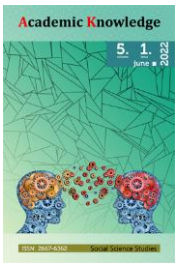
Academic Knowledge 5 (1), 1-17

Makalenin Türü / Article Type : Araştırma Makalesi / Researh Article
Geliş Tarihi / Date Received : 28.04.2022
Kabul Tarihi / Date Accepted : 25.06.2022
Yayın Tarihi / Date Published : 30.06.2022
Yayın Sezonu / Pup Date Season : Bahar / Spring



Arabic Literary Criticism from the Age of Jāhiliyyah to the 5th Century Hijrī[1]

Ahmet GEZEK*

Keywords:
Literature, Criticism, Tradition, Innovation, Discussion.

ABSTRACT

ʿArabic literary criticism went through important phases from the Ignorance (Jāhiliyya) period to the 5th century AH (1009 AD), and poetry took a higher place than prose in ʿArabic literary criticism. During the Ignorance period, which is the oldest known history of ʿArabic literature, improvised literary criticism for grammatical errors and sometimes wrong words changed with the advent of Islām, and religious criteria and principles played an important role in literary criticism in the first period of Islām. In this period, the ʿArabic language became more fluent and subtle by uniting around the Quraysh dialect with the effect of the style and expression of the Qurʾān, and the ʿArabs united around Islām. The Umayyad calīphs and their rulers, who opened their doors to poets during the Umayyad period, supported ʿArabic poetry and combined their perspectives on poetry in the Ignorance and early Islamic period. During the Abbāsid period, from the 3rd century AH (816 AD), individual literary criticism books were written, and certain rules were set in ʿArabic literary criticism, and a century later, in the 4. century AH (m. 913), traditionalist, innovative and conciliatory schools emerged in ʿArabic literary criticism.

Câhiliye Döneminden Hicri V. Yüzyıla Kadar Arap Edebi Tenkidi

Anahtar Kelimeler:
Arap, Edeb, Tenkit, Gelenek, Yenilik, Tartışma.

ÖZ

Arap edebi tenkidi Cahiliye döneminden hicri V. Yüzyıla (m. 1009) dek önemli evrelerden geçmiş ve şiir, Arap edebi tenkidinde nesirden daha öncelikli bir yer edinmiştir. Arap edebiyatının bilinen en eski tarihi olan Cahiliye döneminde bazen gramer hatalarına, bazen de yanlış kelimelere yönelik olarak doğaçlama bir şekilde yapılan edebi tenkit, İslam'ın gelmesiyle değişim göstermiş ve İslam'ın ilk döneminde dini kriterler ve prensipler edebi eleştiride önemli bir rol üstlenmiştir. Bu dönemde Arap dili Kur'ân-ı Kerîm'in üslubu ve ifade tarzının etkisiyle Kureyş lehçesi etrafında birleşerek daha akıcı ve ince bir hale bürünmüş ve Araplar İslam çatısı altında birleşmişlerdir. Emeviler döneminde şairlere kapılarını açan Emevi halifeleri ve yöneticileri Arap şiirini desteklemişler, Cahiliye ve İslam'ın ilk dönemindeki şiire bakış açılarını kendilerinde mezcetmişlerdir. Abbasiler döneminde hicri III. yüzyıldan (m. 816) itibaren müstakil edebi tenkit kitapları yazılarak Arap edebi tenkidinde belirli kurallar konulmuş ve bir yüzyıl sonra hicri IV. yüzyılda (m. 913) Arap edebi tenkidinde gelenekçi, yenilikçi ve uzlaşmacı yönelimler ortaya çıkmıştır.

[1] This article is extracted from my doctorate dissertation entitled "Klasik Dönem Arap Edebî Tenkidinde Gelenekçi ve Yenilikçi Yönelimler", supervised by Sultan Şimşek (Ph.D. Dissertation, İstanbul University/İstanbul, 2021).

* Dr. Research Assistant, Yalova University Faculty of Islamic Sciences, Department of Basic Islamic Sciences, Department of ʿArabic Language and Rhetoric, ahmetgezek02@hotmail.com, ORCID ID: 0000-0001-5941-9533.

Gezek, A. (2022). Arabic Literary Criticism from the Age of Jāhiliyyah to the 5th Century Hijrī, *Academic Knowledge*, *5*(1), 1-17. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6780456

1. Introduction

The word الأدب *al-adab* in the ʿArabic language has many meanings, some of which are: inviting people to a table or somewhere, purifying and educating the soul, speaking in public assemblies, to have a good demeanor, a good sermon, the right word, or the wise word (Ibn Manẓūr, 1993: 1/206-207; Zabīdī, 1965: 2/12-15). In the sense of the term, the word *adab* is the sum of the beautiful words narrated as prose and poetry; الأديب *al-adīb* is a person who knows literature and presents literary genres (Farrūkh, 1981: 1/42). Since ancient times, ʿArabs have distinguished between a man of letters and a scholar, and they have called a person who takes the best from each field of science and creates a work with what he has learned as a man of letters, and a person who specializes in any branch of science and processes information is a scholar (Thaʿālibī, 48).

The word النقد *an-naqd* has many meanings in Arabic language dictionaries, some of these meanings are as follows: to pay something in advance, to distinguish the real dirham from the fake, to give something, to receive it; lamb, to sneak a peek at something. From the dictionary meaning of the word *naqd*, "*objectively separating a good thing from a bad thing*", the term "*distinguishing the good of the word from the bad*" has emerged. The first person to use this term was Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī (d. 231/846), and this expression became widespread by later critics (Sallām, 2002: 15-16). The concepts of *naqd* and *balāgha* are used interchangeably, and *balāgha* means good words and the features that should be found in good words, while the word *naqd* means having a good and bad word (Sallām, 2002: 15-16; Arslan, 2018: 26-27, 33-34).

2. Literary criticism in the period of ignorance (Jāhiliyya)

Although all pre-Islamic time units come to mind when the period of Jāhiliyya is mentioned, those who do research on Jāhiliyya literature can only go back a century and a half before the Prophet Muḥammad. For this reason, it is thought that the Arabic language has matured in this time and that the Jāhiliyya poetry took place in this period (Ḍayf, n.d.a: 1/38). As a matter of fact, according to ʿAmr b. Maḥbūb al-Jāḥiẓ; (d. 255/869) The history of poetry in the Arabic language is not very old and the first person to use poetry on a professional level was Abū Vahb Ḥunduj b. Ḥujr (Imrulqays) (d. 540) and Muhalhil b. Rabīʿa at-Taghlibī (d. 525). According to Jāḥiẓ, when we look at the history of poetry in the Arabic language, it covers 150 years in the pre-Islamic period and 200 years as the most distant date (Jāḥiẓ, 2004: 1/53).

From this period until the end of the 2nd century A.H. (719), literary criticism was not based on scientific criteria, it was done with improvisation, subjective / internal and minor criteria such as comparing a poem couplet with another poem couplet, highlighting a couplet, or generalizing when choosing a poet over another poet, rather than scientific criteria. (ʿAbbās, 1983: 45; Ibn Qutayba, 2003: 1/213).

Another type of literary criticism in the period of ignorance was proofreading, that is, checking the writing. Orators and poets did not write down every word that came to their minds, they chose and corrected the words until a good writing appeared. The acceptable word in poems and sermons was the concise one. (Jāḥiẓ, 2003: 2/11; ʿAlī, 2001: 18/349). Some poets would hold the ode for a year or more, during which time they would review their writings and views. These qasidas were called الحوليات *al-Ḥawliyyāt/Annual*, المنقحات *al-*

Munaqqaḥāt/Revised, المحكمات al-*Muḥkamāt/Fortified*. (Jāḥiẓ, 2003: 2/8). Especially Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā (d. 609 [?]) and Abū Mulayka Jarwal b. ʿAws al-ʿAbsī (al-Ḥuṭayʾa) (d. 59/678 [?]) wrote an ode, they thought about it thoroughly, then added or subtracted in some places, and tried to make the text and rhymes perfect (Ḍayf, n.d.b: 12).

It was preferred that the critic was a famous poet (Ibrāhīm, n.d.: 29-34). Another form of criticism in the period of ignorance was as follows: Fairs were held on certain days of the year in Arabs and poems were read together with different activities in these fairs, discussions and criticisms were made on poets and poems (Rāfʿī, n.d.: 1/81). One form of criticism was that the Arabs presented their poems to the Quraysh tribe (Aṣfahānī, n.d.: 10/206-207). At that time, another type of criticism was made against Arabic dialects and the most eloquent word was preferred. When the Arabs came into conflict, they used the Quraysh dialect as their basis (Rāfʿī, n.d.: 1/81-82). The fact that prose was in the form of short sentences, as in Arabic parables in the period of ignorance, strengthens the view that couplets and odes were formed by the coming together of short sentences, and that poetry emerged as a result of the combination of selected and metered prose expressions.[2] (Khafācī, 1992: 365).

3. Literary criticism during the period of the Prophet Muḥammad and Rashid Caliphs

Literary critics regarding the contribution of the words of the Prophet Muḥammad to Arabic literature; They are of the opinion that the hadiths enabled the prose writing and style like the Qurʾān to be strengthened, and the Arabic expression style to be clearer, easier, and fluent. (Khafācī - ʿAbduttawwāb, n.d.: 280). Jāḥiẓ; The letters of the words of the Prophet Muḥammad are few in number, have a lot of meaning and are far from monolithic and artificial, and that the Prophet Muḥammad kept the word long when it should be long, kept it short when it should be short, he did not use unknown strange words. He stated that he spoke, that his words were easily understood by the addressee and that he was at an intermediate level above the common language (street language). (Jāḥiẓ, 2003: 2/13-14).

There were positive or negative criticisms of the Prophet Muḥammad. E.g; Ḥassān b. Thābit (d. 60/680 [?]), after the couplets he recited against the person who satirized the Prophet Muḥammad; "*O Ḥassān! Your reward in the sight of Allāh is Paradise.*" The Prophet Muḥammad said, another time; He used the phrase "*May Allāh protect you from the burning of fire*". (Qayrawānī, 1981: 1/53; Ibn Kathīr, 2003: 6/593). The hadiths of the Prophet Muḥammad played an important role in the development of prose writing, as well as poetry, which made great strides in the Arabic language during the Age of Ignorance (Khafācī - ʿAbduttawwāb, n.d.: 280). When the literary criticisms of the Prophet Muḥammad are examined, it is seen that the principles and criteria of the Qurʾān and the religion of Islām are central in these criticisms. For this reason, poems against the religion of Islām were criticized by the Prophet Muḥammad, and the concise words in some poems were praised by the Prophet Muḥammad. (Jāḥiẓ, 2004: 1/223; t.y.b: 13-14; Abū Dāwūd, 1985: 92). The debates that the poets had with each other in the presence of the Prophet Muḥammad show us that

[2] Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī (d. 456/1064); He stated that the origin of the words is prose, that the Arabs needed music and poetry to tell the next generations about their morals, ancestry, good days, heroism, generosity, and the geography they lived in, and that poetry emerged in this way. (Qayrawānī, 1981: 1/20).

poetry continued to maintain its importance in the eyes of the society as it was in the period of Jāhiliyya in the first years of Islām (Aṣfahānī, n.d.: 10/206-207., 4/153-157; Wāqıdī, 1989: 3/977-979; Ibn Hishām, 1955: 2/563-567).

The Rashid Caliphs' view of poetry was like the Prophet Muḥammad's view of poetry, and Rashid Caliphs encouraged Muslims to understand and memorize the Qur'ān before poetry. For this reason, the poets who left poetry and were busy with the Qur'ān gained the appreciation and favor of the caliphs. For example, Umayyad poet Farazdaq (d. 92/710-11), who went to visit ʿAli with his son after the incident of Jamal, said that his son was one of the Muḍar tribe poets and that his son could read poetry if he wanted, and ʿAli told Farazdaq to "teach him the Qur'ān" (Zaydān, n.d.: 195). The Rashid Caliphs, who encouraged the Islamic community to read, learn and memorize the Qur'ān, on the other hand, wrote poetry and delivered a sermon (Qayrawānī, 1981: 1/32-33; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 1996: 7/30).

4. Literary criticism in the Umayyad period

During the Umayyad period, the caliphs, emirs, and Umayyad commanders who opened their doors to poets would reward the poets with various gifts. The interest of the poets in the Umayyad state led to an increase in the competition among the poets, and thus new poems in different styles emerged that were not present in the first period of Jāhiliyya and Islam (Ibrāhīm, n.d.: 95). Compared to the Rashid Caliphs, the importance of the Jāhiliyya literature increased in the Umayyads, and poetry and criticism speeches were held there by organizing literary assemblies (Zaydān, n.d.: 1/208, 1/230).

Naqāʾiḍ, a literary art type that emerged as a result of the conflicts in the political, social and literary fields during the Umayyad period; It would start with a poet saying a poem on a subject such as boasting and satire, and then continued with another poet responding to the first poet with the same meter and rhyme (Ḍayf, n.d.a: 2/245; Ibrāhīm, n.d.: 103). In Naqāʾiḍ poems, sometimes more than one poet would reply to each other (Khafācī, 1990: 1/153). Mirbad fair in Baṣra has a great role in the poems of Naqāʾiḍ among the famous poets of the Umayyad period, Jarīr (d. 110/728 [?]), Farazdaq and Akhṭal (d. 92/710-11). According to a rumor, Jarīr and Farazdaq came together in Mirbad in the presence of other poets and quarreled with each other, and these duels lasted for more than forty years (Khafācī, 1990: 1/47-48; Nallino, 1954: 153).

The poets who participated in the debate had their supporters in the assemblies where Naqāʾiḍ type poems were sung, which functioned like a school of literary criticism, and the poor virtues of the poets were listed in these assemblies (Sallām, 2002: 81). These conflicts were instrumental in the development of literary criticism and the writing of literary criticism books in the next century, and many Arabic words were recorded in this way. Based on the importance of these poems, it is said that "*If Farazdaq did not exist, one third of the language would have disappeared*" and in another narration, "*Two-thirds of the language would have disappeared*". It is possible to say that the Naqāʾiḍ poems are the continuation of the *Muʿallaqāt* poems (Farrūkh, 1981: 1/365-366).

5. Literary criticism in the Abbasids

In the literary assemblies of the Abbasid caliphs, as in the literary assemblies of the Umayyad caliphs, poetry criticism was made sometimes by the caliphs and sometimes by the

people present in the poetry assembly (Bayhaqī, n.d.: 211). In the Abbasid period, besides the caliphs, viziers, governors, commanders, rich people, and tribal chiefs presented gifts to the poets (Khafācī, 1990: 2/95-96). One of the factors affecting the development of literary criticism in this period was the increase in freedom of thought (Zaydān, n.d.: 2/20, 49).

In the first period of the Abbasids, cultural life underwent rapid change and progress, and Persian culture and customs increased their influence in Islamic lands. Another culture that influenced the Arab culture is the Greek culture, and this effect was mostly in the scientific and philosophical field (Zaydān, n.d.: 2/22-23; Ḍayf, n.d.a: 3/96). The interaction between the two cultures also increased with the arrival of the Islamic lands to the Indian regions and the arrival of the Indians to the Islamic lands. The cultural bond between Persians and Indians also played a role in this interaction. Muslims learned sciences such as astronomy, mathematics, and the game of chess from the Indians (Khafācī, 1990: 2/71-72; Zaydān, n.d.: 2/29).

6. Approaches to Literary Criticism

For two hundred years, from the period of ignorance to the 3rd century A.H., literary criticism was made in an improvised manner, far from scientific criteria, and with small evaluations such as "*This couplet is good*" or "*This couplet is bad*" over certain couplets. After Islām, the principles laid down by the religion of Islām were one of the most important criteria determining whether poetry was good or bad. While this was the case, some rules were determined in literary criticism when the Hijrī 3rd century was reached.

Ibn Sallām, in his book "*Ṭabakāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarā*", mentioned forty of the famous poets in his book, based on the concept of fuhūla (famous poet) first introduced by Aṣmaʿī. He categorized the poets in a total of ten groups by taking the poets whose poems are similar to each other into the same group and said that four poets similar to each other emerged in each group. According to that; During the Age of Ignorance, the field of poetry among Arabs was the place where information and wise words were recorded. After Islām, when the Arabs were engaged in jihād, Persian and Greek wars, their old sensitivity to poetry and poetry narration decreased, and in the following years, when the Arabs moved to city life and became permanent in the places they conquered, they turned to poetry narration again. However, most of the poems were lost because those who were engaged in poetry could not find written narrations and many poets died in wars. For example, the divan of the Ghassanid ruler al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir al-Ghassānī (d. after 594) which collected the poems of famous poets, was one of them (Jumaḥī, n.d.: 1/24-25).

Ibn Qutayba al-Dīnawarī (d. 276/889), made the first serious and scientific criticism of the style of the poems in the Jāhiliyya, the first period of Islām and the Umayyads, and the words chosen in the poem, in his book *al-Shir ve "Shuʿarā"* (Zaydān, n.d.: 2/40). In the introduction of this book of Ibn Qutayba, he said that Allāh did not make science, rhetoric and poetry specific to a time or a certain people, that they were shared among people at all times, that every old thing was new in its own period and every top was normal at first. Because Jarīr, Farazdaq and Akhṭal were seen as muḥdath / new poets in their own time. Abū ʿAmr Zabbān b. al-ʿAlā al-Māzinī al-Baṣrī (d. 154/771) said about these poets, "*These new poets have increased. Well, they sing poetry. I can almost find rumors from them*" (Ibn Qutayba, 2003: 1/64).

Ibn Jinnī al-Mawṣılī (d. 392/1002) stated that it is a correct approach to bring evidence in linguistics with the new meanings revealed by current poets, like the expressions of previous poets. Because as life conditions change, meanings change, develop, and take shape accordingly. Moreover, with the advent of Islām, Arabs migrated to many regions and different cities, they were influenced by different styles and foreign cultures in the places they went, and they influenced those cultures. Discussion of new meanings in the context of simile and making simile art in the center is because simile is seen as a difficult art in Arabic poetry (Qayrawānī, 1981: 2/236).

The Effect of Greek Philosophy on Literary Criticism

Qudāma b. Jaʿfar (d. 337/948), at the beginning of his *Naqd al-shiʿr* book; He states that people seldom express correct views on poetry criticism. According to that; These are different parts of the science of poetry; Those related to the science of prosody and meters, those related to the science of rhyme, those related to strange words and lexicon, those related to what is meant by meaning, and those related to the good and bad of poetry (Qudāma, 1889: 3).

According to Qudāma, who described the poem as "*It is a rhymed and metered wording that indicates a meaning*"; There are four things that make poetry good or bad; wording, meaning, meter and rhyme. Since there is analysis and composition in poetry, these concepts have good and bad ones. In order for a good poem to be formed, it is necessary to agree the word with the meaning, the word with the meter, the meaning with the meter and the meaning with the rhyme (Qudāma, 1889: 7-8; Ḍayf, n.d.c: 66).

Qudāma; In his evaluations above, he was influenced by Aristotle (d. 322 BC) and Galen (d. 216) and sometimes made direct quotations from these two names. The aim of Qudāma was to adapt the method in Aristotle's books *Kitāb al-shiʿr* and al-Manṭıq to Arabic literary criticism. Although he can be said to be successful in terms of the formality in his theory and the context between the subjects, some of the logical rules he put forward do not comply with the nature of Arabic poetry (Ḍayf, n.d.c: 69). This extraordinary effort of his has been both praised and criticized in the history of Arabic literary criticism (ʿAbbās, 1983: 214). Considering that Qudāma did not see or ignore the criticism books of his time, it is possible to say that the criticisms directed at him are justified.

The *Naqd al-Nathr* book, which was copyrighted by another critic Ishāk b. Ibrāhim b. Wahb al-Kātib (ö. 335/946), was written as a refutation of al-Jāḥiẓ's *al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn* book. Ishāq said that he did not like Jāḥiẓ's views on rhetoric and that the book of *al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn* contained only selected sermons and narrations. Ishāq, who was knowledgeable in theology, hadith and fiqh sciences besides his philosopher personality, attempted to combine the Qur'ān and philosophy (Ḍayf, n.d.c: 70; Ibn Wahb, 1969: 162).

Unlike Qudāma and other literary critics of his time, Ibn Wahb, who gave special importance to prose criticism, firstly dealt with the subject of oratory, which was evaluated in prose. He said that rhetoric should begin with praising and glorifying Allāh, and that there should be verses and parables from the Qur'ān in his oratory speech. He also stated that the sermons should be long where they should be long, short where they should be

short, and the expressions should be in a way that the addressee can understand (Ibn Wahb, 1969: 153-157).

Since the Arabic literary taste has its own dimensions, the attempts to adapt the Greek criticism to the Arab criticism did not find the same support after these two authors (Ḍayf, n.d.c: 76). It is possible to describe Ibn Wahb as the founder of the science of المعاني *al-maʿānī*, who deals with the main topics of the science of *maʿānī*, which is included in the science of rhetoric, such as الخبر *al-khabar*, الإنشاء *al-inshā*, التقديم *al-taqdīm* - التأخير *al-taʾkhīr*, الفصل *al-faṣl* - الوصل *al-waṣl* and الحذف al-ḥadhf.

Innovative Perspective

Literary criticism movements in the 4th century AH; Between Abū Tammām al-Ṭāī (d. 231/846) and al-Bukhturī al-Ṭāī (d. 284/897), then between Abū Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965) and those against him; It has emerged with different criticism tendencies that look at the wording, meaning and style in the language from different perspectives and do not accept each other. Abū Tammām, Aristotle's al-Shiʿr book and Mutanabbī were the locomotive of literary criticism discussions on theoretical and practical level in the 4th century AH. While Abū Tammām was at the forefront in the first half of the literary criticism in the 4th century AH, Mutanabbī was in the foreground in the second half, on the other hand, the ties with the Greek culture continued uninterrupted with the accumulations in the field of criticism in the previous centuries (ʿAbbās, 1983: 127-128).

To the objections of some scholars, whom he does not want to name, that Abū Tammām's poems should be avoided, Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946); He replied that since Bashār b. Burd (d. 167/783-84) has not been the leader of the innovative poets, they thought in this way. According to Ṣūlī, the reason why they followed the ancient poets is that the ancient poets lived first, they accepted the meanings of the poems that reached them through narrations beforehand, and they read the rumors and interpretations that reached them about good poems and flawed poems. Because, although the poems of ancient poets are beautiful, these poems are somewhat similar to each other. According to Ṣūlī, the situation of these people; It is like the situation of those who are hostile to what they are ignorant of, and because these people do not understand innovative poets, they have a prejudiced attitude towards these poets and are hostile to these poets (Ṣūlī, 1980: 14-15).

According to Ṣūlī, who defended Abū Tammām, innovative poets; By following the path of the ancient poets, sometimes they developed and beautified the meanings they gave, and sometimes they invented a meaning that they never mentioned (Ṣūlī, 1980: 17). Ṣūlī's comparison of the couplets of the innovative poets with the old poets and his support of the innovative poets is an important step as a critic at a time when many critics debated whether the poems of the innovative poets were poetry. For this reason, it is possible to see Ṣūlī as one of the pioneers of the innovative perspective in the 4th century AH.

Ibn Jinnī, who was friends with Mutanabbī and followed his poems and style with great admiration, stated in the introduction of his book al-Fasr, which he wrote on Mutanabbī's divan, that those who criticize and anti-Mutanabbī could not understand the meaning and purpose of his expression (Ibn Jinnī, 2004: 1/3-4). However, Ibn Jinnī's admiration for Mutanabbī caused two important questions in Mutanabbī's poems to escape

his notice. The first of these problems; Mutanabbī's use of illegal expressions contrary to grammatical rules haphazardly in his poems, and the second one is that since Mutanabbī is a person who invents new meanings, the meanings he reveals require long and repetitive thinking (Ibn Jinnī, 2004: 1/3-4; ʿAbbās, 1983: 279).

In this commentary, Ibn Jinnī's bringing examples from different poems of other poets and Mutanabbī by describing the syntax and making word analyzes was criticized by later critics. Namely; Critics stated that Ibn Jinnī went out of the subject and made explanations and filled his book with extra examples (Rajab, 2004: 366; Jalabī, 1941: 1/809). When this commentary of Ibn Jinnī is examined, it is seen that among the reasons why he analyzes so many words and poems, it is seen that he is trying to show the closed and incomprehensible meanings of Mutanabbī to the reader by bringing examples from the poems of ancient poets and to explain that Mutanabbī does not oppose the ancient poets and therefore the Arabic language.

Traditionalist Perspective

Bishr al-Āmidī (ö. 371/981), who lived in the 4th century AH, contributed to the transformation of literary criticism into a new field of expertise in the Islamic world and wrote many of his books on literary criticism (Ibn al-Nadīm, 1997: 189; ʿAbbās, 1983: 154-155). As Āmidī states in his book al-Muwāzana; In the 4th century AH, innovative and traditionalist discussions increased around Abū Tammām and Buḥturī, some of the critics favored Abū Tammām, who represents the innovators, while others favored Buhturī, who represents the traditionalists. In this period, scribes, Bedouins, and those who followed the natural style preferred Buḥturī's style; Those who published their writings after preparation and philosophers defend Abū Tammām's style. Although there are many poets, it can be said that the style of their poems is more fluent and clearer than other poets, while these two poets come to the fore (Āmidī, n.d.: 1/3-4).

Āmidī; There are two schools in poetry, that these two schools differ from each other in terms of functionality, artistry, understanding and criticism. Also, one of these two schools is a supporter of Buḥturī, who does not use artificial expressions and advocates improvisation in his poems, and the other is forcing the words with distant metaphors with strange and non-Arabic meanings. He told us at the beginning of his book that he is the innovative party that uses it. According to that; scribes, Bedouins, natural poets and Arab eloquence were influenced by the first school, artistic poets, intellectuals and philosophers followed the second school (Āmidī, n.d.: 1/4-5).

In the continuation of his words, he said: "*If you prefer simple and close-meaning words; if you are influenced by neat style, pleasant wording, sweet and pompous words, Buḥturī is a superior poet than you. If you are inclined to art and mysterious meanings that require deep contemplation, undoubtedly, Abū Tammām is a superior poet to you. On the other hand, I do not favor one over the other, I compare the poems of both poets when they are equal in terms of meter, rhyme, irab and meaning (the poems of both poets) and say, "Which is the better poet in so-and-so or so-and-so" I say, then you can make a general judgment about the two poets by encompassing good and bad.*" (Āmidī, n.d.: 1/5-6). Although he could not get rid of partiality in his evaluations, Āmidī emphasized the different inclinations and literary tastes of people, brought a different perspective to the criticism of the Arabs, argued that the critic should determine the facts and left the final

decision to the reader. According to that, It is necessary to compare not the poets, but the equal odes, meters, rhymes and meanings (Āmidī, n.d.: 1/6).

While Yākūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229) was evaluating the book al-Muwāzana; Although Āmidī is criticized for being a supporter of Buḥturī and being prejudiced against Abū Tammām, after Āmidī, people formed two different schools as those who support Abū Tammām and those who support Buḥturī, he also used expressions stating that Buḥturī supporters loved his poems and vilified Abū Tammām, and that this book was a good study Ḥamawī, 1993: 2/852).

Eclectic Perspective

Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Ḥātimī (d. 388/998), who died towards the end of the 4th century Hijri, emphasized the criticism rules such as Qudāma and Ibn Wahb in his book *Ḥilya al-muḥāḍara*, and, unlike Āmidī, he mostly defended Abū Tammām in his evaluations. Ḥātimī, who started his book by describing rhetoric, divided rhetoric into two parts as poetry and prose. Later, Ḥātimī, who showed different opinions about which poetry and prose were superior, favored poetry over prose because there is coherence and harmony in poetry, the effect it leaves on people is greater, and there is more selectivity and fluency in the words of the poem. According to Ḥātimī; poetry sounds better than prose. Poetry, by collecting the rhetoric, affects people more and becomes more permanent (Ḥātimī, 1979: 1/123-126)

According to Ḥātimī, the connection of the parts of the eulogy to each other is like the connection of human organs with each other, and these parts are inseparable from each other. When there is a defect or curvature in any part or composition of the eulogy, this will damage the beauty of the eulogy. Ḥātimī stated that especially innovative poets attach a special importance to the integrity of the ode because they see poetry as an art; He said that in the poems of innovative poets, as in sermons and eloquent letters, all the parts are connected between the beginning and the end of the couplets and that no part is separated from the whole (Ḥātimī, 1979: 1/215).

According to Iḥsān ʿAbbās (d. 2003), one of the modern Arab literary critics; With this view he put forward above, Ḥātimī was the first to put forward the view of unity in the eulogy in Arabic literary criticism, and in the following centuries this view was defended by a different Arab literary critic. Although Ḥātimī showed a tolerant approach to Abū Tammām and other innovative poets, he did not show the same tolerance to the important innovative poet of his time, Mutanabbī. After Mutanabbī left Egypt and came to Baghdad, he took special care in criticizing Mutanabbī and made criticisms by including him in his books (ʿAbbās, 1983: 257-263).

In the fourth century AH, while the debates in favor of and against Mutanabbī continued, ʿAlī b. Abdulʿazīz al-Qāḍī al-Jurcānī (d. 392/1001-1002), with his book *al-Wasāṭa bayn al-Mutanabbī wa ḫuṣūmih*, followed a conciliatory path and tried to find the middle of both sides (ʿAbbās, 1983: 313; Ḍayf, n.d.c: 89-91).

Qāḍī al-Jurcānī, in the introduction of his book *al-Wasāṭa*, which he wrote in order to find a reconciliatory way, stated that competition is a reason for jealousy and that there are two types of deficiencies in people: The first one is; They are those who reveal the faults of

the previous ones but do not correct them. The other is those who envy high-qualified people and humiliate them with the examples they give (Jurcānī, n.d.: 1-2).

According to Qāḍī, when we look at the divans of the poets of the Jāhiliyya and the first period of Islam, it is impossible to find a poem that does not have any flaws in the wording, verse, arrangement, division, meaning or poetry of the qasidas in these divans. If the poets of the Jāhiliyya period had not lived first, were not seen as authorities, and the poems of these poets were not inviolable, many Jāhiliyya poems would be seen as flawed and ordinary, and some of them would not even be considered poetry. However, this optimistic attitude towards the Jāhiliyya poems almost covered the flaws of those poems, and proofs (in linguistics) were brought with these poems on every occasion (Jurcānī, n.d.: 4-5).

Qāḍī; While talking about the criticism criteria, he stated that praising the innovative or urban (hadari) poet did not prevent him from praising the Bedouin poet, he did not distinguish between the old and the new when criticizing, and he was fair when judging the poets.

Because it is obvious that there was not a single approach in terms of poetry style in Arabic poetry in previous periods, some people's poems had a subtle style, some had a harsh style, some were easy to understand, and some were difficult. That is to say, the style changes according to the temperament, and the soundness of the wording depends on the soundness of the temperament, and the politeness / gentleness of the word likewise depends on the delicacy and softness of the disposition. For this reason, the Prophet Muḥammad used the expression "*The Bedouin is rude*." (Hindī, 1981: 15/407). For example, ʿAdīy b. Zayd al-ʿİbādī (d. 600), one of the Christian Jāhiliyya poets, was close to the city and lived in rural areas, away from the harsh and rough life of the Bedouins. Because his poems are like ghazals, his poems are more fluent and softer in style than the poems of Farazdaq and Ruʾba b. al-ʿAccāc (d. 145/762) (Jurcānī, n.d.: 15-18).

According to Qāḍī, when a person is just, he knows that the century in which he lived, especially the next centuries, should not be excused and condemned. Because people who lived before, mentioned many meanings, and used these meanings. No matter how much one of us exhausts himself mentally to reach a new meaning, and no matter how much he thinks that he has invented a couplet with new meanings, when this person looks at the divans, he sees a poem similar to the meaning of that couplet. For this reason, Qāḍī; He avoids making a judgment that a poet has plagiarized, and instead of plagiarism, "*So-and-so said*." He stated that it is more appropriate to say something like this and that when he says so, the person will be free from baseless accusations (Jurcānī, n.d.: 214-215).

The reason why Āmidī's book *al-Muwāzana* ended the conflicts between Abū Tammām and Buḥturī is the emergence of Mutanabbī shortly after this book and the discussions later focused on Mutanabbī. The reason why an equally effective criticism book was not written after Qāḍī's book *al-Wasāṭa* can be justified as his inability to convince the critics very much, the fact that literary debates did not shift to a different direction after Mutanabbī, and that an influential poet like him did not emerge after Mutanabbī (ʿAbbās, 1983: 335-336).

By the 5th century AH (1009-1106), the vitality of literary criticism weakened, and Greek philosophy was not as popular as it used to be among the literary critics of this

century that literary critics refer to the views of Āmidī and Qāḍī, and this is likely to cause formalism in general, thereby damaging intellectual deepening (ʿAbbās, 1983: 411).

Conclusion

The origins of the classical period Arabic literary criticism go back to the Age of Ignorance, and literary criticism went through important stages from this period to the 5th century A.H. Literary criticism in the period of ignorance was improvised and far from objective criteria.
It has been observed that the literary criticism made on poems and poets in the period of ignorance was made by taking the poets to the center in the same way until the end of the 4th century AH. Writing types such as sermon, testament, and advice, which are evaluated in prose and prose, have not been emphasized as much as poems. This situation supports the view that the Arab society was a poetry society in the Age of Ignorance.

The second important stage of Arab literary criticism is the 130-year period, which started with the period of the Prophet Muḥammad and continued until the establishment of the Abbasids. Thanks to the Qur'ān, the Arabic language has changed a lot in terms of poetry and prose, and this change has been in terms of wording, meaning and style. During the period of the Prophet Muḥammad and the Rashid Caliphs, the Arabic language got rid of the Bedouin style and took on a more fluent, plain and subtle style, and the Arabic language was gathered around the dialect of the Quraysh tribe.

Perhaps, while prose was going to get stronger after the Prophet Muḥammad and the Rashid Caliphs, the position of poetry was strengthened during the Umayyad period, with the Umayyad caliphs and governors criticizing the poets and poetry themselves and encouraging them to recite poetry; In this period, the foundations of different literary criticism approaches and literary criticism criteria that emerged in the following centuries were laid. In the Umayyads, there were literary assemblies in many regions of the Islamic geography, and among these assemblies, poems of the Naqāʾiḍ type came to the fore in Mirbad, and three important poets of the period, such as Jarīr, Farazdaq and Akhṭal, quarreled. Naqāʾiḍ poems contributed to the recording of many Arabic words, the development of literary criticism in Arab and Islamic societies in the Abbasid period, and the writing of literary criticism books.

With the increase in scientific activities, translation movements and freedom of thought in the 3rd century, which is the third important stage of Arab literary criticism, and the emergence of theological sects, certain criteria were put forward in Arab literary criticism, and literary criticism of this period was made by taking poems and poets into the center. In the 3rd century AH, famous critics emerged in the Arabic language, and independent literary criticism books were written, and the critics distinguished between ancient and new poets. Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī, one of the important critics of the period, brought together the information about poetry criticism and poetry narrations and was the first person to say that literary criticism should be an independent field of science.

One of the important steps in the 3rd century AH is that Mubarrid, Jāhiẓ and Ibn Qutayba did not distinguish between ancient and new poets in their poetry criticism books

and expressed positive views about new poets. Because this approach of theirs led to the acceptance of the poems of innovative poets in the 4th century AH and to prioritize them over the ancient poems in the next stage. Another factor in shaping the Arabic literary criticism in the 3rd century AH was the translation movements that gained momentum during the Abbasid period, and books on philosophy, medicine, mathematics, and astrology were translated from Greek, Persian and Hindi into Arabic.

In this environment, Qudāma, who knew Greek philosophy well, tried to determine the rules of Arabic literary criticism as a scientific discipline with his book *Naqd al-Shiʿr* and adapted Greek literary criticism to Arabic literary criticism. Another critic who had knowledge of Greek philosophy, Ibn Wahb, attempted to combine Islamic thought with Greek philosophy and logic in his literary criticism of *Naqd al-Nathr*, which he wrote as a refutation of Jāhiẓ's book *al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn*. After Jāhiẓ, there was another critic who did not ignore the criticism of prose.

In the first half of the 4th century AH, which is the fourth important phase of Arab literary criticism, traditionalist and innovative debates arose first around conservative linguists and men of letters, then Abū Tammām and Buḥturī. In the second half of this century, this time, Mutanabbī has been at the center of discussions. The 4th century Hijri is a period in which different perspectives emerged in Arabic literary criticism and literary criticism debates were intense. Ṣūlī, who can be called the first representative of the innovative poets of this period, found it strange that people disagreed about Abū Tammām and attributed this attitude of those who criticize Abū Tammām and find the style and expression of the ancient poets correct, to the previous life of the ancient poets and the pre-acceptance of the meanings they gave.

Accusations of plagiarism against poets in the 4th century AH became one of the main subjects of literary criticism, and Ḥātimī dealt with the phenomenon of plagiarism in detail in literary criticism. Ḥātimī; He distinguished the subtle differences between plagiarism and different types of plagiarism, which have an important place in the science of criticism, and defined more than fifteen sub-titles of plagiarism. Āmidī, who, like Ṣūlī, analyzes the innovative and traditionalist debates by focusing on Abū Tammām and Buḥturī, and says that he will remain neutral while making a comparison between the two poets, will get to the core of the conflict between the two poets, explain the differences between the two poets and leave the decision to the reader, It has been observed that he stood on the side of Buḥturī, who represented the traditionalists.

Ibn Jinnī, who sees the couplets of innovative poets as old poems and mostly deals with the word analysis and syntax issues in Mutanabbī's couplets, defends Mutanabbī in an exaggerated way in his book al-Fasr and emphasizes that he is a deep-rooted Arab poet. This forced him to make interpretations and ignore his obvious mistakes. Qāḍī al-Jurcānī, who followed a reconciliatory path between traditional and innovative criticism orientations, said in his book *al-Wasāṭa* that the main reasons for the negative point of view towards the apostate poets were jealousy and unjustified indiscriminate criticism, and that the person who makes a literary criticism should be merciful, just, and not go overboard with praise and satire. added to his words.

Although some rules were determined and criteria were set in Arabic literary criticism until the 4th century AH, the arbitrariness and insignificance problem in criticism, which is one of the important problems of Arab literary criticism, could not be overcome in this period, except for Qāḍī, in the literary criticism books written with a scientific discipline. It has been observed that there are expressions and ready-made sentence patterns such as "*that poem is beautiful*" or "*that poem is bad*" without giving any reason.

Characteristics of the traditional approach in Arabic literary criticism; It is possible to list these critic's harsh attitudes against expressions and styles contrary to the Ignorance and the first period of Islam, not seeing the beautiful expressions of the poets of their own time and belittling them, putting the word in the language to the fore and keeping the meaning in the background, and being critical of new expression styles and styles. Same way: These critics took the path of interpretation against the low expressions of the poets of the Age of Ignorance, these critics had weak ties with foreign culture and thoughts, they were extremely meticulous about plagiarism, and they approached almost every couplet of the innovative poets with suspicion.

The characteristic features of the innovative approach are; The fact that their critical attitude towards the poets of the Ignorance period is the same as their critical attitude towards the poets of their own period, they emphasize the meaning of the language more than the words, they compare the poets of their own period to the poets of the period of Ignorance, even in some places they are superior to them, they have strong ties with foreign cultures and thoughts, they are more tolerant about plagiarism, attitude and seeing the beautiful sides of innovative poets, etc. possible to sort.

With the development of innovative perspectives in Arabic literary criticism, we can say that the following steps have been taken in literary criticism:

1. In the Arabic literary criticism, firstly Ibn al-Muʿtaz in the 3rd century AH, and then Ibn Wahb and Qudāma in the 4th century, the rules of literary criticism were set and these rules were named and the foundations of the science of rhetoric were laid.

2. Hijri IV. Critics like Ḥātimī, who defended innovative poets who were accused of plagiarizing from previous poets, especially the poets of Ignorance before the century, expressed views that every similar expression cannot be plagiarism and that there are common meanings that people use at all times, and these critics have clarified the types of plagiarism and what is plagiarism and what is not.

3. Although the positive or negative criticisms of the poets due to enmity or love continued in the 4th century A.H., the dose of arbitrariness in the criticism was reduced in this century, and it has been tried to make criticisms with objective and scientific criteria.

4. While innovative poets were compared with ancient poets in the 3rd century AH, with the scientific circles accepting the expressions and styles of innovative poets in the 4th century AH, comparisons and evaluations were made between the innovative poets who adopted the style of the ancient poets and the poets who adopted the new expression and style.

As a result of the competition between literary criticism orientations in the fourth century AH, the idea that the ancient poets were unreachable was weakened, especially by Mutanabbī.

In the 5th century AH, the Arabic literary criticism lost its vitality in the previous century and in the AH IV. The criteria set forth in the century were sometimes analyzed and sometimes repeated. Among the reasons why the same vitality could not be maintained in literary criticism in this century and in the following centuries; It is possible to list these as the absence of an influential poet like Mutanabbī, the weakening of the ties with foreign cultures and the translation movements, the less emergence of new meanings, the beginning of the crusades and the subsequent destruction of Islamic lands by the Mongol invasion.

In our opinion, the reasons for the lack of literary criticism on poets after the 4th century A.H. are the acceptance and adoption of the poems, expressions, and styles of new (muḥdath) poets by scientific circles, the fact that the language has a changing form by rhetoric scholars, and the Arab and Islamic societies in the following processes. being more open to differences and innovations. Especially the literary debates in the 4th century AH and traditionalist-innovative approaches provided the necessary infrastructure and material for the emergence of the science of Arabic rhetoric in the next century, and literary criticism continued to exist in the science of rhetoric by changing its form after the 4th century AH.

Bibliography

ʿAbbās, İḥsān. *Tārīkh al-Naqd ʿinda al-ʿArab*. Bairut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1983.

Abū Dāwūd, Sulaymān b. al-Ashʿath al-Sijistānī. *Musnad ʿĀisha raḍiyallāh ʿanhā.* ed. ʿAbdulghafūr ʿAbdulḥaq Ḥusayn. Kuwait: Maktaba al-Aqsā, 1405-1985.

Abu al-Faraj al-Aṣfahānī, ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn. *al-Aghānī*. Bairut: Dār al-Fikr, 2st edition.

al-Āmidī, Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Bishr. *al-Muwāzana bayn şiʿr Abī Tammām wa al-Buḥturī.* ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr – ʿAbdullāh al-Muḥārib. Egypt: Dār al-Maʿārif – Maktaba al-Khānjī, 4st edition.

Arslan, Hüseyin. *Hatip el-Kazvini'nin Telhis ve İzah Adlı Eserlerinde Sekkaki'ye İtiraz Ettiği Meseleler.* İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2018.

al-Bayhaqī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. *al-Mahāsin wa al-masāwī.* ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Egypt: Dār al-Maʿārif.

Ḍayf, Shawqī. *al-Balāgha, taṭawwur wa tārīkh.* Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, n.d.b., 9st edition.

Ḍayf, Shawqī. *al-Naqd,* Egypt: Dār al-maʿārif, n.d.c.

Ḍayf, Shawqī. *Tārīkh al-adabī al-Ārabī*. Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, n.d.a., 11st edition.

Farrūḫ, ʿUmar. *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿArabī*. Bairut: Dār al-ʿİlm li al-malāyīn, 4st edition, 1981.

al-Ḥamawī, Shihābuddīn Abū ʿAbdillāh Yāqūt b. ʿAbdillāh al-Rūmī. *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*. ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās. Bairut: Dār al-Garb al-Islāmī, 1993.

al-Ḥātimī, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Muẓaffar al-Baghdādī. *Ḥilya al-muḥāḍara fī ṣināʿaʾ al-shiʿr.* ed. Jaʿfar al-Kitānī. Iraq: Dār al-Rashīd, 1979.

Ibn Ḥamdūn. Abū al-Maʿālī Bahāuddīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamdūn al-Baghdādī *al-Tadhkira al-Ḥamdūniyya*. Bairut: Dār Ṣādir, 1417/1996.

Ibn Hishām, Abū Muḥammad Jamāluddīn ʿAbdulmalik b. Hishām al-Mışrī. *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya li Ibn Hishām*. ed. Muṣṭafā al-Sakā – Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī -`Abdulhafīz Shalabī. Egypt: Maktaba wa Maṭba`a Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa awlāduhū, 2st edition, 1375/1955.

Ibn Jinnī, Abū al-Fatḥ ʿOthmān b. Jinnī al-Nahwī. *al-Fasr Sharh Ibn Jinnī al-Kabīr, ʿalā dīwān al-Mutanabbī*. ed. Ridā Racab. Damascus: Dār al-Yanābīʿ, 2004.

Ibn Kathīr, Abū al-Fidā İsmāʿīl b. ʿOmar b. Kathīr al-Dimashqī *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya,* ed. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAbdulmuḥsin al-Turkī Egypt: Dār Hajar, 1424/2003.

Ibn Qutayba, ʿAbdullāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba al-Dīnawarī. *al-Shʿir wa al-shuʿarā*. Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1423/2003.

Ibn Manẓūr. Abu'l-Faḍl Jamāluddīn Muḥammad b. Mukrim b. ʿAlī al-Anṣārī. *Lisānu'l-'Arab.* Bairut: Dāru Ṣādir, 3st edition, 1993.

Ibn al-Nadīm, Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad b. Abī Yaʿkūb Ishāk al-Warrāq al-Baghdādī. *al-Fihrist.* ed. Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān. Bairut: Dār al-Ma`rifa, 2st edition, 1997.

Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan. al-ʿUmda fī maḥāsin al-shiʿr wa ādābih. ed. Muḥammad Muḥyiddīn ʿAbdulḥamīd. Bairut: Dār al-Jīl, 5st edition, 1981.

Ibn Wahb, Abu al-Ḥusayn İshāk b. İbrāhīm b. Sülaymān b. Wahb al-Kātib. *al-Burhān fī wucūh al-kalām.* ed. Ḥafnī Muḥammad Sharaf. Egypt: Maktaba al-Shabāb – Maṭbaʿa al-Risāla, 1969.

al-Jāḥiẓ, ʿAmr b. Maḥbūb. *al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn.* Bairut: Maktaba al-Hilāl, 2003.

al-Jāḥiẓ, ʿAmr b. Maḥbūb. *al-Hayawān.* Bairut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 2st edition, 2004.

al-Jumaḥī, Muḥammad b. Sallām b. ʿUbaydullāh. *Ṭabakāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarā.* ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir. Jaddeh: Dār al-Madanī.

Kātib Jalabī, Muṣṭafā b. Abdillāh al-Kusṭantīnī (Ḥācī Ḫalīfa). *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa al-funūn*. Bairut: Maktaba al-Muthannā - Dār Ihyā al-turāth al-ʿarabī, 1941.

al-Khafācī, Muḥammad ʿAbdulmunʿim. *al-Adab al-ʿArabī wa tārīkhuhū fī al-ʿAsr al-Umawī wa al-ʿAbbāsī*, Bairut: Dār al-Jīl, 1990.

al-Khafācī, Muḥammad ʿAbdulmunʿim. *al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī al-ʿAsr al-Jāhilī*. Bairut: Dār al-Jīl, 1412/1992.

al-Khafācī, Muḥammad ʿAbdulmunʿim - ʿAbduttawwāb Salāhuddīn. *al-Hayāt al-Adabiyya fī ʿaṣray al-Jāhilī wa ṣadr al-Islām.* Cairo: Maktaba al-Kulliyya al-Azhariyya.

al-Qāḍī al-Jurcānī, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abdulʿazīz. *al-Wasāṭa bayn al-Mutanabbī wa ḫuṣūmih*. ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm - ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī. Egypt, Maṭbaʿa ʿIsā al-bābī al-Ḥalabī wa sharikā.

Qudāma b. Jaʿfar al-Baghdādī. *Naqd al-shi'r*. İstanbul: Maṭbaʿa al-Jawāib, 1302/1889.

al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, ʿAlāuddīn ʿAlī b. Ḥusāmuddīn Ibn Qādī Khān al-Hindī al-Burhānfūrī. *Kanz al-'ummāl fī sunan al-aqwāl wa al-af'āl*, ed. Bakrī Ḥayyānī – Ṣafwat al--Saqā, (Bairut: Muassasa al-Risāla, 5st edition, 1401/1981.

Nallino, Carlo Alfonso. *Tārīkh al-ādāb al-ʿArabiyya min al-Jāhiliyya ḥattā ʿasr banī Umayya*. ed. Maria Nallino. Egypt: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1954.

Rajab, Riḍā. *al-Dirāsa: al-Fasr.* Damascus: Dār al-Yanābīʿ, 2004.

al-Rāfʿī, Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq. *Tārīkh ādāb al-ʿArab*. ed. ʿAbdullāh al-Minshāwī - Mahdī al-Buḥkīrī. al-Manṣūra: Maktaba al-īmān.

Sallām, Zaghlūl, Tārīkh *al-Naqd al-adabī wa al-balāgha ḥattā qarn al-rābiʿ al-ḥijrī.* Cairo: Munshāt al-Maʿārif, 2002.

al-Ṣūlī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdillāh. *Aḫbār Abī Tammām*. ed. Ḫalīl Maḥmūd ʿAsākir - Muḥammad ʿAbduh ʿAẓẓām - Naẓīr al-İslām al-Hindī. Bairut: Dār al-Āfāq al-jadīda, 1980.

al-Thaʿālibī, Abū Mansūr ʿAbdulmalik. *al-İʿjāz wa al-īcāz*. Cairo: Maktaba al-Qurʾān.

al-Wāqıdī, Abū Abdillāh Muḥammad b. ʿOmar b. Wāqıd. *al-Maghāzī*. ed. Marsden Jones (Bairut: Dār alA`lamī, 2st edition, 1409/1989).

Zabīdī, Abu'l-Fayḍ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. `Abdurrazzāk al-Ḥusaīnī Murtaḍā. *Tācu'l-ʿarūs*. ed. 'Abdussattār Aḥmad Farrāj - Muṣṭafā Ḥicāzī. Kuwait: Dār al-Hidāya, 1965.

Zaydān, Jurjī. *Tārīkh ādāb al-luga al-ʿArabiyya*, Egypt: Dār al-Hilāl.