arts for arts' sake literature, dominant versus dominated, consecrated versus novice, orthodox versus heretic, old versus young, etc.”. Hanna (2016, p. 25) additionally observes that the status of each position within the field is determined relative to other positions and the distribution of forms of capital or power relations among individuals occupying them. Thus, the available positions within a social structure, or field, determine the position-takings of social actors in the form of the decisions they make, the political/ideological stances they take, and the cultural and intellectual

products they produce and/or possess. Applying this to the structure of the publication fields globally, Bourdieu (2008) notes that each publishing house holds a specific position relative to others based on its wealth in rare resources (economic, symbolic, technical, etc.) and the power these resources confer. It is this position that influences decision-makers' stances on publishing choices by defining a system of objectives, constraints, and the scope for competition among players in the publishing industry.

It should be emphasized that social agents operate in multiple social fields and their accumulation of various types of capital can contribute to strengthening their position-takings in multiple social fields simultaneously. As will be detailed further in Chapter 6, the majority of the agents of (re)translation that I study in this dissertation exemplify this phenomenon since their operations and translatorial practices in the Turkish publication field provide them with new opportunities to create their own public narratives on Darwinism in the Turkish setting, which has historically attributed a political value to Darwin and his theory. Thus, I argue that by (re)translating and/or (re)publishing *The Origin* and producing new public narratives on Darwin and his theory, the agents of translation also make an impact on the Turkish political field; in other words, they also strengthen their position-takings in the Turkish political field, which is predominantly divided between left- and right-wing politics, as briefly explored in Section 2.5.

### 3.1.3 Capital

Within the scope of the intersection between social agents' habituses and the fields in which they operate, agents and groups struggle over valued cultural and economic resources to reinforce their position-takings. It is important to note that this struggle

is not only on an individual but also on a collective basis. As Bourdieu highlights, habitus is a “generative and unifying principle which retranslates the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary lifestyle” (1998, p. 8). Thus, agents and groups take positions collectively by choosing the same sets of people, goods, and practices as valued resources. When individuals and groups accumulate these unitary sets of valued resources, they not only obtain personal distinction in their fields of operation but also contribute to the conservation and/or transformation of the structure of their respective fields within “the global social space” (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 32). As a result, social agents compete for distinction in their fields of operation by struggling to accumulate and monopolize different kinds of capital. It should not be forgotten that Bourdieu modifies the Marxian concept of capital in his sociology and conceptualizes capital in both material (economic capital) and immaterial forms (cultural capital, scientific capital, symbolic capital). His broader definition of capital that goes beyond purely economic resources results from his critique of Marxism, which, according to Bourdieu (1986, p. 242) “reduc[es] the universe of exchanges to mercantile exchange”.

As many retranslations and republications of Darwin’s *The Origin* have been produced in Turkish since the early 1960s and the number of available translations seems to increase gradually, Bourdieu’s concept of capital becomes a vital notion for problematizing why the relevant agents of (re)translation showed a translatorial interest in Darwin’s magnum opus. In other words, it is crucial to explore what kind of capital acquisition was at stake for the relevant agents when it came to (re)translating and (re)publishing *The Origin* and how much these capital acquisitions were in line with the agents’ ideological dispositions in the Turkish

publication field and the Turkish political field in which they were operating. For this reason, I find it necessary to discuss certain types of capital Bourdieu defined.

Economic capital, as the name indicates, is accumulated through the acquisition of valuable material assets. Cultural capital, on the other hand, manifests itself through three distinct modalities: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized (Bourdieu, 1986). Embodied cultural capital encompasses the knowledge, skills, cultural preferences, and social awareness of individuals within their respective social spaces and fields. Unlike economic capital, the social dynamics underpinning cultural capital accumulation are more subtle and implicit (Bourdieu, 1986).

Objectified cultural capital, on the other hand, resides in material artifacts such as writings, artworks, and monuments. These objects possess both material and symbolic value, serving as instruments in cultural production. In addition, these objects can be converted into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Institutionalized cultural capital takes the form of formal credentials such as academic degrees bestowed by educational and cultural institutions. Unlike embodied cultural capital, it is relatively fluid and readily convertible into economic and social capital.

Symbolic capital encompasses attributes such as prestige, honor, reputation, recognition, a legitimate competence, which are esteemed within a society and can significantly impact an individual's social status and authority. To illustrate symbolic capital, Bourdieu (1986, p. 245) gives the example of literacy in a largely illiterate society, i.e., a specific cultural skill that gains value from its scarcity and provides its possessor with distinction and advantages.

### 3.2 Studying retranslations within the framework of Bourdieu's social theory: aging, symbolic time and marks of distinction

Bourdieu's reflexive sociology can help researchers situate retranslations amidst the complex and intertwined relationships among social structures and social agents who struggle for distinction, and often for domination, in the social order. Studying the (re)translations of Darwin's *The Origin* to answer the research questions listed in the Introduction section, I will study the translatorial actors as active agents operating in the Turkish publishing and political fields. Similarly, Harun Yahya and his Islamic-Creationist group, who published the *Atlas of Creation* volumes (2006-2012) that forms the secondary corpus of this study, will also be studied as an agent operating in these fields. By studying the social backgrounds of these agents and by performing textual and paratextual analyses on their (re)translations, I will define the positions they take in the broad Turkish publication field and its sub-structures – Turkish leftist and rightist publication fields and the impact of their work in the further politicization of evolution in Türkiye, predominantly in the Turkish political field. This methodology will allow me to observe the reciprocal relationships between the habituses of the agents of (re)translation and their respective fields of operation. It will help me to see how this relationship is enriched by capital acquisitions achieved through (re)translating and (re)publishing *The Origin* and producing narratives on Darwin and his theory in the aftermath of these practices.

Sameh Hanna's (2016) reflections on retranslations as cultural products with symbolic value in the social structure envisaged by Bourdieu can also provide intriguing insights for this study. Hanna (2016, p. 129) observes that retranslation is often associated with the linguistic and aesthetic aging of the text, especially when canonical texts are concerned. However, as Hanna further (2016, p. 129) notes, there

are many cases that cannot be explained by maintaining that the aging of the previous translation(s) is always the reason for the production of new retranslations. Hanna points to the existence of many cases where retranslations of the same source text were produced during relatively short periods. Emphasizing Bourdieu's description of the field of cultural production as a "temporal structure" (Bourdieu 1993, p. 108, cited in Hanna, 2016, p. 132), Hanna states that time is just one of numerous significant factors in the struggle among producers of culture. Hanna further explains that "[t]he struggle within the field is not only over symbolic or economic capital, but it is also over which cultural product or producer is to be classified as 'ahead of time', i.e., avant-garde, and who is to be branded 'mainstream' or even 'outmoded'" (Hanna, 2016, p. 132, emphasis in original). Based on that, Hanna (2016, p. 133, emphasis in the original) argues that "attribute[ing] the 'ageing' of any particular translation to the mere 'passing of time' is to eclipse the complex nature of 'time' and the way cultural products relate to it". Thus, according to Hanna, when cultural products, including translations, are concerned, we must distinguish between real time and symbolic time. Whereas real time refers to the time when a particular cultural product was first produced and made available to the public, symbolic time is defined by Hanna as "the value attached to cultural products after they move away from their 'real time' and become history" (Hanna, 2016, p. 133). Reflecting on the status of (re)translations from this temporal aspect of the practice of cultural production, Hanna states that the designation of a particular translation as a 'classic', in comparison to other translations preceding and succeeding it, is determined by various other factors. The continued recognition of a (re)translation as a classic over time is not solely a result of its inherent linguistic qualities; it is also influenced by various cultural agents and

institutions that may either diminish its effectiveness or uphold its status as a translation that is deemed timeless (Hanna, 2016, pp. 133-134).

While social agents struggle over symbolic time on the basis of the cultural products that they invest in, they employ all available symbolic assets and capital they have accumulated to achieve distinction. Hanna (2016, p.135) uses Bourdieu's notion of marks of distinction to define this tendency. Accordingly, symbolic capital is concentrated within the names of agents, institutions, groups, movements, and schools. Within the realm of cultural production, names play a distinctive role based on the amount of symbolic capital they hold. The greater the symbolic capital associated with a name, the more distinct it becomes when compared to other names. The same principle also applies to retranslations. In certain cases, the name of an agent, institution, group, movement, or school associated with a particular (re)translation might add to its symbolic capital. In such a case, it is definitely more than merely the aging of the previous translation(s) of a source text or the classic status assigned to a work that calls for a retranslation. Retranslation can serve as an asset for social agents to embark on a struggle over symbolic capital by emphasizing the struggle over symbolic time. Studying the (re)translations of *The Origin* with reference to the complex and intertwined relationships among the involved social structures and social agents, my textual and paratextual analyses will also look for the indications of aging, symbolic time and marks of distinction, and investigate how these social phenomena are reflected in the production of *The Origin* (re)translations and the narratives that surround them.

## CHAPTER 4

### METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This research is methodologically grounded in the framework proposed by Gideon Toury (1995) in his descriptive translation studies (DTS), Gérard Genette's (1997) taxonomy of paratexts, and the narrative model Mona Baker (2006) introduced to analyze conflictual and competing narratives produced by translators and interpreters. Utilizing Toury's DTS framework will specifically guide me in terms of the textual and extratextual elements that I should take into consideration when analyzing the retranslations of *The Origin* (1859). In other words, I will clarify which translation norms the different agents of translation involved in the production of *The Origin* (re)translations and (re)publications appeared to follow. Combining Toury's normative approach with the theoretical framework guided by Pierre Bourdieu's social action theory will help me establish stronger connections between the agents' translatorial strategies and their individual and collective intellectual and political backgrounds and resulting agendas. I will also benefit from Gérard Genette's (1987/1997) taxonomy of paratexts to study the various textual elements the agents of translation added to their translations and/or released (in written or audio-visual formats) on Darwin and his theory before and/or after their Darwin translation projects. The paratextual analysis, as the following chapters will demonstrate, allows me to elaborate on the multiple narratives the agents of translation produced on Darwin and his theory of evolution by natural selection, and their Darwin (re)translations. Mona Baker's (2006) narrative model provides me with strong insights while elaborating on these paratextual elements and studying how the (re)translators contributed to the circulation of and/or resistance against intellectual

and moral narratives in relevance to Darwin and his theory of evolution by natural selection. Using the same model of analysis, I will also better understand the narratives the Islamic-Creationist movement produced on Darwin and the narrative strategies that were employed by them. This will also make it easier to understand what kind of counter-narratives the agents of (re)translation involved in the (re)translations and (re)publications of *The Origin* produced in their paratextual materials. Again, integrating Baker's narrative model into the theoretical framework of this study will allow me to clarify (a) how the individual social and intellectual backgrounds (habitus) of the agents of (re)translation and their political dispositions shaped the production of the various public narratives they produced on Darwinism and (b) what kind of further capital acquisitions they achieved as a result of these narrative practices.

Having discussed the methodological models and tools that I will apply for the purposes of this study, I will first analyze the four volumes of *Yaratılış Atlası* (2006-2012) and their English translations, *Atlas of Creation* (2006-2012) by Harun Yahya. As discussed earlier in the Introduction, this secondary corpus is a complementary component in this study and provides further contextual background since my preliminary analyses have shown that many agents of (re)translation have criticized Islamic Creationism and Yahya in the narratives they produced in their paratextual materials following their *The Origin* (re)translations and/or (re)publications. In this complementary initial analysis, I will specifically focus on the quotations from Darwin's *The Origin* that are frequently used in Yahya's volumes. My analysis will seek to understand whether Darwin quotations in these volumes and their translations are manipulated in any ways to misrepresent the theory. This initial analysis will be followed by the analysis of the primary corpus,

which encompasses the Turkish (re)translations of *The Origin* (the translations proper) and the accompanying paratextual materials that surround them. At this point, it is important to note that Darwin made changes on *The Origin* each time before it was reprinted by Murray Publishing. There are six editions of *The Origin*, published in 1859, 1860, 1861, 1866, 1869, and 1872. The Turkish translations were performed on the basis of the first, second and sixth editions. I will use all these three editions as my source texts when comparatively analyzing the Turkish retranslations so that differences among the source editions are not confused with different translatorial choices made by the translators.

#### 4.1 Gideon Toury's descriptive methodology

The Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) approach developed by Toury (1995) views translations as products of a complex series of decisions. Based on that, Toury proposes that translations should be analyzed paying close attention to the strategies and norms that were employed by translators and other stakeholders. He also underlines the significance of studying the social and historical contexts in which the translations were produced so that translation's role in intercultural communication can be better understood.

Within the scope of DTS, Toury introduces three types of norms. These are defined as preliminary, operational, and initial norms. Preliminary norms relate to primary factors, namely the translation policy. The translation policy described here is concerned with the choice of texts for translation, and the directness of translation, in other words, whether the translation(s) analyzed were performed using the original source text or using translations of the ST performed in another mediating language and culture.

Operational norms, which are norms that guide the decisions made during the translation process, can be examined under two sub-categories — matricial and textual-linguistic norms. Matricial norms are related to the structural properties of the source text. Thus, the analysis of the matricial norms is concerned with determining whether there are omissions, additions, or manipulations of segmentation in the TT in comparison to the ST. Toury's operational norms will be an indispensable component of my analysis of Darwin's *The Origin*, since to which matricial norms the agents of translation subscribe can cause translated texts and their authors to be perceived differently in the target culture. Hence, understanding the matricial norms the agents of (re)translation followed while rendering Darwin's text into Turkish is also a crucial component for this study given the ideological repercussions of multiple elements in Darwin's *The Origin* (e.g., the Malthusian emphasis, references to higher and lower species, references to different races, references to God, criticism of Creationism, etc.). Therefore, a primary objective of my comparative textual analysis is to ascertain whether the (re)translators altered Darwin's statements, or his mentions of specific scientific phenomena, theories, scientists, and so forth, through omissions, additions, additional clarifications, notes, etc., to steer readers toward a particular ideological understanding of these aspects of Darwin's theory.

Textual-linguistic norms, on the other hand, are a set of norms that govern the linguistic and textual aspects of translation. They focus on the strategies employed by translators to convey the meaning of the original text to the target language and the ways different linguistic devices, such as conjunctions and discourse markers, semantic units, lexical items etc. are used throughout the translated text. Toury does not provide us with a clear-cut framework in terms of which linguistic components would be taken into consideration while analyzing translations on the basis of

textual-linguistic norms. I think that the contrary would not have been possible either since every single research project would require the researcher to focus on a certain set of linguistic elements during a comparative analysis.

In my analysis, I will focus primarily on the lexical choices of the agents of (re)translation to understand to what extent they rejuvenated Darwin's text in Turkish since, as briefly discussed in the Introduction, the aging of a translation is perceived as the leading reason for retranslation efforts to take place. The focus on the lexical choices will help me see whether rejuvenating the text was the main and/or only object of the agents of translation that (re)translated *The Origin* (1859). Their lexical choices, as will be seen more clearly in the following sections, can also have ideological implications and give us insights into the relationships between the translatorial strategies and the socio-political dispositions of agents of translation. In addition to considering the lexical choices and the related norms the translators followed, I will also discuss the decisions the agents of translation made in relation to preliminary norms, especially concerning the selection of the source text editions that were used for translation. As some of these source text editions are accompanied by different paratextual elements in the source languages, decisions made in this regard are also important for an analysis that considers paratextual materials as crucial textual spaces for narrative production.

The final elements that Toury defines as part of translation norms, initial norms, indicate whether the translator subscribes to the source text norms (to produce an adequate translation), to target culture norms (to produce an acceptable translation), or to a combination of the both.

#### 4.2 Gérard Genette's paratexts, peritexts and epitexts

Another insightful framework that will guide me in portraying the relationship(s) between the social trajectories and dispositions of the agents of translation and the narratives they produced on Darwin and his theory is Genette's (1987/ 1997) taxonomy of paratexts. Genette (1987/1997, p. 1) describes paratexts as textual elements that surround and extend the literary work with the purpose of presenting it. Based on their spatial properties, Genette (1987/1997, p. 344) classifies paratexts under two categories — peritexts and epitexts. Peritextual elements are the framing elements inside the text, such as the author's name, the title, the preface, etc., that accompany the main text. Epitexts, on the other hand, are the framing elements outside the text such as interviews performed with the author and/or the publisher, posters, critical reviews, etc.

In her detailed exploration of paratexts in translation, Kathryn Batchelor notes that paratexts serve as new spaces for agents of translation to frame the translated text for various purposes. Thus, according to Batchelor:

Paratexts, like the texts to which they give access, are created by people, and to examine them is to examine the activities of people: how people try and persuade, educate, share opinions for reasons of self-interest or benevolence, sell products, demonstrate allegiance, and so on. (2018, p. 195)

Batchelor (2018, p. 25) also notes that numerous studies in TS have incorporated paratextual materials into their research frameworks, with over one hundred articles in English alone, although the majority of these studies are focused on analyzing peritextual material. The current study highlights that epitexts are as crucial as peritexts for a translatorial analysis, given that many agents of retranslation have written about Darwin and his theory on various digital and printed platforms. Additionally, some agents were invited by different intellectual platforms to deliver seminars or be interviewed about Darwin, *The Origin*, and its (re)translations. These

seminars and interviews were later broadcast on digital platforms, primarily on the YouTube channels of the relevant institutions and platforms. Thus, my analysis considers as epitextual materials a wide range of written and audio-visual materials produced by the agents of (re)translation in relation to Darwin, *The Origin*, and its (re)translations.

Highlighting the significance of paratextual analysis for both micro and macro studies on retranslation, Berk-Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar (2019b) note that “paratexts provide spaces for retranslators and other agents in the publishing field to express their views and guide the reading of the works in question.” (p. 7). Focusing on the translation of social sciences and humanities texts, Rafael Y. Schögler (2019) further argues that in addition to guiding the reading of the translated text, paratextual elements also “lead to a social and intellectual positioning of the paratext author” (p. 108). Thus, according to Schögler (2019) authors of the peritextual elements in SSH texts, for example, can position themselves as experts in the given intellectual field, potentially with knowledge of both the source and target scholarly fields.

Analyzing the paratextual elements surrounding the (re)translations studied in this research will offer access to the various narratives the agents produced about Darwin and his theory in their paratextual materials, which helped them (re)frame various aspects of the theory of evolution in the Turkish context while, sometimes, positioning themselves as experts on evolutionary theories. Thus, incorporating a paratextual analysis into this research will allow for a better understanding of the reasons behind the agents' translatorial interest in *The Origin* and how the (re)translations of *The Origin* align with the ideological dispositions and the resulting translatorial production of the agents of (re)translation.

### 4.3 Mona Baker's narrative model

In her 2006 book, *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account*, esteemed TS scholar Mona Baker presents a narrative model to understand “how the discursive negotiation of conflictual and competing narratives is realized in and through acts of translation and interpreting” (Baker, 2006, p. 1). Baker employs the framework of narrative drawn from social and communication theory, diverging from traditional approaches found in narratology or linguistics. She stresses that her conceptualization of narratives denotes the ordinary stories and accounts that influence our existence, and she uses the terms narrative and story interchangeably.

According to Baker (2006, p. 10, emphasis in the original), in addition to possessing narrative elements such as a beginning, and an ending, scientific theories and reports function as key components of what we typically associate with objective scientific discourse. Baker also warns that scientific narratives have an undeniable potential for being politicized since they are “ultimately concerned with legitimizing and justifying actions and positions in the real world” (Baker, 2006, p. 11).

Consequently, they can be used by different groups with diverse (and mostly conflicting) ideological dispositions to legitimize their views and practices, even if these views and practices might seem immoral, even inhumane to their counterparts. Baker uses French naturalist and paleontologist Georges Cuvier's *Elementary Survey of the Natural History of Animals* (1798) to illustrate the normalizing effect of scientific narratives on society. According to Baker, Cuvier's work, among others, normalized over-arching racist and Eurocentric narratives in Europe during the period, making the society accept the public “scientific” examinations Cuvier and his peers conducted on the South African woman Saartjie Baartman completely normal.

Baker classifies narratives under four categories, drawing on Somers (1992, 1997) and Somers and Gibson (1994). Ontological narratives refer to personal narratives that individuals construct about their position in the world and their personal experiences. These narratives are primarily focused on the self and its immediate surroundings, yet they also possess interpersonal and social dimensions. Public narratives are narratives that extend beyond the individual and are developed and disseminated within larger social and institutional contexts, such as family, religious or educational institutions, the media, and the nation. Baker (2006, pp. 12-13) names Western democracy, Islamic fundamentalism, Christian fundamentalism, gay rights, etc. as some of the public narratives that circulate in many different versions in the twenty-first century. Social agents choose to adhere to or contest certain public narratives depending on the positions they take in their fields of operation. Translation naturally emerges as one of the tools social agents resort to promote or challenge prevailing societal narratives. Conceptual, or disciplinary, narratives refer to the stories and interpretations that scholars within a particular field develop for themselves and others regarding their area of study. Baker (2006, p. 39) notes that certain conceptual narratives, such as those advanced by Cuvier and Darwin, can exert significant influence on a global scale, whereas others are confined to the scholarly community within a specific field. As discussed in detail in Section 2., Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection had repercussions that exceeded the scientific realm since various aspects of the theory were appropriated into the narratives of different ideological groups. Meta-narratives encompass overarching themes such as Progress, Decadence, Industrialization, and Enlightenment, as well as significant competing narratives, such as Capitalism vs. Communism, Individual vs. Society, and Barbarism/Nature vs. Civility (Baker, 2006, p. 5). Baker (2006,

pp. 44-45) notes that meta-narratives start as simple public narratives, and by gaining persistence over time, they turn into meta-narratives and influence the lives of ordinary individuals across the planet. Baker warns that political elites can invoke established meta-narratives to promote new narratives.

Drawing on Somers & Gibson (1994) and Somers (1997), Baker identifies four core defining features of narratives as temporality, relationality, causal emplotment, and selective appropriation. According to Baker (2006, pp. 50-51), temporality in narratives does not necessarily entail recounting events in the correct chronological order. Instead, it signifies that narratives inherently involve a sense of duration, with elements always presented in a sequence that carries its own significance. According to Baker, temporality means that our narratives are history-laden, and the historicity embedded in our narratives not only shapes how we perceive the things related to the past but also today and the future. Baker cites The Black Holocaust narratives as an example where historicity is invoked to establish historical connections with the Jewish Holocaust when describing the atrocities inflicted upon African people. This way, the members of the Black Holocaust movement can likely gather greater attention and support on a global level as a result of the narrative associations people establish with an event in history that is now globally acknowledged as a genocide.

Relationality implies that understanding an individual event requires viewing it as part of a broader context, or a larger configuration of events. It is not possible to isolate parts of a narrative and interpret them without reference to a constructed configuration of related narratives. Similarly, when we seek to comprehend events, we integrate the narratives surrounding them into our own personal narratives. Baker gives various examples where translators made certain terminological choices to

either avoid or trigger a set of interpretations that have specific functions in their relational context in the public narratives of the target readers. For instance, she cites the early Bible translations commissioned by missionaries into the languages of colonized people. Missionaries demanded translators to retain some keywords such as *Dios* and *Virgen* in Latin or Castilian instead of replacing these terms with native ones. This way, they prevented the Bible from becoming loaded with the relational profiles of the native pagan religious beliefs (Baker, 2006, p. 62).

Baker lists causal employment as one of the most effective narrative features. Baker (2006, p. 67) argues that employment enables us to give significance to events by organizing and explaining them. This process transforms a collection of statements into a coherent narrative so that those subject to that particular narrative can form opinions. Consequently, employment charges the depicted events with moral and ethical importance and with cause-and-effect relations. According to Baker, “employment is often signalled merely through sequence and the ordering of events” (2006, p. 67) or, by “weighting events and endowing them with significance, perhaps as crises of a particular magnitude or as turning points in the context of the overall narrative” (2006, p. 67). Baker (2006, pp. 70-71) underscores that in translation, the emphasis placed on specific events and specific narrative elements, such as characters, places, locations, or certain conceptual elements etc. in the ST can be altered in the TT to create a different structure of causal employment. As a result, the readers will have different inferences than those of the ST readers as to what exactly caused that particular narrated event to happen and what kind of a moral position they should adopt concerning it.

Selective appropriation refers to privileging or excluding some elements of experience when elaborating a coherent narrative. To illustrate the significant

consequences of selective appropriation, Baker cites British travel accounts of Africa's exploration during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, where current African inhabitants were often omitted. This omission was part of the ideological groundwork for future depopulation of Africa by the colonizers since their narratives ignored the presence of indigenous people, cultures, and histories in the continent. In translation, various elements in the source text that have social, political, and historical connotations can be transferred into the target text selectively, in a way to present a given image of the ST reality. Accordingly, selecting, and in some cases inventing, texts or textual fragments or selectively omitting certain elements within those texts, can help elaborate a particular narrative of the other.

In addition to these four core features of narratives, Baker also discusses some of the narrative features identified in Bruner (1991): particularity, genericness, normativeness, and narrative accrual. Particularity means that narratives contain specific details about events and individuals, but they do so within a broader framework of story types. Repeated storylines can hold significant meaning for specific groups or cultures, leading members of these groups to view individual narratives that mirror these storylines as highly believable. Genericness, on the other hand, encourages people to expect certain stylistic and content-related qualities from a narrative depending on the genre the narrative is presented in.

Discussing the normative feature of narratives, Baker (2006, p. 98), states that it is inherent in any narrative that is constructed since “all narratives, including scientific ones, participate in processes of legitimation and justification that are ultimately political in import”. Thus, narratives establish which ways of approaching certain events in life and history are the normatively right ways of doing so.

Narrative accrual refers to gradual exposure to a narrative or a set of narratives, which ultimately shapes the individual, culture, tradition, or historical understanding of a society. Baker highlights that public narratives promoted by powerful institutions such as the state or media not only emphasize the elements they selectively appropriate but also embed them into our consciousness through repetitive exposure, a phenomenon described by Bourdieu as “symbolic dripfeed” (1998, p. 30, cited in Baker, 2006, p. 102). Sometimes agents can benefit from narrative accrual to find support for an ideas or practices that divert from the normalized.

Baker (2006, p. 105) then goes on to list certain strategies that agents of translation employ while renegotiating the narrative features of the ST in their translations “to produce a politically charged narrative in the target context”. She calls these (re)framing strategies. According to Baker (2006, p. 105), these narrative manipulations can “accentuate, undermine or modify aspects of the narrative(s) encoded in the source text or utterance”. Baker cites the translation strategies the seventeenth-century Zoroastrian ethnographer Mubad Shah used in translating Hindu religious texts as an interesting example of framing in translation. Since Islamic community distinguished religions based on whether they were revealed or non-revealed, this distinction served members of the Muslim community to differentiate themselves from Hindus, whose religion was perceived as lacking divine revelation. Translators reframed Hindu religious texts in such a way to suggest a "heavenly" and "revealed" religious system to facilitate dialogue between the two communities. As Baker notes, the strategies translators employ to (re)frame source text narratives can also lead to the exploitation of the framing ambiguity by resolving or further obscuring the ambiguities in the text. Translators can also deviate from the

prescribed frame space of the source text by bringing the source text in line with their own narrative position by textual and paratextual additions, rewordings, etc. To this end, Baker (2006, pp. 110-111) gives the example of Aphra Behn's preface to her English translation of the influential eighteenth century French Enlightenment figure Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes habités* (Conversations on the Plurality of Inhabited Worlds). The translator added a preface to her translation to apologize for making little additions to the text when necessary to make it more understandable. As with many other professions, translators are also expected to maintain compliance with the boundaries of their roles, one of these boundaries being very much related to (in)visibility. Thus, by kindly apologizing for her additions in her peritext, the translator steps outside her frame space as a translator. In addition, since the translator did not agree with the author's goal of rendering natural philosophy familiar and comprehensible to lay readers, by additions and rewordings, she (re)framed her translation in a way to "bring the source text in line with her own narrative position, to make it fit within a prescribed frame space for scientific discourse" (Baker, 2006, p. 111).

After Baker defines different narrative features, she goes on to list the strategies translators frequently use to manipulate the narrative features of texts: temporal and spatial framing, selective appropriation of textual material, framing by labelling, and repositioning of participants. Temporal and spatial (re)framing are performed by selecting a particular text shaped by the socio-cultural dynamics of a different spatial and temporal location and embedding it in the target temporal and spatial context. In this way, new links are established between the source culture and target culture narratives, "even though the events of the source narrative may be set within a very different temporal and spatial framework" (Baker, 2006, p. 112).

Selective appropriation of textual material in translation is performed by omitting and/or adding textual elements from/to the source text to suppress, accentuate, or elaborate particular aspects of a narrative the source text encodes. While selectively appropriating, translators can omit and/or add chapters, sections, paragraphs, sentences, or smaller textual units that refer to certain cultural, historical, and socio-political elements. For example, while the English edition of Roald Dahl's *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* omits all mentions of the ethnic background of the workers in Willy Wonka's factory, the Spanish translations still associate their color with the color of chocolate (Baker, 2006, p. 115).

Framing by labeling, on the other hand, is performed by “using a lexical item, term or phrase to identify a person, place, group, event or any other key element in a narrative” (Baker, 2006, p. 122). As Baker notes, one of the leading strategies used to frame a narrative by labeling is using euphemisms. For example, the multinational agricultural biotechnology corporation Monsanto does not allow the term “genetically modified” and its acronym “GM” to appear in its ads and resorts to “food biotechnology”, which is the more euphemistic term (Baker, 2006, pp. 122-123). Hence, a technical and scientific label that might have negative associations for some due to ethical and health-related concerns is substituted by a safer one. Baker also highlights the challenges translators face due to rival systems of naming where the same place, historical event, person(s), etc. are labeled using different names in different cultures. These rival naming instances mostly bear strong ideological disagreements.

Repositioning of participants, the final (re)framing strategy Baker describes, means reconfiguring the narrative positions of the target text participants. Their positions can be (re)framed “in relation to each other and to the reader or hearer

through the linguistic management of time, space, deixis, dialect, register, use of epithets, and various means of self and other identification” (Baker, 2006, p. 133). Baker notes that repositioning in translation can be realized by paratextual commentary added to the text by agents of translation or by manipulations performed on textual or utterance levels. Retranslations can serve as interesting examples where participants are (re)positioned by the textual and paratextual alterations performed on the new translation. By adding paratextual elements to their translations, translators can (re)frame their own positions in relation to the source text and make their presence more visible. In addition, the choice of the translation strategies applied while rendering the ST into the target language can have a great impact on how that particular (re)translation is positioned and received. To this end, Baker cites Sameh Hanna’s (2005) study, where he scrutinizes Shakespeare retranslations performed in Egypt. According to Hanna, by translating Shakespeare’s *Othello* using the Egyptian vernacular, the translator “attempt[ed] to undermine the claim of a homogeneous collective Arab identity” (Baker, 2006, p. 136) and (re)positioned the target readership to a national and non-elitist space.

Baker’s model offers a comprehensive model for analyzing not only the translated texts and the (re)framing techniques translators use in their translations but also the impact of the paratextual elements they add to their translations. Hence, integrating Baker’s model into the theoretical framework of this study provides me with a comprehensive perspective to study a myriad of textual and paratextual materials. Using Baker’s model will also allow me to analyze which narrative strategies the Harun Yahya group and the agents of translation who (re)translated and (re)published *The Origin* employed in their textual and paratextual materials. These analyses will help me understand what kind of an impact the agents’ narratives

potentially had in the reception of Darwin's conceptual narrative, the theory of evolution by natural selection, in the Turkish setting.



## CHAPTER 5

### TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF HARUN YAHYA’S *YARATILIŞ ATLASI* VOLUMES AND THEIR ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

As discussed in detail in Section 2.5.3, the mid-1980s in Türkiye witnessed the establishment of a popular fraternal, Islamic-Creationist organization under the leadership of Adnan Oktar, also known as Harun Yahya. As the group gained broader power in the 1990s and 2000s, publishing (both printed books and their digitalized PDF versions) served as a major strategy for Yahya to spread his model of Islamic Creationism. Oktar published countless books under the pen name Harun Yahya from 1996 onwards. By the late 2000s, he had published over 300 books (Ross-Solberg, 2013, p. 18). As mentioned earlier, these books, some of which fiercely attacked Darwinism, were distributed free of charge, increasing the suspicions that U.S.-based creationist organizations might be one of the major funding partners of Yahya. Having analyzed a great number of books published under the pen name Harun Yahya from the late 1980s until the late 2000s, Anne Ross Solberg (2013, p. 17) defines the four key themes in Yahya’s books as “anti-Darwinism, Judeo-Masonic conspiracy theories, nationalism/neo-Ottomanism, and ideas about a coming Mahdi and a Golden Age for Islam”.

In early 2007, Oktar and his group attracted international attention when they distributed translations of *Yaratılış Atlası* (Atlas of Creation) globally. Thousands of copies of Yahya’s over 800 page-long *Atlas of Creation* (2006) were mailed to university departments, research institutes, and schools in the United States and Europe. The book aims to refute the theory of evolution by arguing that living things have not undergone any change as argued by the Darwinist theory of evolution and

that they are, instead, the same today as they were hundreds of millions of years ago. The book received strong international criticism from academic and scientific circles due to criticism that its anti-Darwinist content was based on pseudo-scientific allegations and that the book relied mostly on the unauthorized use of copyrighted material.

Despite the international negative reaction to the first volume of *Atlas of Creation*, Yahya went on to publish subsequent volumes in the following years in English, French, German, Spanish, Arabic, and Hindi translations.<sup>6</sup> It should also be noted that Yahya's works were met with appreciation in some Islamic circles. For example, in 2010, the Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Centre of Jordan placed Oktar in 45<sup>th</sup> place in its list of the "500 most influential Muslims", describing him as "the world's foremost authority on Creationism and Islam, [with] a huge fan base of more than 1.6 million people" (The Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Centre, 2010, p. 87). Thus, Yahya's publication practices that targeted the local and international publication fields brought him considerable international fame, although his creationist anti-Darwinist narratives caused scientific and academic circles to label him as a charlatan. However, as his rise to international fame as the leading representative of Islamic Creationism indicates, Yahya's anti-Darwinist books obviously helped him accumulate a significant amount of symbolic capital, especially in creationist circles.

In addition to publishing and distributing hundreds of books, Adnan Oktar's group also operated hundreds of internet websites where his anti-Darwinist books and videos were available. On top of that, in 2011, the group founded a satellite TV

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<sup>6</sup> Whereas the second volume is available in all the listed languages, the third volume was translated into English, French, and German, and the fourth volume only into English. The first volume, on the other hand, had been translated into Chinese, Dutch, English, French, German, Hindi, Italian, Russian and Urdu.

station that easily escaped from state censorship as the channel broadcasted on cable networks<sup>7</sup>. The group continued its activities until the mass-scale arrests of Yahya and the members of his group in 2018. Yahya and his followers were tried on various charges. Eventually, Turkish courts sentenced Oktar to a total of 8,658 years in prison (Unanimous, 2020).

The following analysis investigates how Darwin's theory of evolution and his works were represented in Yahya's works. This analysis also aims to highlight how translation is used as a textual production tool in Yahya's recontextualization of Darwin in Turkish. For the purposes of the analysis, four volumes of Yahya's globally (in)famous *Atlas of Creation* and their Turkish versions will be examined. The English versions of all four volumes were accessed at "<https://en.harunyahya.info>", while the Turkish versions were accessed through "<https://www.harunyahya.info>" in September 2022.

### 5.1 The structure and content of the *Yaratılış Atlası* volumes

All four volumes of *Atlas of Creation* are thick books comprising around 700-800 pages. All volumes include many appendices, some of which are individual titles that were published in book format in previous years. For example, the first volume of *Atlas of Creation* includes a section titled "Appendix: the collapse of the theory of evolution" (starts on page 720), and another section titled "Evolution Deceit" (EvrİM Aldatmacası) (starts on page 730), which is a relatively shorter book that was first published in 1997 in Turkish. Similarly, the second volume includes the appendices

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<sup>7</sup> One of the weirdest TV stations that ever broadcasted in Türkiye, the station produced shows where Oktar discussed various themes he had also discussed in his books along with local and international current affairs. What made these shows unusual was the fact that Oktar was accompanied by dozens of his followers, mostly surgically enhanced blond women, who frequently complimented and praised him while he called them his "kittens".

“A Historical Lie: The Stone Age” (Tarihi Bir Yalan Kabataş Devri), and “Darwinism Refuted” (Hayatın Gerçek Kökeni), the Turkish versions of which were first published in book format in 2005 and in 2000, respectively. In a similar manner, volume III includes as appendices “Once upon a time there was Darwinism” (Bir Zamanlar Darwinizm) (first published in book format in 2003) and “Social Weapon: Darwinism” (Sosyal Silah: Darwinizm) (first published in book format in 2004). Lastly, volume IV includes “Darwin’s Dilemma: The Soul” (Darwin’in Açmazı: Ruh) (first published in book format in 2007) and “How did the anti-Christ die?” (not published as a separate book). Although the textual content taken from the titles previously published by Yahya is the same when compared with their appendix versions in the four volumes of *Atlas of Creation*, one realizes that they do not constitute the same number of pages because the same visuals and decorative elements were not used in two versions.

The *Atlas of Creation* volumes are extremely colorful. With the generous number of visuals they include, they are lavish examples of graphic design, starting from the book covers as Figure 3 demonstrates. Each volume starts by addressing the reader with a page titled “To the reader”. In these sections, Yahya explains that the book discusses the collapse of the theory of evolution since both the theory and Darwinism are at the basis of all anti-spiritual philosophies. It is also highlighted that, by rejecting Creationism, Darwin also rejected Allah’s existence and, in the following 150 years, caused people from all around the world to abandon their faith. On this page, it is underlined that refuting evolution, and contributing to the distribution of Yahya’s books are great services to Islam.

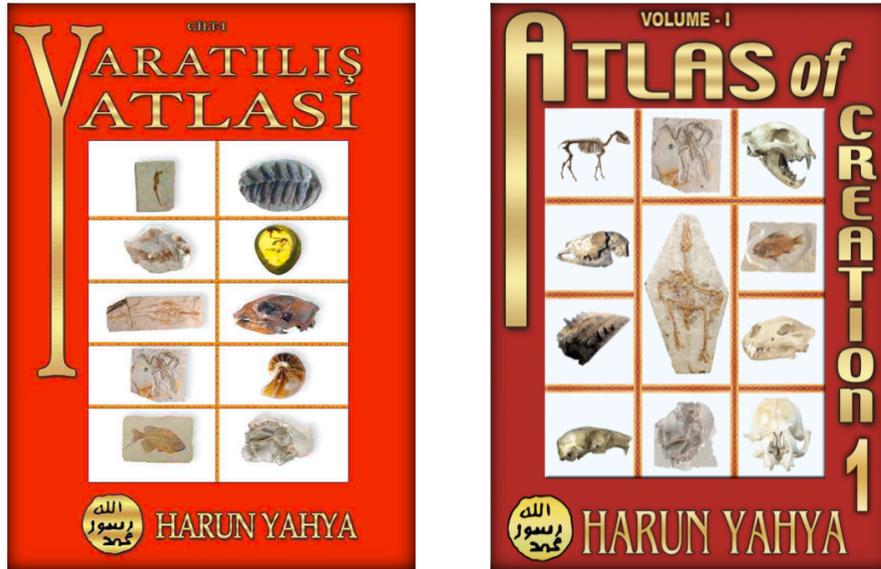


Figure 3. The Turkish and English versions of the first volume of *Atlas of Creation* (Yahya, 2006a & 2006b)

The “to the reader” section is followed by a two-page introduction on Adnan Oktar, which describes him as a well-known “author of important works disclosing the imposture of evolutionists, their invalid claims, and the dark liaisons between Darwinism and such bloody ideologies as fascism and communism” (Oktar, 2006a, p. 4). Following the content list, each volume includes an introductory section, the length of which ranges from one volume to another (ranging between 20 to 70 pages on average). Throughout the volumes, Yahya frequently suggests that Darwin’s theory of evolution by natural selection had serious (and always negative) repercussions for humankind:

For some people the theory of evolution or Darwinism has only scientific connotations, with seemingly no direct implication in their daily lives. This is, of course, a common misunderstanding. Far beyond just being an issue within the framework of the biological sciences, the theory of evolution constitutes the underpinning of a deceptive philosophy that has held sway over a large number of people: Materialism. (Yahya, 2006a, p. 730)

In this quoted segment, Yahya emphasizes (albeit indirectly) that Darwin’s theory is a conceptual narrative with multiple interpretations and ideological implications.

Yahya then names Darwin as the leading figure responsible for the emergence and worldwide acceptance of the theory of evolution, which he claims “consist[s] of various scenarios, assumptions, and conjectures that Darwin dreamed up in his own imagination” (Yahya, 2006a, p. 14). Yahya argues that Darwin’s theory was met with acceptance because of its anti-creationist implications and the resulting support it received from materialists. Materialism is frequently used in the *Atlas of Creation* volumes as a meta-narrative to provoke the reader to refute the theory of evolution as a pseudo-scientific narrative made up to serve the materialist agenda. Materialism is referred to as the leading source of evil in the world while materialists are thereby represented as the leading enemy of anyone that believes in divinity. Yahya claims that Darwin’s theory is blindly supported by materialists since it serves the materialist agenda of world domination and irreligion. Yahya uses the terms “evolutionist(s)” and “Darwinist(s)” interchangeably throughout the volumes of *Atlas of Creation*.

Harun Yahya criticizes certain conceptual elements in Darwin’s theory of evolution by natural selection to establish a narrative relationship between the theory of evolution and various meta-narratives, or dangerous ideologies as described by Yahya. Materialism, Competition, Racism, and Fascism are among the most frequently referred meta-narratives. Yahya also employs many narrative strategies Baker describes in her model in certain ways that his narrative contributes to the negative narratives created by Creationists on Darwin and his theory.

As described in more detail in Section 2.4.6, one of the major challenges evolution poses for Islamic thinking is the view that natural selection and the accompanying emphasis on competition run counter to morality and any idea of a divine or transcendent moral template for humankind. In a manner that displays great

parallelism with this view, Yahya incorporates into his narrative a severe criticism of the Malthusian and Spencerian notions Darwin incorporated into his theory. These notions are sometimes rephrased using certain synonyms such as “fight for survival”:

This fanaticism has resulted in all kinds of disasters. Together with the spread of Darwinism and the materialist philosophy it supports, the answer to the question "What is a human being?" has changed. People who used to answer: "God creates human beings and they have to live according to the beautiful morality He teaches", have now begun to think that "Man came into being by chance, and is an animal who developed by means of the fight for survival." There is a heavy price to pay for this great deception. Violent ideologies such as racism, fascism and communism, and many other barbaric world views based on conflict have all drawn strength from this deception. (Yahya, 2006a, p. 720, emphasis in the original)

In representing Darwinism as a materialist program that aims to justify a world order that is shaped by violent competition, racism, and fascism, Yahya emphasizes the notion of a ruthless struggle envisaged by Darwin:

According to Darwin, there is a ruthless struggle for survival and an eternal conflict in nature. The strong always overcome the weak, and this enables development to take place. The subtitle he gave to his book *The Origin of Species*, "The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life", encapsulates that view. (Yahya, 2006a, p. 721).

It is intriguing that Yahya frequently refers to the Malthusian notion of the struggle for existence and the Spencerian notion of the survival of the fittest in his narrative, sometimes combining these two notions as in the “struggle for survival”. Yahya’s narrative describes a Darwin who utilized these notions to their fullest extent and in a brutal fashion. With the frequent emphasis on the ruthless struggle and/or fight in Darwin’s description of natural selection, Yahya also employs selective appropriation in his narrative. His narrative completely disregards conflicting views which highlight Darwin’s emphasis on the mutual relations and co-dependencies among different organisms in nature, as discussed in detail in Section 2.4.1. Instead,

Darwin is portrayed in Yahya's narrative as a cruel scientific figure who blindly promoted materialistic and capitalist values that disregarded morality and humanity.

In his critique of the Malthusian elements of Darwin's theory of evolution, Yahya also elaborates on Malthus' views on population and the socio-political repercussions of his view on British society, as shown in Figure 4. He refers to the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act that was enacted to reform the system of poor relief (charity) in England:

As a result of this cruel policy, the weak, and those who lost the struggle for survival would be eliminated, and as a result the rapid rise in population would be balanced out. This so-called "oppression of the poor" policy was actually carried out in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Britain. An industrial order was set up in which children of eight and nine were made to work sixteen hours a day in the coal mines and thousands died from the terrible conditions. The "struggle for survival" demanded by Malthus' theory led to millions of Britons leading lives full of suffering. (Yahya, 2006a, p. 722)

It is interesting that Yahya elaborates on the views of Malthus and the related historical context in such detail. This strategy actually contributes to his agenda of portraying a Darwin whose theory had unacceptable and inhumane repercussions for societies. By making such historical references, Yahya employs relationality and temporal and spatial (re)framing as narrative strategies. The underlying message is that a doctrine which caused discriminative practices even in the very country where Malthus was born cannot lead to anything positive when integrated into a scientific theory, or a conceptual narrative. Thus, Yahya's brief reference to the Whig policies in the mid- nineteenth century establishes a negative relationality with the potential impacts of Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection on society.

#### Darwin's Source of Inspiration: Malthus's Theory of Ruthlessness

Darwin's source of inspiration on this subject was the British economist Thomas Malthus's book *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. Left to their own devices, Malthus calculated that the human population increased rapidly. In his view, the main influences that kept populations under control were disasters such as war, famine and disease. In short, according to this brutal claim, some people had to die for others to live. Existence came to mean "permanent war."

In the 19th century, Malthus's ideas were widely accepted. European upper class intellectuals in particular supported his cruel ideas. In the article "**The Scientific Background of the Nazi 'Race Purification' Programme**", the importance 19th century Europe attached to Malthus's views on population is described in this way:

In the opening half of the nineteenth century, throughout Europe, members of the ruling classes gathered to discuss the newly discovered "Population problem" and to devise ways of implementing the Malthusian mandate, to increase the mortality rate of the poor: "Instead of recommending cleanliness to the poor, we should encourage contrary habits. In our towns we should make the streets narrower, crowd more people into the houses, and court the return of the plague. In the country we should build our villages near stagnant pools, and particularly encourage settlements in all marshy and unwholesome situations," and so forth and so on.<sup>3</sup>



Thomas Robert Malthus

Figure 4. One of the sections in the *Atlas of Creation*, where Malthusian elements in Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection are criticized (Yahya, 2006a, p. 722)

As discussed in detail in Section 2.4.1, Darwin stated in *The Origin* (1859) that he used the notion of the struggle for existence "in a large and metaphorical sense" (Darwin, 1964, p. 62). However, the Malthusian elements in his theory persuaded members of the middle class to draw parallels between natural selection and market competition while Darwin's theory was appropriated by Herbert Spencer in his Social Darwinism. Whereas historians of science (e.g., Steffoff, 1996; Gayon, 2003; Lewens 2007, 2009; Charmentant, 2013, etc.) argue that Darwin distanced himself from Social Darwinism and similar ideological initiatives, Yahya produces a conflicting narrative. He suggests that Darwin extended the "struggle for existence" to humankind as well, favoring white Europeans against African and Asian races:

Furthermore, Darwin proposed that the "fight for survival" also applied between human racial groups. According to that fantastical claim, "favoured races" were victorious in the struggle. Favoured races, in Darwin's view,

were white Europeans. African or Asian races had lagged behind in the struggle for survival. (Yahya, 2006a, p. 721, emphasis in the original)

Throughout Yahya's *Atlas of Creation* and the successive volumes, Darwin is frequently represented as a racist. His observations and comments on the savage populations of South America are presented as proof of Darwin's racism. Whereas there seems to be a general agreement among historians that Darwin distanced himself from racist and oppressive doctrines such as Social Darwinism and Eugenics, some of his views on savage populations he observed in South America have been interpreted as racist remarks by some. For example, in *The Descent of Man* (1871) Darwin attributes a higher position to civilized nations in the evolutionary development of intellect and views racial extermination as an outcome of disparate intellectual evolutionary processes between civilized and barbaric societies (Darwin, 1981, p. 160). Darwin's narratives have furnished Creationists with easily-manipulable material to craft their own anti-Darwinist narratives, often blaming Darwin for promoting racism. Yahya follows a similar path and quotes a similar narrative by Darwin from *The Descent of Man* (1871):

At some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries, the civilised races of man will almost certainly exterminate, and replace the savage races throughout the world. At the same time the anthropomorphous apes... will no doubt be exterminated. The break between man and his nearest allies will then be wider, for it will intervene between man in a more civilized state, as we may hope, even than the Caucasian, and some ape as low as a baboon, instead of as now between the negro or Australian and the gorilla. (Yahya, 2007a, p. 721)

Quotations similar to this are used as proofs of Darwin's racism. Thus, Yahya selectively appropriates sections from Darwin's works that can be interpreted as racist remarks by a twenty-first century reader. Interestingly, both Creationists like Yahya and pro-Darwinists benefit from the same strategy, selective appropriation, in portraying two different pictures of Darwin. As discussed in more detail in Section

2.4.2, the narrative elements Darwin supporters generally tend to appropriate selectively are Darwin's remarks on morality and mankind's moral responsibility towards each other, his criticism of slavery, his emphasis on the mutual relations among organic beings, etc.

The articles in the *Atlas of Creation* include many other references to certain meta-narratives with which Darwin's theory has been negatively affiliated. For example, Yahya attributes to Darwin eugenics, along with the atrocities committed by the regimes that subscribed to eugenic policies. He alleges that "a strong Darwinist influence can be seen in Nazi ideologues" (2006a, p 722).

Another meta-narrative Yahya frequently affiliates Darwinism with is Communism since he asserts that "Communists have always been among the fiercest defenders of Darwin's theory" (2006a, p. 724). Yahya elaborates on several aspects of the Darwinian theory of evolution which Marxists and leftists incorporated into their ideology. He states that both Marx and Engels were impressed by Darwin's theory and its 'dialectical materialist' nature. He is also eager to mention that Engels wrote his famous work *The Dialectics of Nature* (1883) after being influenced by Darwin's views (Yahya, 2006a, p. 724).

Yahya establishes another negative relationship between Darwin's ideas and a socio-political atrocity that took place in the course of history. He refers to the authoritarian Mao regime in China, which committed significant instances of human rights abuses during the Maoist Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). According to Yahya, the foundation of Chinese socialism rests on Darwinism. This is another example where Yahya makes use of relationality to produce a negative image of Darwin. An interesting aspect of the relationship Yahya establishes between Chinese Communism and Darwinism is that he represents Chinese Darwinism as a direct and

unchanged integration of Darwin's thoughts into the Chinese socio-political dynamics. As discussed earlier in the Introduction, there are many scholars such as Xiaoxing Jin (2019), whose research has shown that Chinese intellectuals transformed certain Darwinian notions (e.g., struggle for existence) to "legitimize China's pre-existing paradigm of evolutionary progressivism" (Jin, 2019, p. 140). However, every time Yahya discusses Darwinism's impact on the policies and practices of various regimes, his account suggests that these regimes directly incorporated Darwin's theory and associated concepts into their ideologies, without any alteration during the epistemic transfer of these ideas.

The sections in which Yahya promotes creationist anti-Darwinist views by presenting the theory of evolution by natural selection as one of the most dangerous conceptual narratives ever are followed by sections devoted to comparing fossil specimens, as shown in Figure 5. These are specimens found on different continents and/or belonging to different taxonomical categories/classes with modern-day plants, insects, birds, mammals, etc. By comparing these fossils with the photos of present-day species, Yahya argues that species have not undergone a dramatic change over time as argued by the theory of evolution. The sections comparing fossil specimens and living species are then followed by different appendices in each volume, some of which had, as mentioned earlier, been published in book format in preceding years.



Figure 5. (left) The first page of the two-page introduction on Harun Yahya; (right) One of the many pages the *Atlas of Creation* that compares a fossil record with a living species (Yahya, 2006a, p. 513)

## 5.2 The translators of the *Yaratılış Atlası* volumes

According to the copyright pages of the four volumes, Carl Nino Rossini and Ronald Evans were the co-translators of the first three volumes whereas Rossini was the sole translator of the fourth one. When I conducted web-based research on the translators, most of the web results on Rossini were related to his Yahya translations. These were mostly webpages that included information on Yahya's works, where Rossini's name was only mentioned as the translator without further information on his background. However, I also found a few Turkish news articles, which praised Rossini for taking care of stray animals in Türkiye. In one of these news articles, published by the online newsletter T24, Rossini is described as a British citizen who married his Turkish wife and moved to Türkiye 18 years ago (Turapoğlu & Karadağ, 2017). In addition, Rossini's name is mentioned in the acknowledgment sections of a few

academic publications published by Turkish scholars. These researchers, who publish on various subject matters in relation to medical science, acknowledge their gratitude to Rossini for his linguistic consultation. One example is the article by Özdin et al., titled “Early maladaptive schemas in patients with bipolar and unipolar disorder”, published by *the International Journal of Psychiatry in Clinical Practice* (Taylor & Francis) in 2018. Considering that Yahya’s works are defined as pseudo-scientific by many scientists and scholars in the world, it is interesting to see that their English translator also translates or edits content published in prestigious academic publication mediums.

When I searched online about Ronald Evans, I came across information on a Canadian Anglican reverend who served and lived in Türkiye until his death. According to the website of Diocese in Europe,<sup>8</sup> Ronald Wilson Evans (1947 – 2021) moved to Türkiye in 1998 and served as assistant priest and chaplain in two Anglican churches located in Istanbul and Izmir until his retirement in 2015 (Diocese in Europe, n.d.). Unfortunately, no further information is available on Evans and Rossini or on how they became affiliated with the Oktar group as translators. In addition to Evans and Rossini, Timothy Mossman is named as the editor of all four volumes. My web-based search on a Timothy Mossman, who is or was related to Türkiye in some way or another yielded no information.

The fact that Yahya did not choose to employ famous figures as the translators of the English versions of his *Yaratılış Atlası* volumes suggests that he was not interested in benefiting from the social, scientific and/or symbolic capital associated with translators. Instead, the emphasis remained on Yahya, and he

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<sup>8</sup> Diocese in Europe is a network of Christian communities and congregations serving Anglicans and other English-speaking Christians across Europe, Türkiye, and Morocco.

gathered all the positive and negative attention and subsequently accumulated different types of capital as an outcome of publishing and distributing *Atlas of Creation*.

### 5.3 An analysis of the Darwin references and partial translations in the *Atlas of Creation* and *Yaratılış Atlası* volumes

In all four volumes of the *Atlas of Creation* analyzed, Yahya frequently makes references to popular scientific figures who specialize in evolutionary biology, genetics, anthropology, etc. He also cites famous Creationist figures. The majority of these references are in the form of direct quotations. When he mentions famous scientists who conduct research in evolutionary biology or related disciplines, Yahya mostly criticizes them. In addition, he sometimes claims these well-known scientific figures also, secretly, agree with him, concerning the weaknesses of the theory of evolution. Yahya makes many references to the Qur'an as well, especially in the sections where he discusses the compatibility of science and Islam.

There are also references to Darwin's works in Yahya's books. By analyzing these Darwin quotations, or partial translations from Darwin in the Turkish *Yaratılış Atlası* volumes, I will answer the following questions: (1) How were Darwin quotations translated into the Turkish *Yaratılış Atlası* volumes? (2) Are the quoted paragraphs or sentences in the four volumes of *Atlas of Creation* manipulated? (3) What kind of a Darwin picture is drawn by the narrative Yahya produces surrounding his Darwin references?

My analysis of the four volumes of *Atlas of Creation* and *Yaratılış Atlası* showed that Yahya primarily quoted *The Origin* (1859). Despite the abundance of references to *The Origin* and other works by Darwin, the actual number of quotations

made from Darwin is only a little more than a dozen. This results from the fact that the same quotations are repeatedly used in more than one volume, sometimes in more than one section within the same volume. Except for a few examples, which are quotations made from Darwin's *The Descent*, Darwin quotations in the Turkish versions of *Atlas of Creation* were translated by Yahya, or by his team.<sup>9</sup> When Darwin quotations in the English versions of the four volumes were compared with the relevant pages from *The Origin*, it was found that they were neither manipulated nor changed. However, the selected segments/sentences that were quoted from Darwin demonstrate a conscious manipulative intention, which decontextualizes Darwin's intended arguments. In addition, the translations provided for some of these quotations in the *Yaratılış Atlası* volumes result in significant changes in the target meaning. These changes reflect Yahya's lexical and/or syntactical choices.

I would like to start my discussion with the most frequently used Darwin quotation in Yahya's *Atlas of Creation* volumes. The quoted paragraph is a collage of sentences taken from *The Origin*'s chapters titled "Difficulties of the Theory" and "On the Imperfection of the Geological Record". This quotation first appears in volume I, under the title "The Truth That Fossils Reveal about Living Things: Creation". In this section, Yahya argues that the lack of intermediate-form fossils refutes the theory of evolution. He further argues that Darwin himself also acknowledged this in *The Origin*, despite the reluctance of Darwinists to accept such refutation. In his discussion, Yahya exemplifies Darwin's so-called acknowledgment with the following quotation:

Why, if species have descended from other species by insensibly fine gradations, do we not everywhere see innumerable transitional forms? Why

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<sup>9</sup> Anne Ross-Solberg (2013, p. 11) states that there is a collective behind the pen name Harun Yahya and that Oktar also reported on certain occasions that his group of researchers included around 30 people.

is not all nature in confusion instead of the species being, as we see them, well defined? ... But, as by this theory innumerable transitional forms must have existed, why do we not find them embedded in countless numbers in the crust of the earth?... Why then is not every geological formation and every stratum full of such intermediate links? Geology assuredly does not reveal any such finely graduated organic chain; and this, perhaps, is the most obvious and serious objection which can be urged against my theory. (Darwin, 1859, as cited in Yahya, 2006a, p. 40)

As already mentioned, the first thing that deserves mention is that this quotation was created by combining segments taken from different sections and pages of *The Origin*. When one revisits Darwin's related context(s) in *The Origin*, it becomes clear that Darwin immediately provides explanations and answers for the questions he raises in the segments selected by Yahya. Darwin, in fact, uses this strategy with the purpose of assuring his readership that the questions he raises concerning the difficulties of this theory do not have sufficiently strong implications to invalidate them. For example, after raising the questions "Why, if species have descended from other species by insensibly fine gradations, do we not everywhere see innumerable transitional forms? Why is not all nature in confusion instead of the species being, as we see them, well defined?" (2008, p. 129), Darwin immediately provides an explanation for the phenomenon in concern by detailing the relationship between natural selection and translational varieties as follows:

As natural selection acts solely by the preservation of profitable modifications, each new form will tend in a fully-stocked country to take the place of, and finally to exterminate, its own less improved parent or other less-favoured forms with which it comes into competition. Thus extinction and natural selection will, as we have seen, go hand in hand. Hence, if we look at each species as descended from some other unknown form, both the parent and all the transitional varieties will generally have been exterminated by the very process of formation and perfection of the new form. (Darwin, 2008, p. 130)

However, Yahya does not include Darwin's explanations and answers in his volumes. By quoting Darwin's questions without the succeeding explanations and answers, Yahya, in fact, distorts Darwin's arguments. Hence, as Figure 6

demonstrates, the quoted sentences from Darwin's *The Origin* are decontextualized by selective appropriation:

Firstly, why, if species have descended from other species by insensibly fine gradations, do we not everywhere see innumerable transitional forms? Why is not all nature in confusion instead of the species being, as we see them, well defined? (p. 129) (...) As natural selection acts solely by the preservation of profitable modifications, each new form will tend in a fully-stocked country to take the place of, and finally to exterminate, its own less improved parent or other less-favored forms with which it comes into competition. Thus extinction and natural selection will, as we have seen, go hand in hand. Hence, if we look at each species as descended from some other unknown form, both the parent and all the transitional varieties will generally have been exterminated by the very process of formation and perfection of the new form. (p. 130) But, as by this theory innumerable transitional forms must have existed, why do we not find them embedded in countless numbers in the crust of the earth? (p. 130) It will be much more convenient to discuss this question in the chapter on the Imperfection of the geological record; and I will here only state that I believe the answer mainly lies in the record being incomparably less perfect than is generally supposed; the imperfection of the record being chiefly due to organic beings not inhabiting profound depths of the sea, and to their remains being embedded and preserved to a future age only in masses of sediment sufficiently thick and extensive to withstand an enormous amount of future degradation; and such fossiliferous masses can be accumulated only where much sediment is deposited on the shallow bed of the sea, whilst it slowly subsides. These contingencies will concur only rarely, and after enormously long intervals. Whilst the bed of the sea is stationary or is rising, or when very little sediment is being deposited, there will be blanks in our geological history. The crust of the earth is a vast museum; but the natural collections have been made only at intervals of time immensely remote" (p. 130). Why then is not every geological formation and every stratum full of such intermediate links? Geology assuredly does not reveal any such finely graduated organic chain; and this, (p. 206) perhaps, is the most obvious and gravest objection which can be urged against my theory. (p. 207) The explanation lies, as I believe, in the extreme imperfection of the geological record.

In the first place it should always be borne in mind what sort of intermediate forms must, on my theory, have formerly existed. I have found it difficult, when looking at any two species, to avoid picturing to myself forms directly intermediate between them. But this is a wholly false view; we should always look for forms intermediate between each species and a common but unknown progenitor; and the progenitor will generally have differed in some respects from all its modified descendants. To give a simple illustration: the fantail and pouter pigeons have both descended from the rock-pigeon; if we possessed all the intermediate varieties which have ever existed, we should have an extremely close series between both and the rock-pigeon; but we should have no varieties directly intermediate between the fantail and pouter; none, for instance, combining a tail somewhat expanded with a crop somewhat enlarged, the characteristic features of these two breeds. These two breeds, moreover, have become so much modified, that if we had no historical or indirect evidence regarding their origin, it would not have been possible to have determined from a mere comparison of their structure with that of the rock-pigeon, whether they had descended from this species or from some other allied species, such as *C. oenas*.

Figure 6. Darwin's original context in *The Origin* (1859) and the selectively appropriated partial translations (highlighted in yellow) in Yahya's *Atlas of Creation* (2006a)

As clearly seen above, by providing only Darwin's questions and ignoring the subsequent answers he lists, Yahya creates an impression that Darwin is in serious doubt about his theory and unable to find reasonable explanations for certain difficulties involved in this theorizing.

When *Atlas of Creation* is analyzed, it is evident that some Darwin quotations were translated by Yahya (or by his team) instead of using one of the Darwin translations that were already available in Turkish when the first volume was published in 2006. Below, Table 1 includes one of the quotations repetitively used in *Atlas of Creation*'s English and Turkish versions:

Table 1. Darwin Quotation I in Yahya's *Yaratılış Atlası* (2006b), Its Back-Translation into English, and the Translation of the Same Quote in the *Atlas of Creation* (2006a)

<i>Yaratılış Atlası</i> (2006)	Back-translation	<i>Atlas of Creation</i> (2006)
Eğer gerçekten türler öbür türlerden yavaş gelişmelerle türemişse, neden sayısız ara geçiş formuna rastlamıyoruz? Neden bütün doğa bir karmaşa halinde değil de, tam olarak tanımlanmış ve yerli yerinde? Sayısız ara geçiş formu olmalı, fakat niçin yeryüzünün sayılamayacak kadar çok katmanında gömülü olarak bulamıyoruz... Niçin her jeolojik yapı ve her tabaka böyle bağlantılarla dolu değil? Jeoloji iyi derecelendirilmiş bir süreç ortaya çıkarmamaktadır ve belki de bu benim teorime karşı ileri sürülecek en büyük itiraz olacaktır. (p. 36)	If species have really descended from other species by slow developments, why do we not find numerous transitional forms? Why is all nature not in a state of confusion, but precisely defined and in place? There must be innumerable transitional forms, but why cannot we find them buried in countless strata of the earth... Why isn't every geological structure and every stratum filled with such connections? Geology does not reveal a well graded process, and this will perhaps be the biggest objection that will be urged against my theory.	Why, if species have descended from other species by insensibly fine gradations, do we not everywhere see innumerable transitional forms? Why is not all nature in confusion instead of the species being, as we see them, well defined? ... But, as by this theory innumerable transitional forms must have existed, why do we not find them embedded in countless numbers in the crust of the earth?... Why then is not every geological formation and every stratum full of such intermediate links? Geology assuredly does not reveal any such finely graduated organic chain; and this, perhaps, is the most obvious and serious objection which can be urged against my theory. (p.40)

When we compare Yahya's translation of this Darwin quotation from *Yaratılış Atlası* with Darwin's original text, certain lexical choices in Yahya's Turkish translation stand out. In the first sentence, Yahya adds the word "gerçekten (really)", which increases the tone of doubtfulness/uncertainty in Darwin's question. In addition, whereas Darwin describes descent as a process that happens through "insensibly fine gradations", in Yahya's translation, descent is described as a phenomenon that species are subjected to by "slow developments" (yavaş gelişmelerle) from other species. Although it might be thought that this is a minor nuance, it has significant

implications when it comes to understanding how natural selection functions. In *The Origin*, Darwin underlines several times that natural selection is a continuous process and that changes (over time) happen at a very micro level, which is completely imperceptible to the human eye. Thus, it can be argued that, while translating Darwin's quotation into Turkish, by his lexical choices, Yahya not only inserts into Darwin's question connotations of doubt/uncertainty but also distorts the concept of evolution. In this quotation, Yahya also modifies Darwin's tone concerning the degree of certainty. In the final sentence of this quoted segment in *The Origin*, Darwin states that the absence of a graduated organic chain in geological records "perhaps, is the most obvious and serious objection which can be urged against [his] theory". Yahya, on the other hand, translates this section as "...belki de bu benim teorime karşı ileri sürülecek en büyük itiraz olacaktır" (...will perhaps be the biggest objection that will be urged against my theory). Here, Yahya uses the Turkish verb conjugations "sürülecek" and "olacak" in his translation, which best translate into English by using the modal verb "will" (instead of "is" and "can" as in the original). These grammatical choices modify the degree of certainty in Darwin's tone and make the Turkish translation sound as if Darwin sees it more possible that one day his theory "will" be subjected to obvious and rightful objections based on the absence of certain geological records.

A similar linguistic change can be exemplified by another Darwin quotation. Yahya uses this quotation from Darwin in volumes I and volume II of *Atlas of Creation* and *Yaratılış Atlası*. This Darwin quotation first appears in the section "Why Cannot Natural Selection Explain Complexity?" of volume I. In this section, Yahya criticizes the arbitrariness of natural selection and goes on to argue that the theory of evolution is thus insufficient to explain irreducible complexity. While

integrating one of the major building blocks of the intelligent design argument into his narrative, Yahya claims that Darwin was also worried about the absence of an explanation for complex organs. Yahya quotes Darwin by “if it could be demonstrated that any complex organ existed, which could not possibly have been formed by numerous, successive, slight modifications, my theory would absolutely break down” (Darwin, 1859, as cited in Yahya, 2006a, p. 749). Firstly, when we revisit Darwin’s relevant context in *The Origin*, we can see that, by using this quotation from Darwin, Yahya once again decontextualizes Darwin’s arguments through selective appropriation. On the relevant page, right after Darwin states that demonstrating the existence of a complex organ formed by a process other than natural selection would nullify his theory, he qualifies his own statement with the following remarks:

*But I can find out no such case.* No doubt many organs exist of which we do not know the transitional grades, more especially if we look to much- isolated species, round which, according to my theory, there has been much extinction. Or again, if we look to an organ common to all the members of a large class, for in this latter case the organ must have been first formed at an extremely remote period, since which all the many members of the class have been developed; and in order to discover the early transitional grades through which the organ has passed, we should have to look to very ancient ancestral forms, long since become extinct. (Darwin, 2008, p. 142, emphasis by me)

If we return to how this Darwin quotation was translated in the first volume of *Yaratılış Atlası*, it is evident, as shown in Table 2, that the morphological choices made by Yahya change the tone of Darwin’s statement, which, again, damages the strength of his arguments.

Table 2. Darwin Quotation II in Yahya’s *Yaratılış Atlası* (2006b), Its Back-Translation into English and the Translation of the Same Quote in the *Atlas of Creation* (2006a)

<i>Yaratılış Atlası</i> (2006)	Back-translation	<i>Atlas of Creation</i> (2006)
eğer birbirini takip eden çok sayıda küçük değişiklikle kompleks bir organın oluşmasının imkansız olduğu gösterirse, teorim kesinlikle yıkılmış olacaktır. (p. 747)	If it is shown that the formation of a complex organ is impossible by a large number of successive minor changes, my theory will certainly be demolished.	If it could be demonstrated that any complex organ existed, which could not possibly have been formed by numerous, successive, slight modifications, my theory would absolutely break down. (p. 749)

As seen in the back-translation of this Darwin quotation, whereas Darwin chooses to use modal verbs “could” and “would” in the English original, Yahya resorts to increase the degree of certainty in this sentence by using the Turkish verb conjugated as “yıkılmış olacaktır” (will be demolished). As a result of these morphological choices, the connotation of doubt/uncertainty in the English original is decreased in the Turkish translation of this Darwin quotation. The lower degree of certainty in Darwin’s sentence, which is achieved through the use of the modals “could” and “would” in English is not maintained in the Turkish translation and Darwin sounds more certain that his theory “will” breakdown. Between Darwin’s original remarks and the Turkish translation, there is also a shift in the meaning. Darwin is suggesting that the discovery of a complex organ that could not have been formed through gradual and small changes would disprove his theory. Yahya, though, looks at it from another angle, referring to the possible proof of the impossibility of such a process.

In the Turkish translation of another Darwin quotation in *Yaratılış Atlası*, Darwin’s statement is manipulated by omitting certain contextual elements completely and by adding new contextual elements to the quoted segment. This Darwin quotation is in the second volume of *Atlas of Creation*, under the Section

“Bee”. This is the section where Yahya compares various existing members of the insect family and the fossils of extinct species. Based on the “complex calculations that the bees employ to make honeycombs” (Yahya, 2007, p. 455), Yahya focuses on species-specific behaviors and argues that the theory of evolution cannot explain such behavioral models. He further states that Darwin also found this phenomenon “dilemmatic”. To support his argument, Yahya goes on to quote the following segment from *The Origin*:

As natural selection acts only by the accumulation of slight modifications of structure or instinct, each profitable to the individual under its conditions of life, it may reasonably be asked, how a long and graduated succession of modified architectural instincts, all tending towards the present perfect plan of construction, could have profited the progenitors of the hive-bee? (Darwin, 1859, as cited in Yahya, 2007, p. 455)

As in the previous examples, when we revisit Darwin’s actual context, we see that he immediately provides an answer to his question, which is again ignored by Yahya.

Right after asking how the complex workings of natural selection could have profited the progenitors of the hive-bee, Darwin continues with the following remarks:

I think the answer is not difficult: it is known that bees are often hard pressed to get sufficient nectar; and I am informed by Mr Tegetmeier that it has been experimentally found that no less than from twelve to fifteen pounds of dry sugar are consumed by a hive of bees for the secretion of each pound of wax; so that a prodigious quantity of fluid nectar must be collected and consumed by the bees in a hive for the secretion of the wax necessary for the construction of their combs. ... Hence the saving of wax by largely saving honey must be a most important element of success in any family of bees. (Darwin, 2008, p. 174)

While Darwin’s arguments in the quoted segment are once again decontextualized by selective appropriation, as seen in Table 3, the Turkish translation of the relevant quoted segment also omits significant information, distorting Darwin’s arguments to a great extent:

Table 3. Darwin Quotation III in Yahya's *Yaratılış Atlası* Vol II (2007b), Its Back-Translation into English, and the Translation of the Same Quote in the *Atlas of Creation* Vol II (2007a)

<i>Yaratılış Atlası Vol II (2007)</i>	Back-translation	<i>Atlas of Creation Vol II (2007)</i>
İçgüdüler doğal seçmeyle kazanılabilir veya değişikliğe uğratılabilir mi? Arıyı, -büyük matematikçilerin buluşlarından çok önceden- petek gözlerini yapmaya yönelten içgüdü için ne diyeceğiz? (p. 455)	Can instincts be acquired or modified by natural selection? What shall we say about the instinct that leads the bee to make the honeycomb cells - long before the revolutions of the great mathematicians?	As natural selection acts only by the accumulation of slight modifications of structure or instinct, each profitable to the individual under its conditions of life, it may reasonably be asked, how a long and graduated succession of modified architectural instincts, all tending towards the present perfect plan of construction, could have profited the progenitors of the hive-bee? (p. 455)

The details Darwin repeats at the beginning of his inquiry concerning how natural selection functions, namely the part where he explains that “natural selection acts only by the accumulation of slight modifications of structure or instinct, each profitable to the individual under its conditions of life” is totally omitted in the Turkish translation. In addition, Darwin’s following question is distorted by omitting certain textual elements and by adding additional ones. For example, whereas Darwin notes architectural “instincts are products of a long and graduated succession of modification”, in Yahya’s translation, only “instincts” remains. Yahya further omits the segment “all tending towards the present perfect plan of construction”, which highlights the slow and continuous nature of natural selection in Darwin’s original text. Lastly, Yahya adds to Darwin’s statement a new segment, “long before the revolutions of the great mathematicians”. These translatorial manipulations result in a serious semantic alteration. The reader is again given the impression that Darwin is in serious doubt/uncertainty concerning the implications of his theory, in this case concerning the theory’s explanatory power of animal behaviors and instincts. In addition, textual elements that detail one of the fundamental aspects of natural

selection (that it is a continuous process in which changes happen at a very micro level) are once again omitted in the translation.

Lastly, I would like to conclude this section with a final note on the strategies Yahya employs when he quotes the works of other scientists. The decontextualization of the quoted content through selective appropriation is a strategy applied not only to quotations from Darwin but also to quotations from other evolutionist scientists. Since this analysis concentrates on Darwin quotations and their translations in Yahya's selected books, I will share only one example of a quotation taken from another scientist, although there are a multitude of other examples. This quotation is from one of Richard Dawkin's books, *The Blind Watchmaker* (1986). The quotation is used in *Atlas of Creation* volume II, under the title "Fossils Reject the Tree of Life". In this section, Yahya argues that scientific findings on the Cambrian explosion damage the theory of evolution since it fails to explain how a great number of animal species suddenly spread across the surface of the earth. Yahya further notes that Dawkins also admits to this difficulty of the theory of evolution by quoting the following segment from *The Blind Watchmaker* (1986):

For example, the Cambrian strata of rocks... are the oldest ones in which we find most of the major invertebrate groups. And we find many of them already in an advanced state of evolution, the very first time they appear. It is as though they were just planted there, without any evolutionary history (Dawkins, 1986, as cited in Yahya, 2007, p. 609)

If we revisit Dawkin's context, we see that on the relevant pages, he in fact highlights certain misunderstandings around the American paleontologists Niles Eldredge and Stephen Jay Gould's proposal of punctuated equilibria and he goes on to criticize how Creationists integrated these misunderstandings into their own anti-evolutionist arguments. Thus, in *The Blind Watchmaker* (1986), immediately after

the remarks quoted by Yahya, as shown above, Dawkins continues his discussion with the following remarks:

Needless to say, this appearance of sudden planting has delighted creationists. Evolutionists of all stripes believe, however, that this really does represent a very large gap in the fossil record, a gap that is simply due to the fact that, for some reason, very few fossils have lasted from periods before about 600 million years ago. One good reason might be that many of these animals had only soft parts to their bodies: no shells or bones to fossilize. If you are a creationist you may think that this is special pleading. My point here is that, when we are talking about gaps of this magnitude, there is no difference whatever in the interpretations of 'punctuationists' and 'gradualists'. Both schools of thought despise so-called scientific creationists equally, and both agree that the major gaps are real, that they are true imperfections in the fossil record. (Dawkins, 1986, p. 229-230)

As this example also demonstrates, decontextualization by selective appropriation is a strategy Yahya frequently employs in his books. He does not use this strategy only when he quotes Darwin's works but also when he integrates into his narrative citations from other scientists who defend evolution or conduct research on related disciplines. By performing this kind of selective appropriation, Yahya benefits from the scientific and symbolic capital accumulated by these scientific figures to support his anti-Darwinist narratives. Along with selective appropriation, he also frequently resorts to (negative) relationality, as examples discussed in Section 5.1. demonstrate. These narrative techniques help him portray the theory of evolution as unreliable and defective, with many scientists, including Darwin himself, "doubting" certain arguments of the theory openly or indirectly.

In the case of Darwin quotations used throughout the volumes of *Atlas of Creation* and the partial translations of them in *Yaratılış Atlası*, this strategy also helps Yahya draw a picture of Darwin that suggests doubtfulness, unreliability, and dishonesty. While Darwin raised the questions and/or arguments in the quoted segments to exemplify certain difficulties and/or criticism that could be raised concerning his theory, he actually used this as a rhetorical and narrative strategy to

attract readers' attention to the potential weaknesses of his theory. His subsequent answers were to show that these weaknesses were not that strong, and many phenomena that Darwin's theory might assume to be inexplicable were, in fact, not. However, by decontextualizing Darwin through selective appropriation while quoting him in the Turkish *Yaratılış Atlası* volumes, Yahya conveys the image of an author who tried to convince the masses of his "imaginary" theory and who occasionally gave away the "unscientific" or "doubtful" nature of his arguments in his books. From Toury's normative perspective, it can be argued that instead of fully translating Darwin's works, Islamic Creationists in Turkey, at least Yahya, resorted to partially translating certain sections in them through selective quotations. However, when examined using Toury's matricial norms, even these quoted segments were not conveyed in their entirety and were instead manipulated through segmentation. These manipulations of segmentation also perfectly exemplify the selective appropriation of textual material in translation.

The linguistic manipulations made to the translated quotations also contribute to the negative picture of Darwin. In addition, these translatorial manipulations distort the concept of evolution through natural selection in the Turkish *Yaratılış Atlası* volumes as certain fundamental properties of the concept are misrepresented, mostly by omitting textual segments that detail them, or by choosing lexical alternatives that do not equally represent the conceptual properties of the theory. Hence, these translatorial manipulations, most of which are performed by selectively appropriating partial translations and implementing morphological, lexical and semantic manipulations on them, aid Yahya's endeavors to craft fresh anti-Darwinist public narratives. These narratives also help Yahya negatively associate Darwin and

his theory with overarching meta-narratives like Materialism, Atheism, Capitalism, Racism, and Fascism.

Although Yahya's works are labeled by scientific and academic circles as examples of pseudo-science, it is undeniable that they earned him considerable popularity and symbolic capital, which made him the leading contemporary representative of Islamic Creationism. For those who support Islamic Creationism, or Creationism in general, Yahya's works might also have scientific value as they encompass their counter-narratives against those produced by pro-Darwinists and evolutionists. The anti-Darwinist public narratives Yahya produced were criticized by various scientific and intellectual circles (or social groups) both locally and internationally. Such criticism can be found in the paratextual materials produced by some agents of *The Origin* (re)translations as well, which will be discussed in detail in Section 6.2.5.

## CHAPTER 6

### TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE TURKISH TRANSLATIONS OF *THE ORIGIN*

This chapter will analyze the Turkish (re)translations of *The Origin* (1859), which were commissioned and published between 1970 and 2022, and the (re)publications of the translation performed by Öner Ünalın, published by different publishing houses. As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, Methodological Framework, the analyses will be performed by applying a framework that encompasses Gérard Genette's (1997) taxonomy of paratexts, Mona Baker's (2006) narrative model of analysis, and Gideon Toury's (1995) translational norms elaborated on in his DTS while the findings will be assessed by benefiting from Bourdieu's social action theory.

Performing a comparative analysis on the retranslations of *The Origin* can be challenging since we cannot talk about a fixed source text. As will be further elaborated on in the following sections, Darwin continued to make changes in *The Origin* following its initial publication. While there are six editions of *The Origin*, the Turkish retranslations were performed using three of them. To make sure that I did not confuse any potential differences among the retranslations with those that result from the differences among the editions, I referred to and compared all three editions used as source texts as well. The Introduction, Chapter 3 "Struggle for Existence" and the final chapter "Recapitulation and Conclusion" (Chapter 14 in the first and second editions; Chapter 15 in the sixth edition) were selected for this comparative analysis. In the Introduction and the final chapter, Darwin offers a comprehensive summary of his theory, outlining his key arguments, addressing the challenging aspects of his theory and the potential objections to it. Understanding whether any concepts, challenges, or objections articulated by Darwin were omitted

or manipulated by the translators in these chapters was crucial for the purposes of the textual analysis. Chapters 3 and 14/15 contain Darwin's references to Malthusian, Spencerian, and theological concepts, which have sparked conflicting debates regarding the socio-political and religious implications of his theory. Therefore, these chapters were chosen to ascertain how the translators conveyed these ideologically sensitive contents into their target texts.

### 6.1 Agents of (re)translation and (re)publication

When analyzing the selected chapters of *The Origin* and the paratextual materials produced by the agents of (re)translation, it is crucial to provide detailed information about the sociological backgrounds, political affiliations, and overall intellectual production of the translators, editors, and publishers involved in these (re)translations and (re)publications. This analysis will help better understand the social and ideological dispositions of these agents and the social fields in which they operate(d). This approach will clarify the individual and collective gains the agents of (re)translation and their respective fields of operation accrued from producing, accumulating, and/or appropriating Darwin (re)translations and his theory of evolution by natural selection, both as material and immaterial goods.

In the following sections, I will categorize these agents under specific titles to facilitate the understanding of their ideological positionings, particularly for readers unfamiliar with the political context in Türkiye. While categorizing these agents, I have prioritized the most prominent political views they aligned with and the ideology-imposed narratives they produced frequently. However, it is important to note that this categorization is intended primarily to aid the readership's comprehension and is not rigid. For instance, an agent categorized under socialist

dispositions may also adhere to materialist and atheist worldviews. Similarly, agents with atheist and/or socialist dispositions may also possess scientific, academic and economic aspirations, and vice versa. To make this section more comprehensive, the publishing houses for which the agents of (re)translation produced their (re)translations and (re)publications will also be taken into consideration.

## 6 1.1 Agents of (re)translation with Marxist and socialist dispositions

### 6.1.1.1 Öner Ünalın, Muzaffer Erdost, Sevim Belli and Sol/Onur Yayınları

As discussed earlier in the Introduction, Sol Yayınları and its subsidiary, Onur Yayınları, were the first publishing houses that published Darwin's *The Origin* in Türkiye more than a hundred years after it was published in England. Sol Yayınları was established by Muzaffer Erdost (1932–2020) in 1964 to publish Marxist classics in Turkish. He was joined by his brother, İlhan Erdost, and the Erdost brothers published many Marxist and socialist works including Karl Marx's magnum opus *Das Capital* (1867), marking their Marxist and socialist dispositions in the Turkish publication and political fields.

A student of veterinary medicine in the 1950s, Erdost's interest in publishing started while he was a student. He served as a co-editor of *Pazar Postası* (Sunday Mail), a newspaper launched in 1951, which gradually embraced radical leftist ideology, according to Aksaç (2019). In addition to publishing translations of key Marxist and socialist works, Erdost also published books he penned on a range of topics, such as Turkish and Ottoman history, socialism, democracy, and agriculture. Between the 1960s and 1980s, Erdost was arrested and convicted several times on the grounds that his publishing activities violated the Turkish Penal Code as his publications were viewed as contributions to communist propaganda (Sol

Yayınlari'nin kurucusu, 2020). Following another conviction in the early nineteen seventies, Erdost brothers decided to establish a new publishing house that would publish “scientific books other than ideological books”. In the following years, the publishing house started publishing Darwin translations. The first publication of Onur Yayinlari was the translation of the first part of Darwin’s *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871). This translation was performed by Yavuz Erkoçak (1925–2016), a medical doctor who was also an eminent member of the Turkish Labor Party. He translated *The Descent of Man*, using its German translation as his source text. This translation was followed by Öner Ünalari’s (1935–2011) Darwin translations in the 1970s. The first Darwin translation Ünalari performed was the translation of *The Origin*, which was performed using Darwin’s sixth edition published in 1872 as the source text. In the following years, Ünalari translated Darwin’s *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871) as two separate titles. *İnsanın Türeyişi* (*the Descent of Man*) was published in 1973 and replaced the first translation by Yavuz Erkoçak whereas *Seksüel Seçme* (*Sexual Selection*) was published in 1977. In addition to Darwin’s works, Onur Yayinlari published many other scientific works such as Ibn Khaldun’s *Muqaddimah* (1377), M. Vasilyev and K. Stanyukovich’s *Matter and Man* (1960), and Albert Einstein and Leopold Infeld’s *The Evolution of Physics* (1938).

Erdost continued to write on evolution and Darwin in various newspapers in the years that followed the publication of Darwin translations. In one of his essays, Erdost clarified why he felt the need to publish Darwin’s works:

As I was preparing *The Origin*, which was first printed in 1859, *The Descent of Man* and *Sexual Selection*, which was first printed in 1871, for publication a hundred years after their first appearance in print, I realized that not a single one of the scientific works cited in these books had been published in Türkiye. That helped me better understand why we lag scientifically, why we cannot break through the darkness of faith and step into the light of wisdom

in any field, and why we are made a toy in the hands of the West, its colonial system, and cruel imperialism. (Erdost, 2004, p. 61; Appendix A, 1)<sup>10</sup>

Erdost's remarks indicate that publishing Darwin translations meant to him more than filling a major gap in the Turkish scientific literature. He views Darwin as a representative of modern, secular science and a valuable asset in the ideological struggle between the leftist worldview and religious radicalism. He also views Türkiye as a country that is under the control of imperialist policies, which shows parallelism with his Marxist critical disposition, and he blames being scientifically underdeveloped as the main reason for this imperialist control. Erdost's remarks are reminiscent of Hameed's (2010) argument that technology and science are wholeheartedly accepted in the modern-day Muslim world with the desire of achieving progress and economic independence. In the Turkish setting, whereas both Marxists and conservatives agreed on the significance of scientific development for progress and independence, they held totally different views on what should be included or omitted in science education and the scientific repertoire. Hence, while certain conservative circles viewed Darwinism as a cultural threat, for Marxists like Erdost, Darwin had great cultural and scientific value.

Similar to the first publisher of Darwin's works in Türkiye, the first translator of *The Origin*, Öner Ünalın, was a dedicated Marxist who made countless intellectual contributions to the Turkish Marxist and leftist publication fields. After graduating from the faculty of agricultural engineering in 1957, Öner Ünalın pursued a master's degree in educational sciences in the U.S. Upon returning to Türkiye, he worked as a government officer until his retirement, holding different positions in different ministries. In the meantime, he translated several books for various leftist

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<sup>10</sup> Turkish originals of the translated long quotes are available in Appendix A. Unless otherwise specified, all these translations into English were performed by me.

publishing houses, including Sol Yayınları and Onur Yayınları. Ünalın's translations include not only Darwin's works but also books authored by prominent Marxist figures. Among these translations, a selection of writings by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *On Literature and Art* (1973) (translated as *Yazın ve Sanat Üzerine* in 1995), Friedrich Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1880) (translated as *Ütopik Sosyalizm ve Bilimsel Sosyalizm* in 1970) and Fidel Castro's *The World Economic and Social Crisis: Its Impact on the Underdeveloped Countries, Its Somber Prospects, and the Need to Struggle If We are to Survive* (1983) (translated as *Dünya Bunalımı, Azgelişmiş Ükelere Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Etkisi* in 1987) can be listed as examples.

Ünalın's interest in Darwin and the theory of evolution did not stop after his Darwin translations were published. In 1978, he wrote an essay titled *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* (What did Darwin Do?) for the leftist journal *Yeni Ülke* (A New Country). Ünalın also wrote other essays concentrating on socialist issues for this journal such as "Türkiye'de Köylülüğün Dağılımı" (The Demography of Villagers in Türkiye) (1978), and "Lenin ve Dil" (Lenin and Language) (1979). In 1997, almost two decades after the publication of his essay on Darwin, Ünalın published an extended version in book format, bearing the same title, *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* (What did Darwin Do?). In this book, Ünalın covers the fundamental aspects of Darwin's theory as well as its theological and political repercussions. Ünalın's *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* (1997) has been published by four different publishing houses so far, namely Saypa, Papirüs and Evrensel, and Ginko, as shown in Figure 7. *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* will be one of the major epitextual materials that my paratextual analysis will benefit from in understanding Ünalın's approach to Darwin and Darwinism as a translator and a Marxist intellectual.

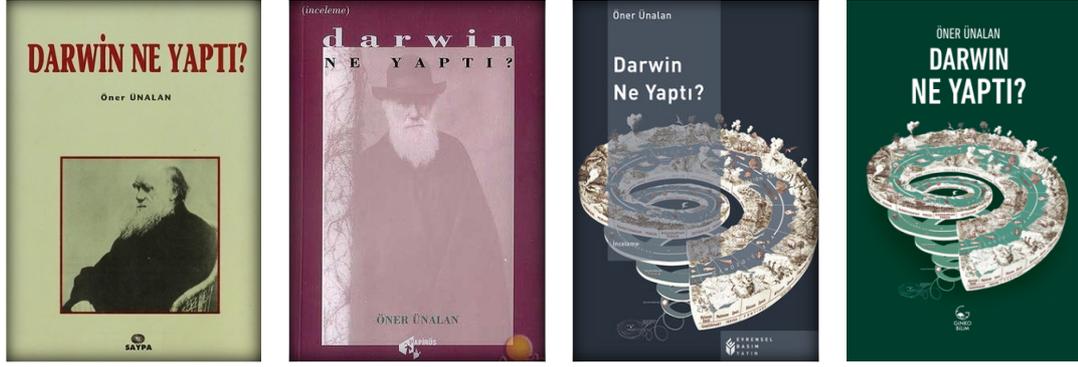


Figure 7. Öner Ünalán's *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* published by Saypa, Papirüs, Evrensel and Ginko Publishing Houses

A brief review of Ünalán and Erdost's biographies and their intellectual endeavors indicates that Marxist thinking was an essential element that shaped their habituses and their resulting intellectual productions. If we revisit the importance Marxists attributed to Darwin's works in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as discussed in detail in Section 2.4.3, it can be argued that, for Ünalán and Erdost, translating Darwin's works was not just a reflection of the scientific value of these texts but also an endeavor that had great symbolic value. Based on that, one can view their efforts to translate Darwin's works and to produce pro-Darwinist public narratives and works in the Turkish publication and political fields as an extension of Marxists' global tendency to appropriate Darwinism into their ideology.

In 2009, Muzaffer Erdost started publishing another translation of *The Origin*. According to Erdost (2017), Ünalán and he had a professional dispute in 2009 following a reprint published by Sol Yayınları of a previous translation by Ünalán. Ünalán claimed that Sol Yayınları distorted his translation of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' *On Literature and Art: a collection of selected writings* (Yazın ve Sanat Üzerine) and sued Erdost. In the aftermath of this feud that arose between the two men, Erdost removed Ünalán's translations from Sol Yayınları and Onur

Yayınları's portfolios and had Darwin's works retranslated by Sevim Belli. Her retranslation of *The Origin* was published in 2009.

Sevim Belli (1925– ) studied medicine in Istanbul in the late 1940s, which is the time she gradually became involved in the Turkish Marxist movement. Similar to Muzaffer Erdost, she also served prison sentences due to her affiliation with the Marxist movement. While serving her first prison sentence, as an outcome of the 1951 TKP Tevkifatı (Interrogations of the members and administrative committee of the Turkish Communist Party), she met and married Mihri Belli (2015–2011), who was a leading figure in the Turkish Marxist movement. In later years, Mihri Belli became known as the ideological father of the Milli Demokratik Devrim (National Democratic Revolution) front, a socialist fraction that developed in the late 1960s and gathered those who had views opposed to those of the Turkish Labor Party (TİP). Sevim Belli also contributed to the Turkish socialist movement throughout her life, primarily through her Marxist translations. In her biography, Belli states that her first published translation in book format was Paloczky Horvath's *In the Darkest Hungary* (Dün Köleydik Bugün Halkız: Macaristan'ın 1500 Yıllık Köylü Hareketleri Tarihi) (1944), which was published by Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları (Science and Socialism Publications) in 1966.

According to her biography, after her husband started translating for Sol Yayınları in the late 1960s, Sevim Belli also followed his steps and contributed to translating major works of scientific socialism. She also states that, over time, a close friendship developed between Muzaffer İlhan Erdost and the Bellis (Belli, 1994, p. 444-45). Belli translated several works from Marx and Lenin for Onur/Sol Yayınları such as *Felsefenin Başlangıç İlkeleri* (Elementary Principles of Philosophy [1946]) by Georges Politzer in 1974, *Fransa'da Sınıf Savaşmaları* (The Civil War in France

[1871]) by Karl Marx in 1976, *Ücretli Emek ve Sermaye: Ücret, Fiyat ve Kar* (Value, Price and Profit [1865]) by Karl Marx in 1977, and the first, second and third volumes of *Mukaddime* (Muqaddimah [1377]) by Ibn Haldun between 2011-2013.

One interesting detail concerning the (re)translation performed by Belli is that it is an example of indirect translation. This (re)translation was performed using the French translation of the sixth edition of *The Origin*.

6.1.1.2 Evrensel, Kor Kitap and Ginko Bilim and the symbolic capital and symbolic time attached to Öner Ünalın's translations

After Onur Publishing ceased publishing Ünalın's Darwin translations following a feud between Erdost and Ünalın, Evrensel Yayıncılık, Kor Kitap and Ginko Bilim published Ünalın's translation of *The Origin* in 2009, 2016 and 2017, respectively. I will introduce these publishing houses under the same section since all three were established and run by the same group of people.

Evrensel Publishing was established in 1988 and became one of the leading publishers of Marxist, Leninist and socialist literature in Türkiye. In addition to translations, they also published many indigenous authors who wrote on a wide range of topics such as Marxism, Marxist history, and the socio-political and cultural dynamics of Türkiye. Apart from Turkish translations, the publishing house published translations in minority languages in the country, such as Kurdish, Arabic, and Armenian. In 2017, the publishing house was closed down with a statutory decree issued by the government. According to the press release given by Cavit Nacitarhan (2017, January 23), the manager of Evrensel Publishing, in the aftermath of the statutory decree, not only Evrensel Publishing but also other publishing initiatives of the parent company, Doğa Press, were closed down. During the same

press release, Nacitarhan (2017, January 23) stressed that the publishing house had printed 700 books until it was closed down and defined the publishing house as “a soldier of the knowledge that will enlighten humanity, and a dedicated defender of the labor struggle”. In *Evrensel*, the digital newspaper of the publishing group, which is one of the most prominent oppositional left-wing newspapers in Türkiye, İhsan Çaralan (2022, August 25) attributed the statutory degree to the government’s repressive policies (2022, August). Since *Evrensel* and related publishing initiatives were among the leading intellectual representatives of socialism in Türkiye, they had consistently maintained an oppositional stance towards Turkish governments.

In 2016, Evrensel Publishing’s subsidiary, Kor Kitap, which mostly published scientific and philosophical works, started publishing Ünalın’s *The Origin* translation, as seen in Figure 8. In the meantime, Evrensel also republished Ünalın’s book on Darwin and his theory, *Darwin Ne Yaptı* (What did Darwin Do?). After 2017, the Evrensel team established Ginko Publishing, and Ünalın’s translation of *The Origin* was republished by Ginko’s popular science section, Ginko Bilim.

Ginko Kitap publishes socialist literature, Marxist classics, natural sciences, and children's and early youth literature. In addition to publishing the works of leading Marxist figures such as Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, I.V. Lenin, Nikolay Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky, etc., Ginko Kitap publishes socialist and literary works by many Turkish authors. They also have subdivisions for publishing popular science and children’s books. After republishing Ünalın’s translation of *The Origin*, the publishing house also republished his translations of *The Descent of Man* and *Sexual Selection*. In addition, Kor Kitap started to publish another book by Ünalın, *Dil ve Politika* (Language and Politics) in 2023. The book is a collection of the essays Ünalın wrote on Turkish language, language politics of Turkish governments, the

Öztürkçe (Purified Turkish) movement, and its impact on language. Currently, Ünalın's *Darwin Ne Yaptı* (What did Darwin Do?) is published by Ginko Bilim.



Figure 8. Öner Ünalın's translation of *The Origin* republished by Evrensel (on the left), Kor (in the middle) and Ginko (on the right) Publishing Houses

I interviewed Onur Öztürk and Ferhat Sarı from Ginko Kitap to inquire about the reasons behind their interest in publishing Ünalın's translations and the relevant editorial processes. Onur Öztürk is one of the editorial board members at Ginko Kitap. He was also working for Evrensel Yayınları before it was closed down. Ferhat Sarı is a member of the editorial team and he previously translated several works for Kor Yayınları and Ginko Kitap (Sean Sayers' *Marx and Alienation: Essays on Hegelian Themes*, Karl Marx's *The Civil War in the United States: Selected Writings*, Peter Atkins's *Chemistry: A Very Short Introduction*, etc.)

During our interview, I was informed that one of the reasons why Evrensel Publishing decided to publish *The Origin* in 2009 was the substantial attention directed at Darwin in that year since it was announced as UNESCO Darwin year. Öztürk also noted that they published another popular science book that explores *The*

*Origin* and its impact on science and society, *Almost a Whale: The Origin of Species and its Cover (Neredeyse Bir Balina)* (1999) by Steve Jones. Evrensel Publishing also organized seminars on Darwin and the theory of evolution, one of which had Steve Jones as a guest speaker.

According to Onur Öztürk, they were aware of the feud between Ünalán and Erdost and that Onur Yayınları no longer published Ünalán's translations. It was Aydın Çubukçu (1947–) who contacted Öner Ünalán to transfer the copyrights of Ünalán's translations to Evrensel Publishing. Çubukçu is a Marxist political activist and author who served long years in prison as a political convict during the 1970s and 1980s. He worked in the editorial board of Evrensel until it was closed down. Çubukçu and Ünalán had long been acquainted as part of their Marxist activities when Çubukçu and Ünalán agreed upon the republication project of *The Origin*. During this interview, I also learned that Ginko Kitap currently holds the copyrights for all translations and original writings of Ünalán. The editor of the republished translation of *The Origin*, the translations of *Almost a Whale: The Origin of Species and its Cover*, along with the popular science books the publishing house published in the following years was Kenan Ateş, who was an assistant professor in the Department of Genetics at the Experimental Medicine Research Institute of Istanbul University. Ateş was also a member of the Marxist EMEK (Labor) Party, and, unfortunately, passed away in 2016 due to a heart attack.

Aydın Çubukçu wrote a Preface for the 2009 republication of Ünalán's *The Origin* translation. Reading this Preface, the importance Çubukçu attaches to Darwin's work from a scientific and political perspective becomes clear. He starts his remarks by noting the doubts Darwin had before publishing *The Origin* due to his fear of being severely criticized by religious circles and highlights that the theory has

been closely intertwined with taboos ever since it was first published. With a critical tone, Çubukçu states that the theory has been a subject of concern for religious institutions, often sparking debates over philosophy and morality. He notes that new scientific advances strengthen the theory further by correcting certain shortcomings in relation to the theory. Çubukçu also discusses the political associations established between Darwin and various ideological fronts in Türkiye ever since the late Ottoman intellectuals started to write about him. After criticizing Ahmed Midhat Efendi in particular for misrepresenting Darwin's theory during that period, he directs his criticism at the early republican governments and their nationalist theses that sought scientific legitimization by addressing evolution and phrenology. The scientific and symbolic value Çubukçu attributes to Darwin's theory is clearly seen upon reading his Preface. For Çubukçu, Darwin's theory possesses such scientific and symbolic value because certain elements of the theory are in support of dialectic thinking, dialectic materialism and Marxist theory. For this reason, in his preface, he pays homage to Sol Publishing for publishing the first Turkish translation of *The Origin* in 1970 while he also addresses the contributions publishing and reading Darwin's works provided to the Marxist movement of the era:

The year 1970 marked the peak of great workers' and peasants' movements, alongside the anti-imperialist youth movement, as socialism became a central topic for both intellectual circles and political life. Against this backdrop, the publication of *The Origin* in Türkiye was particularly fitting, given its unique historical context. Sol Publications, which systematically translated and published Marxist classics for the first time, aimed to address a perceived gap in the Marxist discourse by publishing *The Origin* during this period. Dialectical materialism, a cornerstone of revolutionary ideology, has always been enriched by pivotal scientific discoveries. This distinguishes dialectical materialism from earlier forms of primitive metaphysical materialism. Hence, there has been a longstanding and impactful relationship between the history of science and scientific socialism. If we recall the 1970s as a time when scientific socialism was widely discussed and studied in Türkiye, the publication of *The Origin* can be viewed as a significant milestone in the quest for a deeper understanding of socialism on scientific grounds. (Çubukçu, 2009, pp. 12-13; Appendix A, 2)

If we remember the emphasis Marx and Engels placed on the dialectic nature of Darwin's *The Origin* and its resulting contribution to their historical materialist thesis, as discussed in Section 2.4.3, it becomes clear from Çubukçu's remarks that he also wanted to republish *The Origin* due to the same correlation he established between the Marxist doctrine and Darwinism. Similar to Erdost, he also believed that publishing Darwin's works not only filled a scientific gap in the Turkish publication field but also helped the Marxist camp accumulate further scientific and symbolic capital by appropriating Darwinism into Marxist theory locally. It is noteworthy that Çubukçu criticizes late Ottoman era intellectuals, early Republican era governments and contemporary anti-Darwinist conservative circles for integrating Darwinism into their narratives to advance their very different ideological agendas. Clearly, for Çubukçu, the appropriation of Darwin's theory and works by the Marxist camp is only natural, whereas other ideologies that build on Darwinism are not genuine in their efforts.

Even after Ünalın's *The Origin* translation was published by Evrensel Publishing under Çubukçu's guidance, Çubukçu continued to participate in intellectual discussions on Darwin, his works, and their relationship to Marxism. For example, in 2020, he joined an online discussion titled "Marx and Darwin" (Marx ve Darwin) alongside Marxist molecular biologist Çağatay Tarhan on the YouTube channel of Pangaltı Evrim Atölyesi (Pangaltı Evolution Workshops). During this discussion, Çubukçu repeated his criticism of liberal circles for ignoring the relationships between Marxism and Darwinism:

The connection between Marx and Darwin has sparked considerable debate and controversy, although this issue is not inherently problematic. British liberals and scientists, in particular, expressed discontent over the perceived relationship between Marx and Darwin. They accused Marx of leveraging Darwin's theories to promote communism, leading to attempts to refute this allegation. ... Some groups adamantly argue that Darwin's ideas are

incompatible with communism. They are free to think that way, we are not worried about that. (Çubukçu & Tarhan, 2020, 2:46; Appendix A, 3)

When I asked Onur Öztürk during our interview why they wanted to publish *The Origin* under Evrensel, Kor and Ginko Publishing Houses, he also underlined the significance of Darwin's theory for Marxist thinking:

Indeed, we view publishing the translation of Darwin's *The Origin* as integral to our publishing mission and responsibility. *The Origin* holds significance as a reflection of the Marxist worldview within natural sciences. For us, embracing Darwinism was not just a choice but a necessity, aligning with our commitment to Marxist principles. Hence, including this work in our science publications was imperative. It's worth noting that while evolutionists and Darwinists may not always be Marxists, for us, upholding Marxist principles entails embracing Darwinism and evolutionism. (O. Öztürk, personal communication, April 2, 2024; Appendix A, 4)

As Çubukçu's and Öztürk's comments indicate, starting from the 1970s, with Erdost and Ünalın's Darwin translations project, Marxist publishers in Türkiye view(ed) Darwin's works and knowledge of his theory of evolution as indispensable components of Marxist thinking. Thus, for Marxists in Türkiye, *The Origin* is not only a significant read for those interested in the theory of evolution. It is also one of the major complementary Marxist readings.

One might also ask why Ginko Bilim continues to publish Ünalın's first translation instead of having the text retranslated as some other publishing houses did. As will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.3, Ünalın followed a distinct translation strategy in terms of the terminology choices he made throughout his translation, which might make his translation hard to follow for contemporary Turkish readers. As I will discuss in the following section, this was one of the reasons why certain agents of retranslation decided that the translation required rejuvenation. When I inquired whether Ginko Bilim intended to continue publishing Ünalın's translation and why, Onur Öztürk's response revealed the symbolic value they attributed to Ünalın's translations:

We will persist with Ünalın's translation. The need for retranslating *The Origin* has already been met by the other published retranslations, and we feel no need to publish another retranslation. While we recognize its flaws and challenges, we still see merit in continuing its publication. From our perspective, there's a sense of loyalty involved. Moreover, publishing this translation serves as a means to uphold the visibility of Öner Ünalın's contributions (to Marxist thinking in Türkiye). Our agreement with his family grants us the right to publish all his translations and copyrighted works. (Ö. Öztürk, personal communication, April 2, 2024; Appendix A, 5)

Öztürk's remarks bring to mind Hanna's (2016) discussion of symbolic time and marks of distinction when he discusses why certain translations obtain the status of classics. As discussed in Section 3.2, Hanna proposes that when evaluating translations and other cultural artifacts, it is important to distinguish between real-time and symbolic time. This is because cultural products, including translations, may gain greater significance as they become integrated into historical contexts. In addition, as Hanna underlines, designating a translation as a classic is influenced by various factors. These factors not only include linguistic qualities but also the cultural agents and institutions involved in these (re)translation processes, which add "marks of distinction" to particular translations. Öztürk's remarks concerning their desire to continue republishing Ünalın's translation constitute a perfect example of the marks of distinction and symbolic time attached to a particular translation in the course of history. The fact that this translation was produced by a prolific Marxist translator and published by a respected Marxist publisher in their identical effort to integrate Darwinism into Marxist thinking during a time of political turmoil in Türkiye is one of the major reasons why Evrensel, Kor and Ginko Kitap attribute higher value to this translation. As seen in Figure 9, the symbolic value attached to Ünalın's translation of *The Origin* and the symbolic capital Darwin translations earned Ünalın in the Turkish Marxist circles were also evident from how the Evrensel team commemorated Ünalın following his death in 2011 with a news

article in *Evrensel* newspaper titled “Türlerin Kökeni Çevirmenini Yitirdi” (We Lost the Translator of On the Origin of Species). Despite the fact that Ünalán translated many famous authors and Marxist and scientific classics, it is clear that his Darwin translations earned him a considerable amount of scientific and symbolic capital in Marxist circles and the Turkish leftist publication field.



Figure 9. The news article published by *Evrensel* after Öner Ünalán passed away. Interestingly, during the period when Ginko Bilim republished Ünalán's translation,

Kerem Cankoçak, who is the editor of Alfa Bilim, which published another retranslation of *The Origin* in 2017, was the editor of Ginko's science branch. During our interview, both Öztürk and Sarı mentioned that, following the death of Ünalán, his family firmly requested that no changes be made to Ünalán's translations and own writings. For this reason, certain editorial changes Cankoçak recommended before the republication could not be performed. Sarı also mentioned that they have a careful and responsive audience who tend to contact them about typos or content-related issues they observe in their publications so that these can be corrected in the following reprints. He also said that they received similar feedback from their

readers of *The Origin* that the translation should be revised terminologically.

However, Sarı also stated that putting Ünalın's translation through an editorial update would not be possible under the current circumstances and they will continue to republish Ünalın's translation as it is. Apparently, in certain cases such as the republication of Ünalın's translation by Ginko Bilim, the symbolic value and marks of distinction attributed to a particular translation are so important that it outweighs the need for rejuvenating the translation to account for the passage of time.

Another interesting point raised during my interview was Sarı's remarks about why Darwin is more popular than ever in the Turkish context. Sarı also acknowledged that Marxists showed an interest in Darwin in the 1970s due to Marx and Engels' praise for Darwin's anti-teleological and non-essentialist nature, although they were also critical of certain aspects of the theory. However, he also noted that the translations published by Onur Yayınları, the subsidiary of Sol Yayınları, did not reach a vast audience of Marxist readers since the members of the Marxist movement were focused on more immediate struggles and power dynamics. Sarı also believes that the Turkish government's anti-Darwinist stance as of the early 2000s, the changes that occurred in TÜBİTAK's publication policies, and the rapid growth of Islamic Creationism during that period led to a reactionary sentiment among secular leftist circles that the enlightenment tradition should be preserved. Hence, Darwin became an important figure once again. According to Sarı, some publishers started publishing Darwin translations as a reaction to this political picture. He also warned that there are other publishers who publish(ed) Darwin translations with the sole purpose of making a profit from the hot debates around Darwin and his theory, which reminds one of the example of Alter, Yason and Dorian publishing houses, as will be discussed in the coming sections. Sarı also

highlighted that certain digital science platforms such as Evrim Ağacı (Tree of Evolution) had a positive impact on Turkish youth in terms of directing their attention to scientific matters more than ever. Sarı exemplified this by sharing his observations from book fairs he participated in as a representative of Ginko Bilim. He stated that, when they visit Ginko's stall, many young people, some in high school, ask about Darwin's works along with other popular science books on evolution (F. Sarı, personal communication, April 2, 2024).

Öztürk and Sarı's remarks and the paratextual elements by Çubukçu which were cited above demonstrate once again that Darwin, his theory and his works have been heavily politicized in the Turkish setting for decades. Darwinism was attacked by ultra-conservative circles while it has been embraced by Marxists and socialists as a symbol of left-wing's resistance against Islamic ultra-conservative anti-evolutionist practices and narratives. Thus, in the Turkish setting, starting from the first efforts to publish Darwin translations by Sol/Onur Yayınları, Darwin's works have had strong symbolic value for the left in addition to their scientific significance.

6.1.2 Agents of (re)translation with atheist (and socialist) dispositions: Bahar Kılıç, Kerem Cankoçak and Alfa Bilim

Alfa Yayıncılık is one of the leading private publishing houses in Türkiye. According to the website of Türkiye Yayıncılar Birliği (Turkish Publishers Association), the publishing house was established in 1987. Initially publishing university and college course books, as of the 2000s, the publishing house diversified its publishing catalog and started publishing various other genres such as literature, self-help, philosophy, science, etc. Alfa Bilim is the division that publishes popular science books. Kerem Cankoçak is the editor of the Alfa Bilim division. Cankoçak is

also a full-time professor at the Department of Physics, at Istanbul Technical University. In addition to his academic publications, Cankoçak is the author of several popular science books about physics. He published *Cern ve Büyük Patlama* (Cern and the Big Bang) in 2019 (published by Asi Yayınları), and *50 Soruda Maddenin Evrimi* (The Evolution of Matter Explained in 50 Questions) in 2019 (published by Bilim ve Gelecek Kitaplığı).

Kerem Cankoçak openly declares himself an atheist and is actively involved in intellectual events organized by Ateizm Derneği (Atheism Association). For example, Cankoçak was one of the participants in the 1<sup>st</sup> Atheos Symposium organized by the association in 2014 and he delivered two talks at the event along with several other academics who presented their papers. A closer look at the Atheism Association's publications and public events shows that, similar to the global atheist trend, Darwin and the theory of evolution is one of the major subject matters integrated into the narratives of the association. *Ateist Dergi* (Atheist Magazine), which was issued by the Ateizm Derneği between 2014 and 2016, also dedicated a column to evolution. Bahar Kılıç, the translator of Darwin's books (re)published by Alfa Bilim, wrote the essays published under this column. Cankoçak also contributed to different issues of the magazine with essays he wrote on various scientific matters. In *Ateist Dergi*, Cankoçak also wrote promotional essays on the titles published by Alfa Bilim. For example, the essays titled "Bir Başucu Felsefe Kitabı: *Darwin'in Tehlikeli Fikri*" (A Bedside Philosophy Book: Darwin's Dangerous Idea) and "Alfa Bilim Dizisinden Dört Kitapta İnsanlığın 3,5 Milyar Yıllık Macerası" (The 3.5 Billion Year Adventure of Humanity in Four Books from the Alpha Science Series) were published in the magazine for this

purpose on July 2014 and September 2014, respectively. Cankoçak also posts videos on popular science on his personal YouTube channel.

In one of his videos, Cankoçak delves into his political perspective. He expresses his belief that socialism represents the optimal scientific approach for structuring human societies. He comments that everybody is born a socialist since the survival of society requires collectivism but the capitalist values ingrained in our societies steer people to embrace capitalism (Cankoçak, April 20, 2022). Cankoçak makes intellectual contributions to socialist thinking on various platforms as well. For example, at the 2018 Assos'ta Felsefe (Philosophy in Assos) Conference, a prestigious international event organized annually by Felsefe Sanat Bilim Derneği (The Association of Philosophy, Arts and Sciences), Cankoçak delivered a seminar titled "Marx ve Doğa Bilimleri" (Marx and Natural Sciences).

The translator, Bahar Kılıç, is a dentist, and similar to Kerem Cankoçak she is also an active actor in the Turkish Atheism Association. In addition to writing the evolution column in the *Ateist Dergi* (Atheist Magazine) and helping organize the intellectual events of the association, she also writes on evolution, science, and atheism on her personal blog, felis agnosticus (<https://baharkilic.org/>). On this digital platform, which she started in 2011, she also posts documentaries that she translates. The 22-episode *Discovering Religion* documentary series, and *Your Inner Fish* documentary by Neil Shubin can be listed as examples of the documentaries she subtitled. The majority of the paratextual elements she produced and published on Darwin and her Darwin translations are also available on her blog. During one of the interviews she gave on Darwin and his books on a digital platform, the YouTube channel SolTV (Leftist TV), Bahar Kılıç defined the content she produces on her

blog and on other platforms as “evolution and science activism” (Kılıç & Durmuş, March 17, 2021).

During another seminar she gave on her (re)translation of *The Origin* on the official YouTube channel of the Atheist Association, Ateist Derneği TV, Kılıç states that the lack of scientific content on evolution in Turkish was the main reason why she decided to create content in Turkish and publish it on a digital platform:

When I opened my blog in 2011, I noticed a severe lack of written resources on the internet, particularly concerning evolution. The few existing resources seemed largely influenced by anti-evolutionary and unscientific movements. This is not the case anymore. Although there are now many excellent resources available, it was not like this in the past; resources were extremely limited. Consequently, people seeking information at that time, especially those with inadequate foreign language skills, often came away empty-handed or worse, with inaccurate information. It was then that I realized the importance of sharing the information I gathered from various articles, popular science sites, and my own research on the internet by writing articles on this subject. Additionally, I translated some documentaries and videos. In doing so, I aimed to bring people closer to science and away from misinformation. (Kılıç & Örsöğlü, , 2019, 2:15, Appendix A, 6)

During the same interview, Bahar Kılıç remarks that she and Kerem Cankoçak started working together in the publishing sector thanks to her blog. According to Kılıç, upon discovering her blog, Cankoçak reached out to her to collaborate with Alfa Bilim as the co-translator of Daniel Dennett’s *Darwin’s Dangerous Idea* (1995).

Given the fact that Darwin’s *The Origin* had already been translated into Turkish by three different translators, one might wonder why Alfa Bilim and the related agents of translation wanted to (re)translate it along with other titles by Darwin. If we remember the interview I had with Ginko Bilim’s editorial team, Cankoçak was the science editor there when Ünalın’s translation was republished. Due to the request of the deceased translator’s family to keep the translations in their original format, Cankoçak could not have that translation re-edited. The need he observed for updating certain aspects of Ünalın’s translation during that editorial

process may be one of the reasons why he wanted to have Darwin's *The Origin* retranslated by another translator. During her 2019 interview on Ateist Derneği TV, Bahar Kılıç was also asked why Alfa Bilim decided to retranslate *The Origin*. Kılıç cited rejuvenating the Turkish translation as one of the reasons why the publishing house and the related agents of translation embarked on the (re)translation project:

Firstly, the theory of evolution is a pivotal advancement in the field of biology and a significant milestone in the history of science. It entered the realm of scientific discourse with the publication of *The Origin* in 1859. This seminal work was first translated into Turkish by Öner Ünalın in 1970. We must commend Öner Ünalın for introducing this groundbreaking book to Turkish readers at a time when access to information was limited and scientific terminology was not as well-established as it is today. While criticisms regarding this translation occasionally surface on the internet, it is important to contextualize the translation within its historical backdrop. I believe Öner Ünalın did an excellent job. However, with the Turkish language evolving and scientific terminology becoming more refined since the 1970s, and society gradually embracing science to a greater extent, Alfa Publications made the decision to publish the Darwin series using more contemporary language and updated Turkish. I agreed with their perspective, and thus, the translation process commenced. (Kılıç & Örsöđlu, 2019, 04:22, Appendix A, 7)

Clearly, rejuvenating Darwin's *The Origin* in Turkish was one of the reasons why it was retranslated. Reviewing the epitextual materials Kerem Cankoçak produced on this retranslation project, it also becomes clear that publishing Darwin translations is part of his broader agenda of popularizing popular science books on evolution in the absence of such books that used to be published by TÜBİTAK. In an essay he wrote for the left-wing newsletter *Evrinsel*, titled "Bizim bir doğamız var, bilmek zorundayız!" (We have a nature, and we have to know more about it!) Cankoçak states the following:

In recent years, countless publishing houses in Türkiye started publishing popular science books. There are many reasons behind this. First of all, it is related to the movement TÜBİTAK started 25 years ago, a movement which our current government ended immediately (after having been elected). The second reason is the anti-scientific practices that have been implemented in society in the last few decades. The education system has moved away from science. There are efforts to create a religious generation. Society has become

polarized and the secular segment's need for science has increased. The very debates that took place in Europe in the 1600s and 1700s are taking place in Türkiye right now. ... The intense political debates in Türkiye's political agenda are also mirrored in popular science publishing. For example, evolution has been removed from the secondary school curriculum. The efforts to abolish evolution from school curriculums actually started in 1938... Without understanding evolution, we cannot understand anything that happens around us. This is why evolution is an important subject in popular science publishing, especially when, as you also know, intelligent design arguments are still prevailing in Türkiye. (Cankoçak, 2019, Appendix A, 8)

Cankoçak and Kılıç's emphasis on the importance of teaching evolution suggests that they are uncomfortable with the shift observed in government policies towards evolution in recent decades. They praise the empirical and scientific value of the theory of evolution, which is in line with their professional and social dispositions. Cankoçak's views also show that, similar to the agents with socialist dispositions that were discussed under Section 6.1.1, he views *The Origin* and books on evolution in general, as significant scientific and symbolic assets in secular leftist circles' struggle against conservatism in Türkiye. Similar to Onur Öztürk and Ferhat Sarı from Ginko Kitap, he considers publishing popular science books on evolution, including Darwin's works, to be an activist intellectual activity against the state policies that have displayed an anti-Darwinist stance in recent decades. As discussed in detail in Section 2.4.5, Darwin's theory is received as a symbol of the victory the modern empirical scientific approach achieved over theological and teleological approaches, especially by socialist and atheist circles. Considering Cankoçak and Kılıç's intellectual collaborations with the Turkish Atheist Organization and their sympathy for socialism, it is clear that publishing Darwin retranslations also has a symbolic value for Cankoçak and Kılıç that results from their ideological dispositions.

Upon examining the paratextual elements created by Bahar Kılıç on her *The Origin* retranslation, it becomes evident that she holds Öner Ünalın in high regard

for his pioneering translation efforts. Her remarks during the above-quoted interview she gave on Ateist TV is indicative of her respect for Ünalın's translatorial work. Kılıç praises Öner Ünalın and his initial translation of *The Origin* in her Translator's Note as well. In addition, in an essay she wrote for the popular science magazine, *Bilim ve Gelecek*, she states that she sometimes resorted to Ünalın's translation when making her translatorial decisions:

I feel the need to commemorate Öner Ünalın, who translated this important work into Turkish at a time when information was not as easily accessible as it is today in the absence of the Internet. While translating, I made use of both foreign sources and Ünalın's translation, as well as *The Annotated Origin: A Facsimile of the First Edition of On the Origin of Species*, which is an edited version of the first edition of *The Origin of Species*... (Kılıç, 2019; Appendix A, 9)

It is noteworthy that Bahar Kılıç frequently praises Ünalın for his first translation of *The Origin* whereas she does not mention the translations performed by Tuncay and Belli. The fact that Tuncay's translation was not reprinted by Gün Yayıncılık due to the change in its publication policy can be one reason why she does not mention it. She may also be holding Ünalın in higher regard since he performed the first Darwin translation for a Marxist publishing house during a time of political turmoil in Türkiye, once again reminding us of Bourdieu's notions of symbolic time and marks of distinction. In fact, the discussion between Kılıç and Zelal Özgür Durmuş during the interview Durmuş conducted with Kılıç for SolTV indicates the symbolic value attached to Ünalın's translation by both of them.<sup>11</sup> At the beginning of their interview, Durmuş refers to the delayed transfer of Darwin's works into Turkish and praises both Öner Ünalın and Sol/Onur Publishing as follows:

Darwin's books on evolution were translated into Turkish in the 1970s, almost 120-110 years after they were written. Sol Publishing House released

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<sup>11</sup> Zelal Özgür Durmuş is one of the popular defenders of Darwin and evolution theory in various printed and digital platforms in Türkiye. In addition to having BA and MA degrees in science and science education, she is currently a PhD candidate in biology. Durmuş has also written several science books for children.

these translations through Onur Publishing as part of their science series. These translations by Öner Ünalán remained the sole translations for many years. In other words, only they (the Sol Publishing team) dared to translate them, neither in the (early) Republican period nor afterward (somebody else translated them). This was the case until 2017. Then your new Turkish translation came out. Of course, the old translation had certain difficulties (deficiencies). The new translation also offers improvements in this regard. But since they (the first translations) were also part of a struggle, I think it is necessary to commemorate them with respect. (Kılıç & Durmuş, 2021, 3:48; Appendix A, 10)

If we remember Ginko Bilim's insistence on publishing Ünalán's translation of *The Origin*, the respect both Bahar Kılıç and Zelal Özgür Durmuş pay to Ünalán and Sol Yayınları can be viewed as another indicator of the influence of marks of distinction and symbolic time on particular translations. Although both Kılıç and Durmuş agree that Ünalán's translation has certain deficiencies (which are mostly terminology-oriented as their following discussion during the interview indicates), they still find it necessary to refer to the first translatorial efforts to translate Darwin's works.

As I discussed earlier, the fact that Sol/Onur Yayınları was the first publisher to have Darwin's works translated into Turkish and that Evrensel, Kor and Ginko publishing houses, which maintain clear Marxist dispositions, continued to publish Darwin's works in the Turkish publishing field demonstrates the appropriation of Darwin's views by Turkish Marxist circles. The interview Kılıç had on SolTV and both Kılıç's and her editor Can Koçak's remarks in their paratextual materials indicate that the same ideological connection Sol/Onur, Evrensel, Kor and Ginko publishing houses felt towards Darwin and his works is also felt by the agents of translation that produced the 2017 retranslation of *The Origin*.

Bahar Kılıç's (re)translation of *The Origin* was reprinted 22 times by Alfa Bilim. In the aftermath of this translation, Kılıç translated, *the Descent of Man* (İnsanın Türeyişi) (2019), *Selection in Relation to Sex* (Cinsel Seçilim) (2020), and lastly, *the Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (İnsanda ve Hayvanlarda

Duyguların İfade Edilmesi) (2021) for the publishing house. Similar to Öner Ünal and Orhan Tuncay, translating Charles Darwin’s works endowed Kılıç with additional scientific and symbolic capital. As Figure 10 shows, after translating *The Origin*, and other titles by Darwin, Kılıç was invited by different digital platforms as a guest speaker to talk about Darwin and the details of his theory on many occasions, which indicates that being a Darwin translator was associated with further “expertise” on the subject matter by the related platforms. Thus, as an outcome of her intellectual activities devoted to promoting Darwinism in Türkiye and her following efforts to (re)translate Darwin’s *The Origin* and other titles by him, Kılıç accumulated scientific and symbolic capital in her fields of operation, a situation that appears to have been appreciated by the other social agents operating in these fields.

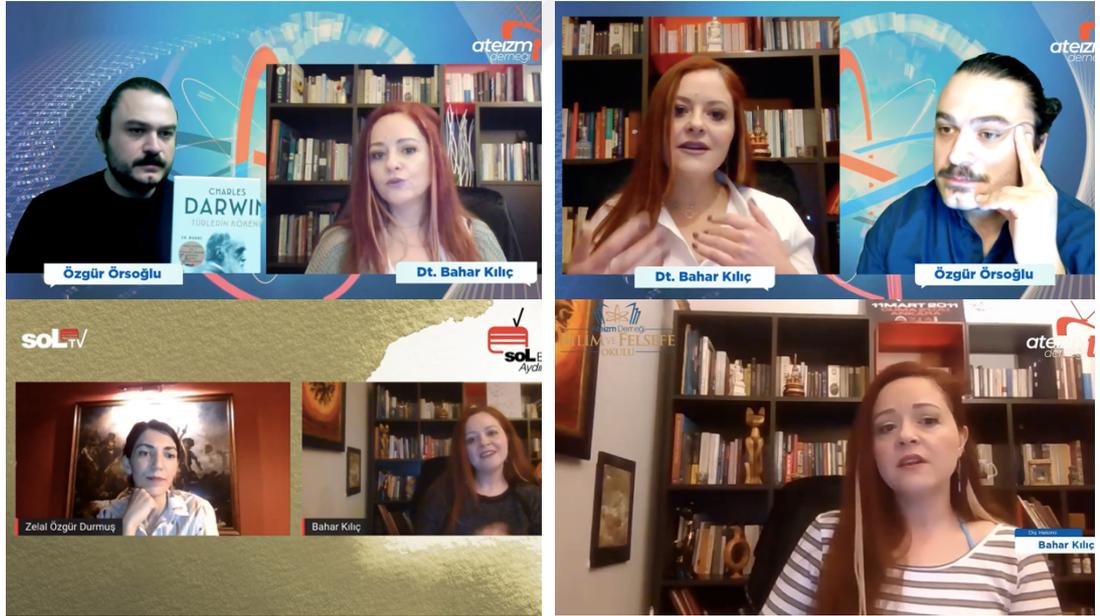


Figure 10. Bahar Kılıç appearing on several digital platforms in the aftermath of her Darwin retranslations

### 6.1.3 Agents of (re)translation that displayed a primarily profit-oriented interest in Darwin: Orhan Tuncay, Hanefi Ermiş and Gün Yayıncılık

Gün Yayıncılık was founded by Hanefi Ermiş (1950–2005) in 1997. According to the Turkish Publishers Association, the publishing house published more than three hundred books in various genres such as children's books, world children's classics, self-help books, cookbooks, joke collections, baby care literature, and spiritualism (Türkiye Yayıncılar Birliği, 2020). Following the death of Hanefi Ermiş, the publishing house was taken over by his daughter, Deniz Ermiş. In recent years, the publishing house has been following a more specialized publishing policy.

According to Gün Yayıncılık's website, since 2007, they have been publishing baby-care books, either written by Turkish authors or translated from English (Gün Yayıncılık, 2024).

In the early 2000s, Orhan Tuncay translated three books by Darwin for Gün Yayıncılık. According to his personal website, Tuncay was born in 1952, and received undergraduate and graduate degrees in business administration from the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. After working in various private sector organizations, he retired and started dedicating his time to translating and writing. He published poem collections, stories, novels, and books. He translated more than 50 books from English to Turkish on subjects that range from philosophy, mysticism, and personal development to literature (Tuncay, 2018). A web search on Orhan Tuncay shows that he is mostly known for his Kafka translations and his book on Kafka titled *Kafkayı Kullanma Kılavuzu: Bir Fenomen Olarak Kafka* (A Guide to Reading Kafka: Kafka as a Phenomenon), published by Nokta Yayınları in 2017.

The first Darwin book that Orhan Tuncay translated for Gün Yayıncılık was *Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872), which was published in

2001 with the Turkish title *İnsan ve Hayvanlarda Beden Dili*. This translation was followed by the translations of *The Descent of Man (İnsanın Türeyişi)* in 2002 and *The Origin (Türlerin Kökeni)* in 2003.

It is interesting that Gün Yayıncılık, which was not specifically dedicated to publishing scientific literature or popular science took the initiative to publish Darwin's works in Turkish. Having failed to find peritextual materials written by the publisher to clarify their agenda, I interviewed Orhan Tuncay. Tuncay stated that the Darwin project was brought to him by the publisher when he approached Ermiş to inquire about eligible translation projects. According to Tuncay, Hikmet Ermiş wanted to publish Darwin because of the fame and prestige attached to Darwin's works. Tuncay added that their royalty-free status must have made these books attractive to the publisher since no copyright expense would be incurred. When I asked Tuncay if the publisher had any special interest in Darwin beyond making a profit by publishing his works as a publisher, he answered that he did not harbor any such personal interest (O. Tuncay, personal communication, April 4, 2024). I also contacted Ermiş's daughter, Deniz Ermiş, who is currently in charge of the publishing house. Deniz Ermiş responded that she does not remember her father having any special interest in Darwin, and that he had never mentioned such an interest to her (D. Ermiş, personal communication, April 4, 2024). Based on the information gathered from Orhan Tuncay and Deniz Ermiş, it can be concluded that the primary motive of Gün Yayıncılık in retranslating and publishing *The Origin* was accumulating economic capital.

Tuncay added that he was not specifically interested in Darwin and his works before the translation project although he had a general knowledge of Darwin's theory. He also noted that he asked for extra time for the completion of this

translation project so that he could expand his knowledge of Darwin and his theory by consulting secondary resources before embarking on the translations. When I asked about the editorial processes his translations were subjected to, he stated that he did not have proper editorial support, only a proofreader, and it was always his decisions that shaped the translated text. (O. Tuncay, personal communication, April 4, 2024)

A brief review of the book covers selected for the Darwin translations published by Gün Yayıncılık (shown in Figure 11) shows that they are the most provocative book covers among the Darwin (re)translations published in Turkish. The visuals make a strong reference to humankind's common ancestry with apes.



Figure 11. Covers of Darwin translations published by Gün Yayıncılık

Darwin's proposition that organic beings evolved from one or few primordial species and that humans share a common ancestor with apes has been one of the aspects of his theory most contested by Creationists. By selecting these book covers, Gün Yayınları could be said to have been making use of long-lasting and controversial public narratives on Darwin's theory for promotional purposes. When asked about

the decision-making process concerning the peritextual elements of the translations, including the book covers, Orhan Tuncay stated that the publisher decided on the book cover design. Considering Tuncay and Ermiş's remarks that the translator or the publisher did not have a special interest in Darwin's theories, the selection of these book covers can also be viewed as a marketing strategy that aligned with the publishing house's agenda of accumulating economic capital by publishing Darwin translations.

Unlike the publisher, Hanefi Ermiş, Orhan Tuncay produced some peritextual materials on Darwin and evolution in the years that followed his Darwin translations. In this respect, he published two articles in the *Düşün-ü- Yorum* Magazine, a monthly intellectual periodical published by Anadolu Aydınlanma Vakfı (the Anatolian Enlightenment Foundation). The foundation, which was founded in 1996, states that it aims to "examine, analyze, criticize and interpret the Enlightenment in the context of different cultures and civilizations and in its historical process, in line with the Ideal of Universal Human Society" (Anadolu Aydınlanma Vakfı, 2024).

Tuncay's first article in the *Düşün-ü- Yorum* Magazine was published in 2003 with the title "Tarih Bilinci ve Darwin" (Historical Consciousness and Darwin ). On his personal website, Tuncay cites Anadolu Aydınlanma Vakfı among his main areas of interest. In our interview, I asked him about the editorial processes involved in the essays he penned for the foundation's magazine and his talk given for the seminar. He stated that he had been a member of the foundation for years and these peritextual materials were produced upon the request of the editorial board of the magazine. Tuncay also noted that, in 2020, he was invited by the Anadolu Aydınlanma Vakfı Foundation to be a guest speaker at a seminar on "English Utilitarianism and Evolutionary Naturalism". In this seminar, which is accessible through the

foundation's YouTube account, the guest speakers discussed the works of famous nineteenth century British intellectuals, J. Bentham, James Mill, Stuart Mill, Darwin, and Thomas Henry Huxley. Tuncay talked about Darwin's life and the key arguments of *The Origin*, along with the challenges of translating Darwin's works. In the same year, 2020, Tuncay wrote another essay for the intellectual periodical of the association on Darwin, titled "Darwin: Dünü, Günü, Bugünü" (Darwin: Yesterday and Today).

It is clear that translating Darwin's works equipped Tuncay with further cultural and scientific capital. He continued to write and talk about Darwin and his theory on the intellectual platforms he was affiliated with. In addition, his translations provided him with symbolic capital since he was viewed as a person qualified enough to write and talk about Darwin and his theory by the Anadolu Aydınlanma Vakfı.

Despite the economic, cultural, and scientific capital Tuncay accumulated by translating Darwin's works and the evident symbolic capital his translations earned him in the eyes of his close intellectual circle, and despite the eye-catching book covers the publishing house chose for its Darwin translations, *The Origin* was printed only once and was not published in the following years. This is primarily because the owner of Gün Yayıncılık passed away only a few years after the publication of their *The Origin* retranslation. As mentioned earlier, his daughter embarked on a different publication policy after taking her father's position in the company.

6.1.4 Agents of (re)translation that published the apparently plagiarized copies of existing *The Origin* translations: Hasan İlhan and Göksu Birol and Alter, Yason and Dorlion Yayınları

In 2009, the UNESCO Darwin year, another new translation of *The Origin* was published by Alter Publishing House. Unfortunately, a closer look into this text shows that it is a plagiarized translation, and the publishing houses almost entirely copied the (re)translation by Sevim Belli, which was published in the same year. Years later, in 2016, another publishing house, Yason Yayınları, published the same plagiarized translation. I will discuss these two cases of plagiarism under the same section since I believe that the two publishing houses were/are run by the same people.

When the two texts are compared with Belli's translation, the only minor difference is that some terms Belli used in her translation, which reflect Muzaffer Erdost, Öner Ünalın and Belli's "nationalized" language policy, which will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.3.2.2, were replaced with other terminological alternatives. These replaced terms might sound unusual to contemporary Turkish readers since they are no longer commonly used in the Turkish scientific discourse, and they were updated with more established terms in the plagiarized versions. For example, instead of using the noun clause "örgenli varlıklar" (organic beings), both translations opt for "organik canlılar". In addition, some Arabic-origin terms Belli used were also changed with Turkish alternatives. For example, instead of "canlılar alemi" (the organic world), both translations opt for "canlılar dünyası". An interesting point, on the other hand, is that these subtle terminological changes are exactly the same in the two plagiarized translations, which strongly indicates that both plagiarized translations were prepared and published by the same person or people under different publishing companies. The translations of the following paragraph from Darwin's introductory remarks at the beginning of *The Origin* illustrate the "plagiarize with minor editing" strategy clearly. In all three translations,

as seen in Table 4, the sentence structures are completely the same. The only differences are in relation to certain terminology preferences, which led to minor changes in Birol's and İlhan's plagiarized translations:



Table 4. The Apparently Plagiarized *The Origin* (1859) Translations by Birol (2016) and İlhan (2009) Compared with Belli's Translation (2009)

Sevim Belli's translation (2009)	Göksu Birol's (translation (2016)	Hasan İlhan's translation (2009)
<p>Lamarck kendi vargılarıyla bu konuya ciddi bir biçimde dikkat çeken ilk bilgin, görüşlerini ilk kez 1801 yılında yayımladı. 1809 yılında <i>Phylosophie zoologique</i> adlı yapıtında ve daha sonra 1815'te <i>Histoire naturelle des animaux sans vertebres</i> (Omurgasız hayvanların doğa bilimi) adlı yapıtının girişinde bunları büyük ölçüde geliştirdi. O, yapıtlarında insan da dahil bütün türlerin başka türlerden türedikleri doktrinini savu- nur. Onun bilime yaptığı en büyük katkı, en başta, örgensel (organik) dünyada olduğu kadar örgensel olmayan (inorganik) dünyada da her değişikliğin, bir mucizenin değil, bir yasanın sonucu olduğunu açıklamasıdır. Türlerle çeşitler arasında belirli bir ayırım koymanın olanaksızlığı, bazı gruplardaki canlı biçimlerin öylesine yetkin bir biçimde aşamalanmış (derecelenmiş) olması, ve evcil oluşumlar arasındaki benzeşim, Lamarck'ı türlerin giderek aşama aşama değiştikleri konusundaki vargılarına götürmüş gibi görünmektedir. Değişimin nedenlerine gelince, Lamarck, bunları, kısmen, fiziksel varoluş koşullarının doğrudan etkisinde, daha önce var olan biçimlerin çaprazlaşmasında, ve özellikle de beden kısımlarının kullanılıp kullanılmamasında, yani alışkanlığın etkilerinde aradı. Lamarck, örneğin zürafanın ağaçların üzerindeki yaprakları koparıp yemesine olanak veren uzun boynu gibi, doğanın bütün o hayran olunası uyarlanmalarını, bu yukarıdaki sonuncu nedene yani alışkanlığın etkilerine bağlar görünmektedir. O, aynı zamanda ilerleyici bir gelişme yasasını da kabul eder, ve yaşamın bütün biçimleri bu yolla yetkinleşme eğiliminde olduklarından, çok basit organizmaların günümüzdeki varlığını da kendiliğinden üreme olarak açıklar. (pp. 44-45)</p>	<p>Lamarck yapmış olduğu çalışmalar ve varmış olduğu sonuçlardan hareketle bu konuya ciddi bir biçimde dikkat çeken ilk bilim insanıdır. Haklı bir ünü olan bu bilgin, görüşlerini ilk olarak 1801 yılında yayımladı. 1809 yılında <i>Phylosophie zoologique</i> adlı eserinde ve daha sonra 1815'te <i>Histoire naturelle des animaux sans vertebres</i> (Omurgasız Hayvanların Doğa Tarihi) adlı eserinin girişinde bunları büyük ölçüde geliştirdi. O, yapıtlarında insan da dahil bütün türlerin başka türlerden türedikleri doktrinini savunur. Onun bilime yaptığı en büyük katkı, en başta, organik dünyada olduğu kadar inorganik dünyada da her değişikliğin, bir mucizenin değil, kesin bir yasanın sonucu olduğunu açıklamasıdır. Türlerle çeşitler arasında belirli bir ayırım koymanın olanaksızlığı, bazı gruplardaki canlı biçimlerin öylesine yetkin bir biçimde aşamalanmış (derecelenmiş) olması, ve evcil oluşumlar arasındaki benzeşim, Lamarck'ı türlerin giderek aşama aşama değiştikleri konusundaki tezlerine götürmüş gibi görünmektedir. Değişimin nedenlerine gelince, Lamarck, bunları, kısmen, fiziksel varoluş koşullarının doğrudan etkisinde, daha önce var olan biçimlerin çaprazlaşmasında, ve özellikle de beden kısımlarının kullanılıp kullanılmamasında, yani alışkanlığın etkilerinde aradı. Lamarck, örneğin zürafanın ağaçların üzerindeki yaprakları koparıp yemesine olanak veren uzun boynu gibi, doğanın bütün o hayran olunası uyarlamalarını, bu yukarıdaki sonuncu nedene yani alışkanlığın etkilerine bağlar görünmektedir. O, aynı zamanda geliştirici bir ilerleme yasasını da kabul eder. Yaşamın bütün biçimleri bu yolla yetkinleşme eğiliminde olduklarından, çok basit organizmaların günümüzdeki varlığını da kendiliğinden üreme olarak açıklar. (p. 12)</p>	<p>Lamarck yapmış olduğu çalışmalar ve varmış olduğu sonuçlardan hareketle bu konuya ciddi bir biçimde dikkat çeken ilk bilim insanıdır. 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Değişimin nedenlerine gelince, Lamarck, bunları, kısmen, fiziksel varoluş koşullarının doğrudan etkisinde, daha önce var olan biçimlerin çaprazlaşmasında, ve özellikle de beden kısımlarının kullanılıp kullanılmamasında, yani alışkanlığın etkilerinde aradı. Lamarck, örneğin zürafanın ağaçların üzerindeki yaprakları koparıp yemesine olanak veren uzun boynu gibi, doğanın bütün o hayran olunası uyarlamalarını, bu yukarıdaki sonuncu nedene yani alışkanlığın etkilerine bağlar görünmektedir. O, aynı zamanda geliştirici bir ilerleme yasasını da kabul eder. Yaşamın bütün biçimleri bu yolla yetkinleşme eğiliminde olduklarından, çok basit organizmaların günümüzdeki varlığını da kendiliğinden üreme olarak açıklar. (pp. 1-2)</p>

The following paragraph displayed in Table 5 was also arbitrarily selected from the final chapter of *The Origin*, and demonstrates that the same plagiarism strategy was performed throughout the entire book:

Table 5. The second Example from the Apparently Plagiarized *The Origin* (1859) Translations by Birol (2016) and İlhan (2009) Compared with Belli's Translation (2009)

Sevim Belli's translation (2009)	Göksu Birol's translation (2016)	Hasan İlhan's translation (2009)
Eşeyssel üreme, belki de yalnız en küçük varlıkların bazıları dışında bütün varlıklarda esas olarak benzer görünümündedir. Bugün için bildiğimiz kadarıyla hepsinde embriyon kesesi aynıdır; böylece bütün örgenli varlıkların ortak bir kökeni vardır. Hatta organik alemin başlıca iki kesimi yani bitkiler ve hayvanlar alemi ele alınacak olursa, bazı alt biçimlerin, karakterleri ile, doğabilimcilerin bunları hangi tarafa katacakları üzerinde uyuşamayacakları kadar ara nitelikler taşıdıkları görülür; ve Profesör Asa Gray'ın belirttiği gibi, "Alt suyosunlarının sporları ve öteki üretken cisimleri, önce hayvansal bir varlık karakteri taşımaları, sonra da reddedilemeyecek biçimde bitkisel bir varlıkları olmasıyla övünebilirler." Dolayısıyla, karakterlerin iraksaması ile doğal seçme ilkesine göre hayvanların ve bitkilerin bu alt ve ara biçimlerden yola çıkarak gelişmiş olabilecekleri olanaksız görünmüyor; dolayısıyla, bu noktayı kabul edersek o zaman yeryüzünde yaşamış ve yaşamakta olan bütün örgenli varlıkların da bir tek temel biçimden türeyebileceklerini de kabul etmek gerekir. (p. 655)	Eşeyssel üreme, belki de yalnız en küçük canlıların bazıları dışında bütün canlılarda esas olarak benzer görünümündedir. Bugün için bildiğimiz kadarıyla hepsinde embriyon kesesi aynıdır; böylece bütün organik canlıların ortak bir kökeni vardır. Hatta organik dünyanın başlıca iki kesimi yani bitkiler ve hayvanlar alemi ele alınacak olursa, bazı alt biçimlerin, karakterleri ile, doğabilimcilerin bunları hangi tarafa katacakları üzerinde uyuşamayacakları kadar ara nitelikler taşıdıkları görülür; ve Profesör Asa Gray'ın belirttiği gibi, "Alt suyosunlarının sporları ve diğer üretken cisimleri, önce hayvansal bir varlık karakteri taşımaları, sonra da reddedilemeyecek biçimde bitkisel bir canlıları olmasıyla övünebilirler." Dolayısıyla, karakterlerin iraksaması ile doğal seçme ilkesine göre hayvanların ve bitkilerin bu alt ve ara biçimlerden yola çıkarak gelişmiş olabilecekleri olanaksız görünmüyor; dolayısıyla, bu noktayı kabul edersek o zaman yeryüzünde yaşamış ve yaşamakta olan bütün organik canlıların da bir tek temel biçimden türeyebileceklerini de kabul etmek gerekir. (pp. 581-582)	Eşeyssel üreme, belki de yalnız en küçük canlıların bazıları dışında bütün canlılarda esas olarak benzer görünümündedir. Bugün için bildiğimiz kadarıyla hepsinde embriyon kesesi aynıdır; böylece bütün organik canlıların ortak bir kökeni vardır. Hatta organik dünyanın başlıca iki kesimi yani bitkiler ve hayvanlar alemi ele alınacak olursa, bazı alt biçimlerin, karakterleri ile, dop,;abilimcilerin bunları hangi tarafa katacakları üzerinde uyuşamayacakları kadar ara nitelikler taşıdıkları görülür; ve Profesör Asa Gray'ın belirttiği gibi, "Alt suyosunlarının sporları ve diğer üretken cisimleri, önce hayvansal bir varlık karakteri taşımaları, sonra da reddedilemeyecek biçimde bitkisel bir canlıları olmasıyla övünebilirler." Dolayısıyla, karakterlerin iraksaması ile doğal seçme ilkesine göre hayvanların ve bitkilerin bu alt ve ara biçimlerden yola çıkarak gelişmiş olabilecekleri olanaksız görünmüyor; dolayısıyla, bu noktayı kabul edersek o zaman yeryüzünde yaşamış ve yaşamakta olan bütün organik canlıların da bir tek temel biçimden türeyebileceklerini de kabul etmek gerekir. (pp. 573-574)

After performing online research on Yason Yayınları, I became doubtful whether they are still actively publishing new books. The only results I managed to find were the web pages of book distributors that continue to sell the books published by Yason Yayınları and the publishing house's Facebook and Instagram pages. A review of

these social platforms also gives the impression that they are no longer publishing new titles since they have not posted new entries to promote their new titles since early 2023. However, going through the web pages of some book distributors provides one with an overall idea about the publishing policy of the publishing house. One of these distributors, Çukurova Kitap, has multiple titles published by Yason Yayınları on its database. A review of this website indicates that, in recent years, Yason Yayınları has been mostly publishing chiclet and romance novels by Turkish authors, who were having their first titles published (Çukurova Kitap, n.d.). Some of the literary works they published before that include *Odesa* (The Odyssey) and *İlyada* (the Iliad) by *İlahi Komedy*a (Divine Comedy) by Dante Alighieri, *Küçük Pren*s (The Little Prince) by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *Büyük Umutlar* (Great Expectations) by Charles Dickens along with many Turkish classics such as *Mai ve Siyah* (Blue and Black) and *Aşk-I Memnu* (Forbidden Love) by Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil. In addition to literary classics, in the 2000s and 2010s, Yason Yayınları published titles on a wide range of topics from politics and psychology to philosophy and religion. For example, they published *Das Kapital* by Karl Marx, several titles by Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, multiple titles by Sigmund Freud and Carl Gustav Jung, Erich Fromm, and many religious and philosophical titles by the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries Muslim polymaths Al-Ghazali, Gavs'ul Azam, Shams Tabrizi, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Ibn Al-Arabi, Rumi, etc.

When we analyze the website of Alter Publishing, a similar publishing policy is observed with titles published in a wide range of disciplines. According to its website, the publishing house was founded in June 2004 in Ankara, and it prioritizes publications in various fields of academic publishing (Alter Yayınları, 2017). Alter Yayıncılık publishes local and international (translated) titles on literature, sociology,

philosophy, religion, and so on. They published many international classics such as *Anna Karenina*, *Dorian Grey's Portrait*, *Pride and Prejudice*, *Madame Bovary*. In addition, they publish Turkish classics such as *Eylül* by Mehmet Rauf, *İntibah* by Namık Kemal, etc. Some of the titles that I found interesting while visiting their catalog were *Alman İdeolojisi* (The German Ideology) by Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, *Devrim Nedir? Felsefede Devrim: Diyalektik Materyalizmin ve Marksist Devrim Anlayışının Eleştirisi* (What is Revolution? Revolution in Philosophy: A Critique of Dialectical Materialism and the Marxist Understanding of Revolution) by Münir Ramazan Aktolga, *Deccal* (The Antichrist) by Friedrich Nietzsche. The publishing house also published books on Islam and Kabbalah such as *Hazreti Adem'den Hazreti Muhammed'e Peygamberler* (Prophets from Prophet Adam to Prophet Muhammad) by Ali Gözütok and *Işığın Tadı: Kabala Bilgilerinin Temelleri* (A Glimpse of Light: The Basics of the Wisdom of Kabbalah) by Michael Laitman. The publishing house also published one title, *Din Sorgulanıyor* (Questioning Religion), by Hamdi Tayfur who is a critique of the adoption of Islam by Turkish people.

Looking at the profiles of the translators who produced the plagiarized translations of *The Origin*, another similarity attracts one's attention. Both Göksu Birol and Hasan İlhan's names appear in the details of many translated titles, the source texts of which are in multiple languages. For example, Hasan İlhan is cited as the translator of several literary works Alter Publications published by William Shakespeare, Lev. N. Tolstoy, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Alexandre Dumas, Franz Kafka, Sigmund Freud, Grigori Petrov, etc. (Kitap Yurdu, 2024). Not being able to find any personal information online about a translator who could translate these English, Russian, French, and German classics inevitably leads me to suspect that Hasan İlhan

is actually a made-up name used by the publishing house while publishing plagiarized translations. The same situation applies to Göksu Birol's case as well, with translations under this name from Arthur Schopenhauer, Friedrich Nietzsche, Sigmund Freud, Grigori Petrov, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, etc. (Kitap Yurdu, 2024). Again, there is no personal information about this translator on Yason Publishing's website. Nor is there a professional social media account that belongs to a translator named Göksu Birol or an interview performed with such a "productive" translator on any social platform.

Judging by the apparently unethical translation policies of the two publishing houses and by the conspicuous variety of their publications, which, in addition to literary classics, include quite contradictory sociological, political, and philosophical works — e.g., works by pioneering Marxist and socialist figures and works by medieval and contemporary Islamic scholars — I am inclined to conclude that they are predominantly profit-driven. Hence, it seems very possible that Darwin's *The Origin* was specifically chosen for publication because of the conflictual and sensational space it still occupies in the Turkish setting as one of the most popular conceptual narratives of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The fact that the publishers did not proceed with publishing other works by Darwin and chose to publish only his magnum opus, using plagiarized translations, demonstrates that popularizing Darwin's theory and circulating his ideas were not the principal motives of the publishers. The fact that Alter's plagiarized translation was published in 2009, the UNESCO Darwin year, when, locally and globally, a large amount of content was published, supports the assumption that the publisher was mainly after accumulating economic capital by publishing *The Origin*, which they did not bother to have retranslated.

In 2017, another Ankara-based publishing house, Dorlion Yayınları also published a translation of *The Origin*, with the translator named as Göksu Birol once again. This translation also plagiarizes Belli's 2009 (re)translation of *The Origin*. When compared with the previous plagiarized Göksu Birol translation published by Yason Yayıncılık, it emerges that the two texts are exactly the same.

6.1.5 Agents of (re)translation with emphasized scientific and academic dispositions: Ergi Deniz Özsoy, Cumhuriyet Öztürk and İş Bankası Yayınları  
İşbankası Publications is a prominent publishing house owned by Türkiye İş Bankası, one of the largest private commercial banks in Türkiye. The publishing house was founded in 1956 by Hasan Âli Yücel, the then Minister of Education. Its publishing portfolio covers a wide range of book genres, including classics, modern and contemporary literature, history, humanities, economy, popular science, etc. According to their website ([www.iskultur.com.tr](http://www.iskultur.com.tr)), their total sales surpassed nineteen million books as of 2022.

The retranslation of *The Origin* was performed by Ergi Deniz Özsoy and it was published under the Hasan Âli Yücel Classics section at the end of 2022. The editor of the (re)translation was Cumhuriyet Öztürk, who worked as both an editor and a translator in various translation projects for İş Bankası Yayınları and other big-scale publishers, such as Everest Yayınları. He translated numerous works belonging to different genres such as popular science, children's science books, literature, etc. Öztürk did not add any peritextual elements to the (re)translation of *The Origin* published by İş Bankası Yayınları, and I have not come across any epitextual materials either that he has produced on Darwin or the translatorial process concerning *The Origin*.

The translator, Ergi Deniz Özsoy, on the other hand, produced both peritextual and epitextual materials related to his (re)translation. Özsoy is a professor of biology, working as a full-time professor at the Department of Biology, at Hacettepe University. With several scholarships and grants he received from TÜBİTAK in the late 1990s and early 2000s, Özsoy visited academic departments in the U.S. and in Europe to contribute to various research projects. According to his researcher profile at Hacettepe University Research Information System, his main research areas are molecular biology and genetics, genomics, and natural sciences.

Professor Özsoy is one of the most popular figures discussing and defending evolution in Turkish media. For years, he has been joining various broadcasts as a guest speaker to explain key mechanisms of evolution or to defend evolution against creationist figures, including Harun Yahya, as Figure 12 demonstrates. In addition to his academic research and publications, he also translated and edited many popular science books, mostly on evolution. In addition to the (re)translation of *The Origin* (2022), he also translated other popular science books by prominent scientific figures for İş Bankası Yayınları. 2020, for example, saw the publication of Özsoy's translation of *Son Sözü Genom Söyler (It Takes a Genome: How a Clash Between Our Genes and Modern Life Is Making Us Sick)* by the renowned professor of genetics, Grey Gibson. Özsoy's latest popular science book, *Evrım, Bilim ve Tarih* (Evolution, Science and History) was published in 2022 by Ginko Bilim. Özsoy also writes for different digital and in-print science magazines, such as *Bilim ve Gelecek*, on evolution and natural sciences.



Figure 12. Harun Yahya and Prof. Özsoy discussing Creationism and evolution on a popular broadcast channel

Özsoy included a Translator's Preface to his translation. Upon Özsoy's request, Richard C. Lewontin (1929-2021), who was considered one of the most renowned evolutionary biologists and geneticists of our era, also penned a preface for this Turkish (re)translation (Özsoy, 2022a, p. ix). Özsoy translated *The Origin* using Darwin's 6<sup>th</sup> edition as his source text.

Having discussed the existing (re)translations of *The Origin* in Turkish, one might ask once again why İş Bankası Yayınları published a new retranslation. Özsoy answered this question during one of the seminars he delivered about *The Origin* as a guest speaker of Ankara Us Atölyesi, an intellectual community that hosts experts from different scientific disciplines for delivering seminars which are later uploaded on the organization's YouTube channel. During his seminar, Özsoy stated that it was he who had proposed to (re)translate *The Origin* and he also noted that he could not finalize the translation for years due to his busy academic schedule. At one point of his seminar, he notes that the translation took almost ten years to complete due to the long breaks he took from his translation project. Özsoy also notes this in the preface he added to the translation. During his seminar at Ankara Us Atölyesi, Özsoy

underlines the scientific value of *The Origin*, which he believes has been undermined both internationally and locally due to political reasons:

In the tumultuous atmosphere of the nineteenth century, *The Origin* garnered significant attention for obvious reasons. However, it is often overlooked that this book is fundamentally a biology text. Indeed, it is a highly comprehensive and systematic work in the field of biology. Yet, if one examines the publication dates in Türkiye since its release, or the various publication dates worldwide, or even the publication dates in English, the original language, it becomes apparent that while it ranks among the best-selling books, it is also one of the least-read. The reasons behind this phenomenon in Türkiye can be better understood when considering the motivations behind these translations. However, I believe the underlying reason for this situation is largely similar to that found elsewhere. Although this text is rooted in biology, it has consistently been subject to positive or negative interpretations within the context of political or ideological frameworks. Those seeking such interpretations may find themselves disappointed after just a few pages, regardless of their perspective. This is because the book presents a completely different focus than what may be expected—a thorough examination of biology, beginning with a chapter on variability under domestication. (Özsoy, 2023, 8:40; Appendix A, 11)

The scientific value of *The Origin* and its contributions to biology and positive sciences are the focal points in Özsoy's narrative in the peritextual and epitextual materials he produced. At the seminars he was invited to following the publication of his *The Origin* retranslation, Prof. Özsoy's academic background and scientific expertise in biology and genetics were frequently stressed, both by himself and by those hosting and/or interviewing him. In addition, as will be explored in detail in the following sections, Özsoy's narratives on various ideologically challenging aspects of Darwin's theory aim to highlight the scientific value of Darwin's works in an effort to emancipate Darwinism from ideological implications. This is why his disposition is primarily categorized under "scientific and academic" although an analysis of Prof. Özsoy's narratives in some of his paratextual materials indicates his sympathetic approach toward socialism, which will be further explored in the following sections.

If we return to the above-quoted segment from Özsoy's seminar, it is evident that he is not happy with the various ideological appropriations of the theory throughout history. His discontent applies to the Turkish setting as well since he does not want evolution and Darwinism to be associated with further political interpretations, or specific political groups. I find it very interesting that Özsoy also voices his discontent with the existing retranslations in the Turkish publishing field. He clearly suggests that these retranslations have also contributed to the politicization of Darwin's theory in the Turkish setting. During the same seminar, Özsoy elaborated further on his discontent with previous retranslations of

*The Origin:*

When we consider evolution from the prevailing perspective in Türkiye, we find that Darwin is an enigmatic, dubious name. However, if you purchase and read Darwin's book, you will discover that he was an extremely meticulous naturalist and, by today's standards, a scientist with an exceptional ability for observation, grounded in facts rather than speculation. As we all know, Türkiye is plagued by information pollution, which is a longstanding issue. Darwin's *The Origin* has also fallen victim to this misinformation. Consequently, when examining translations of this work, one typically finds that the biological framework—Darwin's core framework—is not fully conveyed. This is because translations are often mediocre attempts aimed at promoting certain ideologies and worldviews. I'm not suggesting that these translations are insincere, but I believe that producing a sincere translation and accurately conveying a comprehensive scientific work are two distinct endeavors. (Özsoy, 2023, 10:15, Appendix A, 12)

Reading Özsoy's remarks, one cannot help but wonder why he was so uneasy with the previous retranslations of *The Origin*. Did he notice manipulations in these translations? Was he dissatisfied with the translation strategies followed by the previous translators? Did he think these translations failed to explain certain scientific contexts to make the text more accessible for the reader? Or, was it the ideological dispositions of the agents of translation that he was discontented with?

As different properties of the retranslations of *The Origin* will be discussed in the upcoming sections, we will find answers to these questions as well.

## 6.2 Ideologically conflictual elements in *The Origin* and their Turkish (re)translations

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2.4, various elements in *The Origin* were subject to socio-political, ontological and religious debates in the decades that followed the publication of the book. Different ideological groups have produced a plethora of narratives on these debates while appropriating Darwin's theory into their doctrines. My initial review of the agents of (re)translation's reflections on their *The Origin* (re)translations made me realize that they were not only well informed about these ideologically conflictual elements in relation to Darwin's theory, but they also (re)produced their own narratives on them. Having reviewed the translation agents' professional and intellectual backgrounds, we have already seen that contributing to the popularization of Darwinism in Türkiye and, sometimes, defending the theory of evolution against anti-Darwinist creationist fronts aligned with their ideological dispositions, especially when the politicized status of Darwinism and evolution in the Turkish political field is remembered. Thus, I became very much intrigued whether, in their (re)translations, the agents manipulated the sections in *The Origin* where Darwin contemplates the ideologically conflictual elements of his theory, discussed in Section 2.4. Thus, the following section will focus on both the (re)translations of certain selected sections from *The Origin* and the narratives the agents of translation produced surrounding them in their paratextual materials to understand whether they (re)framed the ideological connotations established with Darwin's theory and various meta-narratives in accordance with their ideological dispositions.

### 6.2.1 The Malthusian and Spencerian references in *The Origin* and their Turkish (re)translations

As discussed in detail in Sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.3, Darwin's integration of the Malthusian notion of the struggle for existence into this theory was met with opposite reactions from different ideological fronts, even though he had mentioned in *The Origin* that he used this term metaphorically. Socialists criticized the notion that there should be widespread intense competition, or struggle for existence, among members of a species and between different species. Instead, they preferred to emphasize the examples of co-dependency among organic beings in nature. On the other hand, some interpreted the Malthusian elements of Darwin's theory as the biological/scientific affirmation of laissez-faire economics, capitalism, competition, and individualism. Moreover, the founders of certain discriminative and racist doctrines such as Social Darwinism and eugenics, Herbert Spencer and Sir Francis Galton, referred to Darwin's theory frequently for scientific legitimization.

Historians of science argue that Darwin himself kept a distance from both sides of this ideological debate. However, the fact that Darwin incorporated into *The Origin* the Malthusian notion of the struggle for existence and the Spencerian notion of the survival of the fittest (in the 5<sup>th</sup> edition upon the recommendation of Alfred Russell Wallace), and that his theory was appropriated by Social Darwinism and the supporters of eugenics made Darwin the target of severe criticism. This criticism was not only voiced by Marxists. As previously discussed in Section 5.1, creationist structures also incorporated criticism of the Malthusian elements in Darwin's theory into their anti-Darwinist narratives, the Turkish Islamist-Creationist Harun Yahya being one of the examples.

In *The Origin*, Darwin makes two references to Robert Malthus and his notion of the struggle for existence. The first reference is in the “Introduction” chapter, where Darwin lists the themes and concepts that he dwells on in each chapter. When he summarizes the content of the Chapter IV, he writes the following:

In the next chapter the Struggle for Existence amongst all organic beings throughout the world, which inevitably follows from their high geometrical powers [ratio – in the 2nd & 6th editions] of increase, will be treated of [considered – 6th edition]. This is the doctrine of Malthus, applied to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms. As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive; and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it vary however slightly in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be naturally selected. From the strong principle of inheritance, any selected variety will tend to propagate its new and modified form. (Darwin, 1998, pp. 5-6)<sup>12</sup>

This is the section where Darwin mentions the notion of the struggle for existence to the reader for the first time. When the (re)translations are compared, it is seen that none of the translators omitted this paragraph, except for an omission within one of the sentences in Orhan Tuncay’s translation. All translations kept the reference to Robert Malthus although not all translators used the same term for “struggle for existence” in Turkish. Other than that, all five translations conveyed the source text content without structural or grammatical modifications, as seen in Table 6:

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<sup>12</sup> The first edition of *The Origin* published by Wordsworth Editions Limited Cumberland House, which is also the source text used by Gün Yayıncılık, was used when citing *The Origin* for the purposes of a comparative analysis of Darwin’s original source text and the Turkish (re)translations. The changes made in the second and sixth editions of *The Origin* are shown in square brackets.

Table 6. A Malthus Reference in *The Origin* (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the Related Paragraph

O. Tuncay's Translation (2003)	B. Kılıç's Translation (2017)	Ö. Ünalın's translation (1970)
Gelecek bölümde, dünyadaki tüm organik canlılar arasındaki varolma mücadelesi (kaçınılmaz olarak nüfusun geometrik artışlarındaki gücün arkasından geliyor) çalışılacak. Malthus'un bu doktrini bütün hayvan ve bitki alemine uygulanacak. Her türde, yaşayabilecek miktardan çok bireyler doğarsa [consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence]; yaşamın karmaşık ve bazen değişen koşulları altında, kendisine avantaj sağlayacak herhangi bir anlamda, biraz farklılaşan canlıların yaşama şansı artacak ve doğal olarak seçilecektir. Kalıtımın güçlü kuralıyla, seçilmiş bir çeşit yeni ve değişmiş şeklini çoğaltacaktır. (p. 34)	Bir sonraki bölümde, dünyanın dört bir yanındaki tüm organik varlıkları ilgilendiren ve onların yüksek bir geometrik oranla çoğalmasının kaçınılmaz sonucu olan Varoluş Mücadelesi ele alınacak. Bu, Malthus öğretisinin genişletilmiş ve hayvan ve bitki alemlerinin tamamına uygulanmış halidir. Her canlı türünden, sağ kalabileceğinden fazla sayıda birey dünyaya geldiğine göre ve bunun sonucunda da sık tekrarlanan bir varoluş mücadelesi yaşandığına göre, karmaşık ve kimi zaman değişken yaşam koşullarının etkisiyle, kendisine hafif de olsa kazanç sağlayacak yönde değişen her birey, sağ kalmak adına daha şanslı olacak ve böylece doğal olarak seçilecektir. Seçilen her varyete, güçlü kalıtım ilkesine bağlı olarak, kendi yeni ve değiştirilmiş formunu çoğaltma ve yaygınlaştırma eğiliminde olacaktır. (p. 26)	Yeryüzündeki bütün organik varlıklar arasında geçen ve onların büyük bir geometrik oranla çoğalmalarını zorunlu kılan Varolma Savaşı, ondan sonraki bölümde incelenecektir. Bu, hayvanlar ve bitkiler aleminin tümüne uygulanmış Malthus Öğretisidir. Her türün doğmuş bireyleri sağ kalabileceklerden kat kat çok olduğu için; ve, bundan dolayı, yaşamak için sık sık yinelenen bir savaş verildiği için, karmaşık ve bazen değişen yaşama koşullarının etkisindeki herhangi bir canlı, kendisine yararlı bir tarzda ne kadar hafif bir değişikliğe uğrarsa uğrarsın, daha iyi bir sağ kalma şansı bulunacak, ve böylece doğal olarak seçilmiş olacaktır. Soyacekim ilkesinin etkinliğinden ötürü, seçilmiş her çeşit, kendi yeni ve değişiklik geçirmiş biçimlerini çoğaltma eğilimi gösterecektir. (pp. 25-26)
S. Belli's translation (2009)	E. D. Özsoy's translation (2022)	
Onu izleyen bölümde bütün dünyadaki örgenlenmiş varlıkların varolmak için yürüttükleri savaşımı, varlıkların geometrik oranlarla çoğalmış olmasından doğan bu savaşımı inceleyeceğiz. Bu, tüm hayvanlar alemine ve bitkiler alemine uygulanmış Malthus doktrini. Her bir türden yaşamda kalabileceklerden çok daha fazla birey doğduğundan, bunun sonucu olarak yaşamda kalma savaşımı her an yenilediğinden, bundan, kendisi için yararlı olabilecek bir biçimde değişen her varlığın, bu değişiklik ne kadar az olursa olsun, yaşamda kalmak için daha büyük bir şansa sahip olduğu sonucu çıkar; bu varlık, böylece, bir doğal seçme konusudur. Çok güçlü olan soyacekim ilkesi gereğince, seçmenin konusu olan her çeşidi, yeni biçimiyle çoğaltma eğiliminde olacaktır. (pp. 59-60)	Bunu izleyen bölümde, dünyadaki tüm organik varlıklar arasında gerçekleşen ve yüksek geometrik artış oranlarından kaynaklanan Var Olma Mücadelesi ele alınacak. Bu, Malthus'un doktrininin hayvan ve bitki alemlerinin tamamına uygulanmasıdır. Her bir türde, hayatta kalabileceğinden daha fazla birey meydana geldiğinden ve sonuç olarak sıkça ortaya çıkan bir var olma mücadelesi söz konusu olacağından, herhangi bir canlı varlık, ne denli küçük olursa olsun kendine herhangi biçimde yarar dokunacak bir değişim sergiliyorsa, yaşamın karmaşık ve bazen değişen koşulları altında daha yüksek bir yaşama şansına sahip olacak ve böylece doğal olarak seçilime uğrayacaktır. Güçlü kalıtım ilkesi uyarınca, seçilen bir varyete yeni ve değişmiş olan formunu kuşaklar boyunca çoğaltacaktır. (p. 16)	

When these (re)translations are examined, it is seen that they convey Darwin's message almost without any changes. Only Orhan Tuncay omits the section "and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence" in the third sentence of the source text. This omission, deliberate or not, leads to a decrease in the emphasis on the concept of struggle and its continuous nature. Bahar Kılıç, on the

other hand, makes a minor lexical addition to her translation by adding “genişletilmiş” (expanded) to the second sentence in the paragraph. Her translation back translates into English as: “This is the Malthusian doctrine extended and applied to the entire animal and plant kingdoms.”. Kılıç’s addition emphasizes the metaphorical reference to Malthus’ notion further in the Turkish translation. This addition becomes more interesting when her translation of the second reference to Malthus is examined.

The second reference to Malthus in *The Origin* is in the fourth chapter, where Darwin explains the notion of the struggle for existence in detail, using various examples. The Chapter IV is also named “Struggle for Existence”. Following the discussion on the geometric (exponential) growth of population versus the arithmetic (linear) increase in resources, Darwin extends his argument as follows:

Hence, as more individuals are produced than can possibly survive, there must in every case be a struggle for existence, either one individual with another of the same species, or with the individuals of distinct species, or with the physical conditions of life. It is the doctrine of Malthus applied with manifold force to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms; for in this case there can be no artificial increase of food, and no prudential restraint from marriage. Although some species may be now increasing, more or less rapidly, in numbers, all cannot do so, for the world would not hold them. (Darwin, 1998, pp. 50-51)

When the (re)translations are compared, it is evident that Ünalın and Kılıç conveyed this paragraph with a significant change in their target texts, as Table 7 demonstrates:

Table 7. Another Malthus Reference in *The Origin* (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the Related Paragraph

O. Tuncay's Translation (2003)	B. Kılıç's Translation (2017)	Ö. Ünalın's translation (1970)
Böylece yaşayabilecek miktardan çok canlı ürerse, her seferinde aynı türün veya başka türlerin bireyleri arasında veya yaşam koşullarına karşı, varolma mücadelesi olacaktır. Bu, tüm hayvan ve bitki alemine çok yönlü uygulanan Malthus doktrininin; burada yapay besin artışı ve akıllı bir biçimde birleşmenin engellenmesi yoktur. Bu gün bazı türler az veya çok hızla artıyorlarsa da, dünyada yeterli yer olmadığı için, hepsi bunu yapamamaktadır. (p. 89)	O halde sağ kalabileceğinden fazla sayıda birey üretildiğine göre, her olguda ya türdeş bireyler arasında, ya farklı türlerin bireyleri arasında ya da fiziksel yaşam koşullarına karşı verilen bir varoluş mücadelesi bulunmalıdır. Bu, Malthus öğretisinin hayvan ve bitki alemlerinin tamamına, biraz zorlanarak da olsa uygulanmış halidir; çünkü bu durumda yiyeceğin yapay olarak artırılması söz konusu değildir ve çiftleşmeyi önlemek adına ileriye dönük bir kısıtlama bulunmamaktadır. Bazı türler bugün oldukça hızlı bir sayısal artış gösteriyor olsa da, dünyanın onları barındırması mümkün olmayacağı için bunu hepsi başaramaz. (pp. 82-83)	Bundan ötürü, yaşayabilecek olandan daha çok birey ürettiği için, varolma savaşı her durumda, bir bireyle aynı türden başka bireyler arasında, aynı türlerin bireyleri arasında, ya da fiziksel yaşam koşullarına karşı, vardır. Bu, Malthus'un bütün bitkiler ve hayvanlar alemine aşırı zorlayarak uyguladığı öğretisidir; çünkü bu durumda besin zorla artırılmaz, ve çiftleşme sağgörüyle (basiretle) önlenemez. Bugün bazı türler hayli çabuk çoğalmakta ise de, bütün türler böyle davranamaz, yoksa yeryüzüne sığmazlardı. (pp. 88-89)
S. Belli's translation (2009)	E. D. Özsoy's translation (2022)	
Onun için yaşayabilenlerden çok birey doğduğuna göre her olayda, gerek aynı türden başka bir bireyle, gerek başka başka türlerin bireyleri arasında, gerek fiziksel yaşam koşulları ile canlı varlık arasında yaşamda kalabilmek, varolabilmek için bir savaşım yürütülmelidir. Bu, Malthus'un, bütün hayvanlar ve bütün bitkiler alemine çok daha büyük bir yoğunlukla uygulanan öğretisidir, çünkü burada, ne yapay bir besin üretimi ne de sakınım gereği evliliğe kısıtlama getirilmesi sözkonusudur. Her ne kadar bugün bazı türler oldukça hızlı bir biçimde çoğalırlarsa da, bütün türler için durum aynı değildir, çünkü dünya bunların hepsini barındıramaz. (p. 128)	Böylece, hayatta kalma şansına sahip olandan daha fazla sayıda birey meydana geldiğinden, her durumda bir var olma mücadelesi söz konusu olacaktır. Böyle bir mücadele aynı türe ait bireyler arasında, farklı türlerin bireyleri arasında ya da yaşamın fiziksel koşulları karşısında gerçekleşir. Bu, Malthus'un doktrininin bütün gücüyle tüm hayvan ve bitki alemine uygulanmasıdır. Zira böyle bir durumda ne bir yapay besin artışı vardır ne de eşleşip yavru meydana getirmekten hesabını bilir şekilde sakınma söz konusudur. <sup>3</sup> Her ne kadar bazı türler şu an sayısal olarak şöyle ya da böyle artış gösterse de, türlerin tamamı böyle yapamaz zira dünya onları taşıyamayacaktır. (p. 85)	

The translations of the source text sentence “It is the doctrine of Malthus applied with manifold force to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms” in the five (re)translations defer significantly. Whereas Belli's, Tuncay's, and Özsoy's translations remain faithful to the source text content, Ünalın and Kılıç's translations distort the source text semantics. Ünalın's translation back translates into English as “This is Malthus's doctrine, which (Darwin) applied to the entire animal and plant kingdoms, albeit forcibly” (Bu, Malthus'un bütün bitkiler ve hayvanlar alemine aşırı zorlayarak uyguladığı öğretisidir). Similarly, Kılıç's translation back translates into English as “This is the application of the Malthusian doctrine to the entire animal and

plant kingdoms, albeit with some difficulty” (Bu, Malthus öğretisinin hayvan ve bitki alemlerinin tamamına, biraz zorlanarak da olsa uygulanmış halidir). Both translations imply that Darwin’s application of the Malthusian notion of the struggle for existence to the whole living world by Darwin poses some challenges or complexities.

It is interesting that both Ünalın’s and Kılıç’s translations convey the very same segment in a very similar manner, and differently compared to the source text. It should not be forgotten that Kılıç openly states during her interview (which was quoted in Section 6.1.5) that she referred to Ünalın’s translation during her own translation process. Could it be possible that she was influenced by Ünalın’s translation? Or, was this segment conveyed in a different manner than in the source text deliberately in both Ünalın and Kılıç’s translations? Overall, there are no indications of plagiarism in Bahar’s translation since the lexical and terminological choices and sentence structures in her translation do not bear traces of the previous translations. Although it is not possible to ascertain whether both Ünalın’s and Kılıç’s translations conveyed the Malthusian reference differently as an outcome of deliberate translation strategies, given the ideological significance of the Malthusian references in the book, these nuances are very interesting. What adds to the peculiarity of these translation choices by Kılıç and Ünalın is that the rest of their translations are generally faithful to Darwin’s source text, without manipulating sentences or paragraphs where Darwin discusses certain phenomena that had significant ideological repercussions. My comparative analysis of the three chapters of *The Origin* retranslations showed that the translators did not perform omissions, additions, segment or sentence level manipulations, etc. which would misrepresent certain aspects of the theory. On the contrary, Darwin’s text was kept intact by all

translators and Darwin's message was rendered into Turkish without changes that would have portrayed the theory differently. However, the above-quoted sections where Darwin introduces the concept of the struggle for existence are exceptional cases where some translators rendered the source text message with semantic deviations into Turkish.

Considering the conflicting interpretations made by different ideological camps about Darwin's incorporation of the Malthusian notion of the struggle for existence into his theory, the translation decisions made by Ünalán and Kılıç take on added significance. In addition, when the attention is shifted to the peritextual and epitextual materials the agents of translation produced on the Malthusian elements of Darwin's theory, the situation becomes even more interesting. First of all, it is clear that all translators were knowledgeable about the various ideological repercussions of this notion. In the paratextual materials they produced, they shared their views about the public and global narratives that associate Darwin's theory with certain meta-narratives such as competition, capitalism, Social Darwinism, and racism due to the Malthusian components of his theory.

In his book, *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* (1997) Öner Ünalán dedicates several pages to discuss the Malthusian notion of the struggle for existence and its implications for Darwin's theory. He begins his critique by informing his readers that Robert Malthus came from a wealthy family and was associated with the British East India Company. Ünalán describes this company as the embodiment of British colonialism in Southern Asia and China until it formally terminated its operations in these regions in 1873. (Ünalán, 1997, p. 117). He goes on to detail the key arguments of Malthus's population theory. Here, Ünalán criticizes Malthus for basing his views on wrong assumptions about the potential population growth. He states that, according

to Malthus' calculations, population growth follows a pattern of doubling every twenty-five years (in the pattern of 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256), whereas the food supply increases in a dramatically slower proportion (in the pattern of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9) (Ünalán, 1997, p. 118). According to Ünalán, based on these wrong calculations, Malthus believed that the struggle for existence was inevitable for humankind. Ünalán notes that Malthus viewed all kinds of aid to the poor wrong and believed epidemics, major disasters and wars were necessary since they checked the population. Based on these views, Ünalán (1997, p. 118) fiercely charges Malthus's views and states that "there is no second person in history who more openly defended and supported unbridled capitalism and colonialism than Malthus did". Strengthening his emphasis on the statistically wrong assumptions on which Malthus built his theory, Ünalán concludes his discussion about him by noting that "Malthus' assumption quoted above could not be proven. It has not been observed so far (for two centuries) that the population and means of subsistence have increased as assumed" (Ünalán, 1997, p. 118). It is significant that Ünalán emphasizes the unreliability and invalidity of Malthus' calculations. From a narrative perspective, his critical counterargument to Malthus' views and calculations attempts to nullify the causal emplotment on which Malthus' theory is based, namely the notion that, if population and food supply increase in such a dramatic disproportionate ration, then there must always be a scarcity of and struggle for resources. In addition, in the following sections of his discussion on Malthus, Ünalán's narrative attempts to similarly nullify the causal emplotment relationship between Malthus' and Darwin's theories:

Darwin incorporates Malthus' mathematical formulation in *The Origin*. However, Darwin fails to recognize or overlooks the fact that he is not depending on Malthus directly but rather on a principle upon which Malthus also grounded his ideas (the fact that the number of individuals born in each

species exceeds the number of individuals that can survive and reproduce). Darwin characterizes this as the application of the Malthusian doctrine to the entirety of the living world. However, Malthus does not contribute to the theory in a theoretical sense. Through the mathematical expression he employs, Malthus enables Darwin to consider and assess a phenomenon that Darwin had previously recognized, or rather observed, but not acknowledged its significance in organic evolution. (Ünalán, 1997, p. 120; Appendix A, 13)

Examining the narrative Ünalán produces on the relationship between Malthus and Darwin, it is clear that he portrays a Darwin who was only “inspired” by Malthus’ theory to look more carefully into certain phenomena he had already observed in nature. Accordingly, there does not exist a cause-and-effect relationship between the two theories. According to Ünalán’s narrative, Malthus was not indispensable in Darwin developing his notion that organisms must compete for limited resources in their environment, and those individuals with advantageous traits are more likely to survive, reproduce, and pass on their traits to future generations. Thus, according to Ünalán, Malthus’ impact on Darwin is “exaggerated” and, since his theory has not been proven due to the intricate wrong statistical assumptions, it should no longer be regarded as relevant to the theory of evolution.

In the following pages where he continues to critique Darwin’s inclusion of the Malthusian notion in *The Origin*, Ünalán reminds the reader of Darwin’s claim that he used the notion of the struggle for existence in a broad, metaphorical sense. However, Ünalán also notes that, despite the metaphor emphasis, competition and conflict still come first in the relationships of dependency that Darwin describes. He quotes the following remarks in Chapter IV of *The Origin*: “from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows” (Darwin, 2009, p. 429). Immediately after citing these sentences from *The Origin*, Ünalán employs relationality as a narrative strategy and associates the analogy Darwin forms between

war and the struggle of existence with the capitalist values he had strongly internalized in nineteenth century Britain:

We can argue that Darwin used the word war because he did not observe—at least to a sufficient degree—solidarity, cooperation, or commonality in the interdependence relations that govern the living world. Marx associates Darwin's attitude with the fact that he saw nothing but competition and conflict in the ruthless and aggressive capitalist English society he lived in. Engels, on the other hand, clearly emphasizes that there is harmony and cooperation in the relations between living things. (Ünalán, 1997, p. 128; Appendix A, 14)

Ünalán continues his criticism of the Malthusian elements of Darwin's theory by citing evolutionary theories developed by socialist scientists. As discussed earlier in Section 2.4.3, Marxists defended collaboration, solidarity, and altruism against the Malthusian "struggle for existence". To this end, Ünalán cites Engels' 1875 letter to Russian socialist and historian Pyotr Lavrov:

... of the Darwinian doctrine I accept the theory of evolution, but Darwin's method of proof (struggle for life, natural selection) I consider only a first, provisional, imperfect expression of a newly discovered fact. Until Darwin's time the very people who now see everywhere only struggle for existence (Vogt, Büchner, Moleschott, etc.) emphasized precisely cooperation in organic nature, the fact that the vegetable kingdom supplies oxygen and nutriment to the animal kingdom and conversely the animal kingdom supplies plants with carbonic acid and manure.... Both conceptions are justified within certain limits, but the one is as one-sided and narrowminded as the other. The interaction of bodies in nature – inanimate as well as animate – includes both harmony and collision, struggle and cooperation. (Engels 1875, as cited in Ünalán 1997, p. 127; Appendix A, 15)

Ünalán concludes this extremely critical section by informing his readers that, in the following years, the Russian anarchist Pyotr Alekseyevich Kropotkin (1842 – 1921) "would show with his studies that there are examples of solidarity and cooperation at every level of the animal kingdom, and that this also affects selection" (Ünalán, 1997, p. 128). By invoking Kropotkin's views, Ünalán employs causal employment by weighing once again. He presents Kropotkin's views as valid and comprehensive as the struggle Darwin claimed that governed the animal and plant kingdoms. It is

evident from Ünalın's remarks in this epitextual material that, while he did not omit Malthusian references from Darwin's original text in his translation, he felt a strong need to caution his readers about the implications of the Malthusian concept of the struggle for existence in his book, *Darwin Ne Yaptı?*. It is also interesting that his narrative attempts to nullify the impact of Malthus' views on Darwin's thinking. If we remember the above-quoted paragraph from *The Origin* where Darwin discusses his metaphorical application of Malthus' views into his theory, the semantic change observed in Ünalın's translation may not be a coincidence.

The fact that Ünalın produced narratives on the Malthusian elements of Darwin's theory similar to those put forth by Marx, Engels and other Marxists further indicates Ünalın's Marxist disposition and how this disposition influenced his approach to Darwin's theory. Like the Marxists of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, Ünalın suggests that this notion should not be applied to human social order and that, in nature, there are also many examples that contradict the idea of an all-encompassing struggle. It is worth noting, however, that Ünalın also highlights Darwin's book being praised by Marx and Engels for its contributions to dialectical thinking and empirical methods. He notes that "Marx and Engels welcomed *On the Origin of Species* with enthusiasm" (Ünalın, 1997, p. 126), and he reiterates Engels's remarks that Darwin's *The Origin* was "a blow to teleology". Thus, it can be argued that the appropriation of Darwinism by the Turkish Marxist movement, and consequently the increased scientific and symbolic value of Darwin's books, particularly *The Origin*, in the Turkish publication and political fields, was significantly influenced by the narratives accompanying the related translatorial practices. These narratives relied heavily on causal emplotment, enabling selective

incorporation of certain aspects of Darwin's theory into Turkish Marxist theory while excluding and even criticizing others.

While Ünalán explores the Malthusian aspects of Darwin's theory from a critical Marxist perspective, Bahar Kılıç, in one of her articles following the translation of *The Origin*, emphasizes the concept of the struggle for existence as another Darwinian element that aligns with Marxist ideas. She accomplishes this by establishing an analogy between the Malthusian notion of the struggle for existence and the Marxist concept of class struggle:

The theory of evolution garnered significant interest not only among scientists but also among influential thinkers of the time. Darwin's ideas regarding the struggle for existence in nature resonated with Karl Marx's concepts of class struggle. Consequently, both Marx and Engels swiftly recognized the significance of the theory of evolution. Engels, who closely followed developments in natural science, wrote to Marx a few weeks after the first edition of *The Origin*, "The Darwin I am now reading is simply marvelous. There was one more aspect of teleology that had to be demolished, and now it has been accomplished." Marx, who had the chance to read the book a year later, wrote to Engels on December 19, 1860, stating, "This book contains the basis of our view in natural history." (Kılıç, 2019; Appendix A, 16)

It is interesting that, in their paratextual elements, both Ünalán and Kılıç highlight the negative repercussions that the Malthusian notion of the struggle for existence have for human social life. However, they use different narrative strategies while doing so. Whereas Ünalán's narrative depicts Malthus's views as unreliable, invalid, and not as significant an inspiration for Darwin to explain natural phenomena as historically thought so, Kılıç's narrative establishes relationality between "struggle for existence" and "class struggle", a concept that Marxist theory aims at eliminating when social order is concerned.

Reminiscent of Ünalán's references to the evolutionary views of socialist intellectuals that exclude struggle from their theorizations, Kılıç also underlines on several occasions that the concept of the struggle for existence does not mean that

humankind's empathetic and altruistic nature should be ignored. For example, when she participated in the Science and Philosophy Lessons (Bilim ve Felsefe Okulu) Series, which was live-streamed on the Atheism Association's official YouTube channel, Kılıç highlighted the importance of moral values for humankind before going into the details of Social Darwinism. She also stressed that Darwin's theory is one of the most misunderstood theories in history due to the political appropriation of certain concepts of the theory by extremist groups in support of Laissez-faire capitalism:

Although Darwin states there is a struggle for limited resources in nature, he also notes that, as humans evolved, social instincts such as empathy and moral values also evolved through natural selection. These feelings strengthened societies. He states that, as man became civilized and small tribes united and turned into larger communities, members of the communities saw that each individual must expand their social instincts and sympathies, that is, their ability to empathize, in an inclusive manner, even if they did not know every single individual in their community personally. (...) Despite all his explanations, all his warnings, and all his efforts to explain himself, the unfortunate phrase he added to the 5th edition (of *The Origin*), "survival of the fittest", is used as an argument in support of economic competition in the capitalist world. Especially in the United States, this phrase is used to legitimize liberal capitalism. (Kılıç, 2022, 30:30; Appendix A, 17)

Reading Kılıç's remarks reminds one of Çubukçu's criticism in his Preface to the republished Ünalın translation by Evrensel Publishing. As was noted in Section 6.1.1.2, Çubukçu criticized the late Ottoman era intellectuals, early Republican era governments and contemporary anti-Darwinist conservative circles for integrating Darwinism into their narratives. As Kılıç's early references to Marx and Engels indicate, similar to Çubukçu, she also finds the appropriation of Darwin's theory by the Marxist camp natural and valid whereas the Darwinian interest of other political camps is regarded as ingenuine.

In addition to highlighting in her narrative Darwin's remarks on morality and altruism and mutual relations among organisms in nature, Kılıç also cites Darwin's

“unfortunate” reference to Spencer and his notion of the survival of the fittest as the main reason why Darwin’s views were appropriated into capitalist views. Here, Kılıç follows a different narrative strategy compared to Ünalın. If we remember, Ünalın establishes a relationality between Darwin’s personal background (having been born and raised in the imperialist British society) and his emphasis on the decisive role of the struggle for life when describing his theory of evolution. However, Kılıç’s narrative displays a more positive Darwin who was misunderstood, his ideas having become a victim of those who chose to focus on the Spencerian reference he made in the later editions of *The Origin*. In addition, by underlining mutual relations among organisms and the resulting need for more moral and altruistic values, she interferes with the causal employment implicit in the capitalist narrative that if there is a strong struggle for existence in nature, that should apply to social and economic models as well.

If we revisit the above-quoted online seminar Kılıç gave for the Science and Philosophy Lessons Series of the Atheism Association, we see that the seminar is dedicated to describing the misunderstandings in relation to Darwin’s theory. Hence, her aim is to correct these misinterpretations which had, from her own ideological point of view, paved the way to erroneous ideological appropriations:

The fundamental principles of evolution, such as descent by modification, common ancestry, and selection, outlined by Darwin in *The Origin* and detailed further in his subsequent works, not only paved the way for further scientific exploration but also ignited philosophical, sociological, and religious debates. Apart from the unjustified and cynical attacks on Darwin himself, the theory has spawned various misguided movements both in the past and present. In this presentation, I aim to address these misunderstandings and currents, shedding light on the origins of certain viewpoints erroneously attributed to Darwin. (Kılıç, 2022, 5:10; Appendix A, 18)

As seen in Kılıç’s remarks, her narrative portrays Darwin as a deliberately misrepresented scientific figure, whose ideas were integrated into the narratives of

certain ideological movements that sought legitimization and popularity by referring to Darwin's views in building up their doctrines. Hence, Kılıç's narrative attempts to eliminate the relationality established between Darwin's theory and certain meta-narratives with which his theory has been historically affiliated. Her paratexts also contribute to producing a counter-narrative against those of the anti-Darwinists, who portray an "evil" picture of Darwin. On several occasions, Kılıç specifically underlines Darwin's "neutrality" and his distance from certain ideological movements such as Social Darwinism and eugenics. If we remember, Darwin could not prevent himself from being affiliated with the meta-narratives of Nazism and Fascism. To this end, during the same online seminar, Kılıç continues her discussion as follows:

Darwin and his theory of evolution should not be associated with the actions of the Nazis and Fascists who misappropriated the ideas of Ernst Haeckel. This association is based on faulty information, as I have explained in examples involving Social Darwinism, eugenics, and racism. The movements initiated by Herbert Spencer and Francis Galton, continued by Ernst Haeckel, and later adopted by the Nazis, were driven by a misunderstanding of biological evolution or its misapplication to unrelated fields. These perspectives are contrary to Darwin's own views. Anyone familiar with Darwin's writings, autobiographies, and letters can attest to this fact. It is evident that Darwin should not be associated with such movements. (Kılıç, 2022, 47:20; Appendix A, 19)

In other seminars and interviews she gave on digital platforms, Kılıç maintains her position which disassociates Darwin from certain ideological movements and meta-narratives such as Social Darwinism, Eugenics, Nazism and Fascism. For example, this was one of the key themes of the online interview she gave to Özgür Örsöğlü on the Ateizm Derneği TV in 2019, where she talked about her translation of *The Origin*. During her interview with Zelal Özgür Durmuş on the SolTV YouTube channel, Kılıç states that the misinterpretations surrounding Darwin's theory started with the very title of his magnum opus, "On the Origin of Species by Means of

Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life”.

Kılıç adds that the associations established between Darwin’s theory and extreme ideological movements are due to the chunk “the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life” in the title. She also adds that Darwin’s reference to Spencer and his notion of the survival of the fittest in later editions of *The Origin* paved the way for these ideologies to establish connections between their doctrines and

Darwin’s views:

As I mentioned earlier, Darwin added the phrase “the preservation of favoured races” to the title later on, at the request of his publisher. This phrase could easily be misinterpreted and used as a basis for racist ideologies. Even after Darwin's passing, the misapplication of biological evolution theory to unrelated fields led to the rise of movements like Social Darwinism and practices like Eugenics. This is indeed unfortunate. Darwin himself was an abolitionist and believed in monogenism, the idea that all humans share a common ancestry, originating from Africa. Therefore, it is disheartening to see Darwin's theory being associated with such movements. (Kılıç & Durmuş, 2021, 12:22, Appendix A, 20)

Kılıç’s remarks on the full title of *The Origin* remind one of the comments of Harun Yahya in his *Atlas of Creation* on the same subject matter. As discussed in Section 5.1, Yahya cites the full title of *The Origin* as one of the indicators of “ruthless struggle for survival and an eternal conflict in nature” (2007, p. 721) envisaged by Darwin’s book. As my discussion in the following sections will also demonstrate, as a dedicated defender of Darwinism and atheism in Türkiye, Bahar Kılıç is quite familiar with the narratives of Islamic-Creationists, including Yahya. Her reference to the full title of *The Origin* is one of the examples of her effort to present her counter-arguments against the Islamic-Creationist allegations directed at Darwin, charging him with racism.

The positive Darwin image that is disassociated from the meta-narratives of Competition, Racism and Nazism is evident in the peritextual materials Kılıç added to her translation as well. As mentioned earlier, she added a Translator’s Note to her

translation where she discussed certain aspects of Darwin's theory and criticized contemporary anti-Darwinist practices in Türkiye. In her Translator's Note, Kılıç's narrative includes very similar elements to those she produced in her epitextual materials:

The best way to kill an idea is to defend it incorrectly. Social Darwinism, which advocates the application of the concept of natural selection to social, political, and economic fields, is one of the inferences mentioned above which resulted from the misinterpretation of Darwin's works. This doctrine, which emerged in Europe in the 1880s and became more widespread in the 1940s, has nothing to do with Darwin's scientific views or organic evolution, despite the similarity in name. Another one of these erroneous inferences is the concept of eugenics, which was put forward a year after Darwin's death, advocating the elimination of weak individuals, just as in nature, and the improvement of the human race, making this view very similar to Social Darwinism. These and other similar views, based on a misinterpretation of the theory of evolution, are often and unfairly associated with Darwin. Sometimes incorrect translations, whether intentional or unintentional, can cause such serious mistakes. Darwin always stood against creationist movements that emerged under the guidance of religious movements which argued, for example, that God created black people at different times from white people; He strongly opposed polygenism, which was the real source of these aforementioned movements. Instead, Darwin defended monogenism. Moreover, Darwin opposed slavery, unlike those who believed that the black race was created to serve white people. However, some statements in his writings were taken out of context and distorted, and Darwin was later even called a "racist". (Kılıç, 2017, pp. 11-12; Appendix A, 21)

Kılıç's remarks in her Translator's Note also show that she is very familiar with the narrative elements of creationist anti-Darwinist arguments and the narrative strategies they employ. For example, she refers to the selective appropriation performed by Yahya in his books aimed at conveying a negative image of Darwin. It is also interesting that she cites manipulative translations as one of the reasons why Darwin's theory was misunderstood. In fact, a closer look at the other peritextual elements in Kılıç's translation shows that the agents of translation knew about previous manipulative translations performed in different socio-historical contexts. For example, Cankoçak and Kılıç added a list of the authors Darwin mentions in *The Origin* as an appendix to their translation. In this appendix, the first German

translator of *The Origin*, Heinrich Bronn (1800-62) is also mentioned and he is described as a “Professor of paleontology in Freiburg and Heidelberg; he translated *The Origin* into German, omitting a few points and adding some notes criticizing the theory” (Cankoçak & Kılıç, 2017, p. 440).

Based on Kılıç’s narrative on the Malthusian and Spencerian references in her paratextual materials surrounding *The Origin*, it is clear that she is dedicated to counteracting the negative associations established between Darwin and certain meta-narratives. Considering Kılıç's efforts to promote Darwinism and atheism in Türkiye, her narrative strategies align with the broader global trend of atheist organizations and individuals who integrate Darwinism into their narratives and defend his theory against creationist structures. It is also intriguing to observe that she produced counter-narratives against the narratives that Islamic-Creationists deployed to negatively associate Darwinism and Capitalism through the Malthusian references in *The Origin*. Thus, one might argue that by contributing to the Turkish publication field with a new *The Origin* retranslation, Kılıç found new narrative spaces to strengthen the position takings of certain social fields she is part of, i.e., the atheist field, socialist/leftist field, in the local and global social space.

Ergi Deniz Özsoy's discussion of the Malthusian elements of Darwin's theory, in his paratextual materials, on the other hand, emphasizes that Darwin used the notion of the struggle for existence "metaphorically". Özsoy inserted an endnote to his translation in Chapter IV, where Darwin introduces the notion of the struggle for existence in the paragraph quoted above. Özsoy’s endnote reads as follows:

The struggle for existence is a metaphor used to describe complex biological relationships, that is Thomas Malthus' view of the relationships between population growth and resource consumption, and it is used as a metaphor to define the complex relationships that govern the plant and animal kingdoms. It should be remembered that applying Malthus' doctrine “with manifold force” was a reductive method Darwin was obliged to use to explain

selection in a historical context while, at the same time, taking into account its manifold complexity, during a period when an evolutionary genetic theory was not yet available. The person who first formulated selection within the framework of the principles of Mendelian genetics, forming the "genetical theory of natural selection", was Ronald Aylmer Fisher, one of the leading geneticists, and evolutionary geneticists of the twentieth century. For the book in which Fisher lays down the relationship between genetic variability and fitness variability and which profoundly influenced the understanding of natural selection in later evolutionary genetics, please refer to: R. A. Fisher, *The Genetical Theory of Natural Selection*, Oxford University Press, 1930. (Özsoy, 2022b, pp. 645-646; Appendix A, 22)

With this endnote, Özsoy deviates from the prescribed frame space in the source text by bringing the source text in line with his own narrative position described in this paratextual addition. Özsoy's remarks in his footnote are reminiscent of his previously quoted remarks on why he wanted to retranslate *The Origin*. As discussed earlier, Özsoy frequently emphasizes the scientific value of Darwin's works. His narrative suggests a significant unease with the incorporation of Darwin's theory into various socio-political ideologies and doctrines. His comments also imply a discomfort with the translation of Darwin's works into Turkish by translators with strong ideological dispositions. In his endnote, Özsoy portrays a neutral Darwin against Malthus's population theory. Accordingly, Darwin was only making use of another theory, or another conceptual theory, to be able to explain certain phenomena he could not otherwise explain. According to Özsoy, in the absence of the scientific knowledge that would explain these phenomena (e.g., extinction, hereditary transfer of useful variations), Darwin was "obliged" to resort to Malthus's account and apply it to the entire organic world. Özsoy also employs causal emplotment in his narrative to highlight that the scientific advances achieved in evolutionary genetics in the aftermath of Darwin's *The Origin* did clarify these previously unexplainable phenomena, for the explanation of which Darwin had resorted to Malthus. As discussed in Section 4.3, Baker (2006, p. 67) states that emplotment is often signaled

either by sequencing and ordering events or by weighting them and endowing them with significance. In this paratextual narrative, Özsoy performs both. He informs the reader about the subsequent scientific advances in evolutionary genetics, while these advances are also weighed against the Malthusian notions. Thus, one of the interpretations the reader will make is that Malthus' population theory is no longer necessary or adequate to explain certain evolutionary concepts Darwin was unable to explain without referring to Malthus in the mid-nineteenth century. Özsoy's effort to emancipate Darwin's theory, especially the concept of the struggle for existence, from ideological connotations is evident in the Preface he added to his translation as well:

Although *The Origin* has inevitably been intertwined with broader cultural issues and human crises, it primarily remains a profoundly biological text. As Stephen Jay Gould highlights, the book does not start with a grand manifesto exploring the full scope of humanity and states of being. Rather, its first chapter is titled "Variation Under the Influence of Domestication". [...] The next chapter of *The Origin* is titled "The Struggle for Existence", which Darwin emphasizes that he used as a metaphorical concept due to the complexity and multi-layeredness of the issue. This concept refers to the distribution of biological character variations observed in nature in time and space. Darwin makes a connection between natural selection and the struggle for existence and this concept contributes to providing a universal explanation for descent through change from common origins. (Özsoy, 2022a, pp. vi-vii; Appendix A, 23)

As seen in this excerpt from Özsoy's Preface, Özsoy maintains his emphasis that *The Origin* is a biology book. Conflictual notions such as the struggle for existence are depicted as nothing more than concepts that were used by Darwin to explain biological and natural phenomena.

An analysis of the Preface Richard C. Lewontin wrote for Özsoy's translation shows that he also emphasized the scientific value of *The Origin*, defining Darwin as the founder of modern biology. Lewontin also voices his concern over the equation of Darwin's theory of evolution with Social Darwinism, noting that these

misunderstandings cause people to ignore the scientific complexity and relevance of Darwin's theory (Lewontin, 2022, p. xi). Lewontin, similar to Özsoy, dedicates a few paragraphs to clarifying how the Malthusian notion of struggle for existence contributed to the theory and what exactly Darwin meant by it. He charges that the mechanism Darwin proposed in *The Origin* is generally misinterpreted as if it gives great weight to the struggle of organisms for scarce resources. Additionally, he observes that these interpretations highlight Darwin's reliance on Malthusian principles in shaping his conception of natural selection as the driving force of evolution. However, according to Lewontin, Darwin does not only refer to an active physical competition for resources; instead, he pays attention to elaborating on the subject matter from a broader perspective in *The Origin*. Lewontin cites the following paragraph from *The Origin* to support his argument:

I should premise that I use this term in a large and metaphorical sense including dependence of one being on another ... Two canine animals, in a time of dearth, may be truly said to struggle with each other which shall get food and live. But a plant on the edge of a desert is said to struggle for life against the drought. (Darwin, 2009, p. 50)

Lewontin goes on to interpret these remarks by Darwin as follows:

According to Darwin, struggle encompasses the effort to survive and reproduce, irrespective of whether other individuals compete for limited resources. Additionally, cooperation and mutually beneficial relationships among individuals and groups ("dependence of one being on another") are also considered forms of struggle. (Lewontin, 2022, p. xiii; Appendix A, 24)

Similar to Bahar Kılıç's narrative in her paratextual materials, Lewontin's narrative highlights mutual relations and cooperation as opposed to the perception that an over-arching struggle governs the relationships among organisms. Hence, by weighing cooperation against competition, both Kılıç's and Lewontin's narratives disturb the causal employment in the narratives of those, such as Creationists and

early twentieth century Capitalists in the U.S, who viewed Darwin's theory as an affirmation of laissez faire, capitalist economic models.

Lewontin applies causal employment once again when he criticizes the relationships established between Darwin's theory of evolution and Social Darwinism. This time the causal employment is signaled by sequencing and ordering events from a different perspective:

One common misconception about the history of evolutionary theory, particularly Darwin's writings, is the assertion that the publication and popularity of *The Origin* led directly to the emergence of "Social Darwinism," which applied evolutionary principles to economics and politics. However, this claim fundamentally misinterprets history. In *The Origin*, Darwin actually incorporated prevailing 19<sup>th</sup>-century notions of economic competition, reflecting the rise of entrepreneurial figures who accumulated power and wealth through their superior competitive traits and adaptability. "Social Darwinism" predates Darwin's work, and it's more accurate to view *The Origin* as building upon the concept of survival of the fittest, akin to a form of "biological economism." (Lewontin, 2022, p. xiv; Appendix, 25))

According to Lewontin, if a chronological cause and effect relationship is to be established between what Darwin's and Spencer's views refer to, it should be recognized that the economic competition described by Spencer predates Darwin's theory. Darwin's theory can only be received, under these circumstances, as a projection onto biology of what he saw in the nineteenth century British social and economic system. Lewontin's remarks are also reminiscent of Ünalán's criticism of the Malthusian elements in Darwin's theory in *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* (1997). If we remember, following Marx's footprints, Ünalán suggests that Darwin strongly internalized the nineteenth century British capitalist values and reflected in his theory what he observed in this socio-economic environment. Although Lewontin does not make a similar Marxist reference and charge Darwin with being a member of this capitalist and competition-oriented social system, the intersections between Ünalán's and Lewontin's narratives are still interesting. Considering that Lewontin is the co-

author, along with mathematical biologist, ecologist, and Marxist philosopher of science Richard Levin, of *The Dialectical Biologist* (1985),<sup>13</sup> the intersections between Ünalán and Lewontin's narratives in their paratextual elements become more relatable. On the other hand, one notable difference between Ünalán's narratives on the relationship between Malthus and Darwin and those produced by Prof. Lewontin and Prof. Özsoy lies in the degree of directness in their Marxist perspectives when countering Creationist and/or capitalist narratives that align Darwinism with free-market competition. Unlike Ünalán, who heavily criticizes Darwin's Malthusian references in an attempt to downplay the theory's reliance on Malthusian views, Lewontin and Özsoy sidestep Malthus' influence on Darwin without overt Marxist criticism. Instead, they emphasize the accumulation of scientific advances achieved after *The Origin*, thereby emancipating the theory of evolution by natural selection from being dependent on Malthusian theory when it comes to explaining certain phenomena such as extinction. Their narrative strategies can also signal a changing trend in the overall Marxist and leftist narratives and discursive practices in recent decades when it comes to seeking scientific legitimization. The tendency to use narratives that rely exclusively on scientific evidence and avoid ideological perspectives to counter creationist and anti-Darwinist arguments is also evident in other paratextual elements produced by Özsoy

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<sup>13</sup> Lewontin and Levin's book was published by the Harvard University Press while they were serving as professors of zoology and population sciences at Harvard University, respectively. As the blurb of their book indicates, they aimed to offer new insights on how Marxist principles can enhance biological research and analysis: "Scientists act within a social context and from a philosophical perspective that is inherently political. Whether they realize it or not, scientists always choose sides. *The Dialectical Biologist* explores this political nature of scientific inquiry, advancing its argument within the framework of Marxist dialectic. These essays stress the concepts of continual change and codetermination between organism and environment, part and whole, structure and process, science and politics. Throughout, this book questions our accepted definitions and biases, showing the self-reflective nature of scientific activity within society." (Harvard University Press, 2024)

concerning the Malthusian elements and other ideologically sensitive aspects of Darwin's theory, as will be discussed in the following sections.

In the aftermath of the publication of his retranslation of *The Origin*, Özsoy continued his effort to emancipate Darwin's theory from various ideology-infused meta-narratives it has been associated with over time. In 2022, for example, Ankara Us Atölyesi organized another seminar where Prof. Özsoy was the guest speaker (the seminar was later posted on the official YouTube channel of the association). This seminar specifically aimed at addressing the misunderstandings that surround the notion of the struggle for existence, and it was titled "*The Origin and the Notion of Struggle for Existence in Contemporary Evolutionary Biology*". At the beginning of his seminar, Özsoy summarized his arguments as follows:

What kind of a meaning did struggle for existence have in *The Origin* and what did it come to mean (later)? How do we use this concept in modern evolutionary biology? I think these distinctions are important. Because, usually, when we talk about evolution, the struggle for existence is presented in a very vulgar way, taken out of its Darwinian context. It is presented as a simple fight, as a conflict. This is actually a completely wrong conceptualization, as I will try to show in a moment. This kind of conceptualization has nothing to do with the modern evolutionary biological framework, nor with the Darwinian framework. (Özsoy, 2022c, 2:00; Appendix A, 26)

Reading Prof. Özsoy's remarks, one immediately recognizes that similar to Prof. Lewontin, he emphasizes his accumulated scientific capital in relation to the subject matter in his effort to counter certain ideology-infused (mis)interpretations that surround *The Origin* and the notion of the struggle for existence. Özsoy continues his seminar by underlining that Darwin's main concern was not demonstrating that there was a struggle for existence in nature. According to Özsoy, the major claim of *The Origin* is that organisms have evolved from a single or a few common ancestors. Özsoy then cites certain paragraphs from his translation where Darwin expressed that he used "the struggle for existence" only "metaphorically". Özsoy continues to read

some paragraphs from his Darwin translation, where Darwin reflected on the broadness of his application of the struggle for existence to the natural world. For example, he cites the following paragraph, which was also partially quoted by Lewontin in his Preface to Özsoy's translation:

Two canine animals, in a time of dearth, may be truly said to struggle with each other to see which shall get food and live. But a plant on the edge of a desert is said to struggle for life against the drought, though more properly it should be said to be dependent on the moisture. A plant which annually produces a thousand seeds, of which only one on average comes to maturity, may be more truly said to struggle with the plants of the same and other kinds which already clothe the ground. (Darwin, 2009, p. 50)

After Prof. Özsoy reads his translation of this paragraph, he highlights the fact that Darwin's metaphor does not only refer to violent struggles for food among certain species, such as canines, but also the struggle organisms wage against nature to survive and reproduce, such as plants struggling with drought. Based on this, similar to his arguments in his previous seminar on his Darwin translation, Özsoy highlights that what Darwin meant by the struggle for existence is not a struggle in the anthropocentric sense. During this seminar, Özsoy also criticizes Social Darwinism and insists that one cannot find Social Darwinist theses in Darwin's works. His narrative, which aims to eliminate the relationality established between Darwin's theory of evolution and various ideological movements such as Social Darwinism, however, hints that he approaches the Marxist and socialist appropriations of Darwin's works from a more positive perspective:

One cannot find Social Darwinism in Darwin's works. However, there were two distinguishable forms of social Darwinism during that time period. These can be categorized based on how they applied Darwinian evolutionary biology to societal matters. The first group comprises mainly socialists, liberals, and similar ideologies of the era. They argue that human traits such as class distinctions are not fixed but transient. They highlight how evolution, by illustrating the relationship between humans and other animals, demonstrates that the natural order on Earth has not always been constant. However, this first group does not promote progress solely through a simplistic interpretation of competition or the struggle for existence. There is

also a second group, emerging more from among those who opposed Darwin's ideas. Essentially anti-evolutionists in scientific terms, this group tends to adopt a more capitalist perspective. They assert that sharp conflicts exist within and between societies. They employ the metaphor of "survival of the fittest," albeit in a more nuanced manner, detached from Darwin's original context, falling squarely within what we classify as Social Darwinism. As mentioned earlier, this tradition has nothing to do with Darwin's own intellectual production. (Özsoy, 2022c; 25:05; Appendix A, 27)

Özsoy's narrative does not specifically defend Marxist interpretations of Darwin's theory. However, his remarks are, at least to some extent, reminiscent of those by Aydın Çubukçu and Bahar Kılıç. We will remember that they view the incorporation of Darwinism into Marxist theory as natural and justifiable, whereas they regard the appropriation of Darwinian elements into laissez-faire, capitalist economic models as ingenuine efforts at scientific legitimization.

Another indicator of Özsoy's greater sympathy (or tolerance) for the appropriation of Darwinism by the socialist camp against the capitalist camp can be found in the interview he had with the digital socialist news bulletin, HaberSol, a subsidiary of SolTV. Although this interview was performed in 2020, before Özsoy's *The Origin* translation was published, I still find it relevant for a better understanding of Özsoy's perspective, especially considering the fact that his translation process lasted for almost 10 years. The interview was conducted by Zelal Özgür Durmuş, who also conducted an online interview with Bahar Kılıç in 2022 on the YouTube channel, SolTV. Although Özsoy's remarks during this interview can be taken as indicators of his sympathy for socialism, he maintains his stance that evolutionary biology should not be integrated into sociological doctrines. During this interview, the interviewer recalls a piece of advice given by Prof. Özsoy in a previous interview, suggesting that those seeking to understand society should prioritize Marxist theory over biology. Özsoy comments on this as follows:

Marxist methodology is just one of many approaches (that study society), but it focuses uniquely on the historical context, delving into the intricate web of relationships and contradictions across various cultural and social layers. This perspective offers valuable insights. Therefore, when analyzing social phenomena, I believe it is more accurate to draw from Marxist or other human-centered approaches rather than biology. It is an essential intellectual stance because social conflicts, whether rooted in economics, history, or ideology, cannot be adequately grasped through a biological lens. Attempting to interpret societal differences or conflicts as mere outcomes of natural selection overlooks crucial factors. To understand natural selection, you must consider the heritability of traits and the underlying genetics, which does not apply to social issues. For instance, attributing gender inequality solely to evolutionary biology, as some sociobiologists do, oversimplifies complex historical and cultural dynamics. Concepts like matriarchy and patriarchy have deep historical roots and diverse manifestations across different societies, which anthropology and history help elucidate. Therefore, resorting to evolutionary biology for explanations disregards the complexities of ongoing social realities. (Özsoy, 2020; Appendix A, 28)

As these remarks by Özsoy further demonstrate, although he displays a certain sympathy for Marxism, and if we remember, although he also had some of his popular science books published by Ginko Bilim, he is against the idea that biology and evolution are integrated into social doctrines or scientific disciplines that study human societies from socio-cultural and historical perspectives. The clear distinction Özsoy draws between the research areas of evolutionary biology and the social sciences shows great parallelism with his general effort of emancipating the theory of evolution from all historical and socio-cultural appropriations that have ever been made. Although he notes during this interview that he has great respect for Richard Lewontin and that Lewontin's book *The Dialectical Biologist* (1985) has been a source of inspiration for him, Özsoy maintains a consistent narrative strategy in his paratextual elements by weighting the scientific value of *The Origin* and Darwin's theory above all other interpretations made based on the theory. During this interview, Özsoy also notes that he is not a member of a political party and his knowledge of Marxist theory is based on his personal readings. Thus, one can easily conclude that he wants to emancipate Darwinism and Darwin's works from the

decade-long tendency among social agents and different social fields (with conflicting political dispositions) to imbue Darwin and his oeuvre with symbolic value in their quests for symbolic capital acquisition.

Certain remarks Özsoy made on the previous translations of Darwin's works, especially *The Origin*, indicate that he is specifically bothered by the political associations established with Darwinism. Özsoy might be thinking that earlier translations had played a role in the politicization of Darwin's theory in Türkiye. In his remarks during one of the seminars organized by Ankara Us Atölyesi, discussed in Section 6.1.6, he criticized the motivations behind earlier translations and defined these translations as “mediocre attempts aimed at promoting certain ideologies and worldviews” (Özsoy, 2023). Özsoy's remarks during the earlier 2022 seminar of Ankara Us Atölyesi, which discussed the notion of the struggle for existence in *The Origin* and in modern-day evolutionary biology, directed his criticism directly to the translations published by Sol Yayınları:

Darwin's work is rooted in extensive observation, examining a multitude of phenomena and drawing from major scientific sources to compile his book, rendering it a text of fundamental importance. And yet, what did Darwin do? He managed to limit himself in this book, avoiding unnecessary digressions. However, for reasons I will mention in a moment, it is one of the best-selling but least-read books in the world and in Türkiye. I will talk about the reasons why it sells the most, but the reason why it is the least read is obvious. This is a biology book. Our leftist brothers used to have this book. It was among the books they carried around everywhere but never actually read. It was published by Sol Publications and Onur Publications. But this is a normal situation. Because, this is a biology book, a challenging book, a book from the nineteenth century, written in the Victorian style. Okay, it might be synthetic, but one cannot make anything out of it. The anti-evolutionists can't make anything out of it either, they just make things up. (Özsoy, 2022c, 17:30; Appendix A, 29)

In this excerpt, Özsoy makes use of causal emplotment in his narrative once again by emphasizing the scientific and complex nature of *The Origin*, which makes it a challenging read and a work of biology. Hence, Özsoy is once again critical of the

symbolic value attached to *The Origin* by Marxist circles locally during the 1970s. It might be argued that he views the attempts to translate and read Darwin's works as somewhat pretentious intellectual endeavors. Approaching Özsoy's narrative by using Bourdieu's theory of action, it is clear that as a professor of evolutionary biology, he prioritizes reconceptualizing *The Origin* as a purely scientific text, a scientific resource that should only be endowed with scientific capital. His criticism of the Darwin translations published by Sol/Onur Yayınları, on the other hand, is very different from Bahar Kılıç and Kerem Erkoçak's views on these earlier translations. If we remember, both Kılıç and Erkoçak praise Öner Ünal and Sol Yayınları for being the first agents to publish Turkish translations of Darwin's works. Revisiting the earlier remarks by Bahar Kılıç, Aydın Çubukçu, Onur Öztürk and Ferhat Sarı, they view the Marxist embrace and appropriation of Darwinism as a natural phenomenon due to the intersections they observe between Marxism and Darwinism. However, for Özsoy, a Darwin translation is to be performed by a translator who not only possesses the necessary scientific capital to be able to address the challenges of translating Darwin's works but also stands on a "neutral" position from a political perspective.

When Orhan Tuncay's narrative production and his remarks on the Malthusian and Spencerian elements in Darwin's *The Origin* are reviewed, it is seen that he produced a smaller amount of paratextual elements that tackled these issues. As mentioned earlier, Tuncay did not add peritextual elements to his translation. As discussed in section 6.1.2, he was asked by Anadolu Aydınlanma Vakfı to participate in one of their seminars to talk about Darwin and *The Origin*. Tuncay, later wrote an essay in which he summarized his talk on evolutionary naturalism and Darwin. His essay was published digitally by the intellectual magazine *Düşünüyorum*.

In this essay, titled “Darwin’ in Dünü, Günü, Bugünü” (Darwin Yesterday and Today) Tuncay elucidates the individuals who preceded Darwin in the development of evolutionary thought, delves into key arguments of Darwin's theory and explores the subsequent advancements made in evolutionary theory following Darwin's work, mainly the modern synthesis. When the narrative structure of his essay is examined, it is seen that Tuncay provides a predominantly descriptive account when he refers to the political and religious repercussions of the theory and he refrains from presenting his personal judgments. A minor exception to this is observed when he discusses the repercussions of the notions of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest. Although Tuncay refers to these notions only briefly, I believe that his narrative gives the reader the impression that Tuncay believes Darwin was strongly influenced by the socio-economic dynamics of the nineteenth century Britain when he developed his theory.

Tuncay’s first reference to the concepts of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest appears right after he names Ahmed Mithat Efendi as the first Ottoman intellectual who introduced Darwin in Turkish. Similar to Aydın Çubukçu, Tuncay notes that Ahmed Mithat’s introduction was filled with misunderstandings of Darwin’s theory. According to Tuncay, these misunderstandings influenced generations to come in terms of how they approached Darwin and his theory. Tuncay alleges that Mithat misunderstood the notions of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest. Tuncay corrects Mithat’s interpretation from his own point of view:

The view that the strong one in the struggle for life continues his species (is the third misunderstanding). If this were true, we would expect to see dominant species like bears and elephants everywhere today. However, Darwin's theory asserts that it is not sheer strength that ensures survival, but rather the ability to best adapt to the environment. (Tuncay, 2020; Appendix A, 30)

With his correction, Tuncay also criticizes one of the major negative public narratives on Darwin, that is “the strong always survives”. In the following sections of his essay, he goes on to detail the key arguments of Darwin’s theory and then lists the ideology-oriented criticisms directed at the theory:

When he approached the issue from a social perspective, his thesis was this: The societies that adapt best to change will survive. This point of view has generated much controversy. It has been claimed that Nietzsche and Darwin inspired Hitler. Another criticism of his theory was that he used the inductive method and that this methodology could only be used to support biases or the data might be insufficient. There has also been religious criticism that creation does not function like that. (Tuncay, 2020; Appendix A, 31).

As discussed in more detail in Section 2.4.2, there are different views among historians of science about how Darwin approached human races and the savage societies he observed during his Beagle voyage. Although Darwin's theories might imply that organisms, including humans, that are best adapted to their environments are more likely to survive and reproduce, in *The Origin* Darwin did not explicitly discuss human societies or their ability to adapt to change. From this point of view, it is interesting that Tuncay interprets Darwin’s theory as a social thesis as well.

Tuncay’s following narrative, where he discusses various criticisms launched at the theory due to its social repercussions, on the other hand, is completely descriptive. He does not provide his own point of view on these criticisms. He only lists different criticisms directed at the theory from different ideological perspectives.

In an earlier essay he wrote for the same intellectual magazine right after his retranslation of *The Origin* was published in 2003, Tuncay reflected on the appropriation of Darwin’s theory by Capitalists, citing the theory’s emphasis on adaptation once again:

From a social perspective, the thesis that “those who adapt best to change will continue their lineage and others will disappear” has been accused of providing a scientific basis for the success of ruthless capitalism. Considering

the stage of development that capitalism reached in the eighteenth century, especially in England, and the class Darwin represented, this criticism is also very remarkable. (Tuncay, 2003; Appendix A, 32)

Tuncay's narrative is reminiscent of Ünalın's in his book *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* (1997). Similar to Ünalın, Tuncay also establishes a relationality between Darwin's personal background and the elements of competition in his theory. Although Ünalın's tone was much more critical when citing Marx and noting that Darwin "saw nothing but competition and conflict in the ruthless and aggressive capitalist English society he lived in" (Ünalın, 1995, p. 128), Tuncay also, though more indirectly and less aggressively, establishes a similar parallelism between the sociological repercussions of Darwin's theory and his personal background.

The analysis of *The Origin* retranslations concerning how the Malthusian references were translated and further elaborated on in the paratextual elements of the agents of translation shows that they all had a thorough understanding of the theory's ideological implications in addition to its scientific value. It is interesting that the translations produced and published by agents that did not have a specific ideological interest in Darwin, that is, the one by Orhan Tuncay and Gün Yayıncılık, is not accompanied with paratextual elements that reframe the Malthusian elements of the theory as strongly as those paratextual elements produced by the other agents of translation. While all translators aim to promote Darwin and his theory, Öner Ünalın, Bahar Kılıç and Ergi Deniz Özsoy reframe and recontextualize *The Origin* more apparently, although differently. How they elaborate on the Malthusian and Spencerian references in Darwin's theory is greatly shaped by their ideological dispositions. How they reframe the negative relationships established between Darwin's theory and various ideological doctrines (and meta-narratives) due to the Malthusian elements in *The Origin* shows clear differences depending on whether

the agents of (re)translation want to assign only scientific value to Darwin's works or whether they want to acquire further distinction and symbolic capital for their fields of operation.

### 6.2.2 Darwin's counter-arguments against special creation

As discussed in detail in Sections 2.1 and 2.4.4, Darwin published *The Origin* during a time when the notions of special creation and design were still influential in Britain and most of Europe. During the Medieval Era, European understanding of natural phenomena often relied on teleological reasoning rooted in Biblical creation stories. However, by the eighteenth century, figures like Boyle, Ray, and Paley began viewing adaptations as evidence of God's presence in nature, contributing to the rise of natural theology. If we revisit Lyell's significant impact on Darwin's scientific thinking and methodology, it should not be forgotten that Lyell advocated for a geology based on observable causes as opposed to theological narratives involving catastrophic events in Earth's history. Thus, Lyell's views on geology also challenged traditional beliefs about creation. Despite the rising influence of natural science, many British naturalists in the nineteenth century still adhered to the idea of design in nature. Having read all the editions of Lyell's *Principles of Geology* before he began writing *The Origin*, Darwin had already started to interpret the natural phenomena he observed during his voyage on the Beagle through the lens of natural laws. Darwin's theory of natural selection, challenging the notion of special creation, proposed that species evolved through natural processes. Thus, Darwin's adoption of a scientific approach to explain variation and speciation contributed to a paradigm shift away from teleology and natural theology. On the other hand, special creation

and design views still find support and are advertised by various associations that adopt Creationism or Intelligent Design doctrines.

Upon examining the paratextual elements produced by the (re)translators of *The Origin*, I noticed that they often emphasized Darwin's counterarguments against special creation, praising the non-teleological and non-theological aspects of his approach. However, before an analysis of these paratextual elements, I think it is important to note that none of the translators omitted the sections in Darwin's source text where he criticized special creation. In addition, they translated these sections and paragraphs without additions or explications. In addition, no footnote, endnote or in-text note was inserted by the translators when Darwin referred to special creation.

I will exemplify the retranslations of the sections in *The Origin* where Darwin argues against special creation by studying two paragraphs from the final chapter of *The Origin* (chapter 14 in the first and second editions; and chapter 15 in the sixth edition). In the first paragraph, Darwin emphasizes that the concept of each species being independently created fails to account for various phenomena. These include the blurred distinction between species and varieties, the abundance of varieties within regions rich in species, and the resemblances among closely related species and varieties. Darwin suggests that these observations can be better understood if one considers that all species initially existed as varieties:

On the view that species are only strongly marked and permanent varieties, and that each species first existed as a variety, we can see why it is that no line of demarcation can be drawn between species, commonly supposed to have been produced by special acts of creation, and varieties which are acknowledged to have been produced by secondary laws. ... Moreover, the species of the larger genera, which afford the greater number of varieties or incipient species, retain to a certain degree the character of varieties; for they differ from each other by a less amount of difference than do the species of smaller genera. The closely allied species also of the larger genera apparently have restricted ranges, and in their affinities they are clustered in little groups

round other species—in which respects they resemble varieties. These are strange relations on the view of each species having been independently created, but are intelligible if all species first existed as varieties [but are intelligible if each existed first as a variety – 6<sup>th</sup> edition]. (Darwin, 1998, pp. 345-346)

In the Turkish translations of this paragraph, we see that Darwin's arguments were rendered more or less literally, without additions, omissions or any other changes made in the target texts as seen in Table 8. All translators preserved Darwin's references to special creation without further emphasizing or diminishing Darwin's critical tone.



Table 8. An Example of Darwin's Counter-Arguments against Special Creation in *The Origin* (1859) and the Turkish (R)translations of the Related Paragraph

O. Tuncay's Translation(2003)	B. Kılıç's Translation (2017)	Ö. Ünalın's translation (1970)
<p>Türlerin, çok belirgin ve sürekli çeşitler olduğu ve her türün önce çeşit olarak bulunduğu bakış açısıyla, genellikle özel bir yaradılışla var oldukları düşünülen türler ve ikincil kanunlarla üretildikleri bildirilen çeşitler arasında neden bir sınır çekilemediğini anlayabiliriz. ... Büyük cinsin yakın hısımlarının açık bir şekilde kısıtlı alanları vardır ve diğer türlerin etrafında küçük kümeler halinde yer alırlar-her iki durumda da çeşitlere benzerler. Her türün bağımsız olarak yaratıldığı bakış açısıyla, bunlar garip ilişkilerdir ama türlerin ilk önce çeşitler olarak var olduğu kabul edilince anlaşılabilir hale gelirler. (pp. 456-457)</p>	<p>Türlerin sadece belirgin ve kalıcı varyeteler olması ve her türün başlangıçta bir varyete olması görüşüne dayanarak, neden özel yaratma eylemleri yoluyla üretildikleri varsayılan türler ile ikincil yasalar yoluyla üretildikleri bilinen varyeteler arasında belirgin bir ayırım yapılamadığını anlayabiliriz. ... Daha büyük cinslere ait yakın ilişkili türler, görünürde sınırlı yayılma alanlarına sahiptir ve yakınlıklarından dolayı, diğer türlerin etrafında küçük gruplar halinde kümelenmiş durumdadır; ve bu açılardan da varyetelerle benzerlik göstermektedir. Bunlar, her türün birbirinden bağımsız yaratılmış olması görüşüyle anlam verilemeyen, ama başlangıçta bütün türlerin varyete olması görüşüyle anlam kazanan ilişkilerdir. (pp. 420-421)</p>	<p>TÜRLERİN yalnızca çok belirgin ve sürekli çeşitler olduğu, ve her türün önce bir çeşit olarak var olduğu görüşüne göre, genellikle yaratmanın özel ürünleri olarak düşünülen türlerle ikincil yasalara göre yaratılmış oldukları söylenen çeşitler arasında neden hiç bir ayırıcı çizgi çekilemediğini anlayabiliyoruz. ... Daha büyük cinslerin yakın hısımlarının yayılma alanları da sınırlıdır, ve onlar, hısımlıklarından ötürü, başka türlerin çevresinde küçük gruplar halinde toplanır. Ve onlar, her iki halde de, çeşitlere benzer. Her türün başlıbaşına yaratılmış olduğu görüşüne göre, bunlar garip olgulardır, ama her tür önce bir çeşit olarak var olduysa, bunların anlaşılmayan bir yan yoktur. (pp. 569-570)</p>
S. Belli's translation (2009)	E. D. Özsoy's translation (2022)	
<p>TÜRLERİN çok belirgin ve sürekli çeşitlerden başka bir şey olmadıkları ve her bir türün önce bir çeşit olarak var olduğu savına göre, genellikle yaradılışın özel edimlerinden biri olarak yorumlanan tür ile ikincil yasalar uyarınca yaratılmış oldukları kabul edilen çeşit arasında neden bir ayırım çizgisi çekilemediğini anlamak kolaydır. ... Büyük cinslerin birbirleriyle çok yakından hısımlarının dağılımı da kısıtlı gibi görünmektedir ve akrabalıklarıyla öteki türlerin çevresinde küçük gruplar halinde birleşirler; bu her iki bakımdan da çeşitlere benzerler. Her türün kendi başına, bağımsız yaratıldığı savına göre çok garip olan bu ilişkiler, bütün türlerin ilkönce çeşitler olarak var oldukları kabul edildiğinde anlaşılır duruma gelirler. (p. 638)</p>	<p>Türlerin güçlü biçimde belirginleşmiş ve kalıcılaştırmış varyetelerden başka şeyler olmadıkları ve her türün ilk başta varyete olarak var olduğu görüşünden hareket ettiğimizde, özel yaratılış eylemiyle meydana getirildiğine yaygın biçimde inanılan türler ile ikincil yasaların ürünü oldukları teslim edilen varyeteler arasında neden bir sınır çizgisi çekilemeyeceğini görebiliyoruz. ... Büyük cinslerin yakın akraba türlerinin yayılımı da kısıtlıdır ve benzerlikleri bakımından, diğer türler etrafında küçük kümeler halinde toplanırlar -ki bunların her ikisi de varyete özelliğidir. Bir türün bir diğerinden bağımsız yaratıldığı görüşü çerçevesinde garip kaçan bu ilişkiler, her türün ilk önce varyete olarak var olduğu düşünüldüğünde anlam kazanmaktadır. (pp. 615-616)</p>	

The same applies to the following paragraph, along with many others where Darwin opposes the special creation argument. In this example, Darwin argues that dominant species within larger groups tend to produce new dominant forms, leading to the expansion and divergence of these groups. At the same time, less dominant groups are outcompeted, ultimately explaining the hierarchical arrangement of all life forms. According to Darwin, this is a phenomenon incompatible with the theory of creation:

Dominant species belonging to the larger groups tend to give birth to new and dominant forms; so that each large group tends to become still larger, and at the same time more divergent in character. But as all groups cannot thus succeed in increasing in size, for the world would not hold them, the more dominant groups beat the less dominant. This tendency in the large groups to go on increasing in size and diverging in character, together with the almost inevitable contingency of much extinction, explains the arrangement of all the forms of life, in groups subordinate to groups, all within a few great classes, which we now see everywhere around us, and which has prevailed throughout all time. This grand fact of the grouping of all organic beings seems to me utterly inexplicable on the theory of creation. [This grand fact of the grouping of all organic beings under what is called the Natural System, is utterly inexplicable on the theory of creation. - the sixth edition] (Darwin, 1998, p. 346)

When the (re)translations of this paragraph are studied, we see that Darwin's arguments were conveyed without any semantic or contextual change, as seen in Table 9.

Table 9. Another Example of Darwin's Counter-Arguments against Special Creation in *The Origin* (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the Related Paragraph

O. Tuncay's Translation (2003)	B. Kılıç's Translation (2017)	Ö. Ünalın's translation (1970)
<p>Büyük gruplara ait üstün türler, yeni ve üstün formlar doğurmaya eğilimli olacaktır; bu yüzden her grup daha çok büyüme ve karakter olarak da çok farklı olma yönünde eğilimli olacaktır.</p> <p>Ama bütün gruplar böylece genişleyince, dünya onlara yetmeyeceği için, daha üstün gruplar, daha zayıf olanları yenecektir. Büyük gruplardaki bu büyüme ve karakter ıraksaması eğilimi, kaçınılmaz olan büyük bir yok olma durumu ile birlikte, birkaç sınıf içerisinde gruplar ve alt gruplar halinde, bugün etrafımızda gördüğümüz ve eskiden beri var olmuş, yaşamdaki bütün formların düzenlenişini açıklar. Organik varlıkların sınıflandırılması ile ilgili bu büyük gerçek, bana göre, yaratılış kuramıyla açıklanamaz. (pp. 457-458)</p>	<p>Daha büyük gruplara ait baskın türler, dünyaya yeni ve baskın formlar getirme eğilimindedir; bu yüzden her büyük grup, daha da büyüme ve karakter bakımından ıraksama eğilimi gösterir. Ama dünyanın, bütün grupları aynı anda barındırması mümkün olmadığı için hepsi büyüme sürdüremeyecek ve baskın gruplar, daha az baskın olanları alt edecektir. Büyük gruplardaki bu daha da büyüme ve karakter bakımından ıraksama eğilimi, onun adeta kaçınılmaz rastlantısallığı olan çokça tükenmeyle birlikte, tüm yaşam biçimlerinin bugün her yerde görülen ve tüm zamanlarda hüküm sürmüş olan birkaç büyük sınıfta toplanarak, gruplara bağlı gruplar altında sıralanmış dizilimini açıklar. Tüm organik varlıkların gruplanmasını ilgilendiren bu önemli bulgunun, yaratılış kuramıyla herhangi bir açıklama kazanmadığı görüşümdedir. (p. 422)</p>	<p>Her sınıftaki daha büyük gruplardan olan başat türler, yeni ve başat biçimler türetecektir; bundan dolayı, her büyük grup daha da büyüme ve aynı zamanda ırayı daha da çok ıraksama eğilimi gösterecektir. Ama bütün tür gruplarının çoğalması böyle sürüp gidemeyeceği için (çünkü dünyaya sığmazlardı), daha başat gruplar daha az başat olanları yenecektir. Büyük gruplardaki bu daha da büyüme ve ırayı ıraksama eğilimi, kendisinin kaçınılmaz bir sonucu olan "tükenme" ile birlikte, bütün canlı biçimlerin gruplara bağlı gruplarda, ve bu grupların hepsinin de her zaman varolmuş birkaç büyük sınıfta yer almasını açıklar. Bütün canlıların Doğal Sistem adı verilen bu gruplaşması, yaratma teorisine göre tümüyle anlaşılmalıdır. (pp. 570-571)</p>
S. Belli's translation (2009)	E. D. Özsoy's translation (2022)	
<p>Her sınıfın bellibaşlı gruplarından olan başat türler kendileri başat olan yeni biçimleri üreteceklerdir ve böylece her temel grup sürekli olarak daha da artma ve aynı zamanda her zaman daha da çok ıraksayan karakterler gösterme eğiliminde olacaktır. Ama bütün gruplar böylece sayıca artmayı başaramayacakları için, çünkü toprak onların tamamını barındıramaz, en başat olanlar ötekilere üstün gelir. Çünkü, büyük olan grupların, sürekli daha da çoğalma ve karakterlerinde ıraksama eğilimi, bu eğilimin kaçınılmaz sonucu sık sık tükenmelerle de birleşince, bütün canlı biçimlerin başka gruplara bağlı gruplar halinde düzenlenmelerini ve hepsinin, her zaman geçerli olmuş olan, birkaç büyük sınıf içinde toplanmalarını açıklar. Bütün örgenli varlıkların, doğal sistem adı verilen şeye göre gruplaşmaları, bu büyük olay, yaratılışlar savıyla kesinlikle açıklanamaz. (p. 639)</p>	<p>Her sınıftaki daha büyük gruplara mensup baskın türler yeni ve baskın formlar meydana getirme eğilimindedir. Dolayısıyla, her büyük grup daha da büyümeye ve aynı zamanda da özellik bakımından daha da çeşitlenmeye yatkındır. Ancak grupların tamamının bu şekilde genişlemesi mümkün de olamayacağından -zira dünyanın hepsini taşıması imkansızdır- daha baskın gruplar az baskın olanlara galip gelirler. Büyük grupların gösterdiği bu sürekli artış ve özellik farklılaşması eğilimi, kaçınılmaz şekilde yaratacağı daha çok yok oluşun yanı sıra bütün yaşam formlarının, yaşamın tüm tarihinde yaygın olduğu üzere, biri diğerine tabi olan grup içinde grup halinde, birkaç sınıf altında tanzim olmalarını açıklamaktadır. Bütün organik varlıkların Doğal Sistem denen şey altında toplanmasını ifade eden bu büyük hakikati yaratılış teorisine açıklamak imkansızdır. (p. 616)</p>	

Whereas the translators of *The Origin* transferred Darwin's arguments against special creation and design without manipulating Darwin's message in Turkish, they frequently mentioned their own views on the subject matter in their paratextual elements. A broad discussion on creation dogma and how Darwin's theory disproved

it is how Ünalán starts the first chapter of his book *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* (1997). Ünalán begins his narrative by providing a long and detailed description of the creation myth as described in the Torah. He notes that Darwin also entertained the dogmatic notion of special creation in his youth, as it was commonly upheld by naturalists during that time. Ünalán then defines the creation dogma as the belief that God created all objects in the universe in six days and rested on the seventh day (Ünalán, 1997, p. 11). Ünalán goes on to discuss the advances achieved in taxonomy and scientists' growing awareness of the abundance of different species that populate the world starting from the late fifteenth century. To illustrate the scarcity of knowledge on the number of species before that, he refers to the Flood of Noah from the Old Testament sarcastically:

As we trace back through time, the number of known species diminishes to a point where, according to legend, Noah was able to accommodate representatives of every animal species on his ship, which measured 300 cubits in length, 50 in width, and 30 in height. This vessel provided ample space, sustenance, and shelter for Noah, his family, and all the creatures aboard for months. Today, the number of identified species exceeds 1,250,000, two-thirds of which are animals and one-third plants. (Ünalán, 1997, pp. 10-11; Appendix A, 33)

Ünalán then notes that advances achieved in geography and taxonomy gradually forced natural scientists to develop new and more comprehensive classification models. However, as his following arguments demonstrate, natural scientists tended to develop their classification systems by keeping in mind the creation dogma which attributes a special and higher status to humankind:

This natural system was believed to conform to the plan of creation and serve as evidence of that plan. In practice, this natural system manifested in the understanding of taxonomists, who observed homology, kinship, and evolutionary relationships among living organisms. Historically, biologists who did not acknowledge evolution initially categorized all living beings into three groups: humans, animals, and plants. Subsequently, they recognized humans as mammals but often placed them in a distinct order or even subclass, highlighting their perceived uniqueness. This classification reflected the prevailing dogma asserting that humans were created separately

from other living beings in the image of God, sometimes overlooking their connections to other organisms. (Ünalán, 1997, p. 18-19; Appendix A, 34)

Ünalán underlines in his following discussion that the creation dogma, which considers the living world a collection of unrelated, unchangeable (fixed) species, also assigns a special status to humankind. He also notes that creation dogma answers how life started on Earth. He states that “Life on earth began by creation, as described in the Dogma!” (1997, p. 14). As the exclamation mark Ünalán chose to use also indicates, Ünalán is not only critical but also sarcastic of the perspective creationist views provide for the emergence and diversification of organic life.

Ünalán goes on to discuss Darwin’s counter-arguments against the explanations creation dogma provides about species. Accordingly, he lists Darwin’s findings that challenge the creationist dogma as follows:

1. Species are products of a very long evolutionary process;
2. All species, none of which are immutable and permanent, come from one or more common origins;
3. When it comes to his (first) appearance on earth, man should be considered together with all living things, not outside and above the living world; because it is homologous with them;
4. As all the living forms of life are the lineal descendants of those which lived long before the Cambrian epoch, we may feel certain that the ordinary succession by generation has never once been broken, and that no cataclysm has desolated the whole world. (Ünalán, 1997, p. 15; Appendix A, 35)

It is important that in this list Ünalán underlines that man should be considered together with the rest of the organic world, not being assigned a special and higher status. Another significant element in Ünalán’s list is article 4, which is a direct quotation from *The Origin*. As mentioned earlier, Ünalán sarcastically alludes to Noah’s Flood on a previous page, where he points out that subsequent discoveries in natural sciences revealed the number of species to be significantly higher. Thus, by employing causal emplotment, Ünalán’s narrative indicates that the stories in holy scripts can no longer be held true since scientific knowledge disproves them. By

citing Darwin on a later page, especially his statement that “no cataclysm has desolated the whole world”, Ünalán includes Darwin’s theory as a contribution to the scientific knowledge that nullified the explanatory strength and validity of religious scripts. It is interesting that Ünalán continues his discussion in the next chapter with a critique of religious dogmas. He describes them as assets on which dominant ideologies depend for the sake of power:

The Creation Dogma is a product of a specific social consciousness, stemming from factors such as a lack of natural scientific knowledge and its alignment with dominant ideologies favoring immutability. Its persistence over time is attributed to its conformity with prevailing ideologies advocating stability amidst changing circumstances. Its downfall necessitated not only an accumulation of knowledge but also the revolutionary triumph of the bourgeoisie over feudalism, rendering the archaic feudal Church economically and politically impotent. Opposition to the Creation Dogma was particularly pronounced in the years following the Great French Revolution. (Ünalán, 1997, p. 17; Appendix A, 36)

In this paragraph, Ünalán employs causal emplotment once again, this time by sequencing and ordering historical events and establishing a temporal correlation between scientific paradigm shifts and the emergence of revolutionary social movements. Given Ünalán’s Marxist disposition, his emphasis on the importance of revolutions and revolutionary ideas in driving scientific progress against dogmatic views carries considerable weight in his narrative. Ünalán continues his narrative by listing many natural scientists (e.g., James Hutton, Georges Cuvier, Comte de Buffon, Jean Baptiste Lamarck, etc.), who contributed to the advances in natural sciences and prepared the eligible scientific environment for Darwin to be able to develop his theory.

Clearly, Ünalán regards Darwin as a key figure who contributed to the recognition of the explanatory power of natural laws in opposition to creationist dogmas, although he criticizes Darwin in the subsequent chapters of his book for the Malthusian elements of his theory, as discussed in the previous section. Given

Ünalán's materialist worldview and Marxist disposition, it is not unusual that he commends Darwin for the anti-creationist and non-teleological aspects of his arguments, which is in line with the praise Marx and Engels also bestowed upon Darwin for these aspects of his theory. Thus, Ünalán's narrative can be seen as another example of the scientific and symbolic capital Marxist thinking accumulates by appropriating Darwin's works into Marxist theory since Darwin's non-theological arguments, which also reject natural theology, support the materialist world-view.

Bahar Kılıç emphasized the counter-creationist and non-teleological nature of Darwin's theory in her Translator's Note and the following written and oral content (paratexts) she produced on Darwin. In her Translator's Note, she underscores that Darwin's theory marked a pivotal moment in the history of science, leading natural scientists to relinquish theological explanations for natural phenomena:

After Darwin introduced this theory, it garnered widespread attention and praise, yet it also faced significant misunderstanding and criticism, particularly at a time when naturalists were attributing the complexities of nature to God's singular creations. However, advancements in genetics, molecular biology, biochemistry, paleontology, geology, morphology, embryology, and other fields, and contribution of countless scientists, have led to the modern synthesis of Darwin's theory of evolution, initially proposed 158 years ago based on the then available data, observation, and robust prediction. Consequently, this theory has paved the way for the exploration of new and intriguing scientific domains, as envisioned by Darwin in the final chapter of *The Origin*. (Kılıç, 2017, p. 9; Appendix A, 37)

When we compare the narratives that the agents of translation produced in their paratextual elements, a common tendency that emerges is their emphasis on the fact that subsequent scientific advances proved various aspects of the theory of evolution. In this way, while the robustness of the theory is underlined, modern scientific methods are also ascribed higher status in contrast to dogmatic or natural theologian views of the past.

Another commonality in the agents' narratives, as in the above-quoted paragraph in Kılıç's Translator's Note, is the agents' appreciation of Darwin's scientific method. The praise revolves around Darwin's achievement in developing a mechanism (natural selection) to explain species change through meticulous observations, despite the limited scientific knowledge in natural sciences at the time compared with today's scientific standards. Thus, Darwin's methodological approach and dedication are highly valued as they served as a model for his contemporaries and subsequent generations of scientists. We observe this narrative in another paratextual material Kılıç produced, the essay she wrote for *Bilim ve Gelecek*, a popular digital periodical:

In an era predating the establishment of genetic laws, the concept of genes and heredity remained unknown, with many naturalists and historians attributing the wonders of nature to the unique creations of God. Nevertheless, a growing number of naturalists, geologists, and paleontologists, driven by discrepancies between natural observations and religious doctrines, anticipated a forthcoming scientific revolution. It was evident that the theory of evolution, coupled with its proposed mechanism of natural selection, would fundamentally and enduringly alter humanity's perception of nature, life, and, significantly, themselves. (Kılıç, 2019; Appendix A, 38)

While praising Darwin's contributions to the modern scientific approach, Kılıç's narrative employs emplotment once again. If we revisit Baker's (2006, p. 67) remarks about how emplotment is signaled, she lists among the narrative strategies the endowment of certain events with significance, referring to "crises of a particular magnitude or ... turning points in the context of the overall narrative". Kılıç's narrative also involves emplotment by marking the publication of *The Origin* and Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection as a turning point for future advances in natural sciences. These developments are also depicted as an ontological turning point, which marked the abandonment of the dogmatic view that humankind occupied a special status among other organic beings. Giving the materialist and

atheist disposition of Kılıç, it is clear that one of the underlying messages of her narratives that focus on Darwin's contribution to the scientific method is that scientific knowledge can replace a myriad of phenomena that could only be explained by resorting to dogmatic reasoning in the absence of the relevant scientific advances.

Another interesting point Kılıç raises in her paratextual materials is Darwin's evolution from a natural scientist initially inclined towards natural theology to one who ultimately embraced a non-theological empirical method as he deepened his scientific understanding and observations. For example, in the same essay she wrote for *Bilim ve Gelecek* periodical, Kılıç first cites a paragraph from *The Origin*, where Darwin admits that we usually resort to theological explanations when we cannot fully understand or explain natural phenomena. In the paragraph Kılıç quotes in her essay, Darwin complains that when “we do not see the cause, we invoke cataclysms to desolate the world, or invent laws on the duration of the forms of life!” (Darwin, 2008 [1860] p. 58). Following this quotation from Darwin, Kılıç continues her argument as follows:

In these lines, we can see how Darwin questioned the widespread view that he himself had once adopted. Like most naturalists of his day, Darwin believed that living things were created by divine intervention and in a way that they would never change (or evolve). But while the knowledge required for the [development of the] theory of evolution was slowly accumulating under the holistic framework of natural sciences, Darwin's view that species actually change was beginning to take shape. (Kılıç, 2019; Appendix A, 39)

During her interviews, Kılıç continued to emphasize that Darwin initially embraced natural theology before delving into inquiries regarding variation and speciation. This narrative can be viewed as a continuation of Kılıç's argument that scientific knowledge can replace a myriad of phenomena that could only be explained by resorting to dogmatic reasoning in the absence of the relevant scientific advances.

Here, Kılıç uses Darwin's case as a great example to demonstrate this point. The following excerpt from her interview posted on the YouTube Channel of the Turkish Atheism Association includes a similar narrative. It also demonstrates that Kılıç is very knowledgeable about Darwin's educational background and the scientific figures that influenced his views during different periods of his life:

Darwin coined the term "natural selection" in deliberate contrast to both artificial selection and natural theology... In the latter, represented by figures like William Paley, the teleological argument asserts a divine purpose and design in nature, akin to the fine-tuning arguments used by monotheistic religions to support the existence of God. Paley argues that there is a divine order, a purpose, and a conscious design in nature and the universe. This view falls under the same umbrella as fine-tuning arguments. Paley's views point to an intelligent designer, that is, a competent being like the watchmaker who designs everything in nature. This is the main argument of opponents of evolution and Intelligent Designists today. This is where the analogy of the watchmaker comes from, to which Richard Dawkins responded with his book *The Blind Watchmaker*, or the comparison of the eye with a telescope, and the argument of irreducible complexity that is found in Paley's book. While Darwin was a student at Cambridge, he read Paley's books and became familiar with his arguments as required by the curriculum. He was in fact very impressed by these arguments. However, his observations during the 5-year Beagle voyage, when he was only 22 years old, changed his thoughts on this subject. For example, in his autobiography he criticizes Paley's argument for design in nature, which once seemed very logical to him. After discovering the law of natural selection, he concluded that this argument was no longer valid. Everything in nature is the result of fixed laws, says Darwin in his autobiography. (Kılıç, 2022, 15:02; Appendix A, 40)

In her narrative, Kılıç employs temporality and relationality and depicts modern-day Creationism and Intelligent Design movements and their key arguments as continuations of the theological dogmatic views Darwin challenged more than 150 years ago with *The Origin*. The emphasis on Darwin's previous inclinations towards natural theology plays a significant role in employing causal emplotment in this narrative: If Darwin found it necessary to shift his perspective and embrace modern science rather than adhering to natural theology as he expanded his knowledge and

observations, the same logic should apply to many others who advocate for Creationism or Intelligent Design today.

Examining the Preface added by Ergi Deniz Özsoy to his translation of *The Origin*, we see that, similar to Bahar Kılıç, his discussion on the counter-arguments of Darwin against special creation is complemented by an emphasis on the ontological implications of the theory. Özsoy notes that these ontological repercussions were among the main reasons why the theory was attacked:

The idea of descent from a common origin through change could have lost its disturbing tone if it was approached from the Naturphilosophie point of view, which was inspired by German idealism, still influential at the time *The Origin* was published. Then, Darwin's idea could have been adapted to the idea of unity in the world of beings as a manifestation of a creative element. The structure of natural selection that excludes teleology turned this intellectual view in the opposite direction.

Even though humans have attained a "superior" position with their cognitive and cultural differentiation from other living beings, it must be frightening, like a voice echoing in a lonely universe, that humans ultimately become a compulsory part of the monotonous purposelessness of nature due to kinship. It would not be too much to say that a kind of "fear of the dark" state created by this aimlessness has an important role in the background of all kinds of objections (sometimes even considered scientific, given the period) that have risen against *The Origin*. (Özsoy, 2022a, p. vi, emphasis in original; Appendix A, 41)

Interestingly, Özsoy emphasizes the ontological repercussions of the theory with a strong emphasis on materialism. His narrative indicates that the materialist implications of Darwin's theory caused severe criticism. Özsoy classifies these anti-Darwinist objections as pseudo-scientific views and it is clear that he is referring to Creationism and Intelligent Design movements. Considering Özsoy's overarching goal of disassociating Darwin's theory from socio-political interpretations, his focus on the ontological and materialist implications of *The Origin* in his Preface appears to deviate from this strategy. However, it should not be forgotten that Özsoy displays this partial deviation only when he is emphasizing the contributions of Darwin's

theory to modern scientific approaches, to offset teleological and natural theologian views. On the other hand, his narrative strategy still shows parallelism with his general tendency to counter negative public narratives on Darwin and his theory by emphasizing Darwin's contributions to science and scientific method without incorporating politics into his arguments. To further emphasize Darwin's contributions to modern science and empirical methodology, Özsoy continues his discussion in the following page of his Preface, as follows:

Darwin prioritized variations of biological characters within a species as the basis for the formation of all definable living classes, including species, and he turned the idealized concept of living beings designed specifically for their own living environments and created all at once upside down. He placed life on earth within the framework of a historical formation (evolution), which is undoubtedly the most important contribution to the history of science. It is one of the greatest revolutionary transformations of mentality. [...] This fundamental emphasis in *The Origin* [common descent] undoubtedly led biology, which was nothing more than a big mass of disconnected facts during that era, to become a modern scientific discipline. (Özsoy, 2022a, pp. vii-viii; Appendix A, 42)

The narratives the agents of translation produced on Darwin's arguments against special creation and the non-teleological nature of his theory share many similarities. They all praise Darwin for his scientific method. They all emphasize that following advances in natural sciences have made the theory of evolution more robust, proving natural selection as a valid evolutionary mechanism. Darwin's theory and method are also portrayed as significant contributions to the prevalence of scientific approaches achieved in opposition to dogmatic views. The ontological repercussions of the theory are also highlighted in these narratives. Considering the ideological dispositions of the agents of retranslation, their narratives align with their respective agendas, whether they approach *The Origin* from a Marxist, materialist, atheist, or purely scientific standpoint.

### 6.2.3 Darwin's theological references to a Creator

When I began comparing the retranslations of *The Origin* with the relevant editions of Darwin's original text, one aspect that intrigued me greatly was Darwin's references to a Creator (or God), which were discussed in Section 2.4.4. As evidenced in the quoted segments from Darwin's *The Origin* in the preceding section, he frequently opposes theological and teleological explanations that were used to account for speciation by natural theologians in the nineteenth century. Instead, in *The Origin*, Darwin introduces a plethora of natural phenomena he observed in nature and read about, which he believes can be explained through evolutionary mechanisms, particularly natural selection and descent through modification. However, while Darwin critiques the tendency among both laypeople and natural scientists to explain variation, speciation, and extinction through creationist narratives and catastrophic events, he refrains from providing a definitive thesis on how life initially arose on Earth. Furthermore, he occasionally alludes to a creator to illustrate the origins of life and how evolutionary processes, or natural laws, subsequently took over. Hence, it could be contended that Darwin's narrative also encompassed aspects of natural theology, albeit with the creator envisioned as a divine force that established natural laws, rather than actively intervening in the evolution and extinction of organic beings. As explored in greater depth in Section 2.4.4, these references to a Creator within Darwin's narrative continue to pose dilemmas for historians and philosophers of science. While some posit that Darwin himself adhered to a semi-deistic perspective at the time of writing *The Origin*, others argue that the mentions of a creator were primarily intended to appease readers with strong religious convictions and to avoid a potential backlash from the Anglican Church.

Darwin's mentions of a Creator are primarily concentrated in the concluding chapter of his book, where he summarizes his arguments and presents his conclusions. One such reference is as follows:

Authors of the highest eminence seem to be fully satisfied with the view that each species has been independently created. To my mind it accords better with what we know of the laws impressed on matter by the Creator, that the production and extinction of the past and present inhabitants of the world should have been due to secondary causes, like those determining the birth and death of the individual. When I view all beings not as special creations, but as the lineal descendants of some few beings which lived long before the first bed of the Silurian [Cambrian] system was deposited, they seem to me to become ennobled. Judging from the past, we may safely infer that not one living species will transmit its unaltered likeness to a distant futurity. And of the species now living, very few will transmit progeny of any kind to a far distant futurity; for the manner in which all organic beings are grouped shows that the greater number of species of each genus, and all the species of many genera, have left no descendants, but have become utterly extinct. (Darwin, 1998, p. 368)

Examining the (re)translations of this paragraph, we see that all translators kept both Darwin's criticism of special creation in the very first sentence of the above-given paragraph and Darwin's following reference to a Creator, as Table 10 demonstrates.

Table 10. An Example of Darwin's Theological References to a Creator in *The Origin* (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the Related Paragraph

O. Tuncay's Translation (2003)	B. Kılıç's Translation (2017)	Ö. Ünalın's translation (1970)
<p>Yüksek mevkideki yazarlar, her türün bağımsız olarak yaratıldığı bakış açısından tamamen tatmin olmuş görünüyorlar. Dünyanın eski ve bugünkü canlılarının üretimi ve yok olmaları, bireyin doğumu ve ölümünde olduğu şekilde, ikincil nedenlere dayanır şeklindeki, yaratıcı tarafından konmuş olan kurallar hakkında ne bildiğimiz konusu aklıma daha uyuyor. Bütün canlılara özel yaratıklar olarak bakmayınca ve onlara, Silür sistemin ilk yatağı oluşmadan çok önce yaşayan birkaç canlının soydan gelen torunları olarak bakınca, bana daha yüce görünüyorlar. Geçmişten yargılasak, hiçbir canlının uzak bir geleceğe değişmemiş bir şekilde ulaşamayacağını rahatça söyleyebiliriz. Bu gün yaşayan türlerin de çok azı uzak geleceğe torun yollayabileceklerdir; bütün organik varlıkları cins olma biçimi, her cinste bir çok türün ve bir çok cinsin bütün türlerinin nesil bırakmayacaklarını ve sonunda yok olacaklarını gösterir. (p. 473)</p>	<p>En seçkin yazarlar, her bir türün bağımsız yaratılmış olması görüşünden tümüyle hoşnut görünmektedir. Dünyanın geçmişteki ve günümüzdeki sakinlerinin, bireyin doğumunu ve ölümünü belirleyen etkenlere benzer ikincil etkenler yoluyla üremesi ve tükenmesi, benim düşünceme göre, Yaratıcı tarafından maddenin özüne işlenmiş yasalar üzerine bildiklerimizle daha iyi bağdaşmaktadır. Tüm varlıkları özel yaratımlar olarak değil, Silüryen sistemin ilk yatağının döşenmesinden çok uzun zaman önce yaşamış birkaç varlığın doğrudan torunları olarak gördüğümde, hepsinin gözümde yüceltiğini hissediyorum. Geçmişe bakarak, kendi değişmemiş suretini uzak geleceğe aktarabilen tek bir yaşam biçimi olmayacağına güvenle kanaat getirebiliriz. Dahası şimdi yaşayan türlerden de uzak geleceğe herhangi bir döl aktarabilenlerin sayısı sınırlı olacaktır; çünkü tüm organik varlıkların gruplanma tarzı, her cinsin çoğu türünün ve birçok cinsin bütün türlerinin, geriye torun bırakmaksızın tümüyle tükenmiş olduğunu göstermektedir. (p. 437)</p>	<p>Çok ünlü yazarlar her türün başlıbaşına yaratılmış olduğu inancıyla seve seve yetinir, görünüyorlar. Bence, dünyanın eski ve bugünkü canlılarının türemesinin ve tükenmesinin, tıpkı bireyin doğması ve ölmesi gibi, ikincil nedenlerin sonucu olması, Yaradanın maddenin özüne soktuğu yasalar üzerine bildiklerimizle daha güzel bağdaşmaktadır. Bütün organizmaları özel yaratıklar olarak değil de, ilk Kambriyum tabakası birikmeden önce yaşamış birkaç canlının doğrudan doğruya dölleri olarak gördüğüm zaman, bütün canlılar bana yüceltmeye yarışır görünüyor. Geçmişe bakarak güvenle şu sonuca varabiliriz: yaşayan hiç bir tür, kendi kılığını değişmemiş olarak uzak bir geleceğe iletemeyecektir. Ve bugün yaşayan türlerden çok azı kendi dölünü çok uzak bir geleceğe iletebilecektir. Çünkü bütün organik varlıkların gruplaşma tarzı, her cinste türlerin çoğunun, ve birçok cinsin bütün türlerinin hiç döl bırakmadığını, ve tümüyle tükendiğini gösteriyor. (pp. 590-591)</p>
<p>S. Belli's translation (2009)</p> <p>Bazı ünlü yazarlar, her türün bağımsız olarak yaratılmış olduğu savından tamamıyla hoşnut görünmektedirler. Kanımca, her türün oluşumu, Yaratıcı'nın maddeye mührünü bastığı yasalar hakkında bildiklerimizle, yani yeryüzünün geçmişteki ve şimdiki sakinlerinin meydana gelişi ve yok oluşlarının, bir bireyin doğumunu ve ölümünü belirleyen türden ikincil sebeplerden kaynaklanmasıyla daha iyi uyumaktadır. Canlıları özel yaratılış ürünleri olarak görmeyip, Kambriyen sistemindeki ilk yatağın birikiminden çok önce yaşamış birkaç canlıdan türeyen soy hatları şeklinde kabul ettiğimde, canlılığın yüceltiğini düşünüyorum. Geçmişe bakarak, şu an yaşayan tek bir türün bile değişmeden uzak bir geleceğe aktarılmayacağı sonucuna güvenle varabiliriz. Ve uzak bir gelecekte, şu an yaşayan türlerden sadece birkaçının torunlarını göreceğiz. Zira organik varlıkların gruplanma biçimi, her bir cinse mensup pek çok türün ve çoğu cinsteki birçok türün, geriye onlardan türemiş hiç form bırakmadan tamamen yok olduklarını göstermektedir. (p. 637)</p>	<p>E. D. Özsoy's translation (2022)</p> <p>En itibarlı yazarlar, her türün bağımsız yaratılmış olduğu görüşünden bütünüyle memnun gibidirler. Kanımca, her türün oluşumu, Yaratıcı'nın maddeye mührünü bastığı yasalar hakkında bildiklerimizle, yani yeryüzünün geçmişteki ve şimdiki sakinlerinin meydana gelişi ve yok oluşlarının, bir bireyin doğumunu ve ölümünü belirleyen türden ikincil sebeplerden kaynaklanmasıyla daha iyi uyumaktadır. Canlıları özel yaratılış ürünleri olarak görmeyip, Kambriyen sistemindeki ilk yatağın birikiminden çok önce yaşamış birkaç canlıdan türeyen soy hatları şeklinde kabul ettiğimde, canlılığın yüceltiğini düşünüyorum. Geçmişe bakarak, şu an yaşayan tek bir türün bile değişmeden uzak bir geleceğe aktarılmayacağı sonucuna güvenle varabiliriz. Ve uzak bir gelecekte, şu an yaşayan türlerden sadece birkaçının torunlarını göreceğiz. Zira organik varlıkların gruplanma biçimi, her bir cinse mensup pek çok türün ve çoğu cinsteki birçok türün, geriye onlardan türemiş hiç form bırakmadan tamamen yok olduklarını göstermektedir. (p. 637)</p>	

When the translations of this paragraph are analyzed closely, it is seen that Tuncay's translation has semantic problems. The sentence "To my mind it accords better with what we know of the laws impressed on matter by the Creator, that the production and extinction of the past and present inhabitants of the world should have been due to secondary causes, like those determining the birth and death of the individual" was translated into Turkish as "Dünyanın eski ve bugünkü canlılarının üretimi ve yok olmaları, bireyin doğumu ve ölümünde olduğu şekilde, ikincil nedenlere dayanır şeklindeki, yaratıcı tarafından konmuş olan kurallar hakkında ne bildiğimiz konusu aklıma daha uyuyor."<sup>14</sup> However, the problem with this sentence is not due to an omission but a semantic ambiguity that results from the syntactic structuring of the translation. All five translations keep and transfer into Turkish the references to a Creator, special creation, and secondary laws.

Probably the most famous reference to a creator in *The Origin* is in the final paragraph of the book. In this paragraph, Darwin makes a theological reference when he discusses the initial appearance of the first or a few primordial forms from which organic beings gradually evolved. This concept, now known as abiogenesis in modern scientific terms, is linked to the emergence of life from inanimate matter. In the second edition of *The Origin* (1860), the theological reference Darwin used to explain the first appearance of the primordial life form(s) was amplified with the addition of the word "Creator":

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<sup>14</sup> This Turkish translation back-translates into English as follows: "I am more in tune with what we know about the rules laid down by the Creator, that the production and extinction of the world's creatures, ancient and modern, are based on secondary causes, in the same way as the birth and death of the individual."

It is interesting to contemplate an entangled bank, clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing on the bushes, with various insects flitting about, and with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other, and dependent on each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us. These laws, taken in the largest sense, being Growth with Reproduction; Inheritance which is almost implied by reproduction; Variability from the indirect and direct action of the external conditions of life, and from use and disuse; a Ratio of Increase so high as to lead to a Struggle for Life, and as a consequence to Natural Selection, entailing Divergence of Character and the Extinction of less-improved forms. Thus, from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into a few forms or into one [having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one (2<sup>nd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> editions)]; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved. (Darwin, 1998, pp. 368-369)

As discussed earlier, the theological reference in this paragraph and the addition of the creator emphasis in the subsequent editions of *The Origin* led many historians and philosophers of science to interpret Darwin's narrative strategies as measures employed to mitigate the harsh criticism that could arise from religious sentiments.

The fact that the majority of the agents of translation who were involved in the translatorial processes of *The Origin* have strong ideological inclinations and mostly Marxist, materialist, leftist, and atheist dispositions, makes it interesting to analyze the translations of this paragraph. As shown in Table 11, the translators transferred this paragraph into Turkish in a semantically and contextually equivalent manner.

They did not omit Darwin's reference to a Creator (God) or manipulate his overall message:

Table 11. Another Example of Darwin's Theological References to a Creator in *The Origin* (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the Related Paragraph

<p>O. Tuncay's Translation (2003)</p> <p>... En geniş anlamda, bu kurallar, Büyüme ve Üreme; Kalıtım, üretimle ifade edilmiştir; yaşamın doğrudan ve dolaylı çeşitli etkileri ve kullanma ve kullanmama ile oluşan Değişim; Doğal Seçilim sonucunda, Karakter Iraksaması ve daha az gelişmiş formların Yok Olmasını gerektiren Varolma mücadelesine yol açacak Yüksek Büyüme Oranıdır. Böylece varolma mücadelesinden, kıtlık ve ölümden algılayabileceğimiz en önemli olay, daha yüksek seviyeli hayvanların üretiminin takip edeceği hususudur. Bir kaç forma veya birine orijinal olarak nefes olmuş bazı güçleri ile, yaşama, bu bakış açısında bir asalet var; bu dünya sabit çekim yasalarına göre döndükçe, çok basit bir başlangıçtan, en güzel sonsuz formlar evrimleşmişlerdir ve evrimleşmektedirler. (p. 474)</p>	<p>B. Kılıç's Translation (2017)</p> <p>... En geniş bağlamda alınır, bu yasalar Üreme ve Büyüme; üremenin adeta gereği olan Kalıtım; dış yaşam koşullarının dolaylı ve doğrudan etkisinden ve kullanma ve kullanmama kaynaklanan Değişkenlik; Yaşam Mücadelesine ve onun sonucunda, Karakter Iraksamasını ve daha az iyileştirilmiş formların Tükenmesini beraberinde getiren Doğal Seçilime yol açacak kadar yüksek bir Çoğalma Oranıdır. Böylece doğanın savaşından, açlıktan ve ölümden, aklımızın alabileceği en yüce ülküye, diğer bir deyişle daha yüksek hayvanların üretilmesine varılır. Yaşamın, Yaratıcı tarafından başlangıçta birkaç veya tek bir forma üflenmiş çeşitli güçlere sahip olduğunu anlayan; ve bu gezegen sabit kütleçekim yasasına göre dönmeyi sürdürürken, böylesine basit bir başlangıçtan, sınırsız sayıda en güzel ve en şaşırtıcı formun evrimleşmiş ve evrimleşmekte olduğunu kavrayan bu görüşte ihtişam vardır. (pp. 437-438)</p>	<p>Ö. Ünalın's translation (1970)</p> <p>... Bu yasalar -geniş bir anlamda- Üreme ve Büyüme; Soyaçekim (hemen hemen üremenin kapsamında kalır); yaşam koşullarının, ve parçaların kullanılıp kullanılmamasının doğrudan ve dolaylı etkilerinin sonucu olan değişkenlik; üreme öylesine hızlıdır ki Yaşama Savaşına yol açar; ve bunun sonucu İranın Iraksamasını ve az gelişmiş biçimlerin tükenmesini zorunlu kılan Doğal Seçmedir. Böylece, doğanın savaşından, açlıktan ve ölümden, düşünebildiğimiz en yüce ereğe, daha yukarı hayvanların oluşmasına varılır. Yaratıcının başlangıçta bütün özünü birkaç ya da bir biçime üflediği yaşamı böyle anlayan ve bu gezegen çekiminin değişmez yasasına göre dönüp dururken, böylesine basit bir başlangıçtan en güzel, en olağanüstü biçimlerin türemiş ve türemekte olduğunu kavrayan bu yaşam görüşünde gerçekten yücelik vardır. (p. 591)</p>
<p>S. Belli's translation (2009)</p> <p>... Bu yasalar, en geniş anlamlarında alındıklarında, büyüme yasasıdır ve üreme yasasıdır, soyaçekim yasasıdır ki hemen hemen üreme yasasını da içerir, varlık koşullarının, kullanma ya da kullanmamamanın dolaylı ve doğrudan etkisinin sonucu olan değişiklik yasasıdır, türlerin, varoluş savaşımını yürütmek üzere oldukça yüksek oranlarda çoğalma yasasıdır, ve bunun sonucu olarak karakterlerin iraksamasını ve daha az yetkinleşebilmiş biçimlerin tükenmesini belirleyen doğal seçmedir. Kendini açlıkla, ölümlerle açığa vuran doğanın bu savaşımın doğrudan sonucu kavrayabileceğimiz en hayranlık verici olayı, yani üst hayvanların oluşmasıdır. Yaşama, bu tarzda, yani az sayıda ya da bir tek biçime, yaratıcı tarafından başlangıçta verilen değişik güçleriyle bakmakta büyük bir gerçeklik yok mudur? Gezegenimiz çekiminin değişmez yasasına uyarak kendi yörüngesinde dönüp dururken, öylesine yalın bir başlangıçtan çıkan sayısı belirsiz öylesine güzel ve hayran olunası biçimlerde, gelişmelerini sürdürdüler ve şimdi de sürdürüyorlar! (pp. 660-661)</p>	<p>E. D. Özsoy's translation (2022)</p> <p>... Bu yasalar, geniş anlamlarıyla alındıklarında şunlardır: Üreme ve Büyüme, üremenin hemen her zaman işaret ettiği Kalıtım, yaşamın doğrudan ve dolaylı etkileriyle kullanıp kullanmama sonucunda meydana getirilen Değişkenlik, Yaşam Mücadelesinin doğmasına yol açacak büyüklükteki bir Artış Oranı ve sonuçta ortaya çıkan ve Özellik Farklılaşmasını ve az gelişmiş formların Ortadan Kalkmasını icap ettiren Doğal Seçilim. Böylece, doğadaki savaşlar, açlık ve ölümler, tahayyül edebileceğimiz en yüce nesneye, yani ileri yapılı hayvanların meydana gelişine doğrudan sebep olmaktadır. Muhtelif güçlerinin, Yaratıcı tarafından başlangıçta birkaç ya da tek bir forma üflendiği bu yaşam nazarında bir ihtişam vardır ve bu gezegenin çekiminin değişmez yasası uyarınca dönerken, bu denli basit bir başlangıçtan en zarif ve harikulade, sonsuz çeşitlilikteki formlar evrimleşmiştir ve evrilmeye devam etmektedir.3 (p. 638)</p>	

It should be noted, however, that Deniz Ergi Özsoy included a peritextual element in the form of an endnote for this paragraph to draw attention to the emphasis on a creator added by Darwin after the first edition of *The Origin* (Özsoy used the 6th edition as his source text for translation). Consistent with his overarching narrative agenda of presenting *The Origin* as a scientific work, a work of biology, Özsoy emphasizes that this addition does not alter the fundamental theme of the book, which is the descent from a common ancestor through evolution:

In the first edition of *The Origin*, which was published in 1859, this last sentence reads “There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved.” The term "creator" was introduced by Darwin in subsequent editions. However, regardless of the rationale behind this addition, it is evident that this inclusion does not alter the fundamental focus of *The Origin* –namely, the idea that all living beings evolve from a common ancestor through the process of natural selection. (Özsoy, 2022b, p. 680; Appendix A, 43)

Although Özsoy highlights that Darwin’s reference to a creator does not alter the main argument of his theory of evolution by natural selection, in his earlier writings on Darwin and *The Origin*, he goes on to stress that this alternation is a significant one that might be a reflection of Darwin’s fear of religious stigmatization:

In addition to the passage in the last chapter of the first edition of *The Origin*, which remains in the same position in the sixth edition, there is another mention of "creator" specific to the later editions (including the sixth). The famous concluding sentence of *The Origin*, known to all, which we can call the most famous final sentence in the entire history of biology, encapsulates the profound intellectual tension inherent in evolutionary biology and reads like: [...]. However, in the sixth edition published in 1872, this concluding sentence undergoes a significant alteration: [...]. The difference between these two sentences is quite big. In the sixth edition, Darwin, akin to contemporary evolutionary Creationism, references a creator who initiated the process of life. Given that the earlier chapters of *The Origin* revolve around evolution by natural selection within the standard biological narrative, this suggests that the history of life unfolds from the initial act of creation, followed by the subsequent evolution of life as we know it. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that this emphasis on the "creator" in the concluding sentence was added to relieve the anxieties arising from intense accusations of

irreligiousness that Darwin and his close associates faced from the first days following the publication of *The Origin*. (Özsoy, 2017; Appendix A, 44)

While Özsoy generally maintains a neutral stance regarding the ideological implications of various elements within *The Origin* that have sparked dilemmatic interpretations, it is noteworthy that he expressed his perspective on this particular incident, although it was not reflected in the peritextual elements he added to his translation. Özsoy's views on this matter align closely with historians and philosophers of science who argue that Darwin included the emphasis on the creator to escape potential persecution. However, right after Prof. Özsoy speculates about why Darwin might have added the creator reference to his narrative, he goes on to stress that the main argument of the theory is not affected by this reference and that evolutionary biology has nothing to do with believing or not believing in a creator:

It's worth noting that the ongoing findings and discussions surrounding *The Origin* and Darwin, as well as the theoretical content of contemporary evolutionary biology and research findings, are unlikely to conclusively establish a direct correlation between these statements and the core essence of the matter. From both Darwin's perspective and that of evolutionary biology, the theory neither benefits nor harms from the acceptance or rejection of a creator. (Özsoy, 2017; Appendix A, 45)

As this statement by Prof. Özsoy indicates, even before his translation of *The Origin* was published, he followed the same agenda for his narrative production on Darwin and his works. His focus was on eliminating the political and religious associations with the theory as much as possible and highlighting the theory's scientific value, which should remain stable despite all the different social, philosophical, or religious interpretations that had been made so far. Based on that, translating *The Origin* by adding a Preface and numerous endnotes can be considered as a continuation of his general effort to recontextualize Darwin and his works in the Turkish scientific and political settings.

While Prof. Özsoy continued to emphasize the scientific value of *The Origin* and refrained from providing his personal judgment in his endnote on why Darwin added the creator reference to the final chapter of his book, the first translator of *The Origin*, Öner Ünalán did not hold back from expressing his strong opinion on this matter. In *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* (1997), Ünalán discusses the God references in *The Origin*. According to Ünalán, Darwin made the theological references purely out of fear that he would face severe criticism, to the point of persecution. He notes that this is the very reason why he also postponed publishing *The Descent of Man* for another 12 years after the publication of *The Origin*. Ünalán gives the example of the nineteenth-century British surgeon and medical professor William Lawrence, who published his *Lectures on Physiology, Zoology, and Natural History of Man* (İnsanın Fiziyojisi, Hayvanbilimi ve Doğal Tarihi Üzerine Konferanslar) in 1891. According to Ünalán, after publishing his lectures, Lawrence faced a terrible reaction from the press, and he was accused of being materialist and atheist, which led to the emergence of a hostile public opinion around him. Ünalán also notes that, under these unfortunate circumstances, Lawrence was forced to take back his book and resign from his post as a lecturer. Based on that, Ünalán defines Darwin's biblical reference to a creator breathing life into a few or one initial form(s) as a compromise. Ünalán also cites Howard E. Gruber's *Darwin on Man, A Psychological Study of Scientific Creativity* (1974), where Gruber refers to a letter Darwin later wrote to Joseph Hooker and touches on Darwin's regret for adding theological references to *The Origin*:

That the Creator breathed life into beings is an Old Testament expression. Darwin himself, in a letter dated March 29, 1863 to his close friend, the herbalist Joseph D. Hooker, called it truckling: "I deeply regret that I have flattered the public by using the Pentateuchal [referring to the first five books of the Old Testament, Ö.Ü.] term creation; in reality, I meant to say 'emerging' as an outcome of some wholly unknown process." But he did not

make this correction in subsequent editions of his book. (Ünalán, 1997, p. 96; Appendix A, 46)

Considering the strong influence of materialism on Ünalán's habitus, and his previous commendation of Darwin's theory for its role in bolstering scientific approaches in the face of natural theology or dogmatic perspectives, the fact that he chose to join the camp that argues Darwin made references to a Creator for mitigating criticism shows great parallelism with his overall ideological disposition. In doing that, he employs temporality and causal emplotment in his narrative by citing the example of Howard E. Gruber. This narrative structure indicated that the previous examples of severe criticism his peers received prevented Darwin from completely excluding theology from his works. In addition, by referring to the letter Darwin wrote to Joseph Hooker, Ünalán strengthens the causal emplotment in his narrative.

In Bahar Kılıç's translation, there are no peritextual elements that provide her commentary on the Creator references in *The Origin*. However, akin to Ünalán and Özsoy, Kılıç addresses these theological additions in the epitextual elements she produced following her translation. Hence, similar to Ünalán and Özsoy, she also contributed to the production of new narratives on the relevance of theology to Darwin's theory from her own point of view. In the article she wrote on *The Origin* for *Bilim ve Gelecek*, Kılıç follows a similar strategy to that of Ünalán in her narrative and cites another scientific figure and work to highlight that Darwin made theological additions to the final chapter of his book to appease the public and his wife:

Murray released the second edition of the book, printing 3000 copies just one and a half months after the initial edition of 1250 copies sold out. In this second edition, Darwin made some corrections and included a quotation in response to objections from religious circles. Most notably, he added the phrase "by the creator" to the final sentence of the book. Those familiar with

Darwin's autobiography and correspondence unanimously agree on the reasoning behind this addition, despite Darwin's materialist and agnostic beliefs. Ernst Mayr, a prominent biologist of the twentieth century who made significant contributions to evolutionary theory, offered his perspective on this matter in his book *One Long Argument: Charles Darwin and the Genesis of Evolutionary Thought* (1991). Mayr suggests that Darwin made this addition "to appease public opinion and his wife." Indeed, according to some interpretations, Darwin's theory of evolution dealt a significant blow to religious beliefs, particularly challenging the account of creation outlined in the "Genesis" chapter of the *Old Testament*. As anticipated, this led to conflict with the Church, which began to oppose Darwin and his supporters in 1860, just one year after the book's publication. (Kılıç, 2019; Appendix A, 47)

Unlike Özsoy's narrative, for example, Kılıç, akin to Ünalın, establishes a direct association between Darwin's decision to include theological references in the final paragraph of his book and his fear of negative public opinion and criticism. While Ünalın emphasizes that Darwin later felt remorse for these references since he embraced a materialist world view, Kılıç also highlights that Darwin was a materialist and agnostic. She emphasizes Darwin's materialism and agnosticism during her seminars and interviews as well. For example, during her interview with Zelal Özgür Durmuş on SolTV, when she was asked which edition of *The Origin* she used as her source text and what kind of differences there are between *The Origin's* different editions, she replies as follows:

The second edition, which I used for my translation, includes a few corrections, mirroring closely the content of the first edition with only minor adjustments. One notable change is the addition of the phrase "by the creator" in the second edition. This insertion appears in the last paragraph, where "life breathed by a creator" is mentioned. It is widely believed that Darwin made this addition to mitigate reactions from the public and to pacify his devoutly religious wife. However, those familiar with Darwin's autobiographies, letters, and personal beliefs understand that Darwin identified as a materialist and agnostic. (Kılıç & Durmuş, 2021, 8:59; Appendix A, 48 )

When we examine the other interviews involving Kılıç on Darwin and his works, we see that she highlights Darwin's materialism and agnosticism in most of them. Of course, this does not come as a surprise when we remember the significant role

Darwinism has been ascribed for advocating materialist and atheist worldviews globally. Considering the strong influence of materialism and atheism on Kılıç's habitus and her overall intellectual production, both the translatorial interest she showed in Darwin's works and the narratives she produced on Darwinism prior to and after taking up *The Origin* (re)translation are in harmony with this global trend.

#### 6.2.4 Darwin and (in)compatibility of religion with the theory of evolution

In addition to Darwin's theological references to a creator who breathed life into the first or few initial forms of life and established the natural laws to facilitate the progression of evolution from these initial forms, he also acknowledges in the final chapter of *The Origin* that his theory does not inherently conflict with religion. Hence, as seen in Table 12, he suggests that *The Origin* should not disturb his readers' religious sentiments:

Table 12. Darwin's Remarks about the (In)compatibility of Religion with the Theory of Evolution in *The Origin* (1859)

Second edition of <i>The Origin</i>	Sixth edition of <i>The Origin</i>
I see no good reason why the views given in this volume should shock the religious feelings of any one. A celebrated author and divine has written to me that 'he has gradually learnt to see that it is just as noble a conception of the Deity to believe that He created a few original forms capable of self-development into other and needful forms, as to believe that He required a fresh act of creation to supply the voids caused by the action of His laws.' (Darwin, 2008, p. 353)	I see no good reason why the views given in this volume should shock the religious feelings of any one. It is satisfactory, as showing how transient such impressions are, to remember that the greatest discovery ever made by man, namely, the law of the attraction of gravity, was also attacked by Leibnitz, "as subversive of natural, and inferentially of revealed, religion." A celebrated author and divine has written to me that "he has gradually" learnt to see that it is just as noble a conception of the Deity to "believe that He created a few original forms capable of self-development into other and needful forms, as to believe that He "required a fresh act of creation to supply the voids caused by the "action of His laws." (Darwin, 2009, pp. 421-422)

The above-quoted statement was added to the second edition and preserved, even expanded, in the subsequent ones. When I analyzed the translations of this paragraph

in Ünalın, Kılıç, Belli, and Özsoy's target texts, I observed that they effectively conveyed Darwin's message without omitting or manipulating his emphasis on the compatibility of belief in descent with modification and the existence of a deity, as

Table 13 demonstrates:

Table 13. Darwin's Remarks about the (In)compatibility of Religion with the Theory of Evolution in *The Origin* (1859) and the Turkish (Re)translations of the related Paragraph

B. Kılıç's Translation (2017) (	Ö. Ünalın's translation (1970)
Bu kitapta sunulan görüşlerin, insanların dini duygularını sarsması için herhangi bir neden göremiyorum. Ünlü bir yazar ve din adamı bana yazdığı bir mektupta şöyle demişti: "Zamanla gördüm ki, Tanrı'nın, gerekli olan başka formlara kendiliğinden dönüşebilen birkaç özgün form yaratmış olduğuna inanmak, O'nun, kendi yasalarından kaynaklanan boşlukları doldurmak için taze bir yaratma eylemine ihtiyaç duymuş olduğuna inanmak kadar kutsal bir bakış açısidir." (pp. 430-431)	Bu kitapta sunulan görüşlerin herhangi bir kimsenin dinsel inançlarını sarsması için anlaşılır bir gerekçe görmüyorum. Leibnitz, insanoğlunun bugüne kadar yaptığı en büyük buluş olan çekim yasasına da "doğal dini yıkmakta, vahyolmuş olanı yadsırmakta" diye saldırmış olduğunu anımsamak, bu türlü izlenimlerin ne kadar geçici olduğunu göstermeye yeter. Ünlü bir yazar ve rahibin bana yazdığına göre, kendisi "o'nun, kendi koyduğu yasaların yol açtığı boşlukları doldurmak amacıyla, durmadan yenilenen bir yaratma eylemini gerekli gördüğü için, başka ve zorunlu biçimlere kendiliğinden gelişip dönüşebilen birkaç köken 'biçim yarattığına inanmanın Tanrı'ya yaraşır bir yücelikte olduğunu yavaş yavaş anlamaya başlamış." (pp. 581-582)
S. Belli's translation (2009)	E. D. Özsoy's translation (2022)
Bu kitapta geliştirilen görüşlerim kim olursa olsun bir dindarın duygularını incitmesi için hiçbir neden göremiyorum. Öte yandan, bu çeşitten izlenimlerin ne kadar geçici olduklarını göstermek için insanoğlunun yaptığı en büyük buluşun, evrensel çekim yasasının gene Leibnitz'in saldırısına uğramış olduğunu anımsamak yeterlidir; o, çekim yasasını "doğal din için yıkıcı, ve sonuçlarında ise açılanmış (tanrısal bir esinle iletilmiş) din için yıkıcı" olmakla suçluyordu. Bir kilise adamı, bir gün bana, "sonunda, kendi kendilerine, gerekli olan başka biçimlerde gelişme yeteneğindeki bazı biçimlerin yaratılmasına inanmanın, tanrının kendi koyduğu yasaların etkisiyle meydana gelen boşlukları doldurmak için yeni yaratma edimlerine gereksinim duyduğuna inanmak kadar yüksek bir tanrı anlayışı olduğunu anlamaya başladığını" yazıyordu. (pp. 650-651)	Bu eserde sunulan görüşlerin herhangi birinin dini duygularını sarsması için makul bir neden de görmüyorum. Bu tür izlenimlerin ne denli geçici olduğunu göstermek için, Leibnitz'in insan tarafından yapılmış en büyük keşif olan yerçekimi yasasına "doğal dini ve tahmin edileceği üzere vahyedilen dini tahrir edicidir" diyerek hücum ettiğini hatırlamak kafidir. Tanınmış bir yazar ve ilahiyatçı bana şunları yazmıştır: "Tanrı'nın diğer lüzumlu formlara kendiliğinden gelişen birkaç başlangıç formu yarattığına inanmanın, O'nun yasalarının işleyişi sebebiyle ortaya çıkan boşlukları doldurmak için yeni yaratılış hamlelerine ihtiyaç duyduğuna inanmak kadar saygın bir kavrayış olduğunu zamanla anladım." (p. 628)

As may not be surprising by now, the agents of retranslation also contributed to the narratives surrounding whether Darwin's theory is compatible with belief in a deity, and whether individuals who accept the theory of evolution can still maintain their religious beliefs. Their narrative contribution to this discussion is found in the

epitextual materials they produced. One of the common arguments in their narratives is that Darwin's theory is not an attempt to explain how organic life first emerged on earth from inorganic materials, in more technical terms, abiogenesis. Indeed, as elaborated on in Section 6.2.2., the agents of translation emphasized the significance of Darwin's counterarguments against special creation. Added to that, the agents emphasized that the theory of evolution does not address abiogenesis. This emphasis suggests that the theory of evolution allows for the possibility of a deistic worldview, where a supreme being or creator set the natural laws in motion but does not intervene in the ongoing processes of the universe. This perspective aligns with the idea that the theory of evolution leaves room for theological beliefs, particularly those consistent with deism, which posits a non-interventionist deity responsible for the initial creation of the universe.

For instance, in *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* (1997), Ünalán observes that ancient and medieval beliefs suggested higher living beings were created by a divine force, while lower living beings were thought to arise spontaneously from inanimate matter. According to Ünalán, this belief stemmed from incomplete observations, such as the observation that rotting meat would produce maggots. Ünalán later cites experiments, such as those by Francesco Redi in the seventeenth century, which demonstrated that maggots were not spontaneously generated from meat but rather originated from fly eggs laid in the meat. Ünalán then highlights that scientific experiments have shown living organisms can only originate from other living organisms, and they cannot spontaneously emerge from non-living matter. Ünalán goes on to cite Darwin's neutral views on abiogenesis, stating that experiments performed on the subject matter by scientists such as Redi and Louis Pasteur have failed to test abiogenesis and the notion should be better explored in the future.

Based on that, Ünalán, (1997, p. 25) concludes “given that living organisms only arise from other living organisms, the question of how life began on Earth is not necessarily crucial for explaining organic evolution.” Although Ünalán remains neutral on this matter by underlining that Darwin’s theory does not say anything about how life first emerged, his narrative strategy, the causal emplotment by sequencing and ordering scientific advances which explained previously unexplainable natural phenomena, hints that abiogenesis could also be proven through future scientific experiments. In that, his narrative strategy once again complies with his materialist worldview and socialist disposition.

In one of her online seminars posted on the YouTube Channel of the Atheism Association, “Yanlış anlaşılan bir deha: Charles Darwin”, Bahar Kılıç also underlines that the theory of evolution should not be confused with abiogenesis:

Due to the title of the book, it might be misconstrued that the theory of evolution explains the emergence and origin of life. However, as Darwin emphasized repeatedly, the theory of evolution elucidates how all living species have diversified from a common ancestor over extended geological periods. This process spans a continuum rather than a singular moment of formation. Unfortunately, this distinction is often overlooked both in Darwin's time and in contemporary discourse. (Kılıç, 2022, 11:05; Appendix A, 49)

Despite constantly recognizing Darwin's empirical, materialist, and agnostic perspective, both Ünalán and Kılıç underscore Darwin’s neutral stance when it comes to abiogenesis. In that, they also remain neutral and highlight that the theory does not address how life first emerged on Earth. A few years before Kılıç translated *The Origin*, she wrote a detailed essay on the intersections between Darwinism and Atheism. This was her first essay for the evolution column of the *Ateist Dergi* published by the Turkish Atheism Association. In this essay, Kılıç ponders whether every atheist is a Darwinist and whether every Darwinist is an atheist. While her discussion here too does not claim that Darwin attempted to explain the origins of

life, her insights shed light on the reasons why she thinks Darwin and evolution are important for atheism, helping us better understand her intellectual efforts that aim at promoting Darwinism in Türkiye:

Can't people become atheists without learning about evolution? Of course, they can. People can question what they see in nature and around them with a sound and honest reasoning method, and they can produce logical antitheist arguments ... But what if these are not enough for us in our questioning process? ... How much we need the guidance of an infallible compass at this stage! For myself, I can exemplify this as follows: I was a person who defined myself as an agnostic/atheist even though I did not have the slightest knowledge about the theory of evolution; But now, in the light of the facts presented by science, I stand on much stronger ground than before regarding my atheism and my view of life. I am much more confident in myself and my ideas when it comes to clashing with opposing ideas ... Atheism, by its very nature, questions the formation of the universe, the place of man in this universe, and how everything begins and how it ends. Every time we find answer for the question "How did it happen?" our path is further enlightened. A large portion of these inquiries are about from where and how our species came to be where it is today. It makes a big difference to know that the creation myth, the story of Adam and Eve, or the tale of Noah's ark contain imaginative yet misleading elements. Knowing that not only humans, but all living things have gone through a very slow and gradual evolution process and have evolved from common ancestors that lived once upon a time, reached their current form and continue to evolve, changes a lot in people's questions about existence. (Kılıç, 2014, pp. 30-31; Appendix A, 50)

Apparently, for Kılıç, evolution is one of the conceptual theories and narratives that an atheistic inquiry into religions and religious dogmas can immensely benefit from, a view that matches with the significance attributed to Darwin and evolution by atheist organizations. Therefore, it can be posited that Darwinism, along with Darwin's works and their translations, are utilized by social agents within the local atheist community as significant resources endowed with scientific and symbolic value. This mirrors the global trend among atheist organizations and prominent figures who advocate for atheism by incorporating evolution into their narratives.

An analysis of Ergi Deniz Özsoy's narrative reveals that his comments on the (in)compatibility of religion and evolution also seek to protect the theory of evolution from ideological conflicts, a strategy that once again reflects his overall

narrative efforts. During a recent interview on FluTV (as shown in Figure 13), a popular YouTube channel covering various disciplines, the presenter, İlker Canikligil, asked Özsoy about his perspective on whether evolution conflicts with religion. Özsoy's answer showed great parallelism with his overall narrative on *The Origin* which reframes it as a purely scientific work:

It (evolution) neither contradicts nor matches (with the religious perspective). In other words, a relationship between science and religion can no longer be established. Because religion would not benefit science, and the other way around... Of course, religions and religious propositions can be viewed from historical, cultural, anthropological, etc. perspectives. ... Evolutionary biology encompasses various subfields but fundamentally operates within a framework grounded in evolutionary genetics. It is a theory. It possesses its own language and methodologies. It represents the pinnacle of scientific endeavor, by aiming for comprehensive explanations enriched with factual evidence, encompassing law-like generalizations and numerous testable hypotheses. Consequently, the pursuit of evolutionary science must adhere to this unique language and perspective ... Religion has nothing to add to this [perspective]. Because it employs a language very irrelevant to the evolutionary perspective. The problem is that the approach of religion and the theoretical framework of evolution are incompatible. Religion lacks a theory akin to that of science; instead, it comprises beliefs and dogmas. Science does not progress by dogma, that is, by complete submission. Thus, they need to be seen as a different perspectives. (Özsoy & Canikligil, 2023, 15:02; Appendix A, 51)

Özsoy's narrative draws clear distinctions between the approaches on which scientific and religious inquiries are built. Based on this, with his analogy of "language," he underlines that the phenomena these two areas problematize are distinct from each other, and approaching one through the lens of the other should not provide any benefits. His argument displays parallelism to his overall narrative strategy, which emphasizes that Darwin's works are significant scientific contributions and, above all, biology books. Therefore, Özsoy contends that Darwin's theory should not be entangled in socio-political or religious inquiries.

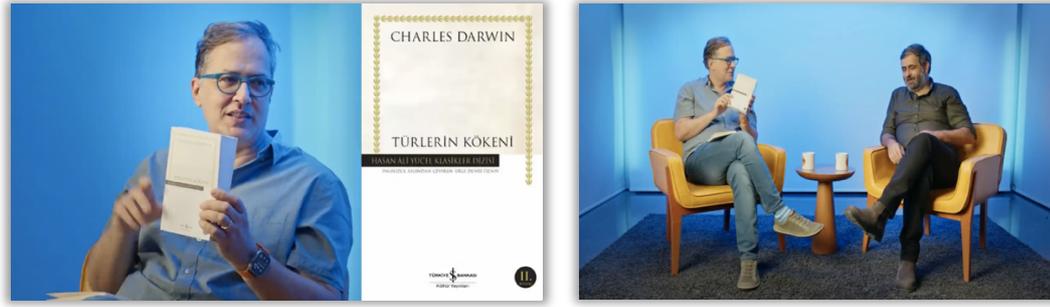


Figure 13. Interview with Prof. Özsoy on the popular intellectual YouTube channel FluTv

Before his translation of *The Origin* was published, Özsoy made similar remarks regarding the relationship between religious beliefs and the theory of evolution during an interview with the Atheism Association, where he discussed his academic research and popular writings on evolutionary biology (see Figure 14). The interview was conducted live on the association's YouTube channel, Ateizm TV, while Özsoy was still working on his translation of *The Origin*, as he mentions during the interview. When asked about his academic background, Özsoy emphasized his extensive reading in philosophy, history of science, anthropology, and general history. He stated that as a biologist, he could also offer insights into these areas, but stressed the importance of using theories, frameworks, and concepts from the relevant disciplines, rather than integrating biology into such socio-historical discussions. During this interview, Özsoy was asked by the interviewer how supporters of the theory of evolution should generate counterarguments against creationist narratives. Özsoy pointed out the creationist inclinations to link Darwin's theory of evolution with various sociological doctrines, in other words meta-narratives. He proceeded to elaborate as follows:

The epistemology of evolutionary biology is grounded in knowledge derived from various fields such as genetics, molecular biology, paleontology, comparative anatomy, morphology, and biogeography. As such, evolutionary language is closely tied to these disciplines. ... When explaining complex

issues to a wider audience, it is crucial to utilize language rooted in these fields to provide accurate information objectively and calmly. While there may be political or sociological perspectives to consider, it is important to maintain a balance and refrain from discussing these issues through the lens of evolutionary biology. For instance, when addressing beliefs or religions, appealing solely to evolutionary biology is not appropriate. The languages and epistemologies of evolutionary biology and social sciences, such as anthropology, sociology, and history of religions, differ significantly. Researchers in social sciences delve into the highly variable manifestations of human culture and belief, areas where biology cannot offer comprehensive insights. Attempting to apply evolutionary biology to social issues is not only inadequate but also indicative of ignorance. While anti-evolutionism represents a distinct form of ignorance, attempting to transpose the content of evolutionary biology into social fields is also problematic and anti-intellectual. (Özsoy, 2020, 38:02; Appendix A, 52)

Özsoy's remarks from this interview further underscore his consistent efforts over the years to recontextualize Darwin's works and theory as invaluable resources within biology, distinct from frameworks that delve into socio-historical matters. Therefore, his retranslation of *The Origin* can be seen as a significant contribution to Özsoy's overarching goal of emancipating Darwin and his theory from ideological entanglements, especially considering the symbolic importance of *The Origin* in Turkish publication and political fields. In a setting in which Darwinism and Darwin's works have been politicized over the decades, Özsoy's narratives in his paratextual materials serve to produce new public narratives that focus solely on the scientific value of Darwin's works.

It is worth noting the curious choice of the Atheism Association to interview Özsoy on evolution, despite his clear stance that evolutionary biology or the theory of evolution should remain separate from sociological, religious, or deistic inquiries. While Özsoy's credentials as a professor of evolutionary biology, author, and translator of popular science books and articles on evolution, and his strong advocacy of evolution against Creationism make him an ideal candidate for such an interview, his participation reinforces his stance on the need to confine evolutionary

biology to the scientific and academic discipline of biology and related disciplines in natural sciences. This perspective is particularly pertinent on a platform where the interest in the theory of evolution is generally perceived to transcend the mere pursuit of accumulating scientific capital.



Figure 14. Prof. Özsoy interviewed by Ateizm TV on his academic research and popular writings on evolutionary biology

Orhan Tuncay also touched upon the religious conflicts that surround Darwin's theory in his essay, although briefly. If we remember, he starts his 2020 essay by listing the misunderstandings and resulting misleading narratives that emerged in Türkiye due to the early writings of Ahmed Mithat Efendi on Darwin during the late Ottoman Era. One of the pieces of misinformation Tuncay lists is that Darwin was an atheist. In addition to correcting that Darwin did not officially define himself an atheist, Tuncay also adds that he came from a devout family. Tuncay also adds that Darwin postponed publishing *The Origin* for a long time because of the traditional values of his and his wife's families. Tuncay also highlights Darwin's contributions to modern science and empiricism. After providing a brief overview of the advances achieved in evolutionary biology and genetics in the aftermath of the publication of *The Origin*, and the modern synthesis, Tuncay also notes that some scientists deny that the theory of evolution and religion are in conflict: "Meanwhile, there were

those who claimed that Darwinism did not conflict with religious knowledge.

Theodosius Dobzhansky said that religions do not conflict with the "Theory of Evolution" and that he is both a creationist and an evolutionist. (Tuncay, 2020).<sup>15</sup> As mentioned earlier, when discussing his comments on the Malthusian elements of Darwin's theory, Tuncay's narrative remains primarily descriptive, offering basic information about the contrasting perspectives on Darwin and his theory. While he briefly outlines these conflicting narratives, he refrains from expressing his own views openly and directly, unlike other translation agents.

#### 6.2.5 Agents of translation criticizing Creationism and creationist practices

An analysis of the paratextual materials produced by the agents of translation shows that criticism of Creationism and creationist practices, especially the impact of these views on the Turkish educational system and school curriculums, is a common theme in their narratives.

One of the most severe criticisms in this regard was voiced by Muzaffer İlhan Erdost, the owner of Sol and Onur Publishing Houses, in his paratextual materials surrounding the Darwin translations he published. He wrote these paratextual elements, which are in the form of critical newspaper essays, naming himself as the publisher of Darwin translations in Türkiye. These essays showed Erdost's reaction against the government oppression of evolution and the activities of fundamentalist Islamist groups that targeted Darwinism such as those by the Gülen and Harun Yahya structures. For example, in July 2004, in the aftermath of the investigation of a schoolteacher on the grounds of referring to the theory of evolution in her class, Erdost (2004) penned an article titled "Bilim Dine Tutsak Ediliyor" (Science is made

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<sup>15</sup> Theodosius Dobzhansky (1900-1975) was an influential Ukrainian evolutionary biologist and geneticist.

Captive to Religion) for one of the most prominent leftist newspapers in Türkiye, *Cumhuriyet*. Later that year, Erdost included this newspaper article in his book, *12 Eylül "Turka"ları* (2004), which comprises various intellectual writings by Erdost on societal, cultural, and political matters. An interesting detail about this article in the book is the footnote added by Erdost. Erdost explains his initial initiative to write this essay for *Cumhuriyet* as follows: "As the only publisher of Darwin's Turkish books in Türkiye, I expressed my reaction to *Cumhuriyet* with this essay" (Erdost, 2004, p. 60). Erdost's remark is important since it is another indicator of the symbolic value of publishing Darwin's works in the Turkish publishing field. It is also obvious that Erdost's efforts to publish Darwin's works for decades and being a pioneer in this regard were appreciated in leftist circles, especially in the leftist publication field, bestowing Erdost with further symbolic capital, as he was invited to write against anti-Darwinist policies on popular leftist platforms. Another interesting detail is that, along with Erdost, Ekrem Ekinci, a professor of history of Turkish Law and Islamic Law, and Yaman Örs, a professor of medical history and ethics, and Sevim Belli, the retranslator of Sol/Onur Publishing's Darwin translations, also wrote for the same column to voice their criticism. Hence, not only Erdost, but also the translators he collaborated with on Darwin (re)translations were offered spaces to voice their views and criticism on Darwinism and anti-Darwinism in various leftist platforms.

When examining Erdost's brief newspaper article, it becomes evident that he is deeply troubled by the anti-Darwinist rhetoric in Türkiye. He links this phenomenon to the politicization of Darwinism by ultra-conservative groups, viewing it as an ideological tool for propaganda:

Darwin stands as a pivotal figure in the advancement of human scientific inquiry. While mathematics, physics, and chemistry have roots in ancient

times, the formal process of scientific inquiry began predominantly in the fields of biology and zoology. However, the current challenge does not lie solely with Darwin or his theory of evolution. Rather, it pertains to the entanglement of religious beliefs with scientific discourse, constraining the freedom of inquiry and rational thought. The ongoing debate reflects a centuries-old clash between materialist and idealistic worldviews. Essentially, it pits science against religion. In the struggle, the triumph of one side risks ushering in a theocratic regime, conflicting with secular principles. Delving deeper, one encounters religious and imperialist reactions seeking to subjugate science and reason, epitomized by Said Nursi's fallacies and the conflicts over religious attire. Further exploration reveals initiatives like the "Yeşil Kuşak" (Green Belt) and advocates of "Moderate Islam," alongside political leaders attempting to mold Türkiye into a model Islamic state. (Erdost, 2004, p. 62; Appendix A, 53)

Erdost's narrative includes several interesting elements. Erdost defines Darwin's theory as a turning point in the development of modern science. It is clear that he regards Darwin's theory and works as important symbols of materialist thinking and the clash between materialism and idealism. In that, his view is reminiscent of Çubukçu's and Kılıç's narratives in some of their paratextual elements that the appropriation of Darwinism into Marxist thinking is only natural. An interesting detail in Erdost's arguments is his open attack on creationist fundamentalist structures and Said Nursi's teachings. As discussed in more detail in Section 2.5.3, Nursi's teachings were influential on both the Gülen and Harun Yahya groups in certain ways. From Erdost's perspective, these anti-Darwinist creationist structures have close ties with imperialist powers while their anti-Darwinist propaganda is only part of an imperialist narrative that is tailored for influencing Turkish politics. Hence, Erdost's narrative establishes a negative relationality between the Islamic-Creationist groups and the international imperialist and creationist structures that he claims support them for ideological reasons.

The negative relationality Erdost employs in his critical essay from 2004 between creationist anti-Darwinist structures and imperialist politics is repeated in another essay he wrote for the same newspaper in 2009, which can be seen in Figure

15. In this essay, titled “Darwin’i Şeriatın Süzgecinden Süzmek” (Interpreting Darwin from the Lens of Sharia), Erdost criticized the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye (TÜBİTAK)’s decision to cancel the special Darwin issue of *Bilim ve Teknik*. He also criticized the inclusion of Creationism and the theory of evolution in school curriculums. Erdost proudly mentions being the sole publisher of Darwin’s works in Türkiye for decades in this essay as well, ignoring the retractions that were published by Gün Yayıncılık.

An interesting element of Muzaffer İlhan Erdost’s narrative in this article is his acknowledgment that evolution does not conflict with religion although the theory is maligned by creationist and ultra-conservative Islamic circles in Türkiye as being in conflict with religious values and beliefs. Erdost starts his article by highlighting that the conflict between the theory of evolution and the doctrine of creation has been perceived as a complete denial of God by some circles from the very first day of *The Origin*’s publication. He then quotes a segment from *The Origin*, which was analyzed in Section 6.2.4. In this quoted segment, Darwin remarks that he “see[s] no good reason why the views given in this volume should shock the religious feelings of any one.” (Darwin, 2009, p. 421). When the narratives of the other agents of translation on the (in)compatibility of religion and Darwin’s theory of evolution are remembered, it can be argued that Erdost displays a similar positioning, although with a much stronger tone. By pointing out that people who define themselves as religious can still entertain evolutionary ideas, Erdost also hints that the public narratives which argue evolution contradicts religion are wrongfully produced by Creationists to find more supporters for their anti-Darwinism.

After his emphasis on the compatibility of religion and evolution, Erdost’s narrative employs temporality and negative relationality by describing the activities

of the Islamist creationist structures in Türkiye as derivations of the American Creationism developed by the Evangelical fundamentalist churches. Erdost observes that the influence of this movement in Türkiye is evident from the similarities in anti-Darwinist incidents witnessed in both the United States and Türkiye. He cites examples such as the Scopes Trial from the early twentieth century in the US, which was discussed in Section 2.4.5, and the investigation launched against a Turkish school teacher for teaching evolution and human common descent with apes. Erdost indicates that these incidents occurred under the ideological guidance of the same global and imperialist structures. Erdost's narrative also shows great parallelism with the criticism aimed at Islamic-Creationists, especially the Yahya group, by Turkish academicians writing on the scope and impact of their activities, such as the late professor of biology, Aykut Kence (1946 – 2014).

OLAYLAR VE GÖRÜŞLER

EVET / HAYIR OKTAY AKBAL

Kitap Bir Ayrı Dünya...

"Bir kapı kapanyor / bir sayfa çevilyor / bir dal ken- lip eğilyor suya / bir yıldı- boşluğa / gözler kan çana- ğı / göğüsler dağk dağk / bu koyu karankı ya yoksul / ugarumun başına geyik / anılar yığıyor / bayraklar ka- panyor / topağı bir bir al- dıyor kaleler / ne bekliyor- dıha..."

Yekta Güngör Özden dostum yeni şiirleri... "Özden Kaan... İpeğin- rinden bir, her şey anıta... Kilitler kitaplar... Hepsini sık bir sıkış- dırıldı, bir bakımda, dalgı- gitmek dünyasına, benim de dünyam öylek...

Özcan Erdoğan'ın "Dile- ri ve Aşk"ta... "Mustafa Yıldırım'ın yeni baş- yasan yapıp, özden geleceği bir belge- gibi 198. Gün... Mehmet Sazan'ın 17 Ni- san'dan anılar getiren, bir çeşit belgesel... Yurd Savaş "Öce Diao- Dosyası" ile gelecekte bir gün yapacak yazma- sı beklenen, bir tarihsel- dönüme götürüyor oku- ru. Bir gün ama ne zaman?

Prof. Nejat Akar'ın "Dum- luyar Bir İnsanlık Öyküsü", Hüseyin Duman "Eşya Üç Taş" Anlat Akkaya "Mustafa" adlı belgesel- çalışması, Harun Öztürk "Sözlüken Köt", Hüseyin Yaşarın tezine yaptığı bir çalışma "Kary Yakasın Bir Ses"... Övrenli bir şiir- kitabı, daha doğrusu gerekli- bir değerlendirme "Sadık Anın'ın Ardından"...

Edipatı dedi mi? Ucu- ladı mı? Kalyağı mı? Na- sı gazetelerde köpe yazı- nı yazar bile emyanların- endiyeyi. Şiirde, öyküde, roman da aynı uzaklık, ay- nı deşersizlik yaşattıyor mu?

İpeği bir öykü kitabı, Hü- rriyet Yaşar'ın hep oku- ra ta verdi, duyduğünü- çoğaltan öyküleri "Önce Ben Ömrü Gözlerdim..." Okularına öğütlemek- istediğim gizli bir öykü- tologiye: "İstambul Öyküleri" Usta bir öyküci olan- Dale Sancar'ın seçtiği İstanbul'la ilgili öyküleri, Sait Faik'in, Selim İleri'ye Demir Za- lıncı, bir geyi yazılarına ka- dar.

Yıldızlı bir okuyan, ada- bıyatın benim için bir yaşam anlamı olduğunu bilen oku- larım, beni yeni çağınla- rıyla tanıştırdılar... Ama bu- nuna kitabı koyacak ki- tağına yok ki. Bir gün sa- rası gelir okurum öyküle- yim! Hap yadım, bu- nca yıl birkimmi, hem de ço- ğu ihrafi kitaplarını İstambul Yıldı- Taksim Üniversitesinde kitaplığına, Akıyaka'daki Muğla Üniversitesine kitap- lığına verdim... Hiç doğlas- öğrenilece sanarı, kültürü- seven gençlere bir yardım olsun diyelim.

Ayrıca Muğla'nın Akıyaka- sı'nda yeni açılan, dost- ların bu kitapta adını ve- ranak beni onları düşün- leri "Akıyaka Okuy Akba" kitaplığına da pek çok ki- tabı sunduğumu... Eskiği gibi değildi. Değil- si, Öyle uzun, derin çalı- şmalar değil şiirler, öyküler, anılar bu yapımda daha çok beni ilgilendiren, ve- vindiren, bana yazıtına gö- cü veren...

Her gün bir şiir... Sevdiğim Öner Çoravolu "Etimyen Yığız" da birilerine veda- etmek istemiği "geçir tarım- da değişecek mi artık / ço- cular hangi hangi ahalı / yarılanın daha babu mu- yazılacak / ben sevdiğimi- kene hayvacağım / Hıngi- deniz beni çağıracak açıl- larına / yapacağımı yazı- vada ediyor artık / geç- gelinez bir daha... yoksulu yü- yüğüz / pürünlük üstünüz bak- yam / alkışlarım kırıldı / Vietnam savası kadar yıkı- sul ve sabıyık / donizir- denizden, anlıyorduk dün- menden / Anadoluyun yu- ruzun yazmayı denemizin / Yazıyı geçip geçirdi / ge- ni gelir mi bir daha..."

Darwin'i Şeriatın Süzgecinden Süzmek

"Ulum-u cedide" yani yeni bilimler olan fizik, kimya gibi, sosyoloji, antropoloji, etnoloji gibi "sömürge ilmi olmaları nedeniyle millileştirilmeyen", bu nedenle "kokuşmuş" olan bilimlerin, şeriat süzgecinden süzülerek, hile ve kinden arındırılması, bir başka deyişle dine aykırı unsurlardan ayıklanması öneriliyor.

Muzaffer İlhan ERDOST Sol ve Öner-Yaşarlar Yürütme-ti ngiliz Kiliyesi, doğumun 200'ün- cü yılında, Galileo ile düğünle hata- zımsızılarak, "yanlı anlaşıp, yan- lık tepki verdiği, yanlı anlaşma- sına neden olduğu için", Dar- win'den ötürü diyor. Darwin'in saygıları- için verilesi savagının henüz bemedi- de ayrıca belirtilecektir.

Karavın odajındaki kitap, Türerin Kökleri, ilk kez 24 Kasım 1859'da ya- yınlanmış, 1876'ya değin yeni baskı- yapılmış. Son baskısı, ilk baskıdan 150 sayfa fazladır.

Darwin, 1844'te, kuramını geliştirdiği 200 sayfalık metnini tamamladığı zaman, İtalyanlığı dostu, Joseph Hooker'e, "Etki- baştaki girişiminim (ama terim) henüz- hemem türlerin değizmez olmadı- ka nansa vardım" diye yazmış. "Bu, bir- cüneyt yarar etmiş gibi bir şey" diye de- klare etmişti.

Darwin, Türlerin Kökleri'nde şu soru- ları uşar: (1) Bir sınıfın bütün üyeleri, bir- husuluk/akrabalık zincirine birbiri- ne bağlıdır; (2) sınıfların bütününde çok- çeşitli yapılar aynı plana göre oluşur- lar; (3) bütün hayvanlar ve bütün bit- kilerin embriyoları birbirine benzer. (Tür- lerin Kökleri, s. 654)

Çokbireli canlıların bölünmesi (zigot) hücrelerinden embriyonal gelişmelerinin- hermen aynı olması da Darwin'in, "bütün hayvanların ve bütün bitkilerin- bir tek prototipin türdeşlerinden in- sanmaya" ve "canlılar ile insanları bütün- lerinin tamamını bir tek atadan türe- ttiler" vurgusuna götürmüştür. (s. 655)

Evrim kuramını, yaratılış öğretisiyle- çatışıklığı, Tami'nin yadsınması olarak- algılanması ama Darwin, Kökleri'de "Ba- kta- pta geliştirilen görüşlerin bir dindarı- duyularını incitmesi için hiçbir neden- giremiyorum" (s. 653) diye yazmış, ar- dından da bir kiliise sözlümü, kendisine, "sonunda kendi kendilerine gelmeye- yeneği olan biçimlerin yaratıldığını- inandığını, bunun kendisini deke yü- kük bir şey anlaşıpma geçirdiğini" stö- lolojimini eklemiştir. (s. 650)

Ankara'da da soruşturma açılmadı...

Darwin, evrim kuramında, bir "yara- nım"ın varlığını yoksulmuşu değil, bilki- ve hayvan tüm canlıların "bugünkü- gi- rilmeleriyle yaratıldıkları" dinsel öğre- tisinin, doğası gereğiyle bağdaşma- dını kanıtlamış.

1989'da Lausanne Katolik Üniversitesini, Darwin'in doğumunun yüzüncü yıl- kutlamaları kutlarken, buna karşılı, 1925'te, Birleşik Devletler'de, Protestan köhne- dinciler, öğretilerine evrimi öğretmekle- suçlanmış. Temese'li gene bir öğretilerini- yaratılmasını için girişiminde bulunmak- ta kalmışlar. "Yaratılış"ın, bilimsel

Kutsal Kitap'ta, RAB Tami, Adem'i (er- keği) topraktan, Havva'yı (kadını), Adem'in kabuğu kemiginden yaratır. Ka- ran'da, Allah, Adem'i topraktan yaratır (Ali İmran, 59), onun aynı vücutu getirir (Ni- san, 1).

Kutsal Kitap'ta, Tami, insanın kendi- sarretinde "erkek ve dişi olarak" bugünkü- gi- rilmeleriyle yaratılmış. Kavaus'da, Allah insanı topraktan yaratmıştır (Ras, 20). Ama, Kutsal Kitap'ta olduğu gibi "bir- gün- de" değil, bugünkü görünümüne olduğu- gibi değil, "halden hale geçirecek" (İsman, 2) yaratır.

"İnsanları topraktan yaratın" Allah, "insanın yaratılışına çamardan başla- mış", "topraktan oluşan bir öden", sonra bu sporelden yaratmış, sonra çiftiler- haline getirmiştir. (Favz, 11; İzzat, 4; Ras, 20; Secde, 7; Muvassas, 12.)

Bir başka deyişle, yeniden kurala- tın, onun neslini uşar, sporelden, yani tek- hücreden başları, embriyonal doğuşu, ev- rim sürecine konar bir süreç ayetinde yer- alır.

Evrim kuramı ile Kur'an'ın yaratılış- öğretisinin özetliğini savlamak ya da ev- rimi, Kur'an'ın bilgileriyle açıklamak bir- de düşündürücü yök değil ki. Ama, oss- olarık, insan, topraktan, sonra topraktan- oluşan bir ödele yaratın, sonra onu bir "damla" yapan, o damlacığı embriyo- ya dönüştüren, sonra o embriyoyu bir et- ier yapıya haline getiren, keneği ar- zıyılan, sonra onu bir başka yaratıkla yeniden ku- ran, kaaas, "insan halden hale geçiren" "yaratıcıların en güzeli Allah'ın yüce- kudret ve saattı" (Muvassas, 12-14), madrese edili ve uşma gümekası mal- lı- dağı gibi, sporelden (zigota) ve (zigotata) embriyo, ama kamada geliştirilen tüm- sür- relerim, bir tek prototipin insanı değin- çenliğin aşarılması, bir başka anlatımla, mil- yonlarca yıllama düküklerin dönmüşlüğü bir evrim sürecim, tek hücreli denim- leşerek insana uşarlığı milyarlara değin- mim kaba bir "kezi"nin Kur'an'da gümük- dikle somutlaşım, diki- madrese ve ule- mu gümekleri uzak buluyor.

"Her resüli, halkına açık seçik be- yanda bulunması için kendi toplanımını- dilyle günderen" (İzzatın, 4) ve "akıl- ları çalıştırmak için Kur'an'ın Arapça- lardır" (Favz, 11) belirlenen ayetler- gür- zadı edilecek, zihinsel gelişmelerini ta- mamlamaması öcükler, özellikle de kız- ço- cuklarına, tek bir ayetini bile anlaya- dıkları Kur'an'ı ezberletmek, onların aklı- larının karartılmasına, bilincilerinin köhne- tilmesine siyasetin sahne yapılması, bilimi- ilemlaşımata politika olarak günderme- buluyor.

Bu nedenle "ulum-u cedide" yani ye- ni bilimler olan fizik, kimya gibi, sosyolo- ji, antropoloji, etnoloji gibi "sömürge ilmi- olmaları nedeniyle millileştirilmeyen", bu- nedenle "kokuşmuş" olan bilimlerin, şer- iat süzgecinden süzülerek, hile ve kinden- arındırılması, bir başka deyişle dine aykırı- unsurlardan ayıklanması öneriliyor.

Darwin'in evrim kuramı, tam olarak hile- ve kin, çürümüş, kokuşmuş bir bilim ola- rak okullarda öğretiliyor, bilimsel ku- rumlarda hayvan kadavrasını yıkıldığı- ocaklarda yok edilebiliyor.

PENCERE

Bugün Pazar...

"Bugün pazar... Bugün beni ilk defa güneşe çıkarırlar..."

Yükarıdaki dizeleri bilmeyen var mıdır? Nizam Hikmet'in hapsizâne serüveni, Türkiye'nin 'Aydınlama' ve 'Demokrasi' tarihindeki girişimci de vurgular...

Tarihsel bilincin gabeliğinden doğmuş- lıkı kardeşler gibi insanı insan yapan bu- cün hayatımızdaki devrimine yol açarlar...

Türkiye'nin Aydınlama tarihi, ne yazık ki, 21.inci yüzyılın güncelliğinden çatışmaya- sürüyor...

Mustafa Balbay... Bu albirde bir tek künce: Cumhuriyet'in birinci sayfasında sağ alt kö- şeye göz atınız zaman ne görürsünüz? "Gündem..."

Bir başka deyişle, yeniden kurala- tın, onun neslini uşar, sporelden, yani tek- hücreden başları, embriyonal doğuşu, ev- rim sürecine konar bir süreç ayetinde yer- alır.

Bugün pazar... Balbay'ın yaradığı infaz sürüyor... Yaradımın yaradığı infaz sürüyor... Ergenekon terbinde amaç belli ve ipe- ği- giğirne iddialara bir de yalaka medyanın- kayınlması için çırpıdığı cadı kazanan- ekleyi...

Bugün pazar... Balbay... Balbay'ın yaradığı infaz sürüyor... Yaradımın yaradığı infaz sürüyor... Ergenekon terbinde amaç belli ve ipe- ği- giğirne iddialara bir de yalaka medyanın- kayınlması için çırpıdığı cadı kazanan- ekleyi...

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İlhan Selim

Figure 15. Muzaffer İlhan Erdost's article titled "Darwin'i Şeriatın Süzgecinden Süzmek" (Interpreting Darwin from the Lens of Sharia) (Cumhuriyet, 2009)

In the following section of his article, Erdost blames the Nurcu (Gülen) movement for the appropriation of the Western science from an Islamic perspective that is based on the teachings of Said Nursi. Interestingly, Erdost also criticizes Islamic scholars and clerics for misinterpreting the Qur'an and overlooking the parallelism between the evolution of man as described by the theory of evolution and the Qur'an's depiction of the creation of man:

Naturally, I have no intention of suggesting that the theory of evolution and the Qur'an's teachings on creation overlap, nor do I aim to explain evolution using information from the Qur'an. However, the Qur'an describes the

process of human creation in stages, starting from the creation of man from soil, then from a drop of fluid, followed by the formation of an embryo and its development into a piece of flesh, which is then clothed with bones and transformed into another creature (the human form). This portrayal highlights the "exalted power and art of Allah, the most beautiful of creators," who transforms people from one state to another. Yet, it appears that traditional Islamic scholars and educators often overlook the intricate processes described in the Qur'an, which mirror the evolutionary journey from a single cell to the complex human form over millions of years. This evolution, condensed into minutes in the womb, encompasses billions of changes. It seems that these profound insights, embedded in everyday language in Qur'an, are often overlooked by traditional educational institutions and scholars. (Erdost, 2009; Appendix A, 54)

In his narrative, Erdost this time employs a positive relationality between the Qur'an and the theory of evolution, although his remarks are reminiscent of what Riexinger calls "apologetic allegation" (2013, p. 499), as discussed in Section 2.4.6. When the unified Islamic position on evolution is revisited, I find it very interesting that Erdost, who is one of the pioneer figures in Marxist publishing and an ardent defender of materialism and Marxism in Türkiye, chose the "Darwin does not deny God" and "Islam and evolution do not contradict each other" narratives as his major counter-arguments in his response to growing anti-Darwinist practices and narratives in the Turkish setting of the 2000s. Of course, this view could be Erdost's genuine approach towards the relationship between Darwin's theory, religion, and Islam. However, his narrative strategy also serves to emancipate the theory of evolution and Darwin from the negative depictions of Islamic-Creationists which, above all, blame Darwinism for promoting materialism and atheism based on the narrative that evolution and religion do contradict.

Another leftist figure that voiced his criticism of the creationist practices in Türkiye was Aydın Çubukçu. In the Preface he wrote for the republication of Ünalın's translation of *The Origin* by Evrensel Publishing, Çubukçu also criticized the Islamist creationist anti-Darwinist camp in contemporary Türkiye. Çubukçu links

this anti-Darwinist stance to “conservative fascists”’s realization during the post-1980 military coup period that “students were learning about the theory of evolution in schools, and they could easily become revolutionaries!” (Çubukçu, 2009, p. 13). From there on, he criticizes the inclusion of Creationism in the school curriculums along with evolution (evolution was not yet removed from high school curriculums in 2009). He finalizes his criticism of the anti-Darwinist conservative movement in Türkiye by criticizing the Harun Yahya Group, although he does not specifically name them. He also establishes a negative relationality between the group and the U.S.-based creationist organizations based on the abundance of financial resources Yahya seemed to enjoy during the 2000s:

Fighting against the theory of evolution is both exciting and profitable; many Christian circles, especially in America, have established foundations specifically for this purpose, earning money by opposing Darwin's theory worldwide. Their representatives in Türkiye distribute expensive books and brochures for free in schools, streets, and in front of mosques. (Çubukçu, 2009, p. 13; Appendix A, 55)

Çubukçu’s closing remarks demonstrate once again the ideological and symbolic value attached to Darwin and his works by Marxists in their ideological fight against ultra-conservative politics in Türkiye. In addition, similar to Erdost’s narrative, Çubukçu’s narrative also indicates that creationist publication activities and growing creationist public narratives in the Turkish political field had a catalyzing effect on certain agents of (re)translation since they embraced the mission of defending and further popularizing Darwin through (re)translation. Çubukçu highlights that their decision to republish Darwin’s *The Origin* in Turkish was not only because 2009 was the global Darwin year but the political status-quo also prompted them to republish Darwin translations as symbols of their fight against conservative politics:

Even if we were not commemorating the anniversary of *The Origin*, one could easily argue that conditions in Türkiye today necessitate the publication of this book. As seen in its short history (of publication in

Türkiye), new editions of this book are significant like a signal flare. Either *The Origin* remains on the political agenda as part of the political atmosphere of the times, or its publication signifies changing conditions. (Çubukçu, 2009, p. 14; Appendix A, 56)

As indicated by Çubukçu's arguments in his Preface to Ünalın's translation, Darwin and his theory have become significant symbolic assets for Marxist groups seeking further distinction in their struggle against conservatism. Adding to the appropriation of certain elements of Darwinian theory into Marxist thinking both globally and locally, it can be argued that Turkish Marxist and leftist circles view it as part of their intellectual responsibility to defend evolution and popularize Darwin's theory and works in the Turkish setting, as evidenced by their efforts to retranslate and republish Darwin's works and produce extensive paratextual elements surrounding these translatorial efforts.

When we turn to examine the paratextual elements of the agents of (re)translation who published their Darwin translations following the removal of evolution from the high school curriculum, it becomes evident that the teaching of evolution and its significance are themes they all focus on extensively. This criticism goes hand in hand with their emphasis on the crucial role of *The Origin* and evolutionary theory in modern biology and science. They underscore the theory's indispensability in the teaching of biology. For example, in her Translator's Note, Kılıç criticizes creationist attacks on evolution and shares her strong opinion on the robustness of the theory of evolution:

The theory of evolution, a theory that elucidates how organisms evolve in natural and artificial environments, and natural selection, its fundamental mechanism, have been rigorously tested and confirmed by numerous scientists since Darwin's time. Understanding evolutionary processes stands as one of humanity's most pivotal endeavors in comprehending nature, and biological science cannot be comprehensively grasped or taught without incorporating evolutionary theory. Despite persistent challenges from anti-evolutionary viewpoints, which often rely on personal biases, societal prejudices, and religious beliefs lacking empirical evidence, the scientific

validity of evolution remains unquestioned. Moreover, these challenges have only served to bolster the theory, enriching it with new insights and information, resulting in its increased acceptance and widespread application, particularly in medicine and related fields. (Kılıç, 2017, p. 10; Appendix A, 57)

Approached through the lens of Baker's narrative model of analysis, Kılıç's narrative employs causal emplotment by weighting. She prioritizes the scientific merit and resilience of the theory of evolution over personal, social, and religious objections to it. She holds the evolution theory in high regard due to its foundation in empirical reasoning and its susceptibility to empirical testing. Conversely, she views personal, social, and religious perspectives as lacking comparable weight against the theory, as they are not rooted in similar empirical assessments. Similarly, in his Preface, Kılıç's editor, Kerem Cankoçak, also refers to the empirical value of Darwin's theory and how Darwin established his views on top of the knowledge of natural science that was already on the verge of experiencing a boom during his time. Cankoçak continues his narrative by emphasizing the ontological repercussions of Darwin's arguments against special creation. He relates the creationist attacks at Darwin and evolution primarily to these ontological repercussions. He criticizes the anti-Darwinist interventions to the teaching of evolution by citing the prominent American philosopher and cognitive scientist Daniel Dennett's book, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea and the Meanings of Life*.<sup>16</sup>

Of course, Darwin did not come up with the theory of evolution from scratch. Just like in any scientific revolution, he gathered his invaluable ideas into a scientific theory based on natural laws. It was Darwin who, for the first time, showed that evolution by the accumulated natural selection is the mechanism that explains how all organic beings that ever lived on earth have changed and diversified in the course of a long period, descending from a common ancestor. By doing so, he overruled any kind of divine intervention. It is for this reason that attacks against Darwin's theory have been much more intense compared to the evolutionary theories proposed before him. As Daniel

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<sup>16</sup> As mentioned earlier, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea: Evolution and the Meanings of Life* (Darwin'in Tehlikeli Fikri) by Daniel Dennett, was the first translation for which Cankoçak and Kılıç collaborated.

Dennett states ‘Darwin's theory has been abused and misrepresented by friend and foe alike. It has been misappropriated to lend scientific respectability to appalling political and social doctrines. It has been pilloried in caricature by opponents, some of whom would have it compete in our children's schools with "creation science," a pathetic hodgepodge of pious pseudo-science.’ (Cankoçak, 2017, p. 7; Appendix A, 58)

In addition to highlighting the scientific value and empirical nature of Darwin’s theory, Cankoçak also emphasizes that it is one of the most abused and misrepresented theories, or conceptual narratives. This perspective is reminiscent of Kılıç’s views on how the Malthusian and Spencerian references in Darwin’s theory led to Darwin being misunderstood and misappropriated into various social ideologies. Another indicator of Kılıç and Cankoçak’s critical stance against anti-Darwinist creationist propaganda in the world and in Türkiye is evident from some of their notes in the “Önemli Tarihsel Notlar” (Important Historical Notes) section, another peritextual element they added to the translation following their editor’s and translator’s notes. The first part of the Important Historical Notes provides information about important stages in Darwin’s life and the development of *The Origin*. The following part is titled “Darwin’den sonra” (After Darwin). This part chronologically lists important scientific advances which further corroborated the theory of evolution. In this part, important years that marked the victory of pro-evolutionists against Creationists in the U.S. concerning the teaching evolution are also noted:

1968- The law banning the teaching of the theory of evolution in the United States was overturned by a Supreme Court decision.  
2005- The third "monkey trial" occurred in Dover, Pennsylvania. The Federal Court prohibited the inclusion of statements regarding "intelligent design" in public institutions. (Cankoçak & Kılıç, 2017, pp. 19-20; Appendix A, 59)

The same section also mentions Harun Yahya and his *Atlas of Creation* a few entries later: “2007- The Atlas of Creation, first published in Türkiye, was distributed to educational institutions in numerous European countries. Its authors aimed their

criticism primarily at Darwin and Darwinists” (Cankoçak & Kılıç, 2017, p. 20).

Although the agents of translation do not provide commentary on these chronologically organized notes, the structure of their narrative, that is, including the anti-Darwinist practices in the U.S. and in Türkiye on their list, indicates that Creationism, which lost its influence on the educational sphere in the very country where it first originated, continues to influence Türkiye.

Clearly, the peritextual elements added by Kılıç and Cankoçak to their retranslation of *The Origin* reflect their critical stance towards anti-Darwinist and creationist practices, a criticism they have voiced for years. Thus, the content of their paratextual elements surrounding their *The Origin* (re)translation and the accompanying narratives they produced are a reflection of their habituses, their resulting overall intellectual efforts to promote Darwinism and evolution against Creationism and conservatism, and their individual and collective ideological dispositions. Cankoçak's previous comments on popular science publications, as mentioned in Section 6.1.5, reveal his strong criticism of the government's current policies on teaching evolution and the ongoing prevalence of Islamic Creationism and Intelligent Design in the Turkish context. Similarly, Kılıç has vehemently criticized anti-Darwinism and the Yahya group in her previous intellectual work related to Darwin and evolution. She also directed her criticism to institutions that incorporated Yahya's arguments into their printed and digital content. For example, in one of her blog-posts, Kılıç criticizes the Natural History Museum in Ankara for providing links for creationist webpages on their website, as seen in Figure 16.

**KATEGORİLER**

- [Bilim \(159\)](#)
- [Din \(83\)](#)
- [Felsefe \(83\)](#)
- [Sanat ve Edebiyat \(41\)](#)
- [Video, belgesel, altyazı \(77\)](#)

**SAYFALAR**

- ["Fosil kayıtlarındaki boşluk evrimi yalanlar" cümlesinden sıkılanlar için Akademilerarası Panel'in \(IAP\) Evrim Eğitimi Bildirgesi](#)
- [Argüman Arşivi](#)
- [Dini sorgulayan film ve belgeseller](#)
- [Düşünce ve inanç özgürlüğüne ilişkin Anayasa maddeleri](#)
- [Evrim kuramıyla ilgili kitap ve dergiler](#)
- [Mantık Hataları](#)

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- [Ateist Dergi](#)

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## Çocuklara evrim yok, Harun Yahya ve yaratılış var!

25 OCAK 2012 FELİS-AGNOSTICUS BİLİM, DİN



Mayıs ayında uzun süredir tadilatla olan Ankara MTA Tabiat Tarihi Müzesi açılmıştı ve hatta o zaman bu sevindirici haberle ilgili tanıtıcı bir [yazı](#) ve Facebook sayfamızda da müzeye ait bir [fotoğraf albümü](#) yayınlamıştım. Ancak müzenin internet sitesinin "[Müze Çocuk](#)" bölümünde, müze eğitim uzmanı tarafından derlenmiş kitapçıklar bulunuyor. Kitapçık derlemeleri için kaynak olarak da Bilim ve Teknik Dergisi ve herhangi bir bilimsel referansı olmayan "[popülerbilgi](#)" isimli bir site kullanıldığı yazıyor. Bu "popülerbilgi sitesi" nedir diye grip baktığınızda, karşınıza maalesef evrim karşıtı bir içeriğe sahip olduğu anlaşılan, bilimle yakından uzaktan alakası olmayan yaratılışçı argümanların olduğu bir site çıkıyor. Bilimi çarpıtıp çocuklara göz göre göre yanlış bilgi vermeyi kendine görev edinmiş bu sitede şöyle anlatımlar var:

*"Filin hortumu özel olarak tasarlanmış bir organdır. Her özelliğiyle Allah'ın yaratma sanatındaki kusursuzluğunu bizlere gösterir. Peki bu mükemmel mekanizma nasıl var olmuştur? Akıl ve vicdan sahibi bir insan için, bunun "yaratılmış" olduğunu anlayıp hissetmek zor değildir kuşkusuz. Bu organın tesadüfler sonucu var olduğunu öne süren evrimcilerin iddiası son derece gülünçtür. Çünkü, evrimciler, organların tesadüflerinin birbiri üzerine eklenerek var olduğunu öne sürerler. Oysa fil hortumu üzerindeki her bir*

Figure 16. Kılıç's blogpost which criticizes the Natural History Museum in Ankara for providing creationist web links on its website (Kılıç, 2012)

Studying the paratextual materials produced by Ergi Deniz Özsoy, we see that his narrative on Creationism and the teaching of evolution in Türkiye overlaps with those of Erdost, Çubukçu, Kılıç and Cankoçak to a certain extent. In fact, Prof. Özsoy has been one of the most ardent opponents of the Turkish government's decision to remove evolution from high school curriculums. He wrote on several popular science and intellectual magazines and social media platforms about this decision, underlining that the decision was wrongful. Although he did not touch upon this issue in his Preface to *The Origin*, he did (among other things) discuss it at length during the interview he had with FluTV on his *The Origin* translation and the

theory of evolution. There, Özsoy states he was among the members of the Ecology and Evolutionary Biology Association, which held a meeting with the curriculum commission of the Turkish Board of Education on the removal of evolution from high school curriculums six years ago. He notes that after the lengthy meeting, the Board agreed to incorporate certain concepts and terms in relation to evolutionary biology into the high school curriculum. Özsoy also states that during the meeting, he highlighted that Creationism is in fact an ideology imported from the U.S.:

I explained to the Chairman of the Board of Education at the time that anti-evolutionism was a view imported to Türkiye, primarily developed within the scope of evangelical movements' beliefs. On the other hand, as indicative of their typological perception of the world, these men view this corner of the world with contempt. The government, on the other hand, glorifies this view. So, I asked if this is not contradictory. Furthermore, we also criticized what we termed as vulgar evolutionism. We argued that the two realms, evolution and faith, should not be conflated. It is incorrect to include evolution in every aspect of life, especially when pitted against religious beliefs. Rather, faith should be approached from a different perspective, as there are alternative sources to consider. This vulgar attitude towards evolution also contributes to the anti-creationist sentiment. However, the roots of this sentiment can largely be traced back to 1985, during the rule of the Anavatan party. The Minister of National Education at the time reached out to the Creation Institute in America, a group comprised of American Creationists known for promoting questionable ideas about creation science. These individuals, primarily evangelists, published absurd books, which were then translated into Turkish by the Ministry of National Education. Subsequently, these Creationists were invited to give lectures, and in the mid-60s, the Ministry of National Education printed and distributed 30,000 copies of their ridiculous books, titled the Creation Model, to teachers across the country. (Özsoy & Canikligil, 2023, 54:37; Appendix A, 60)

When analyzing Özsoy's narrative, it becomes evident that, similar to other translation agents who have written or spoken against Creationism in Türkiye, Özsoy also establishes a negative relationality between the local Islamic creationist practices and the Evangelical creationist movement in the United States. However, what sets Özsoy's narrative apart is his criticism of ideological groups who incorporate the theory of evolution into their narratives. Based on Özsoy's previous critiques of earlier translations of *The Origin*, which he deemed politically

motivated, as well as his criticism of what he refers to as the "vulgar" evolutionist approach, which politicizes evolution, it can be inferred that Özsoy is discontent with the Marxist connections drawn to Darwin and his works. He clearly holds the earlier translations, which were performed and published by agents with strong Marxist dispositions, partly responsible for the emergence and/or persistence of such political connections. Hence, his retranslation of *The Origin* can also be regarded as an attempt to minimize these strong political associations surrounding *The Origin*, by heightening the scientific capital he possesses as a professor of biology and as an agent of translator who approaches *The Origin* in an ideologically unbiased manner and with a purely scientific agenda. While Özsoy has expressed sympathy for Marxism in certain paratextual materials, it is evident that he is almost equally troubled by the incorporation of Darwinism into Marxist narratives as he is by the portrayal of Darwinism as a primary propaganda tool by Creationists. Considering Özsoy's strong protests against the removal of evolution from high school curriculums and his endeavors to advocate for the importance of teaching evolution in schools, his attempts to disentangle Darwin's works from political connotations can be viewed as integral to this broader agenda of re-introducing the theory of evolution into the Turkish educational system.

### 6.3 Translation norms adopted by the agents of (re)translation

#### 6.3.1 *The Origin* (re)translations and preliminary norms

If we revisit Toury's (1995) descriptive model of analysis, the selection of the source texts for translation, i.e., selecting a specific author, title, or genre for translation, or the selection of the language of the source text, i.e., whether a direct or indirect translation will be performed, are decisions that fall under the preliminary norms of

translation. As the discussions in the previous sections demonstrate, except for the second translation performed by Orhan Tuncay and published by Gün Yayınları, all the other (re)translations had more than only scientific or economic value for the related agents of translation since they attributed an additional symbolic value to translating and publishing Darwin's works in Turkish. They were deeply involved in defending and popularizing the theory of evolution before and/or after embarking on *The Origin* (re)translations. Although my interview with Tuncay and correspondence with his late publisher's daughter showed that they did not have a specific, ideology-based interest in Darwin, it can still be argued that all the agents of (re)translation were well aware of the significance of Darwin not only for biology but also for various other disciplines. They were also aware of the highly politicalized status of Darwin and evolution both in Türkiye and in different parts of the world. For this reason, the selection of *The Origin* for retranslation was always a conscious, well-informed decision.

As discussed earlier, Darwin continued to edit *The Origin* every time Murray, his publisher, and he agreed on the publication of a new edition. Following the first edition in 1859, five more editions were published in 1860, 1861, 1866, 1869, and 1872 respectively. Morse Peckham published a variorum edition of *The Origin* in 1959, where he demonstrated every alteration Darwin made to *The Origin* until the final edition. In his introduction, Peckham details the historical context surrounding each edition and the changes Darwin made to *The Origin*. According to Peckham (1959, p. 9) "of the 3,878 sentences in the first edition, nearly 3,000, about 75 per cent, were rewritten from one to five times each" whereas the final, "sixth edition is nearly a third as long again as the first". In addition to rewriting his sentences for increasing clarity, repunctuating, and adding further scientific references, in the

subsequent editions, Darwin also replied to the criticism *The Origin* received. Not every edition incorporates similar amounts of these changes and additions. For example, as Peckham (1959, p. 19) notes, while preparing the second edition, Darwin was determined that “only a few changes [were] carried out, at least in terms of the number of changes he made in later editions, particularly in the fourth, fifth, and sixth”. Probably the most significant change made on the second edition was the addition of the “Creator” emphasis to the final paragraph. Another significant alteration that was performed in the 5<sup>th</sup> and the subsequent edition was adding the Spencerian notion of the survival of the fittest as an equivalent to the metaphor “natural selection” Darwin used to describe his theory.

The (re)translations of *The Origin* into Turkish were performed using three different editions as source texts. Whereas Öner Ünalán, Sevim Belli and Deniz Ergi Özsoy used the sixth edition, Tuncay Kılıç used the first and Bahar Kılıç used the second editions as their source texts respectively. This actually makes it more challenging to perform a comparative analysis on these (re)translations since we cannot talk about a “fixed” source text, as discussed earlier.

Given the agents of translation's informed understanding of the various ideological implications of Darwin's theory, it is also natural that they were aware of the differences among different editions of *The Origin*. The source text that was used for the first translation published by Sol/Onur Yayınları was the English original of the sixth edition. The retranslation performed by Sevim Belli for Onur Yayınları after the disagreement between Ünalán and Erdost, was based on the French edition by Decouverte, published in 1980. The copyright pages of this translation inform the readership that the sixth edition was selected since it is the most comprehensive one, with Darwin's answers to criticism raised against his theory during his lifetime:

First published on November 24, 1859, *The Origin* went through seven editions until 1876. The last edition, published in 1876, is 150 pages longer than the first edition, and Darwin has slightly revised one of the three sentences compared to the first edition. It has been translated into Turkish from the French, based on the last English edition (1876) published by Darwin, and prepared for publication by comparing it with the English edition of 1876. (Darwin [trans. S. Belli], 2009b/1872, p. 39)

It should be noted that the information on the edition used for translation contains an error. The 1876 edition was a reprint of the sixth edition. There is no seventh edition that Darwin ever published. The agents of translation probably confused the 1876 reprint with another edition. Onur Yayınları's decision to perform indirect translation and use the French translation as their source text is also an interesting point. This decision is clearly based on the translator. As she describes in detail in her autobiography published in 1994, Belli is fluent in French since she studied at French middle and secondary schools in Istanbul. Her other Marxist translations, some of which were published by Sol Yayınları, were also indirect translations, using the French translations as source texts. I believe that Erdost specifically wanted to have *The Origin* retranslated by Belli. This decision could result from Belli and her husband's decades-long acquaintance with Erdost. In addition, as a medical doctor and a famous figure, along with her husband, in Turkish Marxist history, who translated many Marxist works into Turkish, Sevim Belli's name added a further "mark of distinction" (Bourdieu, 1996, cited in Hanna, 2016, p.135) to her retranslation.

Another interesting detail concerning the retranslation by Belli is that Belli and Erdost used the introductory peritextual element written for another French translation of *The Origin* in their Turkish retranslation. This was the "Presentation" by Jean-Marc Drouin, written for the edition published by GF Flammarion. The introduction penned by Colette Guillaumin, "Préface Remarques sur L'origine des

Espèces et sa Postérité” (Notes On The Origin Of Species And His Posterity) for the French source text Belli used was replaced with Drouin’s “Presentation”. This information is shared with the readers as well at the end of the “Presentation” in a footnote. Guillaumin (1934 – 2017) was a French sociologist, anti-racist and feminist activist, who is considered a significant academic figure in materialist feminism. Jean-Marc Drouin (1948 – 2020), on the other hand, was a professor of philosophy and history of science and a member of the Centre Alexandre Koyré, a prestigious French institution of research in the History of Science and Technology. In his “Presentation”, which was added to Belli’s retranslation, Drouin summarizes the advances achieved in natural sciences during the European Enlightenment, which paved the way for Darwin to start contemplating his theory. Drouin’s “Presentation” also devotes a section to discuss Darwin’s life, his Beagle voyage, and his following decades-long research and observations on variation and species change. After summarizing the chapters of *The Origin*, Drouin discusses the disputes surrounding Darwin’s theory. In these sections he emphasizes Darwin’s counter-stance against special creation and this approach’s ontological repercussions for an anthropocentric audience. He then goes on to detail the anti-Darwinist creationist reactions to the theory:

Some believers, long the majority in their Churches, are attached to a literal interpretation of the biblical texts on the creation of the world. In its extreme form, long dominant and which we still encounter today, this interpretation requires that all species were created by God, in one week, approximately 6,000 years ago and in the very same form that we see them ... In its moderate, “concordist” forms, this attitude admits that “days” are in fact “eras” and tolerates a margin of adaptive transformation on the condition of leaving man aside ... In the same Churches, other thinkers, some out of opportunism and others out of conviction, immediately warned their hierarchies against the dangers of new Galileo affairs ... The contrast is striking with the long uncertain or contradictory positions of the Catholic hierarchy, and even more so with the persistence of Protestant fundamentalism in the southern United States. We know that this religious movement, long known through the trial brought in 1925 against a young

teacher from Tennessee, who was charged of having taught evolution to his students, manifests itself today by demanding that we introduce "Creationism" as a scientific theory in natural science courses, and more generally through the theory of Intelligent Design. (Drouin, 1989, p. 29)

As discussed in the Section 6.2.5, both Sevim Belli and Muzaffer Erdost were critical of the creationist structures operating in Türkiye and the implementation of Creationism into school curricula. They both voiced their critical reactions on these issues in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. The reason why Jean-Marc Drouin's "Presentation" was selected to be added to the retranslation of *The Origin* as a peritextual element might be due to the extensive critical discussion Drouin provides in this text concerning the history of Creationism and Intelligent Design. It should also be noted that the agents' decision to add this particular peritextual element to their retranslation is indicative of the importance they attached to paratextual elements that surround their translation and how informed they were concerning not only the different editions but also the different translations of *The Origin* in other languages.

Orhan Tuncay's translation was based on the first edition of *The Origin*.

When I interviewed Tuncay, he stated that he did not know why the publisher decided on this edition although he did not believe there was a specific reason behind this selection (Tuncay, personal communication, April 4, 2024). It is an interesting contrast that agents of (re)translation who harbored an ideological interest in *The Origin* as an outcome of their individual dispositions and their position-takings in the Turkish political and publication fields tended to produce numerous paratextual elements in relation to their (re)translations whereas the agents who seem to have had a mostly profit-oriented approach towards their retranslations did not feel the need to produce paratextual elements as vigorously as the first group.

As I discussed earlier, Bahar Kılıç wrote in her article on *The Origin* penned for *Bilim ve Gelecek* that she used the second edition of *The Origin* for her

translation. If we are to remember, she also noted in this article that “[Darwin] added the phrase "by the creator" to the final sentence of the book” (Kılıç, 2019) and later on attributed this decision to Darwin’s determination to appease public opinion and his wife. In the translation, it is also highlighted that the source text of the translation is the second edition. Kerem Cankoçak concludes his editor’s note with the following explanation:

The seminal work of evolutionary theory, *The Origin* saw a notable decline in its presence within secondary and high school curricula after 1938. Remarkably, it took 111 years for the first Turkish translation to be published, accomplished by Onur Publications in 1970 with the translation performed by Öner Ünal. Ünal's translation was derived from the sixth edition of *The Origin*, which was last updated in 1872. Notably, subsequent editions of Darwin's work, spanning from 1859 to 1872, underwent significant alterations from the initial publication. Darwin addressed critiques of his theory in these later editions, necessitating substantial revisions to the book's original structure. This Turkish translation is based on the second edition, published on 24 November 1859, following Darwin's correction of minor typographical errors present in the first edition. (Cankoçak, 2017, p. 8; Appendix A, 61)

While Cankoçak’s critical stance against the anti-Darwinist policies in Türkiye are repeated in his editor’s note, it is also interesting that, similar to Bahar Kılıç’s remarks in her paratextual materials, Cankoçak also pays tribute to the first translation by Ünal and Sol Yayınları. This can also be interpreted as another indicator of the symbolic value Ünal’s translation gained over time among leftist circles and the symbolic capital his Darwin translations earned Ünal, considering Cankoçak’s praise of Marxism on his YouTube channel and the seminars he delivered on Marxism and science. Concerning why they decided on using the second edition for translation, Erkoçak cites the typographical corrections Darwin made to this edition. However, if we remember Kılıç’s remarks in her paratextual materials on the differences between the first and the second editions, which emphasize the addition of the theological “creator” references to *The Origin* by

Darwin, it also seems highly possible that this edition was specifically chosen over the first one. First, considering Kılıç and Erkoçak's strong affiliations with the Turkish Atheist Association and their general intellectual contributions to atheism, I believe that translating *The Origin* using the first edition could have been received as a censorship of Darwin's later theological references, especially by Islamic-Creationist circles. By using the second edition as the source text, they displayed an unbiased stance in relation to the narratives that concern Darwin's (ir)religion. In addition, using the second edition and transferring Darwin's theological references into Turkish also provided the agents of translation with new narrative spaces to reflect on the "true" nature of these references from their own ideological position in their paratextual elements.

Ergi Deniz Özsoy also clarified in his Preface to his retranslation that he used the sixth edition from 1872 as his source text. According to Özsoy, the primary rationale behind this decision is that Darwin addressed critiques from earlier editions and incorporated more organized and fortified references:

Darwin responded to the criticisms directed at the previous editions, [this] text is more organized and well-fortified compared to the previous editions. Hence, it serves as a reference to better understand the objections to Darwinian evolutionary biology from the late nineteenth century onwards as well as the subsequent criticism crystallized on the road to the Modern Synthesis. (Özsoy, 2022a, p. ix; Appendix A, 62)

Considering Özsoy's efforts, both in his peritextual and epitextual elements, to recontextualize *The Origin* as a biology book by providing numerous scientific updates in his endnotes as well as by offering his commentary that emancipates *The Origin* and evolution from conflictual social, political and religious interpretations, it is clear that he chose the latest edition to be able to answer as many conflictual arguments on this conceptual narrative as possible.

## 6.3.2 In-text translation strategies and operational norms

### 6.3.2.1 *The Origin* (re)translations and matricial norms

When approached from the perspective of operational norms, there are various aspects in which the (re)translations follow similar or totally different patterns. When we consider matricial norms, those that are related to the structural properties of the source text, we see that the major differences concern the paratextual elements added to the translations. Whereas Öner Ünalın, Orhan Tuncay and Sevim Belli did not add Prefaces or footnotes/endnotes to their (re)translations, the retranslations by Bahar Kılıç and Ergi Deniz Özsoy follow a different pattern. As Figure 17 demonstrates, the translation published by Alfa Bilim includes many peritextual elements that were added by the agents of translation although these sections did not originally exist in the second edition of *The Origin*.

Translator & The Publisher	Ö. Ünalın's translation Sol/Onur Yayınları (1970)	S. Belli's translation Sol/Onur Yayınları (2009)	O. Tuncay's translation Gün Yayınları (2003)	B. Kılıç's translation Alfa Bilim (2017)	E. D. Özsoy's translation İş Bankası Yayınları (2022)
Source text	6 <sup>th</sup> edition (1872) [publisher not specified]	French translation of the 6 <sup>th</sup> edition (1872) [published by Decouverte, published in 1980]	1 <sup>st</sup> edition [published by Wordsworth Editions in 1998]	2 <sup>nd</sup> edition (1860) [publisher not specified]	6 <sup>th</sup> edition (1872) [publisher not specified]
Editor	Muzaffer İlhan Erdost	Muzaffer İlhan Erdost	Not specified	Kerem Cankoçak	Cumhur Öztürk
An Historical Sketch of The Progress of Opinion on The Origin Of Species (added to the 3rd edition)	Translation includes this section	Translation includes this section	Translation includes this section (available after the 14 <sup>th</sup> , final chapter, similar to Wordsworth's English edition)	Not available in the 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition	Translation includes this section
Introduction	-	Introduction by Jean-Marc Drouin (introduction taken from another French translation published by GF Flammarion [1992])	Introduction by Jeff Wallace (as in the source text edition used for translation, Wordsworth Editions [1998])	-	-
Preface (by editor/ translator)	-	-	-	*Preface to the new Turkish Translation (by K. Cankoçak) *Translator's Note (by B. Kılıç)	Translator's Preface (by E. D. Özsoy)
Historical Notes	-	-	-	Important Historical Notes (author not specified / not available in any ST edition)	-
No. of Chapters	15 chapters	15 chapters	14 chapters	14 chapters	15 chapters
Glossary (added to the original work in the 5 <sup>th</sup> edition)	-	-	Translation includes the glossary (similar to Wordsworth's English edition)	Translation includes the glossary	Translation includes the glossary
List of authors Darwin cites in <i>The Origin</i> (not available in any ST edition)	-	-	-	Translation includes a list of authors that also details the cited authors' views on Darwin's theory	-
Endnotes (that serve as footnotes to the textual content)	-	-	-	-	Translation includes the translator's notes for each section

Figure 17. Textual and peritextual elements in each *The Origin* (re)translations

Both Bahar Kılıç and her editor, Kerem Cankoçak, added prefaces to their retranslation. As discussed in earlier sections, these peritextual elements not only provide the readership with a historical overview of the development of the idea of evolution, the key arguments of Darwin's theory and its impact on modern science, but also include Kılıç's and Erkoçak's criticism of anti-Darwinist state policies and Islamic-Creationism. As seen in Figure 18, in this translation, there is another peritextual element, Historical Notes (Önemli Tarihsel Notlar), which does not exist in any *The Origin* edition. As mentioned earlier, in these chronological notes, the agents of translation refer to anti-Darwinist propaganda of American-Creationists and the resulting conflicts on the teaching of evolution in American schools and the Islamic-Creationism of Harun Yahya in Türkiye and his *Atlas of Creation*. The Historical Notes concludes with 2009, the year that marks Darwin's 200<sup>th</sup> birthday and *The Origin*'s 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary. The concluding note prepared by the agents of translation are indicative of the multiple ideological repercussions of the theory: "On the bicentenary of Charles Darwin's birth, his theory continued to hold significance, remaining at the center of scientific, philosophical, and theological debates." (Kılıç, 2017, p. 20)

A significant difference among Kılıç's translation and the other translations, as well as the English editions of Darwin's *The Origin*, is the abundance of visuals that accompany the translation, as Figure 18 demonstrates. These are visuals of different species Darwin refers to within the book, important scientific works Darwin read and was influenced by, pictures of important places and people in Darwin's life, pictures or drawings of the places Darwin visited during his Beagle voyage, etc.

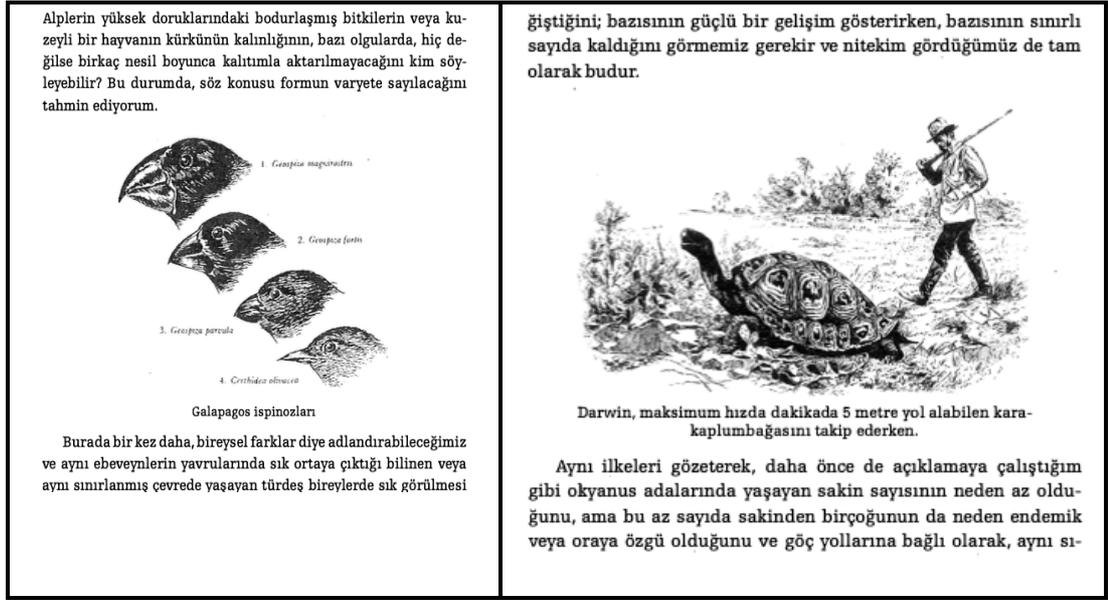


Figure 18. Some of the pages with visuals in *The Origin* translation published by Alfa Bilim in 2017

Bahar Kılıç also added many footnotes to her translation. These footnotes are mostly one or a few lines long. Some of these footnotes provide explanations for certain cultural differences such as measurement units: “Farsah is a unit of measurement that corresponds to approximately 5 kilometers and is not used today” (Kılıç, 2017, p. 84). In the remaining footnotes, she offers further clarification on specific scientific or taxonomical terms, presents information about modern-day scientific terminology or categorization corresponding to concepts mentioned by Darwin, and provides additional geographical or historical context. In fact, Kılıç cites the need for adding these explanatory footnotes as one of the most challenging aspects of retranslating Darwin. During one of her interviews posted on the YouTube Channel of the Turkish Atheism Association, Kılıç reflected on the significance of these taxonomical updates as follows:

Written at a time when science and the language of science were not as developed as they are today, and when universal definitions of scientific terms did not exist, the book seems difficult to translate and read at first. For example, taxonomic terms are also included in the scope of these scientific

terms. So, what are taxonomic terms? When classifying living things, we divide them into taxon levels such as order, class, genus and species. These taxon steps were not clear at the time Darwin wrote *The Origin*. It was not clear which creatures would be called species and which creatures would be called genus. Another problem is that a taxon level belonging to that period may have changed today. For example, an animal that was considered a species at that time, such as a bird with a yellow tail wagging, is considered a genus today. There are similar terminological differences. I thought that readers might be hearing these terminological differences for the first time, and I tried to explain some concepts with footnotes as much as possible. In other words, I tried to modernize the text, to fit it into modern taxonomy. (Kılıç & Örsoğlu, 2019; Appendix A, 63)

It is clear that retranslating *The Origin* by taking into consideration the need for rejuvenation caused by the evolution of both the source and target languages, in other words, the international language of science, was crucial. Using explanatory footnotes was the major strategy Kılıç and her editor resorted to. The following are some examples of Kılıç's footnotes:

\*Servant dogs, also known as turnspit dogs, were a breed characterized by their short legs and long bodies. They are now extinct but were named for their historical role in running on a wheel, known as a turnspit, to assist people with tasks.

\*Today, the term "inbreeding" is used instead of Darwin's term "close interbreeding." This term has been translated as "soy içi üreme" (inbreeding) referring to the mating of genetically closely related individuals to produce offspring. (Kılıç, 2017, pp. 50-89; Appendix A, 64)

When Kılıç's footnotes are analyzed, it is seen that she does not provide personal opinion on the social, political, and religious debates around various elements within *The Origin* and the footnotes are provided solely for the purpose of scientific and cultural clarification. She shares her views on these matters in her 7-page long Translator's Note added to the beginning of her translation and various epitextual materials she produced in relation to her Darwin translations, some of which were analyzed in the preceding sections.

Deniz Ergi Özsoy also added many endnotes to his translation. In addition, as mentioned earlier, Özsoy and Richard C. Lewontin contributed Prefaces for Özsoy's

translation. Lewontin's narrative has a similar tone when compared with Özsoy's narrative in his overall paratextual elements. For example, Lewontin also discussed the Malthusian references in *The Origin* from a very similar perspective to Özsoy's and using similar narrative techniques, as analyzed in detail in Section 6.2.1. Thus, the themes Lewontin and Özsoy focused on in their Prefaces significantly coincide, with both scientists highlighting the scientific value of Darwin's theory while distancing it from ideological interpretations that link the theory to certain meta-narratives such as capitalism and competition.

When we turn our focus to the extensive 41-page endnotes that Özsoy appended to his translation, we find comprehensive updates on numerous aspects of Darwin's theory, incorporating advancements made in related scientific fields throughout the twentieth century. The endnotes list the subsequent scientific advances that have proved, disproved, or built on various aspects of Darwin's theory. For example, in the final chapter of the sixth edition of *The Origin*, Darwin discusses the critical reaction he received from naturalists in terms of the reliability of his arguments and continues to defend his theory of descent with modification:

As a record of a former state of things, I have retained in the foregoing paragraphs, and elsewhere, several sentences which imply that naturalists believe in the separate creation of each species; and I have been much censured for having thus expressed myself. But undoubtedly this was the general belief when the first edition of the present work appeared. I formerly spoke to very many naturalists on the subject of evolution, and never once met with any sympathetic agreement. It is probable that some did then believe in evolution, but they were either silent, or expressed themselves so ambiguously that it was not easy to understand their meaning. Now things are wholly changed, and almost every naturalist admits the great principle of evolution. There are, however, some who still think that species have suddenly given birth, through quite unexplained means, to new and totally different forms: but, as I have attempted to show, weighty evidence can be opposed to the admission of great and abrupt modifications. Under a scientific point of view, and as leading to further investigation, but little advantage is gained by believing that new forms are suddenly developed in an inexplicable manner from old and widely different forms, over the old

belief in the creation of species from the dust of the earth. (Darwin, 2009, p. 424)

In his translation, Özsoy appends an endnote to the paragraph quoted above from Darwin. In this note, Özsoy defends the theory's reliability and ongoing validity, emphasizing that it has gained increasing acceptance with advancements in various scientific disciplines during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Additionally, Özsoy provides supplementary scientific resources detailing the pivotal stages in the development of modern evolutionary biology:

From the first edition of *Origin* to the sixth edition in 1872, the tone of the scientific criticisms leveled at Darwin softened considerably, coinciding with the growing acceptance of the concept of descent from a common origin. During this period, objections from natural scientists primarily focused on the mechanisms of natural selection proposed by Darwin rather than on the idea of species sharing a common ancestry. By the late 19th century, challenges to Darwin's theory centered on the perceived lack of observable evidence for evolution through natural selection, leading to the emergence of alternative theories in the early 20th century. The crisis faced by Darwinian evolutionary biology during this time was eventually resolved with the development of the genetic theory of natural selection, leading to the establishment of modern evolutionary biology through the synthesis of evolutionary genetics. For a detailed historical analysis of this period, see P. Bowler's "The Eclipse of Darwinism: Anti-Darwinian Evolution Theories in the Decades around 1900" (1983) and J. Huxley's "Evolution: The Modern Synthesis" (1943), which provide comprehensive insights into the development and consolidation of the Modern Synthesis. (Özsoy, 2022b, p. 679, Appendix A, 65)

Özsoy's endnotes also oppose and critique anti-Darwinist views based on Creationism and Intelligent Design notions. One of the most striking examples in this regard is the one-and-a-half-page long end-note he added to 6<sup>th</sup> chapter, "Difficulties of the Theory: Organs of extreme Perfection and Complication", as shown in Figure 19. In this particular section, Darwin discusses the difficulty complex organs such as the human eye present for the explanatory capacity of his theory:

To suppose that the eye with all its inimitable contrivances for adjusting the focus to different distances, for admitting different amounts of light, and for the correction of spherical and chromatic aberration, could have been formed by natural selection, seems, I freely confess, absurd in the highest degree. (Darwin, 2009, p. 143)

In the aftermath of these remarks, Darwin goes on to present further evidence to his readers that his theory is capable of explaining even such an incredible phenomenon as the human eye. These remarks by Darwin are strengthened in Özsoy's endnote, which is one and a half page long. Özsoy starts his argument by highlighting that modern evolutionary approaches are capable of explaining the development of complex organs:

This statement from Darwin was twisted by opponents of evolution, who used it to imply that Darwin himself doubted whether complex organs like the eye could have evolved through natural selection. However, Darwin immediately clarifies in the subsequent text that such an interpretation relies on simplistic reasoning and lacks scientific merit. In the following chapters of 'The Origin,' Darwin elaborates on how the eye could have gradually evolved from simpler light perception systems through natural selection, contrary to misconceptions. Modern approaches to eye evolution, informed by advances in genetics and genomics, offer a more nuanced understanding than Darwin's original model, yet they still provide evolutionary explanations for the complexity of the eye. (Özsoy, 2022b, pp. 655-656; Appendix A, 66)

Özsoy continues this endnote by explaining how traditional linear models of eye evolution are being replaced by more nuanced views that consider the origin of light sensitivity and lenses separately. He also explores the genetic and molecular basis of key innovations in eye structure, such as the development of photoreceptors and lenses, shedding light on the evolutionary process. Özsoy's narrative is extremely technical and scientific and it reflects his substantial expertise, and scientific capital, as a professor of evolutionary biology.

It should also be mentioned that in every interview or seminar Özsoy participated in the aftermath of the publication of his *The Origin* retranslation, he specifically underlines that he added many explanatory endnotes to his translation. This demonstrates how significant it was for Özsoy to follow this translatorial strategy and interfere with the "framing space" (Baker, 2006, pp. 110-111) of the source text with the peritextual materials he added to his translation. It is clear from

the examples of Özsoy's endnotes and the narratives he produced in them that these endnotes provided Özsoy with an opportunity to reframe various public narratives that have been in circulation about Darwin globally and locally. In addition, Özsoy's advanced scientific explanations and his references to the related academic studies produced by prominent evolutionary biologists no doubt bolster the credibility and strength of both Özsoy's translation and Darwin's narrative. At the same time, this strategy helped Özsoy emancipate Darwin's works from the political associations established in the Turkish publication and political fields between Darwin's theory and various ideological tendencies such as Marxists.

Notlar	Charles Darwin
<p>konu alan kapsamlı bir çalışma için bkz. R. W. Meredith ve ark., "Impacts of the Cretaceous Terrestrial Revolution and KPg extinction on mammal diversification", <i>Science</i>, 334: 521-524, 2011.</p> <p>4 Darwin'in bu ifadesi, evrim karşıtlarınca kötüye kullanılmış ve göz gibi karmaşık yapı bir organın doğal seçilimle oluşamayacağı, teorinin sahibi tarafından itirafı şeklinde lanse edilmiştir. Ancak, bu ifadenin hemen akabinde görülebileceği gibi, Darwin böyle bir nitelenimin basit sağduyuya dayandığını, bilimde yeri olmayan bir kavrama biçimi olduğunu söyleyerek devam etmekte ve bölümün kalanında, dönem bilgisi dâhilinde, gözün görece yalın ışık algılama sistemlerinden doğal seçilimle nasıl tedrici bir şekilde oluşacağı konusunda net bir yol izlemektedir. Darwin <i>Köken</i>'de, sanıldığının aksine, gözün "basitten karmaşığa" doğru evrimi konusunda fikrini makul şekilde ortaya koymaktadır. Gözün evrimi konusunda günümüzdeki yaklaşımlarsa, artan genetik ve genomik bilginin evrimsel yorumlarının karmaşıklıkla doğrultusunda, konuyu Darwin'in ve Darwin sonrasında klasik evrimsel biyolojinin önerdiğinden daha karmaşık –ama elbette yine evrimsel izahı olan– bir çerçevede ele almaktadır. Görünen o ki, gözün evrimi, ışığa duyarlı bir hücre tabakasının anatomik ve morfolojik açıdan giderek daha karmaşık ve derinleşen kupa şekilli bir organa dönüşmesi ve bunun içinde de giderek daha gelişmiş hale gelen bir mercekle oluşumuyla izah edilebilecek çizgisel bir evrimden daha karmaşık bir evrim tarihine sahiptir. Bu klasik, görece çizgisel göz evrimi modeline göre ilk önce ışığa duyarlılığın ortaya çıkması gerekir. Bunun yanı sıra, merceklerin ve gözdeki pigmentasyonun da oluşması gerekir. Bir başka deyişle, basitten karmaşık bir göz yapısına doğru gidilse, ışığa duyarlılığın, merceklerin ortaya çıkış nedenlerine değinilmeksizin evrim tarihleri ortaya konulur. Modern göz evrimi yaklaşımlarına, eksik olan bu evrim resmini, bu iki temel soruyu –"Işığa duyarlılık nasıl ortaya çıktı?"; "Merceklerin kökeni?"– yanıtlamaya çalışarak tamamlamaktadır. Modern evrimsel analizler, çoklu parçalardan oluşmuş bir sistem olan gözün farklı parçalarının farklı evrimsel tarihleri bulunduğuna işaret etmektedir. Öyle görülüyor ki, gözü oluşturan bileşenlerden kimileri eski tarihli kimileri ise yenidir. Bu bileşenlerin/evrimsel yeniliklerin ortaya çıkışta, morfolojik değişimlerin adım adım gerçekleşmesinden ziyade, keskin evrimsel değişimler şeklinde meydana gelmiş gibi görünmektedir. Karmaşık yapı bir organ olan gözün evriminde, bu çerçevede, dört temel basamak olduğu anlaşılmaktadır: 1) Işığa duyarlı mekanizmaları ortaya çıkışının ardından, yönlü ışık algılamasının olmadığı canlıların ışık yoğunluğundaki değişimleri algılamaya başlaması. 2) Fotoreseptörlere bitişik, ışık özümseyici pigmentlerin ortaya çıkışının ardından, canlıların yönlü ışık algılama yetisi kazanması. 3) Yeni, kavisli dizilmiş fotoreseptörlerin sisteme eklenmesiyle düşük çözünürlüklü görüşün ortaya çıkışı ve 4) Odaklayıcı bir yapının (merceklerin) evrimleşiminin ardından yüksek çözünürlüklü görüşün ortaya çıkışı. Bu dört temel yapısal yeniliğin hangi tür genetik değişimlerle ortaya çıktığı da yoğun araştırma konusudur. Darwin'in ve sonrasında klasik göz evrimi modeli –seçilimsel değişimleri de dâhil eden– modern genomik perspektifle Darwin'in uz görüşünü derinleştirip aşan, hayli ilginç ve karmaşık bir evrimsel tarihin varlığını ortaya koymuştur. Yönlü olmayan ışık algılama mekanizmaları</p> <p>655</p>	<p>çoğu hayvanın derisine dağılımı olarak bulunur. Bunlar arasında yer alan opsinlerin (sadece hayvanlara özgü Tip II opsinler ve pek çok ökaryot dâhil bakterilerde yer alan Tip I opsinler) yaşamın ve hayvan yaşamının gerilerine dek uzanan farklı evrimsel tarihlere sahip bileşenleri vardır. Bu bileşenlerdeki değişimler sonucunda, ışık algılama sistemlerindeki dönüşümlerin ifade ettiği evrimlerin etkisiyle, "karmaşık" yapı bir organ olan göz ortaya çıkmış görünmektedir. Opsinler, ışığın elektrik sinyaline dönüşmesiyle, ışığın algılanması ve görmeye dek giden çok bileşenli bir süreç olan foto transdüksiyonun temel elemanlarıdır. Geçmiş çok genlere, bilateral olmayan hayvanlara dek uzanan opsin temelli fototransdüksiyonun tarihini opsin genlerinin çeşitli hayvanlardaki evrimi üzerinden takip etmek mümkündür. Bir diğer ilginç nokta, göz oluşumuyla ilişkili pek çok genin eski zamanlarda strese karşı verilen yanıtlarda iş gören genler olmalarıdır. Opsin genleri de buna dâhildir. Opsin genleri melatonin reseptörlerine akrabadır ve ışıkla parçalanmış melatoninin bir zamanlar antioksidan olarak iş görmüş olması mümkündür. Öyle görülüyor ki, göz gibi karmaşık bir organa dek giden evrimsel sürecin başlarında, ışık stresine verilen biyolojik yanıtın yarattığı bir etki de bulunmaktadır. Işıkla aktifleşen, ışığın yarattığı strese cevap veren genlerin, göz oluşumu ve görmeyle ilişkili başka başka genlere evrilmesi, gözün evrimindeki kritik dönemece oluşturmıştır denebilir. Gündüzün geceden farkını anlamak, günlük ve mevsimsel biyoryitmlerin tesisi ya da suyun derinliğinin saptanması gibi işlevler için kullanılan temel ışık algılama sistemlerinden yüksek çözünürlüklü görüşü sağlayan mercekli bir göze değin geçen evrimi tanımlayan bu dört temel yeniliğin moleküler, gelişim genetiği ve hücre biyolojisi ayrıntılarını kemirgenlere, insana, böceğe vb. farklı birçok canlı için ortaya koyan kaynaklar için bkz. D.-E. Nilsson, "Eye evolution and its functional basis", <i>Visual Neuroscience</i>, 30: 5-20, 2013; T. H. Oakley ve D. I. Speiser, "How complexity originates: The evolution of animal eyes", <i>Annu.Rev.Ecol.Evol.Syst.</i>, 46: 237-260, 2015.</p> <p>5 Bir organın kök aldığı atasal formlardan itibaren nasıl değişip farklı işlevler görece bir hale de gelebildiğine ilişkin en çarpıcı örnekler homolog organlardan gelmektedir. Homolog organlar, vücutta aynı konumda yer alan ve ortak ata paylaşımları en net biçimde görünür kılan organlardır. Örneğin, insanda vücudun her iki tarafında yer alan kolların ve parmakların kökenini, derin evrimsel geçmişe uzanan bir zaman çizgisi dâhilinde, ortak atalar üzerinden ikiyaşamılara kadar götürmek mümkündür. Devon sonlarında (Devon, 419 ila 359 milyon yıl öncesi aralığına karşılık gelir) lob yüzgeçli balıklardan evrilen ilk karasal omurgalılardan itibaren kol-bacak uzularının evrimi, atasal formlardan değişerek farklı işlev kazanmaya dair çok çarpıcı bir örnek teşkil eder. Lob yüzgeçli balıklar Devon'un başlarında, yaklaşık 408 milyon yıl önce ortaya çıkmışlardır ve günümüzde yaşayan birkaç üyesi Coelacanthlar ve akciğerli balıklardır. Lob yüzgeçli balıklardan evrilen belirgin karasal omurgalı özellikleri taşıyan ilk canlıya fosil örneklerinden bildiğimiz <i>Ichthyostega</i>'dır. Bu ilkin ikiyaşamlı, lob yüzgeçli balıklar gibi kuyruk yüzgecine, dişlere ve kafatasına sahip olmakla birlikte, kemik sayısı bakımından fazla, parmaklara benzer şekilde organize olmuş ve karasal canlılarınkine çok benzeyen kol-bacak yapısına sahip-</p> <p>656</p>

Figure 19. Özsoy's one-and-a-half-page long end-note (endnote no.4) in chapter VI "Difficulties of the Theory" (Özsoy, 2022b, pp 655-656)

When we shift our attention to how the (re)translators of *The Origin* transferred Darwin's content into Turkish from the perspective of matricial norms, as the comparative textual examples and the accompanying discussions in Sections 6.2.1-6.2.5 demonstrate, none of the five translations include systematic omissions, additions, segmentation, or content manipulations that could have distorted the source text message. This also applies to the sections where Darwin deals with ideologically sensitive content that led to different sociological, political, and religious interpretations. Except for a minor divergence in Ünalın and Kılıç's translations of one of the references to the Malthusian notion of the struggle for existence, I did not find any changes in the translations that would have altered the ideological reception of the TT message. In other words, none of the translations displayed a pattern of change and divergence from the source text message. However, with their peritextual elements, Kılıç and Özsoy reframed certain elements of *The Origin*, either by providing scientific updates or by providing personal commentary on the ideological repercussions of Darwin's theory. Hence, evaluating the translation strategies of the agents of translation with reference to matricial norms, we can say that all translations follow the source text norms to a great degree, except for the paratextual divergence in the case of Belli, Kılıç and Özsoy's translations.

#### 6.3.2.2 *The Origin* (re)translations and textual-linguistic norms

As discussed in the Introduction and Section 3.2, the aging of the previous translations is usually counted as the leading reason for retranslating. Certain agents of translation, such as Bahar Kılıç, as previously discussed in Section 6.1.5, cited rejuvenating the Turkish translation terminologically as one of the main reasons why

the retranslation was commissioned. As discussed in Section 6.1.4, Evrensel, Kor Kitap and Ginko Bilim continue to publish Ünalın's translation without subjecting it to terminological rejuvenation, although they are aware that such an editorial work on Ünalın's translation would improve it. In addition, Kılıç and Özsoy have also mentioned that the global scientific language has evolved ever since the publication of *The Origin*, which is why there is a need for new translations that could incorporate the related changes in the language of science and biology. When the retranslations of *The Origin* are analyzed with reference to textual-linguistic norms, it becomes clear that terminological differences constitute another evident difference among some translations.

It is natural to observe terminological differences among (re)translations performed over a span of 50 years, especially when the (re)translations of a scientific work are concerned. However, some of these terminology choices, especially in the translations by Ünalın and Belli, also reflect a specific ideological approach toward Turkish language. To illustrate the terminological differences among the retranslations of *The Origin*, I would like to share a paragraph from the final chapter:

A grand and almost untrodden field of inquiry will be opened, on the causes and laws of variation, on correlation of growth, on the effects of use and disuse, on the direct action of external conditions, and so forth. The study of domestic productions will rise immensely in value. A new variety raised by man will be a far more important and interesting subject for study than one more species added to the infinitude of already recorded species. ... We possess no pedigrees or armorial bearings; and we have to discover and trace the many diverging lines of descent in our natural genealogies, by characters of any kind which have long been inherited. Rudimentary organs will speak infallibly with respect to the nature of long-lost structures. Species and groups of species, which are called aberrant, and which may fancifully be called living fossils, will aid us in forming a picture of the ancient forms of life. Embryology will reveal to us the structure, in some degree obscured, of the prototypes of each great class. (Darwin, 1964, pp. 426-427)

This paragraph includes many terms that were conveyed using different terminological alternatives into Turkish by different retranslators. Since this

paragraph remained unchanged in the subsequent editions, it also makes it easier to follow up the terminology choices in all retranslations. I have highlighted the scientific terms and phrases in grey in the retranslations, as can be seen in Table 14:



Table 14. Terminology Differences in Different (Re)translations of *The Origin* (1859)

<p>Öner Ünalın's translation (1970)</p> <p>Değişimin nedenleri ve yasaları, karşılıklı-ilişki (correlation), kullanılmamanın ve kullanılmamanın etkileri, dış koşulların doğrudan etkisi vb. konularında hemen hemen hiç dokunulmamış bir araştırma alanı açılacaktır. Evcil ürünlerin incelenmesine olağanüstü önem verilecektir. İnsanın elde ettiği yeni bir çeşit, bugün bilinen türlerin o pek uzun listesine eklenen yeni bir türden daha ilginç bir araştırma konusu olacaktır. ... Elimizde bir soyağacı (pedigree) yok; ve doğal soykütüklerimizdeki o birbirlerini iraksayan soy çizgilerini çok eskiden beri soyaçekimle iletilen her türlü ıranın yardımıyla ortaya çıkarmamız gerekiyor. Güdük organlar, çoktan yitip gitmiş yapılar üzerine şaşmaz bilgiler verecektir. Sapık (aberrant) denen, ve bir bakıma "yaşayan taşılar" diyebileceğimiz türler ve tür grupları, eski canlı biçimlerin görüntülerini ortaya çıkarmamıza yardım edecektir. Embriyoloji, her büyük sınıfın ilk-örneklerinin (prototype) yapılarını, biraz belirsiz de olsa çoğu zaman aydınlatacaktır. (pp. 588-589)</p>
<p>Orhan Tuncay's translation (2003)</p> <p>Değişimin nedeni ve kuralları, büyümenin ilişkileri, kullanımın veya kullanılmamanın etkileri, dış koşulların doğrudan aksiyonları gibi büyük ve az ilgilenilmiş bir araştırma alanı açılacaktır. Evcil üretimlerin incelenmesinde de büyük yarar vardır. İnsan tarafından yetiştirilen yeni bir tür, halihazırda kayıtlı sonsuz sayıdaki türlere eklenebilecek bir fazla türden daha çok önemli ve ilgi çekici bir araştırma konusudur. ... Soy ve hanedanlık ilişkilerimiz yok; soy ağacımızdaki gelişimin bir çok ayrılan kolunu, uzun zamandır kalıtımla taşıdığımız özellikler vasıtasıyla, bulmak ve izini sürmek zorundayız. Güdük organlarımız açıkça çok uzakta kaybolan yapılar adına konuşuyor. Sapkın türler ve cinsler ve ilginç bir şekilde kendilerinden yaşayan fosiller olarak bahsedilenler, bize eski yaşam formlarının resmini oluşturmamızda yardımcı olacaklar. Embriyoloji, bize yapıyı veya kapalı bir şekilde her bir büyük sınıfın prototiplerini açıklayacaktır. (p. 471)</p>
<p>Sevim Belli's translation (2009)</p> <p>Değişebilirliğin nedenleri ve yasaları üzerine, karşılıklı bağlaşımlar üzerine, kullanma ve kullanılmamanın etkileri üzerine, dış koşulların doğrudan etkisi üzerine ve bunun gibi birçok konuda neredeyse hiç değinilmemiş pek büyük bir araştırma alanı açılmış olacak. Evcil ürünlerin incelenmesi büyük bir önem kazanacak. İnsanın geliştirdiği yeni bir çeşidin oluşumu, daha önceden kayıtlı türlerin listesine bir tane daha eklenmesinden daha önemli bir inceleme konusu olacak. ... Bizim elimizde ne soyağacı kayıtları (şecereler), ne de soyluluk armaları var, doğal soyağaçlarımızdaki soyların birbirlerinden ayrı ayrı yollara giden sayısız soy çizgilerini ancak uzun bir soyaçekim seyri içinde saklanmış ve döllere geçirilmiş olan her çeşit karakterin yardımıyla bulmak ve yeniden çizmek zorundayız. Güdük kalmış organlar uzun zamandan beri kaybolmuş yapıların niteliğine, hiç yanılmayacak bir biçimde tanıklık edeceklerdir. Sapkın (aberrantes) denilen ve yaşayan taşılar da diyebileceğimiz türler ya da tür grupları yaşamın eski biçimlerinin görünümünü yeniden canlandırmamıza yardımcı olacaklardır. Embriyoloji, büyük sınıfların herbirinin prototiplerinin, belirli bir ölçüde sezilmez olmuş yapılarını çoğu kez açığa çıkaracaktır. (pp. 657-658)</p>
<p>Bahar Kılıç's translation (2017)</p> <p>Çeşitlenme nedenleri ve yasaları, büyüme ilintisi, kullanmanın ve kullanılmamanın etkileri, dış koşulların doğrudan etkisi vb konular üzerine kapsamlı ve neredeyse el değmemiş araştırma alanları açılacaktır. Evcil üretimler üzerinde yapılan çalışmaların değeri büyük ölçüde artacaktır. İnsan eliyle yetiştirilen yeni bir varyete, halihazırda kayıtlı bulunan sayısız türe bir yenisini daha eklemekten çok daha önemli ve ilginç bir çalışma konusu olacaktır. ... Elimizde soyağaçları veya sembolik nişanlar bulunmamaktadır; ve doğal soyağaçlarımızdaki çok sayıda iraksak soy hattını, uzun zamandır kalıtımla aktarılan her çeşit karakteri değerlendirerek keşfetmemiz ve ortaya çıkarmamız gerekmektedir. Güdük organlar, uzun zaman önce kaybedilmiş yapılardan çok daha eksiksiz bilgiler sunacaktır. Ayrıksı diye tabir edilen ve yaşayan fosil demenin daha doğru olacağını düşündüğüm türler ve tür grupları, eski yaşam biçimlerini yansıtan resmin ortaya çıkarılmasında bize yardımcı olacaktır. Embriyoloji, her büyük sınıfın prototipinin yapısını, bir ölçüde silikleşmiş olmasına karşın görebilmemizi sağlayacaktır. (p. 435)</p>
<p>Ergi Deniz Özsoy's translation (2022)</p> <p>Değişkenliğin nedenleri ve yasalarını, ilişkilenebilirliği, kullanıp kullanılmamanın yaratacağı etkileri, harici koşulların doğrudan etkilerini ve daha nice konuları ele alan muhteşem ve neredeyse hiç el değmemiş bir araştırma alanı önümüzde açılacaktır. Evcil bitki ve hayvanların çalışılmasının kıymeti muazzam artacaktır. İnsan eliyle üretilen yeni bir varyete, zaten kayda alınmış sayısız türün oluşturduğu listeye bir yenisini eklemekten daha önemli ve ilginç bir çalışma konusu olacaktır. ... Elimizde ne şecereler ne de aile armaları var, dolayısıyla uzun süredir kalıtımla aktarılan herhangi bir özelliği kullanarak, doğal soyağaçlarımızdaki ayrımlaşan pek çok türeyiş hattının izlerini sürmemiz ve keşfetmemiz gerekmektedir. Körelmiş organlar, uzun süredir yok olup gitmiş yapıların tabiatı hakkında şaşmaz bilgiler verecektir. Atipik ya da hayalci bir adlandırmayla yaşayan fosil denen türler ve tür grupları kadim yaşam formlarının kafamızda canlanmasına yardımcı olacaklardır. Embriyoloji çoğu zaman bize her büyük grubun öncül formunun yapısı hakkında bir miktar belirsiz de olsa bilgi verecektir. (p. 635)</p>

When Ünalın’s translation is analyzed, we see that he used certain Turkish-origin terminology that were either not established scientific terms during the time the translation was performed or were gradually replaced by terms borrowed from English. “İraksama” (divergence), “ıra” (character), “taşıl” (fossil), “güdük” (rudimentary) can be listed as examples of this strategy. Some other Turkish-origin scientific terminology Ünalın used in different sections of his translation, most of which were changed in subsequent translations are “içtepi” (impulse), “sığa” (capacity) as in “zihinsel her yeti ve sığa” (each mental power and capacity), “göze” (hücre), “ağı” (poison), etc. Ünalın consistently used the same terminology in his book *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* (1997), which was published almost three decades after the publication of his *The Origin* translation. Some examples from his book are as follows:

\*Bir ıra hem sürekli hem süreksiz deęişim gösterebilir. Herhangi bir toplulukta en kısa boyun çok altında cüce ve en uzun boyun çok üstünde dev bireyler bulunması gibi. (Ünalın, 1997, p. 32)

A character can exhibit both continuous and discontinuous variation. Just as there can be dwarf individuals well below the shortest height and giant individuals well above the tallest height in any community. (own translation)

\*Tek gözeli hayvanlarda gözden söz edilemez, ama kimi tek gözelielerde ışığa duyarlı bir stigma veya göz beneęi vardır. (Ünalın, 1997, p. 50)

In single-celled animals, one cannot speak of an eye, but some single-celled organisms have a light-sensitive stigma or eyespot. (own translation)

Ünalın’s lexical strategies and terminology choices reflect his “nationalized” language view which is reminiscent of the Öztürkçe (Purified Turkish) movement, although Ünalın’s language model criticizes certain linguistic practices and strategies followed by the supporters of this movement. The Öztürkçe movement can be summarized as “language planning efforts to purge Turkish of Arabic and Persian words” (Tahir-Gürçaęlar, 2009, p. 40). In one of his essays on Turkish language,

Ünalán (1993, p. 147) states that he does not consider himself as a practitioner of this language policy. However, he still stresses that the national language should be preserved and enriched. In another essay, he explains why he believes it is crucial to preserve and enrich the national language as follows:

Preserving and advancing our national language serves multiple aims: enhancing its capacity for thought and communication, upholding its national identity, and fostering societal progress. Therefore, the language issue fundamentally intertwines with ideology and politics, reflecting broader concerns about language. Within this framework, the scientific language issue assumes significance as well. (Ünalán, 1993, p. 157; Appendix A, 67)

When Muzaffer İlhan Erdost's views on Öztürkçe movement and the strategy of using terminology/vocabulary of Turkish origin are visited, one immediately observes a close affinity between Ünalán's and Erdost's approaches to national language:

The proficiency of a language to be able to understand and generate contemporary knowledge hinges on its capacity to encompass concepts, which have been developed by humanity over centuries. Additionally, a language's ability to create novel concepts plays a pivotal role in this process. Importing words and terms from external sources does not suffice for achieving this, except for specific jargon within certain disciplines, like medicine. To attain the ability to generate new knowledge, a language must return to its origins and fundamental principles, forming a cohesive unity and undergoing thorough essentialization. (Erdost, 1984, p. 95; Appendix A, 68))

It is clear that Ünalán and Erdost aimed to cultivate a scientific language accessible to the masses, avoiding elitism, which reflects their Marxist perspectives. They saw the "nationalization" of language as essential for fostering better communication, solidarity, and intellectual progress within society. Ünalán advocated for Turkish terminological alternatives but was not entirely opposed to retaining foreign-origin terminology in Turkish texts if they had become essential and widely accepted for effective communication. His approach to lexicology, in this sense, is heavily influenced by that of Lenin and Engels, as he explains in another essay:

Lenin opposed the unnecessary use of foreign words in Russian (we can easily apply this to any language), a view applicable to any language. He argued that such usage hinders communication and makes it challenging to influence the masses, hindering the adoption of ideas by them. However, it's evident that both Lenin and Engels were not against the necessary use of foreign words when they were deemed inevitable for clarity and precision in communication. Their main objectives included advancing thought, preventing distortion of meaning, and ensuring healthy and easy communication. (Ünalán, 1993, p. 11; Appendix A, 69)

Ünalán's partial tolerance for borrowed terminology is evident from the fact that he kept certain borrowed terms, e.g., "embriyoloji" (embryology), which were already established in Turkish. The final lexical strategy of Ünalán that immediately attracts the reader's attention is his intensive use of brackets. He mostly uses a Turkish word and supplies the English original term in brackets, a strategy that might have an explanatory function in Ünalán's quest for situating his chosen Turkish terms to the collective memory. He followed the same strategy in *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* (1997) as well.

Based on the lexical and terminological choices Ünalán made in his translation of *The Origin* and his subsequent book, *Darwin Ne Yaptı?* (1997), and Ünalán and Erdost's collective remarks on language policies, it can be claimed that their Darwin translation project provided them a platform to contribute to the nationalization of Turkish language, especially the language of science. Since this language policy was a reflection of their Marxist dispositions, translating Darwin's works had symbolic value for them due to the linguistic strategies they applied in their translation project as well. In line with their ideological dispositions, they attempted to pioneer the creation of new scientific terminologies and set the rules for new translation norms that reflected their "nationalized Turkish" views.

The (re)translations published after Ünalán's translation did not follow a similar "nationalized" or "purified" language policy, except for the partial

similarities between Ünalın’s and Belli’s lexical strategies. In fact, from her comments in her biography on the Öztürkçe movement and what kind of a translation strategy she followed in her translations, it is clear that Belli shared similar views with Ünalın and Erdost on nationalized language:

Strict adherence to Öztürkçe poses significant challenges in translation. At times, it necessitates the use of multiple words or even a complete restructuring of sentence patterns to replace a single foreign term ... It is a natural process that language changes and renews over time with the development of society and thought, science and technology ...I have consistently utilized the Turkish equivalent of a word in my translations. However, there are instances where using the same word with different meanings within a single sentence occurs. Avoiding this occurrence is essential, as it weakens and sterilizes the language. While I advocate for Turkish that is accessible to all, adhering strictly to Öztürkçe proves to be challenging, and I believe it is ideologically misapplied ... Just as it is logical that objects or phenomena unrecognized by language users lack names in that language, the absence of terminology for unacknowledged thoughts, feelings, or knowledge is also natural. Therefore, incorporating foreign words into the language is not inherently negative ... Contrary to the sensitivity and reaction displayed towards influences from Eastern languages, similar scrutiny is often not applied to Western-derived words, concepts, or trends ... This discrepancy highlights the adverse effects of cultural imperialism, encompassing economic, cultural, and political exploitation. (Belli, 1994, pp. 445-447; Appendix A, 70)

Studying Belli’s retranslation from terminological perspective shows that she kept some of Ünalın’s Turkish terminology choices and updated certain others with borrowed alternatives. For example, instead of using “ıra” (character) or “ilk-örnek” (prototype), she chose to use "karakter" and “prototip” while keeping “güdük” (rudimentary) and “taşıl” (fossil) in her translation. Some terms Ünalın introduced were kept in other subsequent translations as well. For example, while Kılıç kept “güdük” (rudimentary) in her translation, although most of the “pure” Turkish terminological alternatives used by Ünalın were updated by using other Turkish or borrowed words.

When I asked OrhanTuncay about his translation strategies during our interview, he said that lexical choices did not pose a specific challenge to him since

the language of biology was already well-established in the 2000s (Tuncay, personal correspondence, March 2024). Although Ergi Deniz Özsoy did not comment on this terminological strategies in his peritextual materials, he previously shared his views on lexical choices in translation during an interview he had with *Bilim ve Gelecek* periodical on his retranslation of *Evolution* (2017) by the American evolutionary biologist Douglas J. Futuyma:

There are notable differences between the first edition, to which I contributed as a translator, and this new translation of the third edition, where I serve as the editor, particularly concerning the “Turkishization” of scientific terms. In the initial translation, Prof. Aykut (Kence) opted to translate scientific terms of Latin and Greek origin, commonly used in English and other languages, into Turkish. For instance, "toplum" was used instead of "popülasyon," or "ayrı alelli" instead of "heterozigot." However, in the new translation, I decided against this approach. These terms have become well-established in many languages, and it seems inappropriate to replace them. For example, "toplum" carries a historical connotation in the human sciences, while "popülasyon" serves as a neutral, statistical term in evolutionary biology, devoid of human connotations. Similarly, I find it unnecessary to replace "fosil" with "taşıl," as it feels like an overly forced attempt at "purification." (Helvacıoğlu & Özsoy, 2022; Appendix A, 71)

When Darwin’s style is concerned, especially the long, relative-clause laden sentences he used, which reflect the Victorian writing conventions, all the translators mostly conveyed such sentences in the same manner, only occasionally dividing them. In their Translator’s Note and Preface, Kılıç and Özsoy specify that they paid attention to preserving Darwin’s style in their translations.

Considering that *The Origin* targeted natural scientists of the nineteenth century along with the British middle-class, Ünalın’s terminology choices differ from the textual-linguistic norms that govern the source text. By implementing his “nationalization” policy, he aimed to make Darwin’s texts, and scientific texts in general, more accessible to the masses. This strategy can also be regarded as another example of the (re)positioning of the target readership to a national and non-elitist space, similar to certain cases of Shakespeare retranslations Hanna (2016) elaborates

on, as discussed in Section 4.3. The following retranslations, except for Sevim Belli's partial attendance to Ünalán's policy, did not follow the same terminological strategy. Because Turkish scientific language and terminology specific to biology are more established currently, the recent retranslations follow the established linguistic norms in the target language in terms of terminology choices while providing further updates on certain terminology Darwin used in his source text due to the advances in biology and relevant scientific disciplines.



## CHAPTER 7

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The theory of evolution continues to remain contested in twenty-first century Türkiye, similar to certain other locations in the world, such as the U.S., where creationist and anti-Darwinist public narratives still prevail. As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection has a long history of being at the center of conflicting socio-political, philosophical, and religious narratives. Different ideological groups have appropriated Darwin's theory by emphasizing certain aspects of the theory while ignoring and even criticizing others. Darwinism and evolution have also been severely attacked by groups that defend theological approaches against evolution, such as Creationists and Intelligent Designists.

The situation has not been different in the Turkish setting. As this research demonstrates, (re)translation has been a frequently embraced instrument in the appropriation of Darwinism by different ideological camps, mostly with Marxist, socialist, materialist and/or atheistic agendas. If we recall, with the political shifts in Turkey during the 1950s when right-wing politics began to gain more support, Marxists embraced evolution and Darwinism against the creationist and anti-Darwinist views that surfaced during this era. At a time when the intellectual struggle between the leftist and rightist social groups in the Turkish publication and political fields heated up, it was no coincidence that the first Turkish translation of *The Origin* was published in 1970 by a Marxist publishing house. As the narratives of the related agents of translation also indicate, the publication of this translation by Sol/Onur Yayınları amplified the Marxist appropriation of Darwinism further. As evidenced

by the paratextual materials produced by the likes of Öner Ünalın, Muzaffer Erdost and Aydın Çubukçu, in subsequent decades, Marxist agents of translation ascribed great importance to reading and popularizing Darwin. They believed that such understanding was essential for a deeper comprehension of Marxist dialectical thinking and Marx's thesis of historical materialism. Similar to the general approach towards Darwin's theory in Marxist circles, they saw Darwin's theory as an affirmation of Marx's social theory in biology. Hence, Turkish Marxist intellectuals embraced and appropriated Darwin translations, including *The Origin*, as essential elements of Marxist literature. The fact that, for some time, Sol/Onur Yayınları remained the sole publisher of the Turkish translation of *The Origin*, along with *The Descent of Man* and *Sexual Selection*, testifies to the continuation of the Marxist appropriation of Darwin's works in the Turkish publication and political fields. Hence, just as the theory of evolution has been politicized in the Turkish political setting for more than a century now, starting with the first translation of *The Origin*, Darwin's magnum opus has been considered a valuable scientific asset with not only scientific but also symbolic value by the agents of translation with strong ideological dispositions. They have turned their attention to Darwin's works not only to fill an obvious scientific gap in the translated biology literature in Turkish but also for further capital accumulation for their fields of operation.

Within the scope of this thesis, it has been important to consider the Turkish political field alongside the Turkish publication field, since, during the 1970s, Turkish Islamist fraternal groups started attacking evolution and Darwinism by associating the theory with certain meta-narratives such as materialism, communism and atheism and arguing that these associations upset the religious sentiments of devout Muslims and conservative circles. In this context, a Marxist publishing house

took up the long-delayed task of publishing Darwin translations, especially Darwin's magnum opus, *The Origin*, and had these works translated by a prolific translator who had contributed to the Marxist publication field with various Marxist translations he had produced. Amid creationist attacks on Darwinism by Islamic fraternal organizations and the ongoing appropriation of Darwinism by Turkish Marxist intellectuals, the translation published by Sol/Onur Yayınları no doubt contributed to the politicization of the theory of evolution in the Turkish setting, assigning Darwin translations further symbolic and political value.

In the decades that followed, the increasing politicization of the theory of evolution within the Turkish context prompted the production of new retranslations of *The Origin*, alongside the republications of existing ones. As of May 2024, six (non-plagiarized) (re)translations of *The Origin* have been published by different publishing houses, while some of these retranslations have also been republished by other publishers. For instance, the Evrensel publishing house and its affiliated publishers republished Ünalın's translation many times as part of this trend. The decisions made by certain governmental institutions, such as TÜBİTAK and the Ministry of Education, to exclude evolution from their publication portfolios or from Turkish school curriculums appear to have precipitated increased publication efforts focused on Darwin and his works. In addition, the narratives of the majority of agents of (re)translation studied in this thesis indicate that they were extremely critical of Islamic Creationism and related anti-Darwinist publications. The activities of creationist movements, such as the Yahya group, were one of the reasons why they developed a translatorial interest in *The Origin* to popularize the theory of evolution in the Turkish setting against the anti-Darwinist creationist propaganda. Although some of the publication efforts in relation to *The Origin* were oriented

towards accumulating economic capital by publishing a major scientific work that remains controversial and popular, the interest of most of agents of retranslation in producing retranslations of *The Origin* appears to have had an ideological basis. This observation was further substantiated by interviews conducted with the editorial team of Ginko Bilim and the paratextual materials produced by various agents of retranslation studied within the scope of this research.

As mentioned in the Introduction section, until now, no research has set out to examine translated popular science books on evolution within the Turkish publishing field. I interpret my observations of the increasing quantity of translated books in this genre, as well as the retranslations and republications of Darwin's *The Origin*, as closely intertwined reactionary responses to the local anti-evolutionist policies and public narratives. Hence, the case of *The Origin* retranslations published in Türkiye within the last few decades can be viewed as an interesting example of retranslation being instrumentalized as a tool of resistance. Most of the agents of translation studied within the scope of this research saw Darwin retranslations and the narratives they created surrounding these retranslations as intellectual endeavors of symbolic value opposed to anti-evolutionist policies and creationist narratives. These translatorial endeavors and the resulting narrative spaces the agents obtained as an outcome of the scientific and symbolic capital they accumulated by translating Darwin's works helped them counter various public narratives, including those produced by Creationists, that affiliate Darwinism with certain "dangerous" meta-narratives.

Analyzing the narratives produced by Islamic-Creationist movements, the Harun Yahya group in particular, has provided insights into how Darwin and evolution were portrayed by these fraternal structures. Given that the majority of the

agents of retranslation criticized the anti-Darwinist public narratives produced by these creationist organizations and attempted to establish negative relationality between Yahya's group and U.S.-based creationist structures, the anti-Darwinist activities of Islamic-Creationist movements can be seen as some of the major catalysts behind the resurgence of retranslation and republication endeavors centered on Darwin's works.

An analysis of Yahya's *Atlas of Creation* volumes and their Turkish versions (the *Yaratılış Atlası* volumes) revealed that Yahya made extensive use of quotations from Darwin's works, predominantly from *The Origin*, as well as quotations from numerous renowned natural scientists. Decontextualization by selective appropriation has been shown to have been a strategy Yahya frequently employed in his books when he cited Darwin's works. It is interesting that, instead of translating Darwin's works into Turkish, Yahya and his group resorted to incorporating partial translations from Darwin's books into their works. These selectively appropriated and decontextualized chunks from Darwin's books were combined without providing the preceding and/or subsequent context in the related chapters. Hence, these selectively appropriated texts from Darwin's works, especially from *The Origin*, were used to portray a Darwin who was deceitful and had serious doubts about the explanatory strengths of his own theory. Although the total number of selectively appropriated and combined Darwin quotations throughout these volumes are only a little more than a dozen, they are repeated throughout the volumes many times, helping Yahya strengthen his negative Darwin image. Thus, when Yahya's textual production and translation strategies are concerned, it seems that using partial and selectively appropriated translations became a norm that they fervently followed. Another interesting characteristic of Yahya's use of Darwin quotations is that, in the

Turkish *Yaratılış Atlası* volumes, the Darwin quotations were mostly translated by Yahya and the existing translations were not used. Although, as mentioned above, the total number of Darwin quotations is around a dozen if we do not count the repetitions, these quotations in the Turkish versions also served to manipulate certain aspects of Darwin's theory by misdepicting fundamental concepts in relation to the theory or by omitting textual segments that detailed them in the source text. All these narrative strategies aligned with Harun Yahya's general effort in his *Atlas of Creation* volumes to depict the theory of evolution as a product of pseudo-science, made up by materialist powers to promote irreligion. Studying Harun Yahya's works within the framework of the narrative model proposed by Baker (2006) helped me see more clearly how Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection was negatively associated with certain metanarratives such as Materialism, Communism, Atheism, Racism, Fascism, Nazism, etc.

Similarly, the agents of (re)translation who produced various paratextual elements surrounding their *The Origin* retranslations employed a number of narrative strategies while discussing different aspects of Darwin's theory and *The Origin*. For example, while discussing the Malthusian and Spencerian references in *The Origin*, each agent of translation elaborated on these references from different perspectives. Öner Ünalın's narrative sought to challenge the cause-and-effect relationship established between Darwin's theory and Malthus' views, emphasizing that Malthus' influence was not pivotal in Darwin's formulation of the concept that organisms must compete for limited resources in their environment. Additionally, Ünalın integrated Marx and Engels' critique of the Malthusian elements within Darwin's theory, accusing Darwin of deeply internalizing the capitalist values prevalent in nineteenth century British society and projecting these observations onto his theory. In the

preface he wrote to Ergi Deniz Özsoy's retranslation, Lewontin reversed the chronological cause-and-effect relationship established between Darwin's views and those of Malthus and Spencer, highlighting that the economic competition described by Spencer in fact predates Darwin's theory. Bahar Kılıç followed a similar narrative strategy that aimed to eliminate the negative causal employment established between Darwin's theory and his incorporation of the Malthusian notion of the struggle for existence into *The Origin*. She emphasized that this aspect of Darwin's theory contributed to Marxist theory by confirming the view of social change through class struggle in biology, a view that mirrors the narratives of the nineteenth century Marxists who chose to concentrate on Darwinian biology instead of capitalist interpretations of the theory (Runkle, 1961, p. 116). In addition, both Lewontin and Kılıç highlighted Darwin's emphasis on mutual relations and cooperation among organic beings, in an attempt to disturb the narrative propagated by capitalist and creationist camps that an over-arching struggle governs the relationships among organisms described by Darwin. In contrast, Ünalán had only cited Russian evolutionary theorists such as Kropotkin in highlighting the potential affiliations that may be established between the theory of evolution and the notions of cooperation and collectivism. The narrative Ergi Deniz Özsoy produced on this matter in his peritextual materials, on the other hand, placed greater emphasis on advances in genetics and evolutionary biology than it did on Malthus's views on population. Özsoy emphasized that Darwin had to incorporate Malthus' views into his theory to explain certain scientific phenomena, which otherwise could not have been explained using the scientific knowledge available during that era. Özsoy's narrative also contested the public narratives that established strong correlations between Malthus' and Spencer's views and Darwin's theory, by emphasizing the metaphorical nature

of Darwin's references to Malthus and Spencer. Consistent with the overarching theme of his narratives regarding Darwin's works in his paratextual materials, Özsoy underscored that, despite these references, Darwin's book should still be regarded as a significant scientific work with substantial contributions to biology and modern scientific thought. All in all, in the paratextual elements they created, the agents of retranslation found new spaces to (re)frame various contested and significant aspects of Darwin's theory in accordance with their ideological dispositions.

A closer look into the narratives the agents of (re)translation produced about Darwin and *The Origin* in their paratextual elements shows that these narratives share several common themes. In addition to reflecting on the Malthusian and Spencerian elements in *The Origin*, they all, for example, dwelled on Darwin's counterarguments against special creation and the theory's importance in promoting scientific and empirical methodologies over teleological and dogmatic perspectives or earlier scientific approaches that were based on natural theology. The theological references to a creator that Darwin included in *The Origin* were also a common theme many agents of retranslation discussed in their paratextual elements. These narratives produced by the agents displayed great parallelism with their ideological dispositions. While producing these narratives, they employed a variety of narrative strategies described by Baker (2006) such as temporality, relationality, establishing positive or negative causal employment, etc. However, one common strategy they all employed was obviously selective appropriation, since they all chose to prioritize certain, mostly conflictual, aspects of the theory in their paratexts so that they could (re)produce their own narratives on these matters.

Another common theme that can be found in these paratextual elements, which deserves further elaboration, is the agents' overall criticism of Islamic

Creationism and the removal of the theory of evolution from the high school curriculum in Türkiye. In addition to emphasizing that biology cannot be understood thoroughly without the theory of evolution, especially from the turn of the twenty-first century onwards, agents of *The Origin* (re)translations and (re)publications started to highlight that Creationism in the Turkish setting is an imported version of American Creationism. By doing so, all the related agents established negative relationality between these two forms of Creationism in their efforts to produce new public narratives that reframed Islamic Creationism as an outsider imperialist interference in Turkish domestic affairs. However, the agents of retranslation also differ from each other in certain aspects of their narratives critiquing Creationism. For example, Muzaffer Erdost establishes relationality between the Qur'an and the theory of evolution, and his narrative serves as a counterargument against the negative public narratives produced by Islamic-Creationists, which blame Darwinism for promoting materialism and atheism on the basis that evolution and religion conflict. Ergi Deniz Özsoy, on the other hand, emphasizes that religion and evolution should be viewed as two separate constructs that use totally different “languages”, or approaches. He further notes that approaching religious matters from an evolutionary perspective or evolution from a religious one should not benefit anybody. Thus, Özsoy maintains his overall position of highlighting the scientific value of Darwin's works and the need for refraining from incorporating Darwin's theory into social, political, or religious debates.

The comparative textual analysis performed on the selected chapters of five (re)translations of *The Origin* has shown that none of the translations displays a pattern of manipulation in the form of omissions, additions, segmentation, or content manipulations or linguistic shifts that distort the source text message. One major

difference that was observed concerning the (re)translations of Darwin's source text was in relation to terminology choices. The first two translations by Ünalán and Belli reflected Ünalán and Erdost's views on a "nationalized" Turkish language. Hence, their habituses and resulting ideological disposition also influenced their translatorial strategies in terms of their terminology choices. Especially in Ünalán's translation, many Turkish terms are recommended and used instead of borrowing these terms from English or Arabic. On the other hand, the more recent retranslations did not follow Erdost and Ünalán's attempts to establish new terminology-related norms in scientific translation and rejuvenated Darwin's text in Turkish in terms of their terminology choices. As these agents of translation (such as Kılıç and Özsoy) also mentioned in their paratexts, the language of biology in Turkish is also much more established in contemporary Türkiye and the recent translations demonstrate this change experienced in the Turkish scientific discourse. The terminological rejuvenation in recent retranslations, especially those by Kılıç and Özsoy, also targets certain ambiguities that result from the source text. With the advances achieved in biology, taxonomy and other related fields, certain categorizations and terms Darwin used in the source are no longer valid. The recent retranslations offer updates on these issues, in the main text as well in their footnotes and endnotes. When viewed within the frame of Toury's (1995) translation norms, it can be concluded that all translators followed the source text norms stylistically since they preserved the source text's integrity, by conveying the chapters, sections and paragraphs without making segmentation changes or without omitting source text elements in their translations. However, the decisions the translators made concerning their terminology choices aimed at making the text more understandable and up-to-date for the target audience, thereby following the target culture norms.

Especially in Ünalán's case, he aimed to make his *The Origin* translation accessible to the masses, instead of the original target audience of the source text who were predominantly the scientific elites and middle class of mid- nineteenth century England. Thus, Ünalán and his publisher Erdost's terminological strategies and their decision to create new translation norms demonstrate an interesting case where the agents of translation (re)positioned the target readership in a more comprehensive and non-elitist space as opposed to the targeted source text audience. In line with their ideological dispositions, Ünalán and Erdost attempted to pioneer the creation of new scientific terminology and set the rules for new translation norms that reflected their "nationalized Turkish" views.

Another important aspect that deserves our attention in terms of the translation norms the agents followed concerns their tendency to benefit from peritextual and epitextual materials. Especially in the more recent retranslations, adding various peritextual elements to the translated text and producing epitextual materials in various platforms have become the new norms that agents of translation follow. These paratextual materials surrounding their (re)translations or (re)publications of *The Origin* helped the agents not only to contribute to the further popularization of Darwinism in the Turkish setting but also to reframe controversial aspects of the theory from their ideological perspectives. Clearly, all the agents of (re)translation were very knowledgeable about the different ideological associations made with Darwin's theory and the ways in which the theory has been associated with certain meta-narratives both locally and globally. The new narrative spaces the agents found as an outcome of (re)translating *The Origin* helped them create new public narratives on Darwin's theory and its relationship to these meta-narratives.

As discussed earlier, the very decision to (re)translate *The Origin* was closely related to the strong influence of Marxism, socialism, materialism, atheism, empiricism, etc. on the habituses of the majority of the agents and their resulting quest for increasing the distinction of their fields of operation by accumulating further capital, especially scientific and symbolic. Similarly, their narratives also display the influence of their ideological dispositions as the detailed analysis performed using Mona Baker's narrative model has demonstrated. To this end, the findings of this study are indicative of the in-depth understanding we can obtain considering the relationships between translatorial agents' sociological backgrounds, their resulting agendas and the translatorial norms and strategies they follow by combining Bourdieusian concepts and various theoretical approaches within translation studies. In this context, the methodology employed in this study and the resulting findings support the suggestions of the TS scholar Vorderobermeier (2014, p. 15), who emphasizes the significance of interdisciplinarity and advocates the reassessment of the compatibilities among various seemingly contrasting approaches within our discipline. Vorderobermeier (2014, pp. 15-16) additionally notes that it is necessary to elucidate the potential intersections between a sociology of translation influenced by Bourdieu or other sociologists and various theoretical frameworks within translation studies, such as Descriptive Translation Studies, approaches informed by cultural studies, cognitive approaches, and research on translation in the contexts of conflict and social activism. In this study, combining Bourdieu's framework with DTS allowed me to fully account for the individual agency of *The Origin* (re)translators. Hanna (2014, p. 63) underlines that the systemic orientation of norm-based studies prioritizes the examination of collective, depersonalized behavior of translators over the investigation of individual translation agencies. In this study,

combining DTS with Bourdieu's social action theory has allowed me to reflect on the individual agents' translatorial strategies and to compare the norms different agents followed translating *The Origin* over the course of six decades. Moreover, incorporating Baker's narrative model into this methodological and theoretical framework has enabled a more nuanced understanding of the impact that agents sought to create through their narrative practices surrounding *The Origin* within their respective fields of operation. In addition, following the insights of TS scholars such as Gouanvic (2014) and Hanna (2014), who emphasize the potentials of using a full array of Bourdieusian concepts, a combination of Bourdieusian notions such as habitus, field, capital, symbolic time and mark(s) of distinction were used to explore how the sociological backgrounds and positionings of the agents of (re)translation influenced their translatorial decisions and the norms they followed in their translation processes.

The sociological focus directed to the paratextual and narrative analysis also made the similarities, differences, and sometimes interesting contrasts among the agents' narrative practices more visible. For example, while the agents of (re)translation who harbored an ideological interest in *The Origin* as an outcome of their individual or collective dispositions in the Turkish political and publication fields tended to produce numerous paratextual elements in relation to their *The Origin* (re)translations, the agents who seem to have had a mostly profit-oriented approach towards *The Origin* did not feel the need to produce paratextual elements as vigorously as the first group. Although most agents of (re)translation found new narrative spaces to discuss various aspects of Darwin's theory and *The Origin*, their tone and styles varied depending on whether they harbored specific ideological interests in Darwin. When translation agents were ideologically invested in *The*

*Origin* and Darwin's theory, their endeavors to either dissociate or associate Darwinism and specific elements in *The Origin* with particular meta-narratives, as well as their responses to Creationism and anti-Darwinist state policies, were more pronounced and assertive. For example, for Ünalın, Erdost and Çubukçu, Darwin's theory means a contribution to dialectic thinking and Marx's historical materialism thesis. For them, Darwin and evolution are also significant scientific and symbolic assets in the centuries-old clash between materialist and idealistic worldviews. For Kılıç and Cankoçak, as well as being significant in terms of their empirical and socialist worldviews, Darwin's theory of evolution is a conceptual theory from which an atheistic inquiry into religion and religious dogmas can immensely benefit. However, Tuncay and his publisher, for example, did not have a particularly ideological interest in Darwin, and their translatorial efforts were mostly aimed at economic capital acquisition. In the epitextual materials he produced on Darwin in the aftermath of translating his works, Tuncay was not critical of certain interpretations or repercussions of the theory or the anti-Darwinist creationist activities in Türkiye in the same way that the other agents of translation were. He primarily opted to convey his knowledge of Darwin and the influence of his theory in a more descriptive manner.

For the agents of retranslation that produced *The Origin* retranslations in the aftermath of the removal of evolution from school curriculums, this removal is an attack on modern, empirical thinking since biology cannot be fully grasped without evolution, as they frequently voiced in the paratextual material I studied. Especially Kılıç and her editor Cankoçak highlight this point of view frequently in their peritextual and epitextual materials. For Özsoy, on the other hand, evolutionary biology should not be incorporated into socio-political or religious debates.

According to Özsoy, *The Origin* should be viewed as a significant scientific work, a challenging read, that requires a certain amount of previous knowledge of related disciplines for a complete understanding of the theory. This was potentially why Özsoy underlined at every opportunity that he included endnotes and a preface to his translation, to guide the readers during their reading experience as someone that possessed the necessary scientific capital to be able to do so.

Another crucial aspect that should not be overlooked is that (re)translating and (re)publishing Darwin's *The Origin* has bestowed upon the translation agents additional symbolic capital, especially within their fields of operation, alongside the scientific and economic capital they acquired through their translation and publication efforts. They were invited by different platforms to discuss their translations and various aspects of Darwin's theory, although these platforms were mostly aligned with the agents' ideological dispositions. For example, Öner Ünalın wrote essays on Darwin for the Marxist periodicals of the 1970s and went on to publish a popular science book on Darwin in 1997, which has been (re)published by four different Marxist publishing houses so far. Muzaffer İlhan Erdost was invited by leading leftist newspapers to write criticisms of the creationist and Islamic fraternal structures in Türkiye which had attacked evolution, and the state policies concerned with the teaching of evolution at schools. Orhan Tuncay, who is also a member of Anadolu Aydınlanma Vakfı, was requested by the foundation to participate in one of their seminars, where he discussed Darwin and *The Origin*, and subsequently he was asked to contribute essays for the association's digitally published intellectual magazine. Bahar Kılıç was invited by the YouTube channel of the Turkish Atheism Association and SolTV to deliver seminars on her Darwin retranslations, during which she also discussed the misinterpreted aspects of the theory from her point of

view. As a professor of evolutionary biology and an ardent defender of evolution, Ergi Deniz Özsoy was already a popular figure in Turkish media concerning debates over evolution. However, following the publication of his *The Origin* translation, he was subsequently invited by many intellectual platforms to discuss Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection and his retranslation. Thus, *The Origin* (re)translations studied within the scope of this study demonstrate that translation can potentially confer upon the agents who perform it a certain degree of "prestige" and "expertise" as an outcome of the cultural, scientific, and/or symbolic capital acquisitions derived from the very act of translating a certain work or author, despite the general tendency to identify translators as invisible actors. It is clear that, when translatorial interest is invested in the works of authors whose ideas or theories have been politicized and appropriated by different ideologies in the target context, we are likely to observe instances of such prestige assigned to the agents of (re)translation.

Another interesting point that should be mentioned in terms of the acquisition of symbolic capital by the agents of translation is the constant praise Ünalán and Erdost received from the other agents of translation who aligned themselves with Marxist thinking. For example, in the Preface he wrote for the republication of Ünalán's translation by Evrensel publishing house, the prominent Marxist figure, Aydın Çubukçu, praised Ünalán and Sol Yayınları for introducing Turkish audiences to a scientific work that had great contributions to the understanding of dialectical materialism and scientific socialism. Likewise, when I interviewed them, the editorial team of Ginko Bilim also voiced their praise of Ünalán's translation and the significant value Darwin translations had, and still have, for Marxist thinking. The symbolic value they attribute to Ünalán's initial translation of *The Origin* is further underscored by their decision to continue publishing Ünalán's translation even after

more than five decades have elapsed. In their paratextual elements, Bahar Kılıç and Kerem Cankoçak praised Ünalın for undertaking the task of translating *The Origin* and producing a meticulous translation within the constraints of the limited resources available to him. Interestingly, while praising Ünalın's translation, these agents ignored the retranslations performed by Orhan Tuncay for Gün Yayıncılık and Sevim Belli for Onur Yayınları, the same publishing house that published Ünalın's translation. This situation brings to mind Pierre Bourdieu's (1991, 1996) concepts of symbolic time and marks of distinction. The first translation of *The Origin* was published by one of the leading Marxist publishers of the era and translated by a prolific Marxist translator during a period of growing tension between left and right-wing politics in Türkiye. This translation contributed to the further appropriation of Darwin's works and theory into Marxist narratives. Therefore, we can infer that Ünalın's translation has been endowed with symbolic value in Marxist and leftist circles, as it carries the imprints of the symbolic time and marks of distinction as described by Bourdieu.

While agents of retranslation who align themselves with Marxist thinking praised Ünalın's translation published by Sol/Onur Yayınları in their paratextual materials, it is interesting that another retranslator of *The Origin*, Ergi Deniz Özsoy, criticized Ünalın and Erdost's translatorial interest in Darwin, despite expressing sympathy for Marxism in some of his writings and interviews. An examination of Özsoy's paratextual materials, especially the seminars and interviews he delivered on Darwin, suggests that he views the appropriation of Darwinism and Darwin's works through translation by Marxist groups as one of the catalysts for the rise of anti-Darwinist creationist sentiments and the resultant narratives. One potential rationale behind Özsoy's position might be his belief that the constant translatorial interest

shown in Darwin's works by Marxist figures and their advocacy for Darwinism in the face of anti-Darwinist groups confirms Islamic creationist narratives claiming that Darwinism promotes "dangerous" meta-narratives such as materialism, communism and atheism. Özsoy's critique of the Marxist appropriation of Darwinism in Türkiye might potentially be related to his efforts to have evolution reintegrated into school curricula and his belief that this can only be accomplished by depoliticizing Darwin and his theory, cleansing them of political connotations and appropriations.

This study has identified three instances of plagiarism related to the existing retranslations of *The Origin* within the Turkish publishing field. This underscores the need for stricter controls on intellectual property rights to safeguard the efforts of translators and publishing houses. Aside from being completely unethical and unacceptable publication practices, the publication of the plagiarized translations can also be considered a further indicator of the growing interest in Darwin's works due to the gradually more politicized status of evolution in the Turkish political setting. Obviously, publishing plagiarized Darwin translations was seen as a potential income resource by the publishers in question. However, as discussed earlier, irrespective of the existence of plagiarized translations, the number of *The Origin* retranslations has rapidly increased, especially following 2009. In fact, only a few months before this research was completed, a new retranslation of *The Origin* was published by Ayrıntı Publishing House. Although this translation was not included in the corpus of *The Origin* (re)translations analyzed in this study, it deserves mentioning that this latest retranslation shares many similarities with the previous ones from a sociological point of view. For example, like the majority of the agents of translation involved in the production of previous (re)translations of *The Origin*,

the translator, Çağatay Tarhan, who is a molecular biologist and academician, is a Marxist. Similar to Kerem Cankoçak, the editor of the retranslation published by Alfa Yayınları, Tarhan also participates in intellectual organizations that promote and discuss various aspects of Marxism in relation to science. For example, in 2018 and 2020, he was one of the speakers of the Marksizm ve Bilimler Okulu (Marxism and Science School), a scientific organization that hosts symposiums and seminars exploring the connections between Marxism and natural sciences, social sciences, arts, and humanities. In the aftermath of the publication of his retranslation of *The Origin*, Tarhan was also invited by different platforms to talk about his translation and Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection. One example in this regard was the interview Utku Perktas conducted with Tarhan on his new retranslation of *The Origin* on Açık Radyo (Open Radio), a popular independent radio station based in Istanbul, which caters primarily to a secular audience.

It is evident that the interest in retranslating and republishing Darwin's *The Origin* continues to grow, mirroring the increasing politicization of the theory of evolution in the Turkish political landscape. Although different agents of retranslation have chosen to follow different translation strategies and norms concerning their translation processes (choices of the editions used for translation, terminology choices, adding or not adding peritextual materials to the translation, etc.), it is clear that they have contributed to the visibility and popularization of Darwin and his seminal work in Turkey. Moreover, being a Darwin (re)translator or publisher has conferred upon the agents concerned additional scientific and symbolic capital, enabling them to engage in discussions about Darwin, his theory, and their translations across various digital and print platforms. Through the epitextual and peritextual materials they added to their translations, they contributed to the

(re)production of public narratives on Darwin and *The Origin* in accordance with their ideological dispositions. By producing these narratives, they also had opportunities to contribute to the (re)production of public narratives that establish positive or negative relationships between Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection and various meta-narratives.

From a Translation Studies perspective, the case of *The Origin* (re)translations and (re)publications in Türkiye serves as a compelling example highlighting the complex and ideology-laden nature of retranslation throughout the various stages of the translation process, from initial author, text, and translator selection to the execution of translation strategies and norms, and ultimately, to the (re)framing of translations through paratextual elements. This study shows the importance of paying closer attention to both peritextual and epitextual elements that surround (re)translations since they provide the agents of translation unique opportunities to manipulate the content or implications of their translations, which can influence the reception of the author or the work that they translated greatly. In the case of Turkish retranslations of *The Origin*, while an analysis of the "translation proper" suggests that all the agents of translation were fairly faithful to Darwin's source text, the paratextual materials they produced gave them many opportunities to influence public opinion about Darwin and his theory. This suggests that in certain cases, especially when politicized texts such as *The Origin* are concerned, instead of how the source text is conveyed into a target language, the very act of (re)translating a particular work to find new narrative spaces in the form of paratextual materials becomes more important for the agents of (re)translation. This study also demonstrates the fruitfulness of Baker's (2006) narrative model when elaborating on the narrative strategies the agents of translation employ in their (re)translations and

the various narratives they produce in relation to their translatorial work. In addition, this study demonstrates once again how approaching (re)translations from a sociological perspective helps us better understand the agents' motives in harboring an interest to retranslate particular genres, authors, texts, etc. and how their socio-political dispositions impact their translation strategies. Moreover, as discussed earlier, this study demonstrates the benefits of integrating a sociology of translation (influenced by Bourdieu's social action theory or the theoretical perspectives of other sociologists) with various other theoretical and methodological frameworks in the repertoire of Translation Studies. Combining Bourdieu's (1986, 1990, 1991, 1998) social action theory, Toury's (1995) translation norms, Genette's (1997) typology of paratexts, and Baker's (2006) narrative model of analysis has presented this study with a rich array of tools and concepts that have been used to illuminate a myriad of aspects in relation to *The Origin* (re)translations and (re)publications published in the Turkish setting within the last six decades.

This research also suggests new avenues for investigating science translation, particularly translations related to evolution and Darwin's works. For instance, the current study does not explore how Turkish readers perceive the translation norms and strategies employed by the (re)translators when rendering *The Origin* into Turkish. Future research can delve into the reception of the (re)translations of Darwin's works and popular science books on evolution, offering valuable insights into how these different (re)translations resonate with the target audience. Questions to explore may include: To what degree do paratextual elements influence the reading experience and readers' opinions on the subject matter? Are readers attentive to the ideological dispositions of the agents of translation when selecting a translation to purchase? Or, what insights can we gain from the reader commentaries

and reviews on various printed and digital platforms regarding how readers of *The Origin* (re)translations perceive Darwin and his theory in the Turkish context?

Expanding upon these inquiries would potentially deepen our understanding of the nature and significance of (re)translation. It would enrich our perspective of the impact that (re)translation and agents of (re)translation can have within the scientific domain and, in particular, foreground the influence that (re) translation and the agents thereof can have in the transfer of ideas and concepts across theories and epistemologies.



## APPENDIX A

### TRANSLATED LONG QUOTES IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE

1. İlk baskısı 1859'da yapılan *Türlerin Kökeni*'ni, gene ilk baskıları 1871'de yayımlanan *İnsanın Türeyisi*'ni, ve bunun bir devamı olan *Seksüel Seçme*'yi, yayımlandıkları tarihten yüzyıl sonra yayına hazırlarken, bu kitaplarda gösterilen yüzlerce kaynak kitaptan bir tekinin bile Türkiye de yüzyıl sonra da olsa yayınlanmadığını görmüş, niçin geri kaldığımızı, hemen her alanda niçin, inancın karanlığından aklın aydınlığına geçemediğimizi, niçin Batı'nın ve sömürge sisteminin ve giderek emperyalist sistemin "oyuncağı" olduğumuzu daha iyi kavramıştım. (Erdost, 2004, p. 61)
2. Büyük işçi ve köylü hareketlerinin yanı sıra anti-emperyalist gençlik hareketinin de doruk noktasını yaşadığı ve sosyalizmin en geniş aydın çevrelerine ve siyasi hayatta etkili tartışmalara konu olduğu 1970 yılı, *Türlerin Kökeni*'nin kendisine özgü tarihi içinde yaşadıklarına bakarsak Türkiye'de yayımlanması için de tamamen uygundur Marksist klasikleri ilk kez sistemli bir biçimde çevirip yayımlayan Sol Yayınları *Türlerin Kökeni*'ni yayımlarken o dönemde kendisini etkili bir biçimde hissettiren bir eksikliği gidermeyi amaçlıyordu. Devrimci ideolojinin en önemli bileşeni olan diyalektik materyalizm bilim tarihinde dönüm noktası olmuş buluşlardan her zaman beslenmiştir. Diyalektik materyalizmi önceki ilkel metafizik materyalizmlerden ayıran önemli bir özelliktir bu. Dolayısıyla bilim tarihi ile bilimsel sosyalizm arasında her zaman etkili bir ilişki olmuştur 70'li yılları Türkiye'de bilimsel sosyalizmin yaygın biçimde tartışılıp öğrenilmeye çalışıldığı yıllar olarak hatırlarsak sosyalizmin bilimsel temellerde öğrenilip kavranılması bakımından *Türlerin Kökeni*'nin yayını da bir dönüm noktası olarak görürüz. (Aydın Çubukçu, 2009, pp. 12-13)
3. Marx and Darwin ilişkisi epey bir tartışma konusu olmuştur. Ve bu ilişki epey sorunlu bir ilişki haline getirilmiştir. Aslında bir sorun yoktur. Bir yandan İngiliz liberaller, bilim adamları Marks ve Darwin arasında ilişki kurulmasına sinirlenmişlerdir. Özellikle Marx'ı, Darwin'i komünizme hizmet edecek tarzda kullandığı iddiası onları epey bir yormuştur. Buna cevap yetiştirmeye çalışmışlardır. ... Yani Darwin komünizme asla hizmet edemez [diyenlere] cevabımız "etmesin", öyle bir iddiamız da yok zaten. (Çubukçu & Tarhan, 2020, 2:46)
4. Aslında yayıncılığımıza biçtiğimiz misyon sorumluluk gereği. Marksist dünya görüşünün aslında doğa bilimleri alanındaki bir yansıması olarak hep önemsendi *Türlerin Kökeni*, biliyorsunuz. Bizim bakımımızdan da tutarlı birer Marksist olmanın gereği olarak Darwinci olmak bir gerekti. Dolayısıyla bilim yayıncılığımızın önemli bir parçası olması da bundan kaynaklı. Bunun tersi de her zaman doğru veya gerekli değil. Şunu kastediyorum: evrimcilerin, Darwincilerin illa ki Marksist olması gerekemeyebilir elbette. Ama bizim için tutarlı birer Marksist olmanın gereği Darwinci ve evrimci olmaktan da geçiyor açıkçası. Temel kaynağının bu olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. (O. Öztürk, personal communication, April 2, 2024)

5. Öner Ünalın çevirisi ile devam edeceđiz. Çeviri ihtiyacı vardı, çıkan çeviriler bunu karşıladı. Bizim de yeniden çeviri yayımlamamıza ihtiyaç olduğunu düşünmüyoruz. Bununla devam edeceđiz. Eksiklerini, sorunlarını biliyoruz. Buna rağmen yayımlamayı sürdürmemizin bir anlamı var. Benim bakımından bir sadakat yanı var. Diđer yandan onun [Öner Ünalın] katkılarının görünürlüğünü sürdürmemizin bir yolu da bu. Bizim ailesiyle olan anlaşmamız geređi tüm çeviri ve telif eserlerinin basım hakkı bizde. (O. Öztürk, personal communication, April 2, 2024)
6. 2011 yılında blođumu açtıđımda internette özellikle evrimle ilgili yazılı kaynakların çok sınırlı olduğunu gördüm. Var olanların da çođunlukla evrim karşıtı ve dış akımların güdümünde olduğunu gördüm. Őu an öyle deđil. Őu an çok güzel kaynaklar var. Ama o zaman öyle deđildi, çok sınırlıydı. Dolayısıyla o dönemde bilgiye erişmeye çalışan özellikle de yabancı dili yeterli olmayan insanlar bu arayıştan ya elleri boş dönüyor ya da daha da kötüsü yanlış bilgilerle dönüyordu. Dolayısıyla ben de çeşitli makalelerden popüler bilim sitelerinden ya da kendi araştırmalarımından edindiđim bilgileri internette paylaşmanın bu konuda yazılar yazmanın faydalı olacağını düşündüm. Birtakım belgeseller, videolar da çevirdim. Böylece biraz da olsa insanları bilime yaklaştırmaya, söz konusu bilgi kirliliđinden uzaklaştırmaya çalıştım. (Kılıç & Örsöđlü, 2019, 2:15)
7. Öncelikle biyoloji bilimini yepyeni bir temele oturtan ve bilim tarihinin en önemli dönüm noktalarından biri olan evrim kuramı *Türlerin Kökeni* adlı kitapla, 1959 yılında ilk baskısı yapılan kitapla, bilim dünyasına ilk adımını atıyor. Bu önemli kitap, 1970'te Öner Ünalın tarafından Türkçeye çevriliyor. Öncelikle bilgiye erişimin günümüzdeki kadar kolay olmadığı bir dönemde ve bilimsel terimlerin de günümüzdeki gibi oturmamış olduğu bir dönemde bu kitabı Türkçeye kazandıran Öner Ünalın'ı tebrik etmek gerekiyor. Çeşitli eleştiriler okuyorum bu konuda ama tarihsel bağlamında düşünmek gerekiyor. Ama ben çok başarılı bir iş çıkardıđını düşünüyorum. Ancak, dediđim gibi, Türkçenin zenginleşmesi, 1970'ten beri bilim dilinin zenginleşmesi, bilimsel terimlerin biraz daha oturması, yerleşmesi, her Őeye rağmen toplumun bilime biraz daha yaklaşması nedeniyle daha modern terimlerle daha güncel bir Türkçe ile Alfa Yayınları Darwin serisini çıkarmaya karar verdi. Ben de onların bu görüşüne katıldım ve süreç bu şekilde başladı. (Kılıç & Örsöđlü, 2019, 04:22)
8. Türkiye'de son yıllarda pek çok yayınevi popüler bilim kitabı basmaya başladı; bunun birçok sebebi var. Bunlardan birisi TÜBİTAK'ın 25 sene önce başlattığı ama bugünkü iktidarın hemen sona erdirdiđi hamle. İkincisi toplumda son on yıllardır uygulanan bilim karşıtı uygulamalar. Eğitim sistemi bilimden uzaklaştı. Dindar nesil oluşturma çabaları var. Toplum kutuplaştı ve seküler kesimin bilime olan ihtiyacı daha çok arttı. Avrupa'da 1600, 1700'lerde yaşanan tartışmalar Türkiye'de yaşanmakta. ... Türkiye'de yoğun bir şekilde yaşanan politik tartışmalar popüler bilim yayıncılığına da yansıyor. Örneđin, evrim meselesi bildiđiniz gibi müfredattan çıkarıldı. Aslında Darwinci müfredatın kaldırılması 1938'te başlamıştı. ... Evrimi anlamadan etrafımızdaki olan biten hiçbir Őeyi anlayamayız. Bizim bir

doğamız var bilmek zorundayız. Evrim meselesi popüler bilim yayıncılığında önemli. Hala akıllı tasarım tartışmaları var Türkiye’de bildiğiniz gibi. (Cankoçak, 2019)

9. Bu anlamda bu önemli eseri, bilginin şimdiki gibi kolay ulaşılır olmadığı ve internetin bulunmadığı bir dönemde Türkçeye kazandırmış olan Sayın Öner Ünalın’ı saygıyla anıyorum. Kendi çeviri sürecimde, hem yabancı kaynaklardan ve Ünalın çevirisinden hem de *Türlerin Kökeni*’nin birinci basımının James T. Costa tarafından eklenen açıklamalarla düzenlenmiş versiyonu olan *The Annotated Origin: A Facsimile of the First Edition of On the Origin of Species* adlı değerli kaynaktan çokça yararlandım. (Kılıç, 2019)
10. Darwin’in evrim kitapları Türkçeye 1970’lerde, yazıldıktan neredeyse 120-110 yıl sonra çevriliyor. Onu da Sol Yayınları, bilim dizisini yayınladıkları Onur Yayınları üzerinden yapıyor. Öner Ünalın çevirisiyle bu kitaplar Türkçeye kazandırılmış ve yıllarca da tek çeviri olarak kalmış. Yani sadece onlar (Sol Yayınları ekibi) çevirmeye cesaret etti, ne (erken) cumhuriyet döneminde ne de sonrasında (başka çeviren olmadı). 2017’ye gelene kadar durum böyleydi. Sonrasında benim Türkçeye kazandırdığım yeni çevirisi çıktı. Eski çevirinin belli zorlukları da vardı tabii ki. Yeni çevirisi bu açıdan da belli güzellikler barındırıyor. Ama o da bir mücadelenin parçası olduğu için saygıyla anmak gerekiyor diye düşünüyorum. (Kılıç & Durmuş, 2021, 3:48)
11. On dokuzuncu yüzyılın çalkantılı atmosferinde, *Köken* belli nedenlerden dolayı büyük ilgi görmüş. Ancak, bu kitabın temelde bir biyoloji metni olduğu genellikle göz ardı edilmiş. Gerçekten de biyoloji alanında son derece kapsamlı ve sistematik bir çalışma. Ne var ki, yayımlandığı tarihten bu yana Türkiye’deki ya da dünyadaki çeşitli yayın tarihlerine, hatta orijinal dili olan İngilizcedeki yayın tarihlerine bakıldığında, en çok satan kitaplar arasında yer almasına rağmen en az okunan kitaplardan biri olduğunu görürüz. Türkiye’deki bu olgunun ardındaki nedenler, bu çevirilerin ardındaki motivasyonlar düşünüldüğünde daha iyi anlaşılır. Ancak, bu durumun altında yatan nedenin büyük ölçüde başka yerlerdeki benzer olduğuna inanıyorum. Bu metin her ne kadar biyoloji metni de olsa, siyasi ve ideolojik çerçevelerden sürekli olarak olumlu ya da olumsuz yorumlara maruz kalmıştır. Bu tür yorumlar arayanlar, bakış açıları ne olursa olsun, sadece birkaç sayfa sonra kendilerini hayal kırıklığına uğramış bulurlar. Bunun nedeni, kitabın beklenenden tamamen farklı bir odağı olmasıdır – evcilleştirme altında değişkenlik üzerine bir bölümle başlayan biyolojinin kapsamlı bir incelemesi ... (Özsoy, 2023, 8:40)
12. Evrime Türkiye’deki hâkim bakış açısıyla baktığımızda, Darwin’in esrarengiz, şüpheli bir isim olduğunu görürüz. Oysa Darwin’in kitabını alıp okursanız, onun son derece titiz bir doğa bilimci ve bugünün standartlarına göre olağanüstü bir gözlem yeteneğine sahip, spekülasyondan ziyade gerçeklere dayanan bir bilim insanı olduğunu görürsünüz. Hepimizin bildiği gibi, Türkiye’de uzun süredir devam eden bir bilgi kirliliği sorunu var. Darwin’in *Köken*’i de bunun kurbanı olmuştur. Sonuç olarak, *Köken*’in çevirileri incelendiğinde, genellikle biyolojik çerçevenin tam olarak aktarılamadığı görülür. Bunun nedeni, çevirilerin genellikle belirli ideolojileri ve dünya

görüşlerini desteklemeyi amaçlayan avam girişimler olmasıdır. Ben bu çevirilerin samimi olmadığını söylemiyorum. Ama samimi çeviri yapmak ayrı şey, bir bilim eserini, oldukça kapsamlı bir doğa bilimleri eserini doğru aktarmak ayrı bir şey diye düşünüyorum. (Özsoy, 2023, 10:15)

13. Darwin, Malthus'un matematiksel anlatımını *Türlerin Kökeni*'nde de kullanır. Ve böyle davrandığı ve Malthus'a değil de, Malthus'un da dayandığı bir olguya (Her canlı türünde doğan birey sayısı, sağ kalıp döl verebilecek birey sayısından çoktur.) dayandığını görmeyip veya unutup, yaşama savaşının canlılar âleminin tümüne uygulanmış Malthus öğretisi olduğunu söylemiştir. Malthus'un teoride payı yoktur. Malthus kullandığı matematiksel anlatımla, Darwin'in bile geldiği, dahası gözleye geldiği, ama organik evrimdeki önemini daha önce görmediği bir olguyu göz önüne alıp değerlendirmesine vesile olmuştur. (Ünalın, 1997, p. 120)
14. Denebilir ki Darwin canlılar arası bağımlılık ilişkilerinde dayanışma, işbirliği, ortaklaşma görmediği –hiç değilse yeterince görmediği– içindir ki savaş sözcüğünü kullanmıştır. Marx onun böyle davranmasını çağının acımasız ve saldırgan kapitalci İngiliz toplumunda yarışmadan ve çatışmadan başka bir şey görmemiş olmasıyla ilişkilendirir. Engels ise canlılar arası ilişkilerde uyum ve işbirliği de olduğunu açıkça vurgular. (Ünalın, 1997, p. 128)
15. "... evrim teorisini onaylıyorum, ama Darwin'in kanıtlama yöntemini (yaşama savaşı, doğal seçme) yeni keşfedilmiş bir olgunun yalnızca bir ilk, geçici, eksik anlatımı sayıyorum. Darwin'in çağına dek her yerde yalnız varolma savaşı gören belirli kişiler (Vogt, Büchner, Moleschot, vb.) organik doğada işbirliği (bitkiler âleminin hayvanlar âlemine oksijen ve besin sağlaması, ve bunun tersine, hayvanlar âleminin bitkilere karbonik asit ve gübre sağlaması ...) olgusu üzerinde belirgince durmuşlardır. Bu iki kavrayış belirli sınırlar içinde doğrulanır, ama biri öbürü denli tek yanlı ve dar görüşlüdür. Doğada cisimlerin –gerek cansız gerek canlı cisimlerin– etkileşimi uyum da içerir çarpışma da, savaş da içerir işbirliği de." (Engels 1875, as cited in Ünalın 1997, p. 127)
16. Evrim kuramı dönemin yalnızca bilim insanları tarafından değil, önemli düşünürleri tarafından da yoğun bir ilgiyle karşılanmıştı. Darwin'in doğadaki sağ kalım ve mücadele konusundaki görüşleri, Karl Marx'ın sınıf mücadelesi konusundaki görüşleriyle paralellik gösteriyordu. Dolayısıyla gerek Marx gerek Engels, evrim kuramının önemini derhal anlamıştı. Doğa bilimlerindeki gelişmeleri yakından takip eden Engels, *Türlerin Kökeni*'nin birinci basımından birkaç hafta sonra Marx'a yazarak, "Şu anda okumakta olduğum Darwin tek kelimeyle muhteşem. Teleolojinin yıkılması gereken bir yönü daha kalmıştı ve şimdi o da yıkıldı." demiş; kitabı ancak bir sene sonra okuma fırsatı bulan Marx da, Engels'e 19 Aralık 1860'ta yazdığı bir mektupta, "Bu kitap, bizim görüşümüzün doğa tarihindeki temelini içermektedir" diye yazmıştı. (Kılıç, 2019)

17. Darwin doğada sınırlı kaynaklar için bir yaşam mücadelesi olduğunu söylemekle birlikte insanın türeyişinde duygudaşlık ve ahlaki duygular gibi sosyal ilişkilerin de doğal seçim yoluyla evrimleştiğini ve toplumları güçlendirdiğini söylüyor. Bir insan uygarlaştıkça ve ufak kabileler birleşik, daha büyük topluluklara dönüştükçe, her bireyin sosyal içgüdülerini ve duygudaşlıklarını, yani empati yeteneğini, aynı ulusun tüm bireylerini –onları şahsen tanımıyor olsa bile– kapsayacak şekilde geliştirmesi gerektiğini anlayacağını söylüyor ... Ancak Darwin'in tüm bu açıklamalarına, tüm uyarılarına, tüm bu kendini anlatma çabalarına rağmen V. baskıya eklediğinden bahsettiğimiz bu talihsiz ifade “Survival of the Fittest” kapitalist söylemlerde ekonomik rekabeti destekleyen bir argüman olarak kullanılıyor, özellikle Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde liberal kapitalizmin meşrulaştırılması için kullanılıyor. (Kılıç, 2022, 30:30)
18. Darwin'in *Türlerin Kökeni*'nde ortaya koyduğu ve daha sonrasındaki kitaplarıyla da ... desteklediği evrimin temel ilkeleri, yani değişerek türeme, ortak ata, seçim gibi kavramlar sadece bilimsel değil bir takım felsefi, sosyolojik ve dinsel tartışmaların da önünü açmıştır. Bu süreçte Darwin'in şahsına yapılan çirkin ve alaycı saldırılar bir yana kuramın kendisi de gerek geçmişte gerek günümüzde yanlış anlaşılmalara dayanan bazı kötücül akımlara neden olmuştur. Ben bu sunumda bu yanlış anlaşılmalara ve akımlara biraz değinmek ve hata Darwin'e atfedilen bazı görüşlerin arka planını anlatmak istiyorum sizlere. (Kılıç, 2022, 5:10)
19. Darwin ve evrim kuramının Ernst Haeckel'in düşüncelerini referans alan Nazilerin ve o dönemdeki faşistlerin eylemleriyle aslında hiçbir ilgisi yok. Bu da yine Sosyal Darwinizm, öjeni, ırkçılık gibi örneklerde anlattığım gibi hatalı bilgiye dayanan yanlış bir ilişkilendirme olur. Sonuç olarak Herbert Spencer ve Francis Galton ile başlayıp Heackle ile devam eden ve Nazilere ilham veren ve hatta devlet eliyle sürdürülen bu tip akımlar, biyolojik evrim kuramının yanlış anlaşılmasından veya yanlış disiplinlere uygulanmasından ileri gelir ve Darwin'in bakış açısına terstir. Bunu Darwin'in kendi kitaplarını, otobiyografilerini, mektuplarını, el yazması notlarını (okumuş) veya onu tanımış insanların yorumlarını okuyan herkes rahatlıkla görebilir. Onun bu akımların hiçbiriyle anılmayı hak etmediği de çok açıktır. (Kılıç, 2022, 47:20)
20. Ayrıcalıklı ırkların korunması sözü dediğim gibi sonradan eklenen bir söz ve birtakım ırkçı söylemlerin de dayanağı olarak kullanılmaya açıldı. Hatta Darwin'in ölümünden sonra biyolojik evrim kuramının yanlış disiplinlere uygulanmasıyla Sosyal Darwinizm gibi birtakım uygulamaların da olmasına yol açtı. Gerçekten çok talihsiz bir durum. Çünkü Darwin hem kölelik karşıtı hem de monogenist, yani bütün insanların ortak bir soydan, ortak bir kökenden ve hatta Afrika'dan geldiğini bu savunan bir insan. Dolayısıyla Darwin'in biyolojik evrim kuramının böyle bir şeye konu edilmesi gerçekten çok üzücü bir şey. (Kılıç & Durmuş, 2021, 12:22)
21. Bir fikri öldürmenin en iyi yolu, onu yanlış savunmaktır. Organik evrimi açıklayan doğal seçim kavramının sosyal, siyasi ve ekonomik alanlara da uygulanmasını savunan Sosyal Darwinizm akımı, yukarıda anılan ve

Darwin'in çalışmalarının yanlış yorumlanmasından kaynaklanan çıkarımlardan biridir. 1880'li yıllarda Avrupa'da ortaya çıkan ve 1940'lı yıllarda daha da yaygınlaşan bu alının, isim benzerliğine karşın ne Darwin'in bilimsel görüşleriyle ne de organik evrimle ilgisi vardır. Söz konusu hatalı çıkarımlardan bir diğeri de Darwin'in ölümünden bir yıl sonra ortaya atılan, zayıf bireylerin tıpkı doğada olduğu gibi elenmesini ve insan neslinin ıslah edilmesini savunan, böylece genel çerçevede Sosyal Darwinizme benzeyen öjenik kavramıdır. Evrim kuramının yanlış yorumlanmasına dayanan bu ve benzeri görüşler, sıklıkla ve haksızca Darwin'le ilişkilendirilir. Kimi zaman gerek kasıtlı gerek kasıtsız olarak yapılan hatalı çeviriler de böylesi ciddi yanlışlıklara neden olabilmektedir. Darwin, dini akımların güdümünde doğan ve Tanrı'nın siyahileri beyazlardan farklı zamanlarda yarattığını savunan yaratılışçı akımların hep karşısında durmuş; bu akımların kaynağı olan poligenizme (farklı insan ırklarının farklı kökenleri olmasına) şiddetle karşı çıkarak, monogenizmi (bütün insanların aynı türe ait olduğunu ve insan ırklarının da bu türün çeşitli varyantları şeklinde ortak bir kökenden evrimleştiğini) savunmuştur. Üstelik Darwin, siyahi ırkın beyazlara hizmet etsin diye yaratıldığına inananların aksine, köleliğe de karşı çıkmıştır. Buna karşın, yazılarından alınan kimi ifadelerin bağlamından kopartılması ve çarpıtılması suretiyle, daha sonradan Darwin'e "ırkçı" yakıştırması bile yapılmıştır. (Kılıç, 2017, pp. 11-12)

22. Var olma mücadelesinin karmaşık biyolojik ilişkileri ifade eden anlamayı kolaylaştırıcı bir mecaz olması gibi, Thomas Malthus'un nüfus artışı ile kaynak tüketimi ve sonuçları arasında gördüğü ilişki de Darwin tarafından, vurguladığı üzere, bitki ve hayvanlar alemi için bir mecaz olarak kullanılmaktadır. Malthus'un doktrininin "bütün gücüyle uygulanması"nın, seçilimi tüm karmaşıklığı ve tarihselliği içinde izah edecek evrimsel genetik bir teorinin bulunmadığı bir dönemde, Darwin tarafından izlenen mecburi bir indirgeme olduğu unutulmamalıdır. Seçilimi Mendel genetiğinin ilkeleri çerçevesinde, "doğal seçilimin genetik teorisini" oluşturacak şekilde ilk kez formüle eden kişiyse yirminci yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde büyük istatistiksel ve evrimsel genetikçi Ronald Aylmer Fisher olmuştur. Fisher'ın sonraki dönem evrimsel genetiğindeki doğal seçim kavrayışını derinden etkileyen, genetik değişkenlik ile uyum başarısı değişkenliği arasındaki ilişkiyi ele aldığı, evrilmeyi doğal seçilimin temel teoremi çerçevesiyle işlediği eseri ise şudur: R. A. Fisher, *The Genetical Theory of Natural Selection*, Oxford University Press, 1930. (Özsoy, 2022, pp. 645-646)
23. İnsanın kültür hallerinin ortak krizlerini ister istemez keskinleştirmiş olmakla birlikte Türlerin Kökeni'nin aslında hayli ama hayli biyolojik bir metin olduğu unutulmamalıdır. Stephen Jay Gould'un da vurguladığı gibi Türlerin Kökeni insanlık ve varlık hallerinin bütün yüzlerini tüm kapsamıyla bir izahın manifestosuyla başlamaz: İlk bölümü "Evcilleştir-me Etkisi Altındaki Varyasyon" adını taşır. Bir tür ya da tür içinde bölümlenmiş taksonomik tanımlı gruplar dahilindeki bireylerde herhangi bir biyolojik özelliğe gözlenen varyasyonun insan eliyle nasıl belirli durumlara yönlendirildiğini çarpıcı örneklerle anlatan bu bölümü, benzer türden varyasyonun sıklıkla gözlemlendiğini vurgulayan, yine örnekçe zengin "Doğadaki Varyasyon" bölümü izler. Köken'in bir sonraki bölümü "Var Olma Mücadelesi" adını taşır ve

Darwin'in meselenin karmaşıklığı ve çok katmanlı oluşu nedeniyle özellikle mecazi bir kavram olarak kullandığını vurguladığı var olma mücadelesi, doğada gözlenen biyolojik özellik varyasyonunun zaman ve mekandaki dağılımı üzerinedir ve sonraki "Doğal Seçilim" bölümüyle bağlantı kurulmasıyla, ortak kökenden değişerek türemenin evrensel izahı içindeki yerini alır. (Özsoy, 2022, pp. vi-vii)

24. Darwin için mücadele, diğer bireylerin kıt kaynaklar için rekabet edip etmemelerine bakılmaksızın, hayatta kalmak ve üremek için yapılan mücadele anlamına gelir. Bireyler ve gruplar arasındaki işbirlikleri ve karşılıklı fayda sağlayan ilişkiler de ("bir varlığın bir diğerine bağımlılığı") mücadele biçimlerindedir. (Lewontin, 2022, p. xiii)
25. Evrim teorisi tarihine ve özelde Darwin'in yazdıklarına ilişkin yanlış anlamalardan biri, Köken'in yayımlanması ve popüleritesinin bir sonucunun da doğal seçilimle evrim fikrini iktisat ve siyaset alanlarına taşıyan "Sosyal Darwinizm" in gelişimine yol açtığı iddiasıdır. Ancak bu iddia, tarihi tepetaklak etmekten başka bir şey değildir. Darwin Köken' de, 19. yüzyılın hakim ekonomik mücadele görüşlerini, güçlerini ve mülkiyetlerini sahip oldukları üstün rekabet uyumları yoluyla artıran ve ayakta kalan girişimci aktörlerin oluşturduğu tabakanın yükselişinin ifadesini biyolojiye taşımıştır. "Sosyal Darwinizm" Darwin'den öncesine aittir ve Türlerin Kökeni'ni en uyumlu olanın hayatta kalması fikrinin mirasçısı, bir tür "biyolojik ekonomizm" biçimi olarak görmemiz daha doğru olur. (Lewontin, 2022, p. xiv)
26. Türlerin Kökeni'nde neydi ve sonra ne hale geldi bu kavram? Modern evrimsel biyolojide biz bu kavramı nasıl kullanırız? Bence bu ayrımlar önemli. Çünkü genellikle evrim konusunda fikir beyan edilirken var olma mücadelesi Darwin'deki bağlamından bile çıkarılmış çok avam bir şekilde, basit bir kavga, bir çatışmamış bir lanse ediliyor. Bu aslında birazdan göstermeye çalışacağım gibi tamamen yanlış bir kavramlaştırma. Bu tür bir kavramlaştırmanın ne modern evrimsel biyolojik çerçeveye ne de Darwin'deki çerçeveye uzaktan yakından ilgisi olmadığını göstermeye çalışacağım. Aynı zamanda neden böyle bir algı var, neden popüler adıyla "var olma mücadelesi" kavramı bu şekilde söylemlerimize yerleşmiş, biraz da ona değineceğim. (Özsoy, 2022c, 2:00)
27. Darwin'in üretiminde Sosyal Darwinizm'i bulamazsınız... Ama iki türlü Sosyal Darwinizm'den bahsetmek mümkün dönem itibariyle. Bu grupları, Darwinci evrimsel biyolojiyi sosyal meselelere uygulama yolları üzerinden ikiye ayırmak lazım. Birinci grupta daha çok dönemin sosyalistleri, liberalleri vs. şeklinde sayabileceğimiz kesimler var. Özellikle bunlar insanın sahip olduğu sınıfsal vb. hallerin sabit olmadığını, bunların geçici olduğunu söylüyor. Evrimin de insanla diğer hayvanlar arasındaki ilişkiyi kurarak dünya üzerindeki düzenin ezelden beri böyle gelip böyle gidiyor olmadığını gösterdiğini vurguluyorlar. Ama bu birinci grubun içerisinde rekabete veya var olma mücadelesinin avam bir yorumlamasına dayalı bir savaşım şeklinde ilerleme motifi yok. İkinci bir grup daha var. Bu kişiler daha çok Darwin'e karşı olanlar içerisinden çıkıyor. Tam da bilimsel manada Evrim karşıtları

diyebileceğimiz bir grup içinden çıkıyor aslında bu kişiler. Bu grup daha çok kapitalist tondan konuşuyor. Bu kişilere göre bütün toplumlarda, hem toplum içinde hem toplumlar arasında çok keskin çatışmalar var. Hepimizin bildiği güçlü olanın hayatta kalması metaforunu biraz daha üst dilde ama Darwin'deki bağlamından tamamen uzaklaştırarak, tam olarak bizim Sosyal Darwinizm olarak yaftaladığımız çerçevede kullanıyorlar. Bu geleneğin dediğim gibi Darwin'in üretimiyle hiçbir alakası yok. (Özsoy, 2022c; 25:05)

28. Marksist metodoloji pek çok metodolojiden biri; ama tarihselliğe bakması, bir sürü farklı farklı kültürel, toplumsal katmanların ilişkilerini, çelişkilerini ele alması vs. bakımından çok büyük bir zenginlik sunuyor. Dolayısıyla toplumsal hadiseleri ele alınırken, biyolojiden değil de, Marksizm'den veya beşeri olarak inceltmiş yaklaşımlardan faydalanmak bence çok daha doğru bir şey. Doğru bir entelektüel nokta. Çünkü siz toplumsal çatışmaları ne bileyim işte iktisadi meseleler üzerine temellenmiş veya başka türlü tarihsel, ideolojik çatışmalar gibi şeyleri siz biyoloji üzerinden anlayamazsınız ki. Biyolojiden bir dil türetseniz bunları anlamak için, bu doğru değil ki, bağlamından çıkarmış oluyorsunuz. Mesela toplumlar arasındaki farkı veya "medeniyetler arasındaki farkı" anlattığınız zaman bunu bir doğal seçilimsel "rekabet" sonucu ortaya çıkmış bir fark olarak anlatmaya başlarsanız duvara toslamış olursunuz. Çünkü gerçek manasıyla doğal seçimden bahsedemezsiniz; yani doğal seçimde evrimleşme koşullarının, genotip ile fenotip arasındaki ilişkinin kalıtsallığına ve çevresel değişkenin ilgilendiğinin doğal seçimle evrimleştiğini söylediğiniz özelliğin altını çizen genetiğe dayanması gerekir. Sosyal bir problem için böyle bir şey yapamazsınız ki. Mesela kadınla erkek arasındaki statü eşitsizliğini, sosyobiologların yaptıkları şekilde basitçe, evrimsel biyolojik farklara bağlayacak olursanız eğer duvara toslarsınız. Anaerkillik var, ataerkillik var, bunların mesela tarihsel yüzleri var, farklı coğrafyalardaki farklı tezahürleri var, antropoloji bilimi var, tarih bilimi var; yani bunlar şimdi dururken kalkıp da evrimsel biyolojik şeyler uydurmanın hiçbir manası yok; bence yani. (Özsoy, 2020)
29. Dolayısıyla Darwin'in eserinin gözleme dayalı olması, birçok farklı phenomena'yı incelemesi, kitabı yazarken belli başlı bilimsel kaynaklardan yararlanması gibi sebepler dolayısıyla temel bir perspektife sahip bir kitap bu. Fakat yine de ne yapıyor? Darwin kitabında kendini sınırlamasını becermiş, ayakları yerden kesilmeyen bir metin. Ancak birazdan bahsedeceğim nedenlerden ötürü dünyada da Türkiye'de de en çok satılan ancak en az okunan kitaplardan biri arasındadır. En çok satma sebeplerinden bahsedeceğim. Ama en az okunma sebebi belli zaten. Bu biyolojik bir kitaptır. Eskiden solcu abilerimizin elinde vardı bu kitap. Hiç kapağını açmadıkları kitaplar arasındaydı, "Sol" Yayınlarından ve "Onur" Yayınlarından çıkmıştı. Ama normal bu bir biyoloji kitabı, zor bir kitap, Victoryen bir dille yazılmış 19. yüzyıldan kalma bir kitap. Tamam çok sentetik ama buradan bir şey çıkaramazsınız. Evrim karşıtları da buradan bir şey çıkaramazlar sadece, uydurur dururlar. (Özsoy, 2022c, 17:30)

30. Anlatımlarında (Ahmet Mithat Efendi) üç tane temel yanlış düşünce var: ... Yaşam mücadelesinde güçlü olan türünü sürdürür. Yaşam mücadelesinde güçlü olan türünü sürdürseydi, bugün aylar, filler, vs. dünyaya hâkim olurlardı. Darwin, çevreye en iyi uyum sağlayan türünü sürdürür, demektir. (Tuncay, 2020)
31. Olaya sosyal açıdan yaklaştığında ise savı şuydu: Değişime en iyi uyum sağlayan toplumların soyları sürer. Bu bakış açısı çok tartışma yarattı. Nietzsche'nin ve Darwin'in, Hitler'e ilham kaynağı olduğu ileri sürüldü. Kuramı karşısındaki başka bir eleştiri de tümevarım yöntemini kullanması yönündeydi. Bu yöntem yalnızca ön yargıları destekleyici bir biçimde kullanılabilirdi veya veriler yetersiz kalabilirdi. Ayrıca, yaradılışın böyle olmadığına dair dinsel eleştiriler de oldu. (Tuncay, 2020)
32. Sosyal açıdan bakılacak olursa; "değişime en iyi uyum sağlayanların soylarını devam ettirebileceği ve diğerlerinin yok olacağı" savı, acımasız kapitalizmin başarısı için bilimsel bir temel sağlamakla suçlanmıştır. 18. yüzyılda kapitalizmin, özellikle İngiltere'de ulaştığı gelişme aşaması ve Darwin'in temsil ettiği sınıf göz önüne alındığında, bu eleştiri de çok dikkate değer (Tuncay, 2003).
33. Geçmişte gerilere gidildikçe bilinen tür sayısı öyle azdır ki, söyleneceye göre Nuh, boyu 300, eni 50, yüksekliği 30 arşın olan gemisine bütün hayvan türlerinden, üremelerine ve üretilmelerine yetecek sayıda birey alabilmiş; kendisine, oğullarına, karısına, gelinlerine ve gemideki canlıların hepsine aylarca yetecek yiyeceklere de yer kalmıştır (Tevrat, Bap 6, ayet 15-21 ve Bap 7, ayet 17-24 ve Bap 8, ayet 3-4). Bugün, üçte ikisi hayvan ve üçte biri bitki olmak üzere, tanımlanmış tür sayısı 1.250.000'i aşmıştır. (Ünalın, 1997, pp. 10-11)
34. Bu doğal sistem yaratılış planına uygun olup onu göstermelidir. Gerçekte bu doğal sistemin anlamı şudur: Canlıların kökendeşliği, soydaşlığı ve evrim ilişkileri sınıflamacıların kafalarında yansımaktadır. Geçmişin evrim tanımaz yaşambilimcileri, başlangıçta bütün canlıları insan, hayvan ve bitki olmak üzere üçe ayırırlar; daha sonra, örneğin, insanı bir memeli olarak sınıflar, ama apayrılığını belirtmek için memelilerin ayrı bir takımına (order) veya daha ileri gidip ayrı bir alt sınıfına (subclass) koyarlar. Böylelikle insanın bütün canlılardan ayrı ve Tanrı'nın suretinde yaratıldığını söyleyen dogmaya uygun davranırlar; ancak, insanın öbür canlılarla ilişkilerini görmezden de gelemezler. (Ünalın, 1997, p. 18-19)
35. 1- Türler pek uzun bir evrim sürecinin ürünüdür;  
2- Hiçbiri değişmez ve kalımlı olmayan türlerin hepsi, ortak bir veya birkaç kökenden gelmektedir;  
3- Yeryüzünde belirişi söz konusu olunca, insan canlılar âleminin dışında ve üstünde değil, bütün canlılarla birlikte düşünülmelidir; çünkü onlarla kökendeşdir;  
4- "Yaşayan canlı biçimlerinin hepsi Kambriyum Döneminden önce yaşamış olanların doğrudan doğruya dölü olduğu için, kuşakların o bilinen ardışımı

asla kesilmemiştir ve Dünyayı tümüyle ıssız bırakmış hiçbir tufan olmamıştır.” (Ünalın, 1997, p. 15)

36. Yaratılış Dogması belirli bir toplumsal bilinç biçiminin ürünüdür. Bu dogma, 1) doğabilimsel bilgi eksikliği yüzünden; 2) değişegelmiş ve değişegidecek dünyada varlıklarını sürdürmek için değişmezliği savunan egemen ideolojilere uygun düşmesi yüzünden, uzun zaman ayakta kalır; yıkılması için yalnız belirli bir bilgi birikimi değil, devrimci burjuvazinin feodallığı alt edip baş feodal Kiliseyi ekonomik ve politik bakımdan etkisiz kılması da gerekir. Yaratılış Dogması’na karşı görüşler Büyük Fransız Devrimi’ni hemen izleyen yıllarda yaygın ve yoğun olarak dile getirilir. (Ünalın, 1997, p. 17)
37. Darwin, geniş ilgi uyandıran ve alkışlanan, ama aynı zamanda bilim tarihinin en yanlış anlaşılan ve sert eleştirilere maruz kalan bu kuramını, o dönemin doğa bilginlerinin, doğanın hayran olunması dinamiklerini Tanrı’nın biricik yaratımları olarak açıklama çabasına giriştiği bir dönemde ortaya koymuştur. Bununla birlikte genetik, moleküler biyoloji, biyokimya, paleontoloji, jeoloji, morfoloji, embriyoloji vb alanlardaki pek çok bilim insanının katkılarıyla kaydedilen ilerleme, Darwin’in bundan tam 158 yıl önce mevcut verilere, gözleme ve sağlam bir öngörüye dayanarak ortaya koyduğu evrim kuramının modern sentezini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Böylelikle bu kuram, tıpkı *Türlerin Kökeni*’nin son bölümünde Darwin’in de öngördüğü gibi, bilim dünyasında yeni ve heyecan verici alanların açılmasına öncülük etmiştir. (Kılıç, 2017, p. 9)
38. Genetik yasalarının henüz ortaya konmamış olduğu bu dönemde, kalıtımın genlere dayandığı, hatta “gen” diye bir şeyin var olduğu bile bilinmiyordu; çoğu doğa bilgini ve doğa tarihçisi, doğanın hayranlık uyandıran dinamiklerini Tanrı’nın biricik yaratımları olarak açıklama çabasına girişmişti. Bununla birlikte doğayı anlama uğraşlarını sürdüren yüzlerce doğa bilgini, jeolog ve paleontolog büyük bir bilimsel devrimin yaklaşmakta olduğunu hissediyordu; çünkü doğanın sunduğu veriler, kutsal kitaplarda anlatılanlarla örtüşmüyordu. Dolayısıyla böyle bir dönemde ortaya atılan evrim kuramının ve onun mekanizması olarak önerilen doğal seçilimin, insanın doğaya, canlılığa ve en önemlisi kendisine bakışını kökten ve kalıcı olarak değiştireceği açıktı. (Kılıç, 2019)
39. Bu satırlarda, Darwin’in bir zamanlar kendisinin de benimsediği yaygın görüşü nasıl sorguladığını görebiliriz. O dönemde yaşamış çoğu doğa bilgini gibi Darwin de, canlıların tek bir ilahi müdahaleyle ve hiç değişmeyecek (veya evrimleşmeyecek) biçimde yaratılmış olduğuna inanıyordu. Ama evrim kuramı için gerekli olan veriler doğa bilimlerinin bütünsel çatısı altında yavaş yavaş birikirken, Darwin’in türlerin aslında değişebilir olduğu yönündeki görüşü de şekillenmeye başlıyordu. (Kılıç, 2019)
40. Darwin’in doğal seçilim terimini hem yapay seçilimin hem de doğal teolojinin karşıtı olarak seçmiştir. .... Doğal teolojinin karşıtı olarak seçmesine gelince, William Paley, Hristiyan din adamı, Natural Theology isimli kitabında tasarımdan çıkarım fikrini savunur. Yani teleolojik argüman dediğimiz, semavi dinlerin de tanrının varlığına kanıt olarak öne sürdüğü

argüman bu. Doğada, evrende ilahi bir düzen bir amaç, bilinçli bir tasarım olduğunu savunur Paley. İşte bu hassas ayar argümanları da aynı çatı altına girer. Paley'nin görüşleri akıllı bir tasarımcıya, yani doğadaki her şeyi tasarlayan saat ustası gibi bir yetkin varlığa işaret eder. Günümüzde evrim karşıtlarının, akıllı tasarımcılarının da ana argümanıdır bu. Richard Dawkins'in *Kör Saatçi* kitabıyla yanıt verdiği saat ustası analogisi buradan gelir. Veya, gözün teleskopla karşılaştırılması, indirgenemez karmaşıklık argümanı da Paley'nin kitabından gelir. Darwin, Cambridge rahip okulunda öğrenciyken müfredat gereği Paley'nin kitaplarını oluyor ve onun argümanlarını öğreniyor ve çok da etkileniyor. Ancak 5 yıl süren Beagle yolculuğundaki gözlemleri –ki o zaman daha 22 yaşında– bu konudaki düşüncelerini değiştiriyor. Örneğin, otobiyografisinde kendisine bir zamanlar çok mantıklı gelen Paley'nin doğada tasarım argümanını eleştirir. Doğal seçim yasasının keşfiyle bu argümanın artık geçersiz olduğunu, bu argümanı geçersiz bulduğunu söyler. "... doğadaki her şey sabit yasaların sonucudur" der Darwin otobiyografisinde. (Kılıç, 2022, 15:02)

41. Bununla birlikte, *Köken*'in ve ondan sonraki evrim biliminin bütün çıplaklığıyla bize gösterdiği bir başka acı gerçek de tek bir atadan evrimleşerek günümüze dek gelen (ve günümüzden sonra da muhakkak ki çok fazla bilemeyeceğimiz yönlerde evrilecek olan) yaşamın ihtişamını yaratan tüm çeşitliliğe amaçsız, önceden belirlenmemiş bir sürecin, doğal seçilimin önemli oranda damgasını vurmuş olduğudur. Ortak kökenden değişerek türeme fikri, *Türlerin Kökeni*'nin yayımlandığı dönemde bile etkisini koruyan, Alman idealizminden mülhem, Naturphilosophie (Doğa Felsefesi) dahilinde kaldığı sürece, varlıklar aleminin bir yaratıcı unsurun tezahürü olarak birliği fikrine uydurulduğunda rahatsız edici tonunu yitirebilecekken, doğal seçilimin teleolojiyi dışlayan yapısı akışı tam tersi yöne çevirmiştir.

Her ne kadar diğer canlılardan bilişsel ve kültürel farklılaşmasıyla "üstün" bir konuma geçmiş olsa da insanın nihayetinde doğanın monoton amaçsızlığının akrabalık dolayısıyla mecburi bir parçası olması, kimsesiz bir evrende yankılanan ses misali ürkütücü olsa gerek. *Köken*'e -ve mirası üzerine inşa edilen modern evrimsel biyolojiye- yayımlandığı günden itibaren yükselen her türden (hatta kimi zaman yaşanan dönem itibarıyla bilimsel sayılabilecek) itirazın arka planında bu amaçsızca savrulabiliyor olmanın yarattığı bir çeşit "karanlıktan korkma" halinin önemli bir payı bulunduğunu söylemek çok da yanlış olmayacaktır. (Özsoy, 2022a, p. vi)

42. Darwin'in tür dahil bütün tanımlanabilir canlı kategorilerin oluşumu için tür içindeki biyolojik özellik varyasyonunu temele koyması, kendi yaşam ortamları için özellikle tasarlanmış ve hepsi bir anda yaratılmış idealize canlı kavrayışını tepetaklak ederek yeryüzündeki yaşamı tarihsel bir oluşum (evrimleşme) çerçevesine yerleştirmesi hiç kuşkusuz bilim tarihindeki en büyük devrimci zihniyet dönüşümlerinden biridir. Ortak kökenden değişerek türeme fikri, tür içi biyolojik özellik varyasyonunun türler arası ve geçen zamanla tür üstü kategoriler şeklindeki büyük ayrılaşmalar ölçüsündeki farklılıklara doğal seçimle dönüşmesiyle tanımlanan bir evrimleşme süreci şeklinde, olağanüstü yalın ve olgusal zenginlikle dolu olarak karşımıza çıkar. *Köken*'deki tek görsel olan, şaşırtıcı bir kavrayış isabetiyle çizilmiş "yaşam

ağacı" bütün tarihselliğiyle yaşamı resmederken de bu bireysel değişkenlik vurgusunu temel alır. Türlerin Kökeni'nin bu en temeldeki vurgusu, hiç kuşkusuz birbirinden kopuk olgular yığını olmaktan henüz kurtulamamış dönem biyolojisini modern biyoloji bilimi olma yoluna da sevk etmiştir. (Özsoy, 2022a, pp. vii-viii)

43. *Köken*'in 1859 yılındaki ilk baskısında bu son cümle "Muhtelif güçlerinin, başlangıçta birkaç ya da tek bir forma üflendiği bu yaşam nazarında bir ihtişam vardır ve bu gezegen yerçekiminin değişmez yasası uyarınca dönerken, son derece basit bir başlangıçtan en zarif ve harikulade, sonsuz çeşitlilikteki formlar evrilmiştir ve evrilmeye devam etmektedir" şeklindedir. Yaratıcı ibaresi Darwin tarafından sonraki baskılara eklenmiştir. Ancak sebebi ne olursa olsun bu ifadenin konulmuş olmasının, *Köken*'in temel vurgusunu -bütün canlılığın tek bir atadan doğal seçimle gerçekleşen değişerek türeme şeklinde evrildiği –değiştirmedeği– gayet açıktır. (Özsoy, 2022b, p. 680)
44. *Türlerin Kökeni*'nin ilk baskısının son bölümünde yer alan ve altıncı baskıda da aynı yerde korunan bu pasajın yanı sıra, sadece son baskılara (ve dolayısıyla altıncısına da) özgü bir diğer "yaratıcı" vurgusuna da rastlamaktayız. Uzun bir anlatı olan *Köken*'in meşhur bitiş cümlesini bilmeyen yoktur. Bütün biyoloji tarihinin en meşhur final cümlesi diyebileceğimiz ve evrimsel biyolojiyle meşgul ya da bir tarafından evrimsel biyolojiye bulaşmış olanların bütün düşünsel-asal gerilimini ifade etmiş ve edecek olması muhtemel bu cümle şöyledir: "Muhtelif güçlerinin, başlangıçta birkaç ya da tek bir forma üflendiği yaşamın bu görüşünde bir ihtişam vardır ve bu gezegen yerçekiminin değişmez yasası uyarınca dönerken, son derece basit bir başlangıçtan en zarif ve harikulade, sonsuz çeşitlilikteki formlar evrimleşmiştir ve evrimleşmeye devam etmektedir." (1) *Köken*'in 1872'deki altıncı baskısında da bu bitiş cümlesi vardır ancak önemli sayılabilecek bir farkla: "Muhtelif güçlerinin, Yaratıcı tarafından başlangıçta birkaç ya da tek bir forma üflendiği yaşamın bu görüşünde bir ihtişam vardır ve bu gezegen yerçekiminin değişmez yasası uyarınca dönerken, son derece basit bir başlangıçtan en zarif ve harikulade, sonsuz çeşitlilikteki formlar evrimleşmiştir ve evrimleşmeye devam etmektedir." Aynı bir cümledeki bu iki fark, hayli büyüktür. Altıncı baskıda Darwin, günümüzün evrimsel yaratılışçılığına benzer şekilde, yaşamın başlangıcında yaratma eyleminde bulunmuş olan bir yaratıcıdan söz etmekte – ve *Köken*'in önceki bölümleri standart biyoloji anlatısıyla çerçevelenmiş doğal seçimle evrimleşme olduğuna göre- baştaki yaratma eylemi ardından canlılığın evrimleşmeye bırakılmasıyla, yaşamın bildiğimiz tarihinin tezahür ettiğini ima etmektedir. Bununla birlikte, sonuç cümlesine eklenen bu "yaratıcı" vurgusunun, *Köken*'in yayınlandığı ilk günlerden itibaren, Darwin'in yakın çevresine dek uzandığını hissettiği, yoğun bir dinsizlik suçlamasının getirdiği bunalıntıyı hafifletmek için yazılmış olabileceğini de rahatlıkla söyleyebiliriz. (Özsoy, 2017)
45. Ancak, *Köken* ve Darwin ile ilgili saptama ve tartışmalarda ya da günümüzdeki evrimsel biyolojinin kuramsal içeriği ve çalışmaları ile yapılan saptamalar açısından, bu ifadelerin meselenin özünü ilişkisinin kurulma

çabaları açısından sonuç üretmeyeceğini hemen belirtmekte fayda var. Zira ne Darwin ne de evrimsel biyoloji açısından bir yaratıcıyı kabul ya da reddin kurama öz itibarıyla sağlayacağı katkı ya da zarar bulunmamaktadır. (Özsoy, 2017)

46. Yaradanın yaşam özünü üfürmesi, Eski Ahid'e uygun bir söyleyiştir. Darwin kendisi, yakın arkadaşı bitkibilimci Joseph D. Hooker'a yazdığı 29 Mart 1863 tarihli mektubunda, bunu "yaltaklanma" (truckling) sayar: "Pentateuchal [Eski Ahid'in ilk beş kitabıyla ilgili, Ö.Ü.] yaratma terimini kullanarak kamuoyuna yaltaklandığım için çok pişmanım; gerçekte, tümüyle bilinmeyen bir süreçle 'ortaya çıkan' demek istiyordum.". Ama kitabının sonraki baskılarında bu düzeltmeyi yapmaz. (Ünalın, 1997, p. 96)
47. Murray, 1250 adet basılıp kısa sürede tükenen birinci basımdan tam bir buçuk ay sonra, kitabın 3000 nüshadan oluşan ikinci basımını yayımladı. Darwin ikinci basımda bazı düzeltmeler yaptı, dindar çevrelerden gelen itirazlara yanıt teşkil eden bir alıntı koydu ve kitabın son cümlesine "yaratıcı tarafından" ifadesini ekledi. Onun otobiyografisini veya mektuplarını okumuş ve onu tanımış olan herkes, bir materyalist ve agnostik olan Darwin'in bu eklemeyi neden yaptığı konusunda hemfikirdir: Örneğin 20. yüzyılın en önemli biyologlarından biri olan ve evrim kuramına önemli katkıları bulunan Ernst Mayr, *One Long Argument: Charles Darwin and the Genesis of Evolutionary Thought* (1991) adlı kitabında, Darwin'in bu eklemeyi "kamuoyunu ve eşini yatıştırmak için" yaptığını söyler. Nitekim kimilerine göre Darwin, evrim kuramıyla tanrıyı öldürmüş ve Eski Ahit'in "Yaratılış" (Genesis) bölümünü tümüyle geçersiz kılmıştı. Beklenen oldu ve Kilise 1860 yılında, yani kitabın yayımlanmasından bir yıl sonra, Charles Darwin ve evrimciler ile mücadele etmeye başladı. (Kılıç, 2019)
48. İkinci basım da yaptığı bazı düzeltmeler var ki benim çevirdiğim de ikinci basım. Bu basım birinci basıma çok benziyor, bir iki ufak düzeltme var sadece. Bunlardan en belirginini "yaratıcı tarafından" şeklinde bir ekleme yapması ikinci basıma. Çevreden gelen tepkileri, kamuoyunu yapıştırmak, biraz da çok dindar olan eşini yatıştırmak için bu şekilde bir yaratıcı tarafından üflenen yaşam" şeklinde son paragrafa bir ekleme yapılıyor. Ama Darwin'i tanıyan, otobiyografilerini ve mektuplarını okuyan insanlar ve onu tanıyan insanlar Darwin'in bir materyalist olduğunu ve agnostik olduğunu biliyor. (Kılıç & Durmuş, 2021, 8:59)
49. Kitabın başlığı sebebiyle sanki evrim teorisi ilk canlının nasıl ortaya çıktığını, kökenini açıklayan bir kurammış gibi anlaşılıyor. Oysa, Darwin'in de pek çok kez vurguladığı gibi evrim kuramı tüm canlı türlerinin uzun jeolojik çağlar içerisinde nasıl ortak bir kökenden değişerek türediğini açıklar. Burada bir oluşum anı değil, süreç söz konusu. Ama bu ayrım, o dönem olduğu gibi bugün de gözden kaçıyor. (Kılıç, 2022, 11:05)
50. Bir kişi, evrimi öğrenmeden de ateist olamaz mı? Elbette olabilir. İnsanlar sağlam ve dürüst bir akıl yürütme yöntemiyle doğada ve çevresinde gördüklerini sorgulayabilir, bunlardan da mantığın gereği olarak antiteist argümanlar üretebilir. ... Ama ya bunlar, sorgulama sürecimizde bize yeterli

gelmezse? ... Bu aşamada şaşmaz bir pusulanın yol göstericiliğine ne kadar da çok ihtiyaç duyarız! Kendi adıma bunu şöyle örnekleyebilirim: Ben evrim kuramı hakkında zerre kadar bilgi sahibi değilken de kendimi agnostik/ateist olarak tanımlayan bir insandım; ama artık bilimin sunduğu gerçeklerin ışığında, dinsizliğim ve hayata bakışım konusunda eskisinden çok daha sağlam bir zeminde duruyorum. Karşıt fikirlerle çarpışma, ayakları yere basan mantıklı argümanlar üretme ve tabiri caizse “işin arkasını getirme” konusunda kendime ve fikirlerime çok daha fazla güveniyorum. ... Ateizm, doğası gereği evrenin oluşumunu, insanın bu evrendeki yerini ve her şeyin nasıl başlayıp nasıl sona ereceğini sorgular. “Nasıl olmuş?” sorularının cevaplandığı her yol daha da aydınlanır. Bu sorgulamaların büyük bir dilimini de türümüzün bulunduğu duruma nereden ve nasıl geldiği konuları oluşturur. Yaradılış mitinin, Adem ve Havva hikayesinin veya Nuh’un gemisi masalının hayal gücü yüksek, ama bir o kadar da yanıltıcı öğeler içerdiğini bilmek büyük fark yaratır. Sadece insanın değil, bütün canlıların çok yavaş ve aşamalı bir evrim sürecinden geçip bir zamanlar yaşamış ortak atalardan türeyerek bugünkü biçimlerine ulaştığını ve evrilmeye de devam ettiğini bilmek, insanın varoluş sorgulamalarında çok şeyi değiştirir. (Kılıç, 2014, pp. 30-31)

51. Ne çelişir ne uyur (evrim ve din). Yani bir bilim ve dinin artık ilişkisi kurulamaz. Çünkü dinden bilime bir fayda yok; bilimden de dine dair bir fayda yok. Çünkü ikisi de çok tuhaf bir şekilde birbirine karışıyor aksini yaptığımız zaman. Elbette mesela dinlere ve dini önermelere tarihsel, kültürel, antropolojik vesaire perspektiflerden bakılabilir. Antropologlar bunu yapıyor zaten. Yani bu konuları bir de evrimsel açıdan irdelemeye gerek yok. Dolayısıyla zaten tarih, antropoloji, dinler tarihi, karşılaştırmalı mitoloji gibi alanlar var. Bunlar çok iyi çalışıyorlar. Şunu demek istiyorum: evrimsel biyolojinin de bir sürü farklı alt alanları var. Ama temelde evrimsel genetik dediğimiz omurga üzerine yerleşmiş bir çerçevesi var. Bu nedenle kendine has bir dili ve var metodları var. Evrim bir kuram. Kuram dediğimiz aslında bilimin, bir bilimsel disiplinin vardığı son nokta, yani içerisinde yasa veya ilke benzeri genellemelerin olduğu, sınanabilir pek çok hipotezin yer aldığı, olgularla zenginleşmiş büyük bir evrensel açıklama biçimi. Bundan başka bir şey olmaz zaten. Dolayısıyla böyle bir kuram çerçevesinde, bu kuramın kendine has dili ve bakış açısı üzerinden yine sadece evrim bilimi yapılmak zorunda. Dinin buna katacak bir şey yok. Çünkü bu dille çok alakasız, bu bakışla, bu perspektifle çok alakasız. Sorun dinin yaklaşımıyla evrimin kuramsal çerçevesinin uyuşmaması. Yani dinin kuramı olmaz zaten, dinlerin kabulleri, dogmaları vardır; ama bilimin yoktur. Bilim dogmayla, yani tamamen teslimiyetle ilerlemez. Farklı birer perspektif olarak bunu görmek lazım bunları. (Özsoy & Canikligil, 2023, 15:02)

52. Evrimsel biyolojinin içeriği, genetik, moleküler biyoloji, paleontoloji, karşılaştırmalı anatomi, morfoloji, biyocoğrafya gibi alanların bilgisi üzerine kuruludur. Dolayısıyla dili de buna ilişkin bir dildir. Evrimsel biyoloji, bu alanlar üzerine inşa edilmiş ve bir bilim haline gelmiştir Meseleleri anlatırken, popüler kitleler için basitleştiriyorken de bu dili kullanmalısınız. Serinkanlılıkla doğru bilgiyi objektif bir şekilde vermek çok önemli. Siyasi veya sosyolojik açıdan da söyleyecekleriniz vardır mutlaka. Ama denge

kurmak çok önemli. Bu konuları evrimsel biyoloji bilgisi üzerinden tartışmamalısınız. Mesela inanç ya da dinler söz konusu olduğunda evrimsel biyolojiye başvuruda bulunamazsınız. Temeli moleküler biyoloji, genetik gibi alanlara dayanan bir bilim dalından sosyal bir alana geçemezsiniz. Çünkü dilleri uyuşturmaz, epistemolojileri açısından farklar vardır, çalışma alanları farklıdır. Sosyal bilimciler, insan gibi son derece değişken bir tezahürü olan tarihsel bir varlıkla çalışıyor. Dolayısıyla din ve inanç konusunda din antropolojisi sosyoloji, dinler tarihi, karşılıklı mitoloji alanlarında çalışan araştırmacıları çok güzel çalışmaları var. Bu alana (inanç ve dinler) biyolojiden katacağımız pek bir şey yok, zaten alanlar birbiriyle uyuşturmuyor. Bilgi içeriği konusunda da zayıf kalırsınız. Ben salt evrimsel biyoloji argümanlarını kullanarak bir antropolog ile, kültür alanında veya inanç konusunda ne dereceye kadar tartışabilirim? Doğal seçilimin popülasyon genetik modellemesini kullanarak mı inanç konusuna yaklaşacağım? ... Çünkü evrimsel biyolojiyi kullanıyorsam benim yaklaşmam gereken bu noktalar. Çünkü benim çalışma alanımı bu dil oluşturuyor. Ama antropologların, tarihçilerin temellendirdikleri bulgular, bu tür kültürel ve sosyal alanlarla ilgili bir şeyler söylemeye daha müsait. Evrimsel biyoloji alanını sosyal bir alana, sosyal bir konuya kaydırmanın kendisi de bir nevi cehalet göstergesi. Evrim karşıtlığı çok ayrı bir cehalet, onu ayrı bir yerde tutuyorum. Ama evrimsel biyolojini içeriğini sosyal bir alana aktarmak da benim için hayli sorunlu ve anti-entelektüel içeren bir girişim. (Özsoy, 2020, 38:02)

53. Darwin, insanlığın bilimselleşmesinin temel nirengi noktasıdır. Matematik de, fizik de, kimya da, eski çağlarda vardı. Bilimselleşme ve bilimsel gelişme, esas olarak biyoloji ve zooloji alanında başladı. Sorun, bugün, Darwin ya da evrim teorisi sorunu değildir, dinin ve inancın, bilimi ve akli kuşatma, tutsağı durumuna düşürme sorunudur. Tartışma, materyalist dünya anlayışı ile idealist dünya anlayışı arasında süregiden bin yıllık tartışmanın günümüze yansımalarıdır. Bir başka deyişle, tartışma, bilim ve din arasındaki tartışmadır. Kazırınsanız, altında, laikliğin karşıtı teokratik anlayışı bulursunuz. Kazırınsanız, Saidi Nursi'nin safsataları ile Türban savaşlarını, yani bilimi ve akli tutsak almak isteyen dinsel gericilik ile emperyalist gericiliği bulursunuz. Kazırınsanız: "Yeşil Kusak"la " İlimli İslam"la karşılaşır ve Türkiye'yi "İslam'ın model ülkesi" yapmak isteyen, maymun benzeri bazı politik liderlerle burun buruna gelirsiniz. (Erdost, 2004, p. 62)

54. Evrim kuramı ile Kuran'ın yaratılış öğretisinin örtüştüğünü savlamak ya da evrimi Kur'an'ın bilgileriyle açıklamak gibi bir düşüncemiz yok doğal olarak. Ama esas olarak, insanı topraktan, sonra topraktan oluşan bir özden yaratan, sonra onu bir "damlacık" yapan, o damlacığı embriyoya dönüştüren, sonra o embriyoyu bir et parçası haline getiren, kemiğe et giydiren, sonra onu başka bir yaratık olarak yeniden kuran, kısacası "insanı halden hale geçiren" "yaratıcıların en güzeli Allah'ın yüce kudret ve sanatını" medrese ehli ve ulema görmekten yoksunlar. Bununla birlikte, sperminden zigota ve zigottan da embriyo aşamasına dek ana karnında geçirilen tüm süreçlerin bir tek prototipten insana ulaşılan dek ,geçirilen aşamaların bir başka anlatımla milyonlarca yılların dakikalara dönüştürüldüğü bir evrim sürecinin, tek

hücrelerden evrimleşerek insana ulaşılan milyarlarca değişimin kaba bir özetinin Kur'an'da günlük bir dilde somutlaştığını ehl-i medrese ve ulema görmez görmekten uzak görünüyor. (Erdost, 2009)

55. Evrim teorisine karşı savaş açmak hem heyecanlı hem de karlı bir iştir. Uluslararası çapta pek çok Hristiyan çevre özellikle Amerika'da bu iş için özel olarak kurulmuş vakıflar Darwinci teoriye karşı mücadele ederek dünyanın parasını kazanıyorlar. Türkiye'deki temsilcileri çok pahalıya patlayan kitap ve broşürleri okullarda sokaklarda Cami önlerinde bedava dağıtıyorlar. (Çubukçu, 2009, p. 13)
56. *Türlerin Kökeni* ve Darwin ile ilgili yıl dönümleri olmasaydı bile bugün Türkiye'de bu kitabın yayınlanmasını gerektiren koşullar vardır. Kısa tarihçesinde görüldüğü gibi onun yeni basımları bir işaret fişegi gibi anlamlıdır. Ya *Türlerin Kökeni* yaşananlar dolayısıyla gündemdedir, ya da onun ortaya çıkışı koşulların değişmekte olduğunun işaretidir. (Çubukçu, 2009, p. 14)
57. Canlıların doğada ve yapay ortamda nasıl değiştiğini açıklayan evrim kuramı ve evrimin temel mekanizması olan doğal seçim, Darwin'den bu yana sayısız bilim insanı tarafından sınanmış ve doğrulanmıştır. Bu bağlamda evrimsel süreçlerin anlaşılması, insanın doğayı anlama çabasındaki en önemli devrimlerden biridir. Biyoloji bilimi, evrim kuramı olmadan anlaşılabilir ve öğretilmez. Ancak evrim karşıtlığı, bugün artık bilimsel geçerliliğini tartışma gereği dahi duymadığımız evrimin anlaşılmasına ve öğretilmesine ciddi bir engeldir. Neyse ki kişisel ve toplumsal basmakalıp önyargılarla ve hiçbir somut kanıta dayanmayan dinsel inanç argümanlarıyla çürütülmeye çalışılan evrim kuramı, geçen onca yıla karşın tüm bu saldırılara göğüs germiş, hatta bu saldırılar sayesinde üzerine eklenen yeni bilgilerle daha da güçlenerek, günümüzde tıp ve tıpla ilgili alanlar başta olmak üzere çok yaygın bir kullanım alanı bulmuştur. (Kılıç, 2017, p. 10)
58. Darwin elbette bütün kuramı sıfırdan oluşturmadı, hemen her bilimsel devrimde olduğu gibi, bütün bu fikirleri geçerli doğa yasaları çerçevesinde bilimsel bir kuramda topladı. İlk kez Darwin, birikimli doğal seçim yoluyla gerçekleşen evrimin dünyada yaşamış ve yaşamakta olan tüm canlıların, ortak bir atadan başlayarak çok uzun bir zaman zarfında çeşitlenmesini ve değişmesini açıkladığını ortaya koyarak, herhangi bir ilahi müdahaleyi geçersiz kıldı. Bu nedenle de Darwin'e gelen tepkiler, kendisinden önceki evrim kuramlarına olandan çok daha fazladır. Daniel Dennett'in deyişiyle, "Darwin'in kuramı hem dostlar hem de düşmanlar tarafından suistimal edildi ve çarpıtıldı. Ürkütücü politik ve toplumsal öğretilere bilimsel saygınlık kazandırmak adına kötüye kullanıldı. Karşıtlar tarafından karikatürlerle rezil edildi. Bunların bazıları çocuklarımızın okullarında "yaratılış bilimi" denilen sahte bir dinsel bilim karmaşasına alet edildi." (Cankoçak, 2017, p. 7)
59. 1968 - Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde evrim teorisinin öğretilmesini yasaklayan kanun Yüksek Mahkeme kararıyla yürürlükten kaldırıldı.

2005 - Dover'da (Pensilvanya'da) üçüncü "maymun davası" görüldü. Federal Mahkeme kamu kuruluşlarında "akıllı tasarımla" ilgili bildirimleri yasakladı. (Cankoçak & Kılıç, 2017, pp. 19-20)

60. Biz bundan altı sene kadar önce Ekoloji ve Evrimsel Biyoloji Derneği üyeleri olarak Talim Terbiye Kurulunun müfredat komisyonuyla toplantı yapmıştık. Beş-altı saatlik bir toplantı yaptık, bazı kavramları ve terimleri müfredata sokmayı kabul ettiler. Hatta o toplantıda dönemin Talim Terbiye Kurulu Başkanına evrim karşıtlığının Türkiye'ye ithal edilmiş bir görüş olduğunu anlattım. Tamamen evanjelist akımların görüşleri kapsamında geliştirilmiş. Bir yandan da tipolojik algıyı körükleyen bir şey bu adamların perspektifi, yani dünyanın bu köşesine aşağılayarak bakıyorlar. Siz ise bu görüşü yüceltiyorsunuz, bu ters değil mi diye sordum. Öbür taraftan, vülger evrimciliği de eleştirdik. İki alanın birbirine karışmaması gerek. Avam evrimcilik, yani her şeye evrimi dahil etmek, çok yanlış. Bir de Mesela inanç karşısına da evrimi getirmeye gerek yok. İnanca başka bir perspektiften bakmalısınız. Bunu için başka kaynaklar var zaten. Yani, bu tür avam evrimci tutumların da etkileri var. Fakat büyük oranda 1985'te Anavatan Partisi döneminde başlıyor. Dönemin Milli Eğitim Bakanı Amerika'daki Creation Institute'ü arıyor. Bu grup Creation Science üzerine saçma sapan şeyler yazan ne kadar Amerikalı yaratılışçı varsa toplandığı bir yer. Standart kilisenin hiç sevmediği tipler bu kişiler, yani evanjelistler. Bu grubun abuk subuk kitapları var. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, bu kitapları Türkçeye çevirmek için önce kongreye çağırıyor bu kişileri. Sonra bu yaratılışçılar birkaç konferans veriyorlar. 60'ların ortasında, yaratılış modeli adındaki abuk subuk kitapları Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı tarafından 30.000 adet bastırılıyor ve yurdun her tarafındaki öğretmenlere dağıtılıyor. (Özsoy & Canikligil, 2023, 54:37)
61. 1938'den sonra orta ve lise müfredatındaki kapsamı hızla azalan evrim kuramının temel eseri Türlerin Kökeni Türkçede ilk kez 111 yıl sonra, Öner Ünalın çevirisiyle 1970'te Onur Yayınlarından yayımlandı. Ünalın çevirisi *Türlerin Kökeni*'nin 1872'deki son baskısı olan 6. basımından gerçekleştirilmişti. *Türlerin Kökeni*'nin 1859'dan 1872'ye kadar devam eden sonraki basımları, ilk basımdan oldukça farklılıklar gösterir. Darwin, sonraki basımlarda kuramına gelen eleştirilere yanıtlar vermiş ve kitabın ilk yapısından oldukça uzaklaşmak zorunda kalmıştır. Elinizdeki bu çeviri, Darwin'in ilk baskısındaki birkaç küçük dizgi hatasını düzelttikten sonra yayımladığı 24 Kasım 1859'daki 2. Baskıdan Türkçeye kazandırıldı. (Cankoçak, 2017, p. 8)
62. Türlerin Kökeni'nin bu çevirisi, 1872 tarihli altıncı baskısından yapıldı. Bu baskının seçilmesinin temel nedeni, Darwin'in ilk baskılara gelen eleştirilere yanıt verdiği, ilk baskılara oranla daha düzenli, iyi tahkim edilmiş ve 19. yüzyıl sonlarından itibaren Darwinci evrimsel biyolojiye karşı çıkışların ve akabinde Modern Sentez'e uzanan yoldaki ivmelenmenin kristalleştiği başvuruları içeren temel metin olmasıdır. . (Özsoy, 2022a, p. ix)
63. Yazıldığı dönemde yine bilimin ve bilim dilinin bugünkü kadar gelişmiş olmadığı, bilimsel terimlerin tümel tanımlarının bulunmadığı, kitabın hem çevrilmesine hem de okunmasını zorlaştıran etmenler gibi gözüküyor

başlangıçta. Bu bilimsel terimlerin kapsamına taksonomik terimler de giriyor. Nedir taksonomik terimler? Canlıları sınıflandırırken takım, sınıf, cins, tür gibi takson basamaklarına ayırırız. Darwin'in *Türlerin Kökeni*'ni yazdığı dönemde bu takson basamakları da net değil. Hangi canlılara tür diyoruz, hangi canlılara cins diyoruz, bunlar net değil. Başka bir sıkıntı da o gün verilen bir takson basamağı günümüzde değişmiş olabiliyor. Örneğin, o zaman tür sayılan bir hayvan, mesela bir kuş, sarı kuyruk sallayan, bugün cins sayılıyor. Buna benzer terminolojik farklar var. Okurların, bu terminolojik farklardan ötürü belki de ilk kez duyuyor olabileceklerini düşündüğüm bazı kavramları olabildiğince dip notlarla açıklamaya çalıştım, modernleştirmeye çalıştım, modern taksonomiye uydurmaya çalıştım. (Kılıç & Örsöğlü, 2019)

64. Hizmetçi köpekler veya turnspit köpekleri, bugün tükenmiş durumda olan ve geçmişte turnspit adı verilen bir tekerin üstünde koşarak insanlara hizmet ettiği için bu ismi alan, kısa bacaklı ve uzun vücutlu bir köpek ırkıdır -çn.

Günümüzde, Darwin'in kullandığı close interbreeding kelimesinin yerine inbreeding kelimesi kullanılmaktadır; bu terim "Soy içi üreme" olarak tercüme edilmiştir. Genetik açıdan daha yakın akraba olan bireylerin, çiftleşip yavru oluşturması anlamına gelir -çn. (Kılıç, 2017, pp. 50-89)

65. Gerçekten de *Köken*'in ilk baskısından çevirisini yaptığımız 1872 tarihli altıncı baskısına değin, Darwin'e yöneltilen bilimsel diyebileceğimiz sert eleştirilerin tonu hayli yumuşamış, ortak kökenden değişerek türeme kavrayışı yaygınlık kazanmaya başlamıştır. Dönemin doğa bilginlerinin evrim konusundaki itirazları, ortak köken ilişkileriyle türlerin izahlarının yapılmasından çok türlerin meydana gelişleri için Darwin'in önerdiği doğal seçim süreçlerinin gerçekliğine dairdir. Doğal seçimle evrimin gündelik gözlemlerle gösterilemeyeşine ilişkin itirazlar 19. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru zirvesine ulaşmış, 20. yüzyılın başlarında alternatif teorilerin doğuşuna yol açmıştır. Teori açısından ciddi sıkıntılar yaratan bu alternatif yaklaşımların aşılması, 20. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinin sonlarında doğal seçilimin genetik teorisinin matematiksel ifadesiyle, bir başka deyişle popülasyon genetiğinin yükselişini takiben mümkün olmuş ve sonrasında da Modern Sentez denilen birleşik bir evrim teorisinin oluşturulmasıyla modern evrimsel biyolojinin çatısı kurulmuştur. Darwinci evimsel biyolojinin söz konusu dönemde girdiği krizin kapsamlı bir tarihsel analizi için bkz. P. Bowler, *The Eclipse of Darwinism: Anti-Darwinian Evolution Theories in the Decades around 1900*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983. Krizin aşılıp biyolojinin pek çok alanının evrimsel genetiğin omurgasına yerleştirilmesiyle oluşturulan birleşik teorinin (Modern Sentez) sıcağı sıcağına yazılmış içeriği ve kapsamı için hayli aydınlatıcı bir kitap olarak da bkz. J. Huxley, *Evolution: The Modern Synthesis*, Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1943. (Özsoy, 2022b, p. 679)

66. Darwin'in bu ifadesi, evrim karşıtlarınca kötüye kullanılmış ve göz gibi karmaşık yapılı bir organın doğal seçimle oluşamayacağıının, teorinin sahibi tarafından itirafı şeklinde lanse edilmiştir. Ancak, bu ifadenin hemen akabinde görülebileceği gibi, Darwin böyle bir nitelemenin basit sağduyuya dayandığını, bilimde yeri olmayan bir kavrama biçimi olduğunu söyleyerek

devam etmekte ve bölümün kalanında, dönem bilgisi dahilinde, gözün görece yalın ışık algılama sistemlerinden doğal seçimle nasıl tedrici bir şekilde oluşacağı konusunda net bir yol izlemektedir. Darwin Köken' de, sanıldığı gibi aksine, gözün "basitten karmaşığa" doğru evrimi konusunda fikrini makul şekilde ortaya koymaktadır. Gözün evrimi konusunda günümüzdeki yaklaşımlarsa, artan genetik ve genomik bilginin evrimsel yorumlarının karmaşıklığı doğrultusunda, konuyu Darwin'in ve Darwin sonrasındaki klasik evrimsel biyolojinin önerdiğinden daha karmaşık -ama elbette yine evrimsel izahı olan- bir çerçevede ele almaktadır. (Özsoy, 2022b, pp. 655-656)

67. Ulusal dilimizi koruyup geliştirmenin amacı, onu daha iyi bir düşünme ve iletişim aracı kılmak, ulusal kimliğini sürdürmek, başka şeylerle birlikte bunlardan da destek alarak daha yüksek bir toplumsal yaşama doğru ilerlemektir. Onun içindir ki "dilsel sorun" özünde ideolojik ve politiktir; bir ana sorunun dil ile ilgili yansımasıdır. Bu bağlamda "bilim dili sorunu" da kendiliğinden yerini alır. (Ünalın, 1993, p. 157)
68. Bir dilin, çağının bilgilerini çözümlenebilmesi ve çağdaş düzeyde yeni bilgiler üretebilmesi, bu dilin dışında kalmış, ama insanlığın yüzyıllardır yaratmış olduğu kavramları karşılayabilmesi, ve bundan da önemlisi, yeni kavramları karşılayabilecek üretme yeteneğine kavuşturulması na bağlıdır. Bu da, dile dışarıdan aktarılan sözcük ve terimlerle gerçekleştirilemez. (Bilim dilinin, belli bir uğraş alanı ile sınırlı kalan bazı özel bölümlerini -tıp gibi- burada dışlamak gerekir.) Dilin üretme yeteneğine kavuşması ise, tutarlı bir bütünlük içerisinde, kendi kaynağına, kendi köküne inmesiyle, tam da özleşmesi ile olanaklıdır. (Erdost, 1984, p. 95)
69. Lenin, Rusçada (hiç çekincesiz belirli bir dilde denebilir.) gereksiz yabancı sözcük kullanımına karşıdır. Gereksesi de bunun iletişimi aksatması, kendi söyleyişleriyle yığınları etkilemeyi güçleştirmesi; açıkçası, ancak yığınlar benimseyince maddesel bir güç olabilen düşünceleri onlara iletmeyi güçleştirmesidir. Lenin'in gerekli yabancı sözcük kullanımına karşı olmadığı da bellidir. Engels de, gençliğinde ve en olgun çağında, gereksiz yabancı sözcük kullanımına karşıdır; yalnız, kimi yabancı sözcüklerin "kaçınılmaz" olduğunu da özellikle belirtmiştir. Bu bakımdan, Engels'in ve Lenin'in başlıca amaçları, "düşüncenin daha iyi ilerlemesi", "anlamın bozulmaması, "sağlıklı ve kolay iletişim" olarak sıralanabilir. (Ünalın, 1993, p. 11)
70. Katı Öztürkçecilik çeviri işine büyük güçlükler getiriyor. Bazan yabancı dildeki metinde kullanılan bir tek kelimeyi karşılamak için birkaç kelime kullanmak ya da hatta bütün cümle yapısını değiştirmek zorunda kalıyorsunuz. ... Zaman içinde toplum ve düşüncenin, bilim ve tekniğin gelişmesi ile dilin de değişmesi ve yenilenmesi doğal bir süreçtir. ... Başka dillerde de sadeleştirme 'aslına dönme' hareketleri var. Ben de çevirilerimde Türkçesi olan bir sözün Türkçesini kullanmışımdır hep. Ama bazan öyle olur ki, bir tek cümle içinde aynı kelimeyi başka başka anlamlarda kullanmanız gibi bir durum meydana gelebilir. Kullanmazsanız, olmaz. Dili zayıflatan, kısırlaştırıcı bir şeydir bu. Ülke olarak kesinlikle, herkesin anlayacağı Türkçeden yanayım. Ne var ki Öztürkçecilik fazla zorlanmıştır bizde. Ve

sanyorum ideolojik olarak da yanlış uygulanmıştır. ... Ancak şu da var, dil düşüncenin kalıbı ve taşıyıcısı olduğuna göre yeni ve laik düşünceleri eski ve din dili olan ve bu yolda durmadan etki üretmeyi sürdüren bir kalıba dökemezsiniz. Bu bakımdan Öztürkçeciliğin bir anlamda baskıcı tepeden inmecili yöntemlerle özendirilmesi hatta zorlanmasını pek de eleştirmiyorum ben. Yeni ve laik eğitime uymuştur Öztürkçecilik. Öztürkçeleşmenin bu kadar tutulması ve Türkçe konuşulan Türkiye dışındaki öteki ülkelere de yayılması bu yüzdendir, sadece tepeden inmeciliğe dayanmaz bence. Gene dinci akımların Öztürkçeye bu kadar karşı oluşları da bu yüzdendir. ... Önce de belirttiğim gibi doğu dillerinin etkilerine karşı gösterilen duyarlılık ve tepki batıdan gelen sözcüklere ve kavramlara ya da modalara gösterilmedi. ... İşte kültür emperyalizminin, ekonomik, kültürel ve bunlarla birlikte siyasal sömürünün utanç verici sonuçları. (Belli, 1994, pp. 445-447)

71. Çevirisine katkıda bulunduğum ilk baskı ile üçüncü baskıdan yapılan ve editörü olduğum bu yeni çeviri arasında, metnin Türkçeleştirmesi açısından bazı temel farklar var. İlk çeviride, İngilizceye (ve diğer pek çok dile yerleşmiş) genellikle Latince ve Yunanca kökenli bilimsel terimleri Aykut hoca Türkçeleştirmeyi tercih etmişti. Örneğin popülasyon yerine “toplum” ya da heterozigot yerine “ayrı alelli” gibi. Ben yeni çeviride bu yolu izlemedim. Zira bu ve benzeri terimler pek çok dile girmiş ve yerleşmiş olarak bulunuyor. Dahası “toplum” gibi beşeri bilimlerin yüklediği tarihsel anlamıyla kullanılagelen bir kavramı popülasyon gibi nötr, istatistiksel bir tanıma sahip, herhangi bir beşeri anlam yükü içermeyen ve dolayısıyla evrimsel biyolojide de bu özellikleri çerçevesinde temel bir evrimleşme birimi olarak kullanılan bir terimle yer değiştirmenin uygun olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Keza fosil yerine taşıl demenin de fazlasıyla zorlama bir “arındırma” işi olduğunu düşünüyorum. (Helvacıoğlu & Özsoy, 2022)

## APPENDIX B

### ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL



T.C.  
BOĞAZIÇI ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜ  
Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (Sbinarek)



Sayı : E-84391427-050.01.04-172929  
Konu : 2023-40T Kayıt Numaralı Başvurunuz  
Hakkında

20.03.2024

Sayın Doç. Dr. Jonathan Maurice ROSS

Tez danışmanlığınızı yürüttüğünüz öğrenciniz Nesrin Conker'in "(Re)translation as a tool of discourse reproduction on the theory of evolution in Turkey (1968-2020)" başlıklı projesi ile Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (SBİNAREK)'e yaptığımız 2023-40T kayıt numaralı başvuru 14.03.2024 tarih ve 2024/02 sayılı kurul toplantısında incelenmiş ve projeye etik onay verilmesi uygun bulunmuştur.

Bu karar tüm üyelerin toplantıya on-line olarak katılımıyla ve oybirliği ile alınmıştır. Onay mektubu tüm üyeler adına Komisyon Başkanı tarafından e-imzalanmıştır. Bilgilerinizi rica ederiz.

Saygılarımızla,

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