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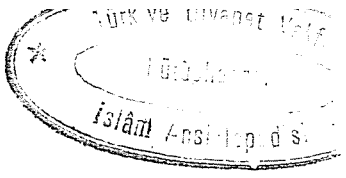

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN OTTOMAN RHETORIC UP TO 1882

PART I

THE *MEDRESE* TRADITION [1]

Christopher Ferrard

Since the development of the *medrese* curriculum, the *'ilmü 'l-belāġa,* the Arabic science of literary rhetoric, has played an important role in the education of Muslims. In particular one book, the *Miftāḥü 'l-'Ulūm* of Sekkākī (d. 626/1229)[2], was to dominate the study of *belāġa,* being read principally in its epitome, the *Telḫīṣü 'l-Miftāḥ* of Ḳazvīnī (d. 739/1338)[3] and its subsequent commentary, the *Muṭavvel* of Teftāzānī (d. 792/1390)[4]. Since then the student of rhetoric has had an ever increasing proliferation of commentaries and super-commentaries from which to choose; of these the *Ḥāşiye 'ale 'l-Muṭavvel* of Seyyid Şerīf Cürcānī (d. 816-1413) seems to have been the most popular[5]. These books were to form the core of texts which became prescribed reading for *medrese* students throughout the Ottoman period. The conservative nature of the *medrese* sylla-

1 This article is based on research carried out while holding a scholarship from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland.

2 Ebū Ya'ḳūb Yūsūf b. Ebī Bekr Muḥammed b. 'Alī es-Sekkākī, *Miftāḥü 'l-'Ulūm* (Cairo, 1356/1937).

3 Celāleddīn Muḥammed b. 'Abdürraḥmān, Ḫatīb el-Ḳazvīnī, *Et-Telḫīṣ fī 'Ulūmi 'l-Belāġa* (Cairo, 1932).

4 Sa'deddīn Mes'ūd b. 'Ömer et-Teftāzānī, *Muṭavvel 'ale 't-Telḫīṣ* (Istanbul, 1330/1911).

5 Seyyid Cürcānī, *Ḥāşiyetü 's-Seyyid 'ale 'l-Muṭavvel* (Istanbul, 1271/1854).

bus, from which it was virtually impossible to dislodge a work which had at some time found its way into it, ensured that this central core remained intact. Thus it was that a syllabus which was established in the Fourteenth Century was to survive into the Nineteenth Century so that the *Telḫīṣ* was almost to become synonymous with *belāġa*. The study of rhetoric saw its justification in its role as an ancillary Koranic science, for it was argued that a knowledge of rhetoric was necessary for the understanding of Arabic, which, in turn, is required for the proper understanding of the Sunna and the Koran. The literary purpose in the study of rhetoric was subsumed within its role as handmaiden to the religious sciences. Nevertheless it embodied the most systematic formulation of literary criticism in Arabic and it was to the *Telḫīṣ* that Nineteenth Century scholars first looked when searching for a basis on which to build a rhetoric of Ottoman.

The stable nature of the *medrese* syllabus for rhetoric would seem to suggest that it had proved satisfactory and had found general acceptance among the *ʿulemā* and students. This, however, was far from true; indeed from the outset, there was a continual struggle to render the *Telḫīṣ* intelligible to students. Ḳazvīnī, the author of the *Telḫīṣ*, produced its first commentary, a work which he entitled the *Īżāḥ*. In the same century Teftāzānī wrote the *Muṭavvel* which he himself later abridged in the *Muḫtaṣar*. Thereafter there was a steady and continual stream of commentaries, super-commentaries, versifications and translations. Their very number alone argues the case that the Ottoman *ʿulemā* found the *Telḫīṣ* and its commentaries difficult to teach. In this continuing struggle we may observe the groundwork for the development of the Ottoman rhetoric, and it is the purpose of this article to trace some of the more noteworthy milestones on the road to the compilation of a literary rhetoric of the Ottoman language, up to 1882.

In 1299/1881-2, there appeared two works of major importance in the history of Ottoman literary criticism, each differing remarkably one from the other and both so influential that they were to overshadow all previous attempts to reconcile the traditional canons of literary criticism with the needs of the day. While the *Belāġat-i ʿOṡmānīye* of Aḥmed Cevdet Paşa represented a conservative

approach to the problem of establishing a rhetoric for the Ottoman language, being little more than the translation of the classical theory of Arabic rhetoric to an Ottoman context, the *Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt* of Recā'īzāde Maḥmūd Ekrem was no less than a complete revolution in literary analysis[6]. While Cevdet Paşa had clung to familiar precepts of the *Telḫīṣ,* Ekrem had chosen to embrace European ideas with such enthusiasm that his work was heralded as revolutionary, rather than the culmination of a growing revolt against the classical modes of literary analysis.

These works represented two separate traditions of rhetorical study, both ultimately based on the *Telḫīṣ;* but while the *Belāġat-i 'Oṣmānīye* followed the traditional approach favoured by the medrese and was entirely Arabic in spirit, the *Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt* represented an alternative approach which sought to incorporate the work of schools flourishing outside the *medrese* system, the insipration being mainly Persian up to the period of the Tanzimat, and thereafter French. Part I of this article will trace the development of a tradition of rhetoric which preceded and inspired the *Belāġat-i 'Oṣmānīye,* while Part II will trace the development of an alternative approach to rhetoric which paved the way for the *Ta'līm-i Edebīyāt.*

The Development of an Arabic Literary Rhetoric up to the 15th Century

Islamic rhetoric, that is the *'ilmü 'l-belāġa,* evolved from earlier works in criticism. *Belāġa* is the Arabic theory of style. Etymologically it is derived from «belaġa» meaning to reach, and is interpreted by Ebū Hilāl el-'Askerī (d. 396/1005) as signifying the art of reaching the listener in attempting to convey one's ideas to him, or the art of reaching the utmost perfection in the style and content of a composition. In the classical period it is indiscriminately applied to poetry, ornate prose and oratory. However, it must be emphasised that unlike European classical rhetoric, *belāġa* does not

6 The first editions of both these works were published in Istanbul, 1299/1881-2.

have its origins in oratory. Since the time of the 'Abbāsids until the present century there has been no forum for persuasive oratory in Islam. *Belāġa* when applied to oratory, usually in reference to the Friday mosque, was used to embellish speech, it did not provide the elements of persuasion. Before the Tenth Century A.D. (the Fifth Century A.H.), no definition of *belāġa* was offered. It is, however, clear that it was to critical analysis that the word was being applied.

The earliest critics confined themselves to subjective judgements on the qualities of a particular *beyt* or poet, no reason or evidence being offered in support of their arguments. However, these critical evaluations were merely the by-products of philological discussion, and even as early as the First Century of the Hijra we have philologists attempting to evaluate not merely a line or two but the whole of a poet's work. Later İbn Sellāmī 'l-Cümaḥī (d. 231/845) put criticism on a firmer footing by his insistance that personal taste was not enough for an evaluation of poetry, it was also necessary to be well-versed in the practice of poetry and the critic must also have made a study of the poets. In his *Ṭabaḳatü 'ş-Şu'arā'* he classifies the poets according to their period and place of origin. He failed however to support his judgement by analysing the work of the poets. El-Cāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) made an analysis of speech and then proceeded to postulate various theories on its correct use: one of his works, the *Beyān ve-'t-Tebyīn,* is divided into four sections, each of which deals with some aspect of speech: the first is concerned with correct pronunciation; the second with the correct use of the word, and the avoidance of dissonance between words placed in construct; the third with syntax and the relationship between words and their meanings; and the fourth deals with poses and gestures which should be adopted by the speaker. In these observations critical analysis is explicit, he does not however define the qualities of a good poem, nor does he develop a theory of criticism. These early faltering steps towards the development of a rhetoric of Arabic were followed by writers whose contribution to the field is undeniable. İbn Mu'tezz (d. 296/908), wrote a treatise entitled *Ḳitābü 'l-Bedī',* which successfully proved that certain figures of speech, claimed to have been invented by early Abbasid poets, were in fact

not only used by the ancient Bedouin poets but were also to be found in the Koran. To these figures *(isti'āre, tecnīs, muṭābaḳa, reddü 'l-'acz,* and *meẕheb kelāmī)* he added twelve more.

Ḳudāme b. Ca'fer (d. after 320/932) in a work entitled the *Kitāb Naḳdi 'ş-Şi'r* set out to ennumerate the good qualities of poetry which when combined together in a poem would make it sublime, and the bad qualities which would reduce the poem to the lowest level. These qualities do not depend on the moral values they express, but rather on the poet's skill in the use of the four constituent elements of poetry which he defines as word, meaning, meter and rhyme, the discussion consisting in the main of permutation of these four elements. Fortunately, this scholastic approach was not adopted by others, but the terminology he uses was to influence later Islamic rhetoricians. Both İbn Mu'tezz and Ḳudāme b. Ca'fer contributed to the formulation of the style of exposition which was to be followed by most rhetoricians: each chapter was devoted to a separate part of speech which was dealt with in the same order: technical term, definition and examples.

Before proceeding to 'Abdülḳāhir el-Cürcānī (d. 471/1071) mention must be made of two other critics: the first, Ebū Ḥilāl el-'Askerī (d. 395/1005), defined the relationship between *feṣāḥat* and *belāġat,* and among his other achievements raised the number of figures of *bedī'* to thirty-five. El-Bakillānī (d. 403/1013) in a treatise on the *İ'cāz* of the Koran, applied critical theories to the Koran and to his contemporary poets, thereby demonstrating that the work of mortals fell short of the sublime style of the Holy Book.

Rhetoric became firmly established as a discipline with two works by 'Abdülḳāhir el-Cürcānī, the *Esrārü 'l-Belāġa* and the *Delā'ilü 'l-İ'cāz.* El-Cürcānī criticises the superficial nature of the existing works on rhetoric (no doubt referring to İbn Mu'tezz and Ḳudāma b. Ca'fer). Unsatisfied with the poor quality of these works, he builds his own theory of metaphor, simile and analogy based on an analysis of the psychological effects of metaphor which he explains at length in the *Esrārü 'l-Belāġa.* The *Delā'ilü 'l-İ'cāz,* the earlier of the two works, is not only an analysis of the style of the Koran which he proves to be inimitable, but also contains a discussion of syntax in its relationship to style. These two works marked

the greatest contribution to the development of Islamic rhetoric. Henceforth, it ceased to be the object of investigation and analysis and became an established science, confined to the *medrese,* whence it was to emerge once again in the Nineteenth Century.

The final stage in the development of rhetoric came with the establishment of a text-book which would dominate the field to the exclusion of all other original works. Both works of El-Cürcānī were abridged by Es-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229) who stripped away the profound analysis which rendered El-Cürcānī's contribution so unique, and what remained of the contents of the *Delā'ilü 'l-İ'cāz* was termed the *'ilmü 'l-me'ānī,* while the *Esrārü 'l-Belāġa* became the *'ilmü 'l-beyān,* each a separate chapter in the compendium of the literary sciences which he called the *Miftāḥü 'l-'Ulūm.* To these two chapters are added a section entitled the *'ilmü 'l-bedī'* which contains those thirty-five figures of speech identified by El-'Askerī. These three sciences were further epitomised by El-Ḳazvīnī (d. 739/1338) in a work entitled the *Telḫīṣü 'l-Miftāḥ,* the very name of which has become synonymous with *belāġa* up to the present century.

The *Telḫīṣ* was quickly accepted into the curriculum of the *medreses*, whence it has not yet been removed. One can only assume that its concise nature made it an attractive text-book, for it could be easily memorised. There is no other reason to recommend it: in places it is virtually incomprehensible, so that one could say with some justification that although it was memorised by generations of *medrese* students, it was probably fully understood by few of them. To understand the work, the student went to the commentaries of which there are many. El-Ḳazvīnī himself wrote a companion volume, the *Īżāḥ,* which is still taught today. Soon after the death of El-Ḳazvīnī the two most popular commentaries were written by Et-Teftāzānī (d. 732/1390): the *Muṭavvel* and the *Muḫtaṣar,* the latter being an abridgement not of the *Telḫīṣ,* but of the *Muṭavvel.*

It is possible to trace a continuous development of rhetorical theory from the earliest period of Islam up to the Tenth Century, when El-Cürcānī raised the discipline to the summit of its develop-

ment, whence it has since declined due to the scholastic approach favoured by his successors. However, as soon as the science was formulated in the *Telḫīṣ* and established in the curriculum of the *medrese,* Islamic rhetoric became fossilised. There then followed a proliferation of super-commentaries and glosses, their number bearing witness to the inadequacy of the standard text-book.

From the beginning of the Fifteenth Century the study of rhetoric acquired a uniformity within much of the Islamic World. The *'ilmü 'l-belāġa* may, therefore, be defined, within this context, as the science of Islamic rhetoric as formulated in the *Telḫīṣ* and expounded in its commentaries.

The core of the classical medrese syllabus for rhetoric took its final form with the addition of Seyyid Curcānī's *Ḥāşiye 'ale 'l-Muṭavvel* in the first half of the Fifteenth Century. Thereafter rhetoric in the *medrese* developed through a proliferation of commentaries and super-commentaries. Kātib Çelebi (d. 1067/1656) noted that in his day the *Telḫīṣ* had already attracted :

a) A commentary by its own author entitled the *Īżāḥ*
b) 14 other commentaries besides the *Muṭavvel*
c) 4 versifications
d) 5 abridgements
e) 1 translation

and that the *Muṭavvel* had attracted 14 *ḥāşiyes* besides the *ḥāşiye* of Seyyid Cürcānī, which in its turn attracted 3 further *ḥāşiyes;* there was also an abridgement of the Muṭavvel by its author, entitled the *Muḫtaṣar,* which itself had 10 *ḥāşiyes.*

The very number of these commentaries attests to the inherent difficulty of the *medrese* text books for rhetoric. The most important of the above works for the development of an Ottoman rhetoric is undoubtedly the translation of the *Telḫīṣ* by Meḥmed b. Meḥmed Altı Parmaḳ (d. 1033/1623), who also translated various other works into Turkish. In addition to his version of the *Telḫīṣ,* entitled the *Kāşifü 'l-'Ulūm ve-Fātiḥü 'l-Fünûn,* he is also credited with a translation of the *Muṭavvel*[7]. The latter, however, has not been lo-

7 *'Oṣmānlı Mü'ellifleri,* I, 212-3, which is based on *Atā'ī,* 758-9.

cated, and it seems probable that this reference most probably arises from the fact that much of the interpretation of the text of the *Telḫīṣ* was based on a selective use of this commentary.

Altı Parmaḳ's Terceme-i Telḫīṣ

The *Terceme-i Telḫīṣ* is more than a mere translation, providing, in fact, a Turkish commentary to this epitome. Although it is based on the *Muṭavvel,* it presents only the barest outline of this commentary. One may presume that, in common with many commentaries and super-commentaries in the Islamic world, it consists of no more than a fair copy of the author's lecture notes for the classes he was teaching. Although the work is entitled «terceme», the term cannot be rendered as «translation» without some qualification. The translation of any technical work from one language into another will necessarily present almost insuperable problems unless a convention allows the translator to borrow words from the language of origin and transfer them, together with all their meanings and nuances, to the borrower language. Just as it would be impossible for a Turk today to translate an English work on electronic engineering without a wholesale transferal of much of the technical vocabulary, Ottoman scholars, too, were at a loss for corresponding Turkish terms in their treatment of the Islamic sciences and were forced to resort to excessive borrowing from the language being translated, which was usually Arabic. The fact that the Ottomans preserved the original orthography of Arabic and Persian loan words, together with the accepted theory that virtually all Arabic substantives could be incorporated into the language in their absolute case, and all verbs borrowed simply by converting them into their appropriate *maṣdar* forms, made it only too easy for the translator to produce an accurate translation without actually having to understand completely what he was translating. In many works of translation, the only elements which remain Turkish, to any extent, are the word order and the syntax, and a small percentage of the vocabulary, consisting of the more commonly used words. The Ottomans seemed to have recognised the insuperable problems inherent in translating works with specialised vocabularies and made no great attempt to substitute Turkish words for the Arabic. At the

same time they recognised that simply to rearrange the words around a Turkish syntactical structure would be a pointless exercise, except in that it would indicate the grammatical organisation of the Arabic original, to which the reader, we may presume, had to have recourse in order to understand the purport of the work. Clearly it was accepted that merely remoulding the vocabulary into the new shape required by the Turkish syntactical structure was an unrewarding task which promised little return for the effort expended on it, and certainly did not merit the description of «translation». In order to remedy this problem, translators of Arabic works usually adopted the original Arabic word, for it contained all the same subtleties and nuances, or the convenient imprecision and vagueness, of the original, and supplemented it with a synonym, so that a single word in the original would be transformed into a couplet retaining the original word as its first member and a synonym as its second, verbs being treated likewise. Phrases are usually presented in a form as close to the original as Ottoman usage will allow, and if they are felt to be insufficiently clear —a defect which will be inherent not only in the translation but also in the original—, the translator will repeat the phrase using synonyms, introducing it with the conjunction, «*ya'nī*» or «*el-ḥāṣil*» or some similar phrase. However the only solution to the problem of translating the technical language of Arabic rhetorical theory into Turkish lies in following a middle road between strict literal translation and the recension of yet another gloss in Turkish, in order to give meaning to the translation of a work which is obscure in its original language.

The text of an entire *faṣl* from the *Telḫīṣ* is given below and is followed by Altı Parmaḳ's translation. This *faṣl* was chosen for its brevity, and is thus given in its entirety, the argument being developed within a few lines of the original text :

«Ve-ḳad yuṭlaḳu 'l-mecāzü 'alā kelimetin
taġayyere ḥükmü i'rābi-hā bi-ḥazfi lafẓin
ev ziyādeti lafẓin, ke-ḳavli-hi — te'ālā — :
Ve-cā'e rabbü-ke, ve-es'eli 'l-ḳaryete,
ve-ḳavli-hi —te'ālā— leyse ke-miṣli-hi

şey'ün, ey emrü rabbi-ke, ve-ehle 'l-ḳaryeti, ve-leyse miṣle-hü şey'ün.» (*Telḫīṣ*, p. 336.)

This succinct summary is elaborated as follows in the *Terceme-i Telḫīṣ*[8]:

Faṣl :

Bilgil ki kelime ma'nā-yı aṣlīyesinden naḳl olınmaḳ ile mevṣūf oldığı gibi, i'rāb aṣlden aḫara naḳl olınmaḳ ile mevṣūf olur. *Miftāḥ*[9] 'ibāretinde fehm olınan oldı ki mecāzlıḳ ile mevṣūf olan i'rābdur. Muṣannif[10] — *raḥima 'llāh selefe-h* — iḳtidā idüb didi :

Ve-ḳad yuṭlaḳu 'l-mecāzu 'alā kelimetin taġayyere ḥükmü i'rābi-hā.

Kimi de mecāz kelimeye iṭlāḳ olınur ki i'rābınuñ ḥükmi taġayyür olınur ḥükmüñ i'rāba iżāfeti beyānīyedür — ya'nī, ol ḥükm ki nefs-i i'rābdur.

Bi-ḥaẕfi lafẓın ev ziyādeti lafẓın.

Lafẓ, ḥaẕfla yāḫōd bir lafẓ ziyādesi-yle;

evvelki :

ke-ḳavli-hi — te'ālā — : «ve-cā'e rabbü-ke».[11]

Senüñ rabbüñ emri geldi: «emrü rabbi-ke» [de] «*emr*» ḥaẕf olındı, ḥarfı ref'ine tebdīl [oldı.

İkincisi :

Ḳavli-hi — te'ālā — : «Es'eli 'l-ḳaryete».[12]

«Ḳaryeden su'āl eyle» dimek][13] oldı.

8 MS is in Süleymaniye Library, Fâtih, 4534 (f. 183b).
9 *Miftāḥu 'l-'Ulūm*, Es-Sekākī, p. 185.
10 El-Ḳazvīnī, *Telḫīṣ*, pp. 336-7.
11 K. 89/22.
12 K. 12/82.
13 This section has been added in the margin.

Üçincisi :

Ḳavli-hi — teʿālā — : «Leyse ke-miṯli-hi ṣey'ün».[14]

Allāh — *teʿālā* — nuñ miṯli bir ṣey yoḳdur.

Ey cā'e emrü rabbi-ke taḳdīri *ve-cā'e emrü rabbi-ke*dür, zīrā Allāh — *teʿālā* — mecī'den münezzehdür. *Ve-ehle 'l-ḳarye* taḳdīri *ve-es'el ehle 'l-ḳarye*dür, zīrā su'āl ehl-i ḳaryedendür. Lākin mümkindür i'tibâr içün ḳarye-i ḫarābeden su'āl eyledi ki ehli nice oldı.

«*Ve-leyse miṯle-hü*» idi: «[ke-]miṯl»de kāf ḥaẕf olındı, mecrūr iken, merfū' oldı, zīrā maḳṣūd miṯlini nefydür. Aḥsen oldı ki kāf ḥaẕf-ı zā'id olmaya, kināye bābında ola, iki vechle: biri oldur ki ṣey nefy idesin, lāzimin leff itmek ile, ya'nī Allāh — *teʿālā* — nuñ miṯli olmaḳlığı nefy itdügi murād, ki miṯlinüñ nefyidür, zīrā eger miṯli olsun, anuñ miṯli olmaḳ lāzım olur, zīrā muḳadder oldı [186b] ki mevcūd oldı. İkincisi: ṣāḥibü *'l-Keşşāf* didigidür: miṯlüñ «*lā yebḫal*» ḳısmindendür[15]. Murād, muḫātıbdan «*lā yebḫal*» nefyidür, miṯlinden degül bu zā'id olmaḳ ile olmamaġuñ ma'nāsı bir olur, zā'id olacaḳ *ʿalā vechi 'l-kināye* olur[16].

It is clear that this passage itself requires study and interpretation; the reader with no previous knowledge of rhetoric will be disappointed if he expects to understand its principles after a first perusal of the material therein. One must, therefore, accept this work as an aid to the study of rhetoric to which students could have recourse when the syntax of the original Arabic text presents an obstacle to its understanding. This translation was not, however, widely accepted, a fact attested by the relative scarcity of manuscripts available in Istanbul[17], from which we may infer that the *Terceme-i Telḫīṣ* did not meet the demands of students of rhetoric. This is not to deny that there was need for another commentary on

14 K. 42/11.

15 Zemaḫşerī, p. 1307.

16 Compare also El-Cürcānī, *Esrārü 'l-Belāġa,* 383; Teftāzānī, *Muṭavvel,* 405; Seyyid Cürcānī, *Ḥāşiye,* 221.

17 The MS from which the above passage was transcribed was the only copy in all the collections now housed in the Süleymaniye Library.

the *Telḫīṣ,* for none of the existing works were completely satisfactory. However, the inability of the students to grasp the purport of the argument in the *Telḫīṣ* may well have been attributed to a lack of fluency in reading the language, rather than to the intrinsic difficulty of the text. A request for a Turkish translation may have been voiced, but once it was made available it achieved no great currency among the students. Its usefulness lies perhaps in the fact that it forced the students to resort to the Arabic *Muṭavvel* in order to understand the principles of rhetoric[18].

'Abdünnāfi' 's Translation of the Muṭavvel

For two hundred and fifty years the *Terceme-i Telḫīṣ* remained the only translation of the standard Arabic text-book on rhetoric. In the third quarter of the Nineteenth Century the *Muṭavvel* was translated by 'Abdünnāfi' İffet Ef. (d. 1308/1890), under the title *Nef'-i Mu'avvel: Terceme-i Telḫīṣ-ü-Muṭavvel,* the manuscript of which was completed in 1278/1861, and an edition printed in two volumes in 1289/1872 and 1290/1873. This work is actually an abridged translation of the entire *Muṭavvel.* Below is given a translation of the *Muṭavvel*'s commentary on the same *faṣl* as above. 'Abdünnāfi' translates only three-quarters of the passage, omitting the last section which begins: «*Ḳāle ṣāḥibü 'l-Miftāḥ...*»[19]

Faṣl

[276/22] Ma'lūm ola ki kelime Ma'nā-yı aṣlīsinden dīger ma'nāya naḳl olındıġından içün mecāz tesmiye olındıġı gibi, [277] ke-ẕālik i'rāb-ı 'aṣlīsinden dīger i'rāba naḳl olındıġından içün daḥi mecāz ile tavṣīf olınur. Ve zāhir-i kelām-ı Sekākīden müstebān olan bu nev'-ı mecāz ile mevṣūf olan i'rābdur. Ve mevṣūf i'rāb olması ṣüret-ı ḥaẕfda zāhirdür: «*ve-' s' eli 'l-ḳaryete*» ḳavl-i şerīfinde olan naṣb-ı «ḳarye», «*ve-cā'e rabbü-ke*» ḳavl-i şerīfinde olan ref'-ı «rabbü-ke» gibi. Zīrā, bunlardan her birisi maḥalleri olan mużāfdan naḳl olınmışdur. Ya'nī

18 The *Miftāḥü 'l-Belāġa* alludes to the difficulty of the *Telḫīṣ* for Turkish students, and was written to meet precisely this need.

19 As the printed edition is rare, the above example has been transcribed from the MS in the Istanbul University Library, T.Y. 6534.

aṣlı «*ve's'el ehle 'l-ḳaryeti*» olub, «ehl» ḥaẕf olınması-yla i'rābı «ḳaryе»ye intiḳāl eylemişdür. Ke-ẕālik, «*ve-cā'e rabbü-ke*», «*ve-cā'e emrü rabbi-ke*» taḳdīrinde olub, «emr» ḥaẕf olınaraḳ i'rāb «rabb» lafẓına intiḳāl eylemişdür.

Ve-emmā ziyāde-i lafẓ ṭarīḳi-yle olan mecāzda bu intiḳāl taḥaḳḳuḳ itmez. Ḥāl bu ki Sekkākī «'*Leyse ke-miṣli-hi*' ḳavl-i ṣerīfinde olan cerr mecāzdur» diyü taṣrīḥ eylemişdür. Ve fenn-i beyānda maḳṣūd olan ma'nā-yı evvel ile olan —ya'nī, kelimeyi bir ma'nādan ma'nā-yı aḫara naḳl ma'nāsında olan mecāz olub; lākin, musannif— *raḥime-hü 'llāh* —manā-yı ṯānī ile— ɥʇɐɯ-ǝ-ɥsɐɹ ʞɐɹɐ ɹǝʇɐɯ ɹǝʌɹǝ ı-qɐɔ ɹɐɔ ɹıʇ 'ıu,ɐʎ yle olan mecāz üzre daḥi tenbīhe muḥavele eylemişdür. Ve bu muḥaveleden maḳṣūd selefe iḳtidā, kelimenüñ işbu ma'nā-yı ṯānī i'tibārı-yle olan mecāz ile ittiṣāfı 'indinde żab'-u-bāzū-yı sāmi'i zelḳden icti-ẕāb-u-imsākdur. Zīrā işbu nev'-i mecāz ma'lūm olmayub da, bu ma'nāca mecāz olmaḳla bir kelime mevṣūf oldigi gibi, ṭālib ma'nā-yı evvele ḥaml ile ḥaṭāda vāḳi' olur.

Ḳāle —raḥime-hü 'llāh— :

Ve-ḳad yuṭlaḳu 'l-mecāzu 'alā kelimetin taġayyere ḥükmü i'rābi-hā bi-ḥaẕfi lafẓın ev ziyādeti lafẓın, ke-ḳavli-hi —te'ālā— : «ve-cā'e rabbü-ke», «ve-'s'eli 'l-ḳaryete», ve miṣlü ḳavli-hi —te'ālā—: «Leyse ke-miṣli-hi şey'ün; ey cā'e emrü rabbi-ke, ve-ehle 'l-ḳaryeti, ve-[*leyse*]*miṣle-hü şey'ün.*

[278] Ve ba'żen mecāz bir lafẓuñ ḥaẕfı ve yāḫōd ziyādesi-yle ḥükm-i i'rābı taġayyür iden kelime üzre ıṭlāḳ olınur. Ẓāhir olan «*taġayyere ḥükmü i'rābi-hā*» ḳavlinde, ḥükmüñ i'rāba iżāfesi beyān içün olub, lafẓ-ı *Miftāḥ* daḥi bunı iş'ār ider. Ya'nī, bir kelimeye ıṭlāḳ olınur ki i'rābı bir nev'den nev-i dīgere taġayyür ide.

İmdi bir lafẓuñ ḥaẕfi-yle olan taġayyür-i i'rāb «*ve-cā'e rabbü-ke*» ve «*ve-'s'eli 'l-ḳarye*» ḳavl-i şerīfleri gibidür. Ve lafẓuñ ziyādesi-yle olan taġayyür «*leyse ke-miṣli-hi şey'ün*» ḳavl-i şerīfi gibidür. Zīrā, naẓm-ı evvel, medlūl-i ẓāhirīsi olan mecī-yi rabb müstaḥīl olması-yle, «*ve cā'e emrü rabbi-ke*» takdīrinde olub; i'rāb-ı «*rabb*» nev'-i cerr oldıġı ḥālde, mużāf olan lafẓ-ı «*emr*»üñ haẕfı-yle maḳām-ı fa'ilde ḳā'im olaraḳ, i'rābı nev'-i ref'e taġayyür itmişdür.

Ve naẓm-ı şānī, «*ve-'s'el ehle 'l-ḳarye*» taḳdīrindedür; zīrā, cenāb-ı Bārī inṭāḳ-ı cüdrān üzre ḳādir ise de, maḳṣūd ehl-i ḳaryeden su'āl oldıġı maḳṭū'-u-meczūmdur — ya'nī, maḳām ḥaẕfa ḳarīnedür. Şeyḫ 'Abdülḳāhir dimişdür ki, bu maḳāmda ḥāẕf ile ḥükm, ġaraż-ı mütekellime rāci' olan bir emrden içün olub; ḥattā eger kelām-ı meẕkūr bu maḳāmuñ ġayrıda [!] vāḳi' olsa, ḥaẕf ile cezm olınamaz. Zīrā bir recülüñ kelāmı olmaḳ cā'izdür ki, ḫarāb olub ahālīsi [bā'id]-ü-helāk olan bir ḳaryeye mürūr ile, ṣāḥibine vā'iẓ-ü-müẕekkir, ve yāḫōd nefsi-çün mütte'iẓ-ü-mu'tebir olaraḳ «*es'eli 'l-ḳaryete 'an ehlihā ve-ḳul le-hā mā ṣana'ū*» dimiş olsun. Mefhūmı: «ḳaryeye ahālīsinden ve anlar ne işleyüb ve ne olduḳlarından su'āl eyle» dimekdür. Ve bundan murād itti'āẓ ve aḫẕ-i cibretdür. Nitekim, «*seli 'l-arż̇ı men ṣaḳḳa enhāri-ke ve-ġarasa eşcāri-ke ve-cenā eṣmāra-ke*» dinilür.

El-ḥāṣıl: «*Rabbü-k*» ve «*ḳarye*» içün ḥükm-i aṣlī cerr olub, [279] ḥaẕf-ı muż̇āf sebebi-yle evvelde ref'e ve şānīde naṣba taġayyür itmişdür.

Ve naẓm-ı şāliş, «*leyse miṣle-hü şey'ün*» olub; lafẓ-ı «*miṣl*» içün ḥükm-i aṣlī ḫaber-i «*leyse*» oldıġı cihetle naṣbdur. Ḥāl bu ki, ziyāde-i *kāf* sebebi-yle cerre taġayyür itmişdür. Ve *kāf* ziyāde 'add olınması: zīrā, maḳṣūd Vācib —*te'ālā*— ḥażretlerinüñ miṣli bir şey olmaḳlıġı nefy olub, yoḫsa miṣlinüñ miṣli bir şey olmaḳlıġı nefy degüldür. Ve aḥsen olan, *kāf* zā'ide olmamasıdur.

Ḳāle —raḥime-hü 'llāh— «*Ve yekūnü min bābi 'l-kināyeti, ve fī-hi vechāni*» daḫi «*leyse ke-miṣli-hi şey'ün*» ḳavl-ı şerīfi bāb-ı kināyeden daḫi olur ve bunda iki vech vardur. Vech-i evvel budur ki ḳavl-i meẕkūr bir şey'i nefy-i lāzimi-yle nefydür. Zīrā, lāzimi nefy nefy-i melzūmı müstelzim olur: «leyse li-aḫī Zeydin aḫ» gibi. Zīrā, «Zeydüñ aḫi» melzūm ve «aḫ» lāzimdür. Şöyle ki Zeydüñ aḫi içün bir aḫdan lāzimdür ki o aḫ Zeyddür. El-ḥāṣıl: Zeydüñ ḳarındaşı 'Amr oldıġı gibi, elbette 'Amruñ ḳarındaşı daḫi Zeyd olmaḳ lāzim gelür. İmdi, «*leyse li-aḫī Zeydin aḫ*» ḳavlüñde bu lāzimi nefy idüb, nefy-i melzūmı murād idersin; ya'nī «*leyse li-Zeydin aḫ*» dimek olur. Zīrā, eger Zeyd içün aḫ olsaydı bi'żarūre anuñ-ün de aḫ olmaḳ lāzim gelürdi, ki o aḫ Zeyddür. Ḥulāṣa, «Zeydüñ ḳarındaşınuñ ḳarındaşı yoḳdur» dimek cā'iż olamaz ki, «Zeyd ḳarındaşınuñ ḳarındaşı olur.»

İşte, bu miṣālde oldığı gibi, naẓm-ı meẕkūrda daḥi «*miṣlü 'llāhi*» içün miṣl almaḳlığı nefy ile miṣl-i Allāhı nefy murāddur. Zīrā, cenāb-ı Bārī içün miṣl olsa, nefy olınan miṣli olub, nefy-i ṣaḥīḥ olmazdı, zīrā, mefrūżumuz miṣl-i Allāh mevcūd olmasıdur. Bu cihetle miṣl-i miṣlüñ nefyi-yle bi-ṭarīḳi 'l-kināye miṣlüñ nefyi murād olınmışdur.

Ve vech-i ṣānī [280] *Keşşāf*uñ ẕikr eyledigidür ki, bülegā «*miṣlüke lā yabḥal*» diyüb, miṣl-i muḥāṭabdan buḥli nefy iderler. Ḥāl bu ki, ġaraż ẕāt-ı muḥāṭabdan nefy olub, ḳaṣd-ı mübālaġa içün ṭarīḳ-i kināyeye sülūk iderler. Zīrā, muḥāṭabuñ mümāṣilinden ve aḥaṣṣ-ı evṣāfı üzre olan kimesneden nefy itdükleri vaḳtde, muḥāṭabdan nefy itmiş olurlar. Meṣelā: fulān «*ḳad eyfa'at lidātü-hü. ve-belaġat etrābü-hü*» diyüb, fulānuñ īfā'-ı bülūġını murād iderler. Yāfi' ṣebābı mütenāhī olub, büyüyen ṣābdur; māżīsi «*eyfa'a*» olub «*ġulāmün yefā'un*» ve «*yaf'u-hü*», «*yāfi'ün*» dinilerek *mūfi'ün* dinilmez, ve bu nevādirdendür. «*Lidātün*» dāl-i mühmele ile, cem'-i «*lidetün*» olub; «*tev'em*», ya'nī «ikiz» ma'nāsınadur, «etrāb», «tirb»üñ cem'i olub, «aḳrān» ma'nāsınadur.

El-ḥāṣıl, fulānuñ tev'emi sinn-i kibre resīde olub, ve aḳrānı sinn-i bülūġa müntehiye olması, fulānuñ daḥi īfā'-u-bülūġını müstelzim olur.

İmdi bu taḳdīrde «*leyse ke-'llāh ṣey'ün*» ḳavli-yle «*leyse ke-miṣlihi ṣey'ün*» beyninde faḳaṭ 'ibāret-i ṣānīyede kināyenüñ i'tā eyledigi fā'ide-i mübālaġadan başḳa farḳ yoḳdur. Ve bu 'ibāreler, ẕāt-ı Bārīden nefy-i mümāṣelet ma'nā-yı vāhidi üzre ta'āḳub iden iki 'ibāredür. Ve «*bel yedā-hu mebsūṭatān*» [K. 5/64] naẓm-ı şerīfi daḥi bunuñ naẓīri olub, ma'nāsı yed, ve yed içün basṭ taṣavvür olınmaḳsızın «*hüve cevādün*» dimekdür. Zīrā bu 'ibāre cevāddan 'ibāre olaraḳ vāḳı'a olub, bülegā isti'mālerinde, cevāddan başḳa bir şeyi ḳaṣd itmeyüb; ḥatta ki kendüsi-çün yed olmayan kimesnede isti'māl iderler. Ve bunuñ gibi «*leyse ke-miṣli-hi ṣey'ün*» 'ibāresi daḥi kendüsiçün miṣl olmaḳ mümkin olub, ve olmayan kimesnede isti'māl olınur.

The translation is basically sound, most of the difficulties in it belonging to the original. Although the style of the translation is turgid and could possibly give rise to misunderstanding on several occasions, this is in part due to the respect he shows for his text. He remains as close as possible to the thought and language of the

Muṭavvel, and when the latter is obscure or otherwise difficult his translation strives to be faithful, while at the same time showing awareness of the needs of the reader by interpreting obscurities. The text, for example, contains the following phrase: «*Ve-'ctiẓāben bi-żab'ı 's-sāmi' 'ani 'z-zelḳ*», which presents difficulties in that while the word «*żab'*» could signify «a rushing headlong», it is more probably used to mean« the upper arm», the sense being figurative: «grabbing the arm of the listener lest he slip». 'Abdünnāfi' retains the Arabic vocabulary, supplementing it with additional words for greater clarity: «Żab'-u-bāzū-yı sāmi'i zelḳden ictiẓāb-u-imsāk». Not all of the translation is so felicitously rendered into Turkish. When translating the discussion of 'Abdülḳāhir's views on this type of *mecāz,* which is concerned with the nature of the vowelling of the final radical, 'Abdünnāfi' translates «*lem yaḳta'*» as «cezm olınamaz», intending «cezm» to be understood in its non-technical sense. This would have caused the reader no more than a moment's confusion, but could have easily been avoided by the choice of another, more suitable, word.

This work was the first contribution to the revival of rhetoric in the Nineteenth Century, and may be viewed as the final attempt at making classical rhetorical theory relevant to the educational needs of society. Whereas Altı Parmaḳ's translation may be dismissed as no more than lecture notes, the publication of the *Nef'-i Mu'avvel* was a serious attempt to provide Turkish students with the definitive exposition of classical rhetoric. Although it employed another language in a form which presumably avoided as much possible difficulty to the Turkish student, it nevertheless respects the integrity of the original by preserving its basic vocabulary. This work must surely have contributed to an awareness on the part of the Ottoman scholar that *belāġa,* as based on the *Telḫīṣ,* was to be studied for its own sake; but that it had no great value as an aid to understanding Arabic, or relevance for those wishing to acquire a good Ottoman prose style. Ironically this translation, which in all probability was an honest attempt to come to terms with *belāġa* by offering an alternative approach to the servile memorisation of the *Telḫīṣ,* was the first step on the road to creating a rhetoric of Turkish which, if realised, would render the *Telḫīṣ* completely obsolete.

The Belāġat-i Lisān-ı ʿOṯmānī

Four years after the publication of the translation of the *Muṭavvel* (1290/1873), there appeared the *Belāġat-i Lisān-ı ʿOṯmānī,* a work which implicitly claimed to be no less than a rhetoric of Ottoman, rather than merely another Turkish translation of Arabic rhetorical theory. Its author, Aḥmed Ḥamdī Şirvānī (d. 1308/1890), a teacher at the Mekteb-i Ḥuḳūḳ, wrote it at the behest of Cevdet Paşa, presumably intending it to be used as a text-book[20].

Although the author may be accused of making exaggerated claims for his work by giving it a title which would imply that it was a manual of Turkish rhetorical theory, they do in fact have some substance. Ideally, a rhetoric of the Ottoman language would be deduced from native literary practice and analysed accordingly, compiled by a process which would subject it to analysis exhibiting certain characteristic features, and elaborating a theory thereupon. The preponderance of Arabic and Persian elements in Ottoman prose and poetry, however, would tend to discourage efforts in this direction, especially as there already existed an accepted body of rhetorical teaching which could with ease be adapted to be made seem applicable. Aḥmed Ḥamdī, believing that the *Telḫīṣ* had a more universal application than that of describing Arabic rhetoric, makes the assumption that Ottoman lay within the confines of this universality, and proceeds to apply it to his own language, without questioning its validity. In most respects this work is a translation of the *Telḫīṣ,* with the addition of only the minimum explanatory material from the glosses to allow the text to read fluently. His one departure from the practice of previous translators is in the provision of Turkish illustrations, not as mere translations of the Arabic examples, but as instances of a paradigm which the reader is urged to accept as applicable to Turkish in all respects. By providing mainly Turkish illustrations, he implies that the illustrated theory could have been deduced from Ottoman as well as from Arabic.

In the section on *meʿānī* and *beyān,* the treatment of the individual *faṣl*s proceeds in the same order and fashion as in the *Telḫīṣ,*

20 See the *iḫtār,* p. 1.

while in the *fenn-i bedī'* he omits nine of the thirty-eight tropes, altering their order slightly and adding four more. Although it may appear superficially conservative in its approach, and otherwise completely derivative, the *Belāġat-i Lisān-ı 'Oṣmānī* is a revolutionary work, in that it implicitly suggests that Arabic rhetorical theory should be studied neither for its own sake, nor as an aid to the study of Arabic literature, but as a tool for the mastery of Ottoman prose and poetry, and as a basis for its literary criticism. On this tacit assumption the author feels freed of the necessity of quoting and explaining Arabic illustrations. He treats most examples, be they Persian, Turkish or Arabic, as an integral part of his own argument, offering elucidation when necessary, but no translation. Sections which cannot be dealt with satisfactorily within a Turkish context, such as the «trope by inflection» are omitted without comment.

In the following example we can observe how Aḥmed Ḥamdī deals with *teşbīh*. The text of the *Telḫīṣ* is as follows :

> *Et-teşbīhü 'd-delāletü 'alā müşāreketi*
> *emrin li-emrin fī ma'nā, ve-'l-murādu hā-hünā*
> *mā lem tekün 'alā vechi 'l-isti'āreti*
> *'t-taḥḳīḳīyeti ve-'l-isti'āreti bi-'l-kināyeti*
> *ve-'t-tecrīdi, fe-daḫale fī-hi naḥve ḳavli-nā*
> *«Zeydün esedün», ve-ḳavli-hi —te'ālā— :*
> *«Ṣummün bükmün 'umyün». Ve-'n-naẓarü hā-hünā*
> *fī erkāni-hi, ve-hiye ṭarafā-hü ve-vechü-hü*
> *ve-edātü-hü ve-fi 'l-ġaraż min-hü ve-fī*
> *aḳsāmi-hi.* (p. 238)

The Ottoman version reads thus :

> Teşbīh, bir şey'üñ dīger bir şey ile
> bir ma'nāda müşāreketine delālet itmesine
> dirler ki ol delālet isti'āre-i taḥḳīḳīye
> ve isti'āre-i bi-'l-kināye [*sic*] ve tecrīd
> ṭarīḳi-yle olmıya, meşelā: «Zeyd arslandur»
> dinildükde Zeydüñ arslan ile ma'nā-yı

> secā'atde, ve ḍurūb-ı emṣālden oldığı üzere «ḳızlaruñ ḳulaġı ṣaġır ve gözi kör ve ayaġı ṭopal olmaludur» dinildükde kör ile ma'nā-yı 'amāda ve saġır ile aṣammīyetde ve ṭopal ile gezmemek ma'nālarında iştirāḳ maḳṣūddur. Yoḳsa ḥaḳīḳatde arslan ve kör ve ṭopal olmaḳ maḳsūd degüldür.
>
> Teşbīhüñ dört rükni vardur: biri «müşebbeh», 2 «müşebbehün bi-h», 3 «edāt-ı teşbīh», 4 «vech-i teşbīh»... (p. 69)

We can see that the author is offering little more than a translation, but with some significant modifications. By altering the example from «*Zeydün esedün*» to «Zeyd arslandur», Aḥmed Ḥamdī is not merely translating, but in fact is accepting the Turkish version as the real illustration. The Koranic verse on the other hand is abandoned in favour of a proverb which not only illustrates the same point, but is very close to the original in form and content. The fact that one can find authentic Turkish examples of these features of rhetoric, which had previously been illustrated in the Arabic language, is an explicit claim that they are applicable equally to both languages. What is implicit, however, is the notion that if one were to write a rhetoric of Turkish, based on analysis of the language, it would differ little from what we have in the *Belāġat-i Lisān-ı 'Oṣmānī*. Although he makes no attempt to substitute Turkish technical terms in place of the Arabic, the author makes a conscious effort to Ottomanise Arabic constructions, even to the point of violating accepted conventions, as in the case of «isti'āre-i bi-'l-kināye». The insertion of the *hemze* over the final *hā* of «isti'āre» forces the reader to pronounce this *terkīb* as if it were a Persian *iżāfe* and not an Arabic construction.

In the section devoted to the *fenn-i bedī'*, Aḥmed Ḥamdī provides convincing illustrations, drawing heavily from the stock of Turkish proverbs and poetry, supplementing it with his own simple illustrations and verse compositions. To illustrate *ṭıbāḳ (muṭābıḳa* or *tażadd)* (pp. 95-96) he offers the following examples :

dōst u düşmen; beyāż u siyāh;

Bezm-ü-rezmi verd [-ü-] ḫār u 'afv-ü-ḫaşmi nūr-u-nār
Emn-ü-bīmi taḫt-u-dār u mihr-ü-kīni faḫr-u-'ār

bu meseleyi 'ālim bilür, cāhil bilmez;

Allāhdan ḳorḳ, yalan söyleme; ḫalḳdan ḳorḳma,
doġrı söyle;

Dilde ṣafā-yı 'ışkuñ dīde ġamuñla pür-nem
Bir evde «ayş-u-şādī bir evde ye's [-ü-] mātem

It is clear that Aḥmed Ḥamdī has chosen his illustrations with thought and care, so that they require no elucidation and are successful in all respects.

The Zübdetü 'l-Beyān

The following year (1294/1877) saw the publication of a work entitled the *Zübdetü 'l-Beyān,* by Miḥalicī Ḥāccī Muṣṭafā Ef., a teacher at the *Dārü 'ş-Şafaḳa* in Istanbul. This text-books is restricted to *beyān,* and the subject is studied in very much greater detail than in the *Belāġat-i Lisān-ı 'Oṣmānī,* which comprises all three branches of the science of rhetoric. Being neither wholly a translation nor a Turkish commentary on the *Telḫīṣ,* it may be best described as a rationalised rearrangement of the material in the latter, discarding what is impenetrable, elucidating and commenting on the obscure, and translating the obvious. Thus, for example, while he has omitted large portions of the material on *teşbīh,* he has enlarged the section on *mecāz-ı mürsel* from the few lines in the *Telḫīṣ* to thirty pages in the *Zubdetü 'l-Beyān.* Although he always looks to Teftāzānī's commentaries for elucidation and will occasionally use extracts therefrom, the additional material is mainly his own contribution. The work exhibits throughout the painstaking care with which he has sifted through the material of the *Telḫīṣ,* choosing only that which can be understood without presupposing existing

knowledge of the subject, and reorganising it into a more logical framework.

His examples, having been chosen for their appropriateness, are for the greater part extremely helpful, and rarely require more than the minimum explanation. In the first instance, they are generally translations of those in the *Telḫīṣ,* if they are suitable; when they are not, they are either taken from the *Muṭavvel,* or coined by the author himself. When dealing with *mecāz-ı mürsel,* he lists all twelve types of adjunct *('alāḳa)* identified in the *Telḫīṣ* and *Muṭavvel,* providing them with Turkish versions of the same illustrations, to which he adds a further twenty-one types, but with his own illustrations. As an example of the adjunct *iṭlāḳ,* in *mecāz-ı mürsel,* he offers the following example: «'Ḳurşun atdım' diyüb, 'tüfenk ile ḳurşun atdım' dimegi murād itmek gibi» (p. 21); and to illustrate *lāzimīyet* as an adjunct: «bu Cüm'a Aya Ṣofya Cāmi'ine gitdim» (p. 26).

It is regrettable that this work did not find greater currency among the students at the new colleges which were being founded at this time. The fact that it was never reprinted and the relative scarcity of its copies indicate the obscurity in which it remained, overshadowed by the *Belāġat-i 'Oṣmānīye* of Cevdet Paşa, in which the treatment of *beyān* is in many respects inferior. The following passage, which once again explains the concept of «trope by inflection», will serve to illustrate some of the virtues of this work :

3 *Mecāz bi 'z-Ziyāde*

> Li-ecli 'l-mübālaġa bir lafẓı ziyāde iderek söylenen terkīblerden «Seniñ ḳarındaşıñ yoḳdur» diyecek yerde «Ḳarındaşıñıñ ḳarındaşı yoḳdur» denilir ki yine ma'nā ḳarındaşıñ yoḳdur dimek olub, biri zā'id olur. Ve «Ḥaḳḳ — *subḥāne-hü* ve-te'ālā — nıñ miṣli yoḳdur» diyecek yerde «Ḥaḳḳ — *subḥāne-hü ve-te'ālā* — nıñ miṣliniñ miṣli yoḳdur» denildigi gibi.

4 *Mecāz bi-'n-Noḳṣān*

> Aṣl-i terkībden ba'żı lafẓlarıñ ḥaẕfi-yle tekellüm olunan terkīblerden «Cāmi'iñ ḳapusı açıldı» diyecek iken mużāfı ḥaẕf iderek «Cāmi' açıldı» dimek, ve «Ṣırbistān ehālīsi «āṣī oldı» diyecek iken «Ṣırbistān 'āṣī oldı» dimek gibi bu miṣillüleriñ mecāz-ı mürsel oldıḳları daḥi beyān olunmuş idi. «Ṣopa geliyor uṣlı otur ve deynek geliyor derse çalış» diyüb bunlar elinde olan adam geliyor dimegi murād itmek daḥi böyledir. (p. 78-79)

This passage is based on the *Muṭavvel,* from which he selects only those illustrative points which help to develop the argument, successfully resisting the temptation to overstate it and, thereby, obfuscate its main point. He seems to have extracted the essentials of this rambling exegesis, subjected them to logical analysis and produced something clear, where previously there had existed only the cryptic summary of the *Telḫīṣ* and its verbose and impenetrable commentaries. For the first time the Turkish student had a textbook which explained Arabic rhetorical theory in a manner that was not only easy to assimilate, but was to some extent relevant to his own experience. Although the text is full of illustrations which employ the archetypal Zeyd, most, in fact, refer to objects or ideas within the experience of the Ottoman student. References to Serbia, Aya Sofya and modern armaments are most persuasive means of helping students to realise that the theory is applicable.

Conclusion

These four works, the *Terceme-i Telḫīṣ,* the *Nef'-i Mu'avvel : Terceme-i Telḫīṣ-ü-Muṭavvel,* the *Belāġat-i Lisān-ı 'Oṯmānī* and the *Zübdetü 'l-Beyān,* each, in their turn, played a significant role in the development of an Ottoman rhetoric. The first two, both translations, are attempts on the part of the Ottomans to escape from the servile dependence on the authorities, whose works had become the core of the educational system of the Empire. Even those of them

who are most abject in their respect for the sources, in some way betray a realisation that the system was not entirely adequate for the purposes of an Ottoman Turkish rhetoric. The very fact of translation must be taken as indicative of this, and as these translations gradually seek the expansion and clarification of the material that tradition compelled them to rely on, it is not too much to assert that they were in this way protesting at the constricting conditions of the educational system. The works herein treated are merely the best -known of many similar efforts of this kind attested in the biographies of the *'ulemā,* and should not be regarded as isolated instances. While it might be too much to claim that there was a conscious effort to liberate this aspect of education from the consecrated precedents, they nevertheless, each in its own way, and in its own time, represent a tacit expression of the sense of inadequacy felt by Ottoman scholars in the materials they were obliged to study and teach[21].

The translation and subsequent publication of the *Muṭavvel* marks the end of a period in which the Ottoman *'ulemā* tried to come to terms with Arabic rhetorical theory. By offering a Turkish version of the entire *Muṭavvel,* 'Abdünnāfi' had virtually translated most of the curriculum's required reading for rhetoric, the remaining works being merely commentaries, glosses and versifications based on the *Telḫīṣ*. Although it was far from his intention, by translating this pivotal work on classical rhetoric, he demonstrated most effectively the total inadequacy of the traditional approach. The study of Arabic rhetoric was abandoned with seemingly little regret, and henceforth the *Telḫīṣ* was to be exploited as a framework for the creation of an Ottoman rhetoric. The transition from the *Telḫīṣ* to the *Belāġat-i 'Oṣmānīye* of Cevdet Paşa as the basic work of rhetorical theory in the Empire was not sudden; it proceeded through four stages: (1) the translation of the *Telḫīṣ,* (2) the translation of

21 In A. Uğur's study of the Ottoman *'ulemā, The Ottoman 'Ulemā in the mid-17th Century: an Analysis of the Vakā'i'ü 'l-Fużalā of Meḥmed Şeyḫī Ef.* (Ph. D. Thesis: Edinburgh University, 1973) we have several references to *'ālims* preparing commentaries and glosses on rhetoric (see I, 50, 279; II, 410, 692) and in particular a translation of the *Telḫīṣ,* by 'Arūżī Meḥmed Ef. (d. 1084/1673), II, 614.

the *Muṭavvel,* (3) the translation of its theory from Arabic into Turkish, with examples cited only from the latter language, and (4) the adaptation of its material to the needs of Ottoman, omitting the tedious, and expanding the relevant. The arrival of the *Belāġat-i ʿOṣmānīye* should not be regarded as revolutionary as might first appear, for, indeed, this achievement was being prepared for over three centuries by the implicit sense of protest against an alien importation to be detected in the commentaries, translations, annotations, and explanations of many of the *ʿulemā.*