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Academic Research on Heritage and the Project of Heritage Awareness

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Abstract

This article examines academic research on Arab-Islamic heritage as an entry point for constructing civilisational awareness and confronting exclusion and alienation. It traces the development of the concept of heritage in Arab discourse, highlighting the dialectic of self and other. It also emphasises the role of academic research in revealing the epistemic and aesthetic value of heritage, particularly in narrative and criticism, while addressing the question of the authenticity of Arab narrative. It highlights the richness of the critical heritage and the possibility of establishing an Arab critical theory. It also rereads certain historical periods, such as the Mamluk era, through a scholarly critique of Orientalist theses, calling for a balanced approach grounded in scholarly fairness and removed from either veneration or exclusion.

Keywords: academic research; Arab-Islamic heritage; heritage awareness; narrative heritage; critical heritage

1. Introduction

The concept of heritage has commanded the attention of scholars across various fields, and research on the heritage question has proliferated, casting its shadow over multiple domains of thought. For some, it has even become a problem whose complexity mirrors the complexity of the lives of those concerned with it, because it is embedded in the binary interaction between the "self" and the "other". As one of the tributaries of thought, literature is not removed from this heritage-related dialectic. Agencies of the other, together with certain alienated elites of the self, have subjected it to systematic exclusion: first by casting doubt upon it and diminishing its importance, and ultimately by excluding it from the construction of the nation's civilisational landscape. Within this context, the present study illuminates one aspect of cultivating awareness of heritage to do it justice. It does so by examining academic research on heritage and its importance to the project of heritage awareness and revival.

2. The Concept of Heritage

Classical Arabic dictionaries treat al-turāth (heritage) as synonymous with irth (inheritance) and mīrāth (legacy). Under the root waritha (to inherit), *Lisān al-‘Arab* states: "Al-wirth, al-turāth, and al-mīrāth denote that which is inherited; it is also said that al-wirth and al-mīrāth refer to property, whereas al-irth refers to lineage."¹

The term turāth is the least frequently circulated and used of these verbal nouns. Its initial tā' was originally a wāw but was changed to tā' because of the heaviness of the ḍamma on wāw. Turāth means "what a man leaves to his heirs".² It occurs once in the Qur'an, in the words of the Almighty: "And you devour inheritance with voracious greed."³ In the Prophetic hadith, it appears in a supplication attributed to the Prophet - peace and blessings be upon him -: "To You is my return, and to You belongs my inheritance."

It should be noted that classical writers' use of irth and mīrāth was closely associated with Islamic jurisprudence. Jurists attended to the methods of distributing a deceased person's estate among heirs and devoted a chapter of jurisprudence to the subject, which they called "the chapter on prescribed shares". The term turāth, however, did not occur in their expressions. Moreover, waritha and all its derivatives, as referred to in their discourse, refer to property and lineage (material inheritance) but not to cultural or intellectual inheritance.

In the modern era, the term turāth acquired a new semantic dimension, denoting "the scholarly and literary works left by earlier generations that are considered valuable in relation to the traditions and spirit of the present age".⁴ Hence, heritage comprises:

1. That which has accumulated over time within a people in the form of traditions, customs, experiments, experience, arts, and sciences.
2. That which manifests the operation of heritage in the works of writers and artists, such that those works become the product of the fusion of heritage materials within their literature and art.⁵

2.1. Heritage in Contemporary Arab Discourse

In contemporary Arab discourse, the concept of heritage assumes exceptional importance because it enters the sphere of reading the self and its relationship to the surrounding environment, in which the other constitutes a substantial dimension that may be harmonious in some forms or conflictual in others. Scholars' views and definitions of the concept have accordingly varied. Ghālī Shukrī approaches it historically, defining it as "the totality of the nation's material and immaterial history from the earliest ages to the present".⁶

Similarly, Zakī Najīb Maḥmūd locates the value of heritage in "its being a set of technical means that we can take from our predecessors and use today while remaining secure in relation to the new methods we have devised".⁷ In his view, these means can help solve contemporary problems. On this definition, the technical meaning approaches the lexical one, but expands it so that, in addition to material inheritance, it includes an immaterial legacy represented by the substance of thought and the convictions of the mind:

Thus, if irth or mīrāth signifies the father's disappearance and the son's assumption of his place, turāth signifies the presence of the ancestors among their

descendants, and the presence of the past in the present. ... Heritage is therefore viewed not as the remnants of the culture of the past, but as that culture in its entirety and totality: it is creed and religious law, language and literature, reason and mentality, nostalgia and aspirations. In other words, it is the epistemic and the ideological, their rational foundation, and their affective register in Arab-Islamic culture.⁸

2.2. Arab Heritage

Arab heritage refers to what was written in Arabic and expressed the Arab spirit; it formed one of the tributaries of Islamic heritage. Before Islam, the Arabs possessed a heritage in which the inhabitants of the Hijaz shared with the northern kingdoms of the Levant and the frontiers of Iraq, namely the Ghassanids and Lakhmids. There was abundant poetry, copied works, records inscribed on stone and other materials, and compilations such as that of al-Hira, which the Lakhmids ruled. However, the delay in committing material to writing, together with the Prophet's instruction that nothing other than the Qur'an be written down, caused much of it to disappear. What remains attests to the existence and distinctiveness of this heritage. Arab heritage was subsequently deployed to inflame Arab solidarity and strengthen national sentiment within the Arab nation after its liberation from the yoke of colonialism, which had extended across most of its countries. Attention thus turned to reviving Arab heritage and celebrating the past to confront external threats.

2.3. Arab-Islamic Heritage

Arab-Islamic heritage is "heritage recorded in Arabic, which adopts Islam as a method, bases its inquiries on Islamic teachings, reflects on the Qur'an, follows the hadiths of the Messenger, considers what serves Muslims in particular and humanity in general, and records these reflections in the books that constitute the written heritage".⁹ Describing this heritage as both Arab and Islamic is perhaps more precise and comprehensive. Individuals affiliated with Islam but not of Arab descent - such as Imams al-Bukhārī and Muslim and the grammarian Sībawayh - helped shape it; they were non-Arabs. It was also shaped by Arabs who did not embrace Islam, as occurred in the translation movement and the transfer of non-Arabic books into Arabic. This clearly helped transmit the heritage of other civilisations to Islamic civilisation, thereby strengthening and consolidating it. Bint al-Shāṭi' therefore states that the heritage of the Arab-Islamic nation "does not begin with the onset of Islamic history, when a single banner united us; rather, it extends backwards through its past, penetrating deeply into time. The past of every people that embraced Islam and became Arabised is the past of this nation, and all material and intellectual civilisations that flourished in the lands of our homeland are, as a matter of historical reality, the heritage of us all".¹⁰

Heritage understood in this manner was mobilised for revivalist purposes and became associated with the discourse of the modern Arab Nahda, which sought liberation from all fetters of backwardness and protection against colonial constraint: "On the one hand, the call to embrace heritage and return to origins ... functioned as a mechanism for launching the process of revival by entering into a 'heritage', a return to 'origins' upon which criticism of the present

and the recent past could be grounded, thereby enabling a leap into the future. On the other hand, the same call constituted a reaction against the external threat represented - then and now - by the military, industrial, scientific, and institutional challenges posed by the West to the Arab nation and the foundations of its existence."¹¹

3. The Concept of Academic Research

Academic research encompasses all scholarly activities undertaken by a student or researcher affiliated with an academic institution, resulting in a study that advances knowledge. It may be connected to information and knowledge acquired by a student during study or to research submitted to complete the requirements for an academic degree, such as a licence, master's, or doctoral degree. Academic research is distinguished by its institutional framing and by formal supervision subject to specified scholarly and legal requirements. It constitutes one stage of training towards specialised scientific research, because students undertake it as part of their research training.

3.1. Academic Research on Heritage

By academic research on heritage, we mean directing scholarly attention during stages of academic training towards heritage-related topics. Such research introduces heritage, discusses its issues, and addresses doubts raised about it, to raise awareness of it and benefit from it.

3.2. Academic Research and the Project of Heritage Awareness

Awareness of heritage means recognising heritage both as material and as value, and doing it justice: it must not be accorded a sanctified status it does not deserve, yet neither should its genuine value and contribution to the expression of a civilisation whose pre-eminence all nations have acknowledged be denied. This awareness can be achieved only through the combined efforts of scholarship that makes heritage known, in the face of waves of distortion and systematic exclusion. Heritage must become the object of serious study and specialised research that lift the veils of erasure and help revive it as a factor in constructing self-awareness. Such research acquires greater value when grounded in scholarly principles, issued by specialised academic institutions, and supervised by specialist researchers.

In this context, two important domains may be taken as examples. Research on both has generated extensive scholarly discussion, while opinions have diverged to the point of contradiction and confrontation: Arab narrative heritage and the critical heritage.

3.2.1. Research on Narrative Heritage

Our classical heritage encompassed multiple narrative forms, including animal tales, the *maqāma*, marvellous narrative, and the social narrative found in al-Jāhīz's *The Misers*, among others. This narrative was also distinguished by a set of characteristics that attracted scholars' attention, including its request-based form, chain-of-transmission structure, deployment of the marvellous and paradox, and use of embedding, among others.

Research on classical narrativity raises the question of Arab familiarity with storytelling in general and the novel in particular. It asks whether Arabs possessed productive knowledge of the novel as an art form: is the novel an authentically Arab form, or a Western imitation to whose creation Arabs have no connection? This question presents an alienated position that recognises

no civilisational or artistic achievements among Arabs and regards the Arab Renaissance as having been founded on openness to the other. Some critics and scholars accordingly consider the novel to be an imported form alien to Arab literary culture. "Among them is Ismā'īl Adham, who interprets twentieth-century narrative literature as disconnected from Arabic literature in its historical structure and regards it as something new created by contact with the West. Buṭrus Khallā likewise holds that no two people disagree that the Arabic novel emerged in the modern era as a form borrowed from the West or profoundly influenced by it."¹²

In opposition to this exclusionary position, voices have emerged to do justice to Arab heritage and demonstrate that Arabs possessed creative arts beyond the poetry for which they were known. These included narrative forms, establishing that classical Arabic literature contained artistic narrative with its own aesthetics and value. Among these scholars is Fārūq Khūrshīd, whose work *The Arabic Novel: The Age of Compilation* contains important observations. He argues that it is inconceivable for a nation such as the Arabs - whose civilisation dominated the world for long historical periods, encompassed multiple cultures and heritages, and translated into its language the cultures that surrounded it, whether contemporary or earlier - to have expressed itself only through poetic purposes confined to praise, satire, description, and elegy.¹³

The geographical expansion of the Islamic state and its interactions and cultural exchanges with other nations were sufficient conditions for the emergence of narrative art, given that this art existed in those nations. Several scholars followed this view, including 'Alī 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd in *The Arabic Story in the Pre-Islamic Period*. In that work, he defended the existence of the story in the pre-Islamic age against those who denied it: "Their claim that the Arabic story is unlike the modern story is correct, but it does not show that the Arabic story appeared only after Arab contact with the West in the nineteenth century; rather, it demonstrates the authenticity of the Arabic story in every age."

In *Pioneers of the Modern Renaissance*, Mārūn 'Abbūd maintains that the Arabs taught storytelling to the West, although they did not write it as it is written today.¹⁴ He cites the English Orientalist H. A. R. Gibb, who stated: "The Arabs brought Europe the tales of Sinbad the Sailor and similar stories, which became a leaven for the new European imaginative literature that displaced traditional literature and took its place, giving rise to the romantic novels of Europe."¹⁵

Rakān al-Ṣafadī, in *Narrative Art in Arabic Prose until the Beginning of the Fifth Islamic Century*, poses the question: "Is it conceivable that the nation of *The Thousand and One Nights*, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, *The Epistle of Forgiveness*, the maqāmāt, the *Sīra* of 'Antarah, Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan, and other enduring narrative works should take no interest in this art, which found its way into the literatures of all nations, yet remained alien among its own people?"¹⁶

'Abd al-Karīm al-Khaṭīb, in *Qur'anic Narrative in Its Literal and Conceptual Dimensions*, argues: "The life of the pre-Islamic Arabs in their original homeland was a long and compelling story. ... Yet we may then ask: what kind of story was this long story? We answer that it was a tragedy or drama whose letters, words, and chapters were written in human blood, sweat, and tears."¹⁷

Maḥmūd Taymūr considers it unjust and erroneous for scholars to judge classical Arabic stories by the standards and rules of the modern story, because those narratives expressed the society in which they were created.

Serious academic research into Arab narrative heritage can unveil this abundant inheritance, making it rich material for research and criticism. It can also correct the judgements voiced by deniers - judgements that gained circulation and a forceful presence because parties conspiring against the nation and its heritage amplified their exclusionary discourse. When lecturers direct their students, whether specialists or not, to engage with their heritage in applied research, they lay a stone in the edifice of awareness of that heritage.

Research on heritage aims to do justice to an occluded inheritance. It must therefore neither depart from scholarly methods, disregard facts, nor attribute to heritage what it does not contain, for such excess is not justified by the extremity of exclusion. Sound research is instead built upon scholarly foundations, removed from an exaggerated triumphalist impulse.

3.2.2. *Critical Heritage and the Project of Establishing an Arab Criticism*

The Arab critical heritage constitutes one of the foremost intellectual achievements of Arab-Islamic culture. Accumulating over centuries in the form of critical discourse, it was distinguished by its close connection to the literary text and profound awareness of the functions of language and the mechanisms by which meaning is produced. In the modern era, however, this heritage did not become a theoretical point of reference capable of founding a contemporary Arab criticism. Instead, it often remained an object of historical description or textual editing, while critical engagement was largely open to Western theories.

The critic ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ḥammūda wrote his trilogy *Convex Mirrors, Concave Mirrors, and Emergence from the Labyrinth* to expose the deviation that afflicted Arab critical thought and precipitated the crisis of contemporary Arab criticism. Fascination with Western achievement led us to magnify its propositions and diminish the achievements of classical Arab criticism, with the result that we became imitators of Western critical propositions, together with all the attendant problems of practice, terminology, and other matters.

Yet close and probing inquiry into the classical Arab critical heritage demonstrates that it abounds in propositions, ideas, and discoveries that Arab scholars had already reached. A limited perspective biased towards the other, however, undermined and marginalised what our heritage contained.

3.2.2.1. *The Scholarly Value of the Classical Arab Critical Heritage*

3.2.2.1.1. *An Organised Conceptual Apparatus*

Classical Arab criticism possesses a precise conceptual apparatus, as expressed by leading figures of classical Arab criticism. Al-Jāḥiẓ, for example, affirms that meanings "lie cast upon the road, known to the non-Arab and the Arab, the Bedouin, the villager, and the townsman; what matters is establishing the metre, selecting the expression, ease of articulation, copiousness, soundness of disposition, and excellence of composition".¹⁸ This statement underscores the centrality of expression in the literary process and establishes that aesthetic value lies not in

meaning itself but in the manner of its formulation. Modern critical theories reached the same conclusion, yet we imported and accepted their propositions in their entirety.

In another context, 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī developed the theory of composition, which focused on the significance of the relationship between meanings and the words that express them. He writes:

It is inconceivable that you should know the place of a word without knowing its meaning, or that you should seek arrangement and composition in words considered merely as words. Rather, you seek order in meanings and apply thought to them. Once this is accomplished, you make the words follow them and trace their effects. When you have completed the ordering of meanings in your mind, you need not begin anew to think about ordering the words; you find them ordering themselves because they serve meanings, follow them, and succeed them. Knowledge of the positions of meanings in the mind is knowledge of the positions of the words that signify them in speech.¹⁹

3.2.2.1.2. Awareness of the Functions of Language

Classical criticism was grounded in a comprehensive awareness of the functions of language, as expressed in numerous perspectives across sources on Arabic language, literature, and rhetoric. Among them is al-Jāḥiẓ's connection of discourse, context, and reception in his statement, "For every situation there is an appropriate expression", an idea that approaches modern pragmatic conceptions.

3.2.2.1.3. Aesthetic and Normative Issues

Qudāma ibn Ja'far's conception of poetry as "rhymed, metrical speech" establishes critical criteria based on metre, meaning, and diction to systematise critical judgement. Al-Āmidī likewise addresses the comparative evaluation of poets through textual analysis in his comparison between the two poets of Ṭayy, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī. He states:

Abū Tammām has a subtle meaning whose equal al-Buḥturī does not possess within that category, just as al-Buḥturī has subtle meanings whose equal Abū Tammām does not possess within their category. ... The same is also found in the poetry of the ancients: one may see that a poet has been granted a meaning or meanings whose equal cannot be found in the poetry of one who ranks above him. The latter should not be preferred over him on their account, for precedence is not determined by meanings alone; rather, one must consider the breadth of the poet's work, the genre of his poetry, his eloquence and ability, the strength of his imagination, and the consistency of his method.²⁰

These and other efforts demonstrate a tendency concerned with the aesthetic dimension and its investigation based on established, explicit criteria. It constitutes a foundation for a critical perspective governed by clear rules and standards, far removed from superficial impressionistic judgements. The Arab critical heritage thus represents a rich repository of knowledge that could have formed the basis of an Arab critical theory. Yet the absence of productive methodological reading and the dominance of the Western model prevented this. The contemporary challenge

therefore lies in reinvesting this heritage within a conscious critical project that combines rootedness with openness.

3.2.3. *Intellectual Production in the Mamluk Era and Its Orientalist Erasure*

Nothing better demonstrates the injustice done to heritage than the treatment of the Mamluk period, which Orientalists stigmatise with every negative epithet. In the introduction to her edition of the Mamluk poet Ibn Mulayk al-Ḥamawī's *dīwān*, Dr Isrā' al-Hīb states this truth:

"The age of decadence", "the age of decline", "the age of successive states", or "the Mamluk era" ... are multiple names for a single period. They arrest the scholar who cannot reconcile, on the one hand, descriptions of decadence and decline with, on the other, the victory over the Crusaders, the recovery of Jerusalem, their final expulsion from our lands - which they had colonised for a long time - and their return in defeat and humiliation to the countries from which they came. Nor can such descriptions be reconciled with the enormous literary and scholarly output bequeathed by this era, including Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima*, Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, and other indispensable works, or with its military and civic monuments - castles, fortresses, mosques, schools, palaces, and markets - that fill the cities of the Levant, Egypt, the Hijaz, and elsewhere.²¹

The Western apparatus worked to distort the period in which Muslims achieved their enduring victory over the Crusading campaigns. Through the writings of Arab scholars and foreign Orientalists, it promoted the idea that this was a period of intellectual stagnation and backwardness, and that any achievement attributed to it was therefore mere fantasy or illusion. Close reading of the heritage, however, exposes the falsity of this claim and does justice to the nation and its history.

4. Conclusion

This foundational study concluded its investigation into the problem of academic research on Arab-Islamic heritage and the stakes involved in constructing civilisational awareness, arriving at a set of findings based on an inductive and analytical examination of heritage and literary materials, without falling into epistemic fabrication or emotional bias. These findings form a concise synthesis that contributes to more judicious institutional academic engagement with the civilisational inheritance.

Methodologically, the study has demonstrated that the term "heritage" underwent a pivotal semantic development. It moved from a narrow lexical and jurisprudential definition, confined to material inheritance, financial estates, and the rules governing their division under the Islamic law of prescribed shares, to a broader meaning in contemporary Arab discourse that encompasses the nation's cultural, intellectual, and literary inheritance.

About narrative heritage, the scholarly findings refuted alienated critical propositions that sought to deny the authenticity of narrative forms in Arabic literature. They confirmed that classical Arabic literature possesses an integrated narrative structure with defined artistic characteristics, including chains of transmission, embedding, the use of the marvellous, and social

narrative. Classical Arabic narrative must therefore be reread within the temporal and spatial parameters of its environment.

In the field of criticism, the study concluded that the classical Arab critical heritage comprises a conceptual system and a highly precise terminological apparatus, as evidenced by the critical inheritance of leading classical Arab critics such as al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Jurjānī, and al-Āmidī. Only rigorous scholarly research, governed by methodological principles that establish precise scholarly knowledge free from all falsification, can uncover and make use of these realities.

We therefore conclude that academic research on heritage is, in essence, a reading of the self and an attempt to do it justice amid Orientalist calls for its diminution and distortion, as well as the claims of alienated minds. Specialised academic research must accordingly engage with these fields to produce studies that are conscious of and fair to heritage, neither magnifying it beyond the truth nor diminishing it.

Notes

- ¹. Muḥammad ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 2nd ed., vol. 15 (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2003), 189.
- ². Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 15:190.
- ³. Qur'an 89:19.
- ⁴. Majdī Wahba and Kāmil al-Muhandis, *Mu‘jam al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-‘arabiyya fī al-lughā wa-al-adab*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1984), 93.
- ⁵. Ḥusayn Muḥammad Sulaymān, *al-Turāth al-‘arabī al-islāmī* (Algiers: Dīwān al-Maṭbū‘āt al-Jāmi‘iyya, 1988), 17.
- ⁶. Ghālī Shukrī, *al-Turāth wa-al-thawra* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalī‘a lil-Ṭibā‘a wa-al-Nashr, 1973), 18.
- ⁷. Zakī Najīb Maḥmūd, *Tajdīd al-fikr al-‘arabī*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Shurūq, 1973), 17.
- ⁸. Muḥammad ‘Ābid al-Jābirī, *al-Turāth wa-al-ḥadātha*, 1st ed. (Casablanca: al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-‘Arabī, 1991), 24.
- ⁹. Sulaymān, *al-Turāth al-‘arabī al-islāmī*, 20.
- ¹⁰. ‘Ā’isha ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *Turāthunā bayna māḍīn wa-ḥāḍir* (Egypt: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1970), 8-9.
- ¹¹. al-Jābirī, *al-Turāth wa-al-ḥadātha*, 25.
- ¹². Ṣāliḥ Mafqūda, *Abḥāth fī al-riwāya al-‘arabiyya* (Biskra, Algeria: Manshūrāt Makhbar Abḥāth fī al-Lughā wa-al-Adab al-Jazā’irī, Jāmi‘at Biskra), 11.
- ¹³. Fārūq Khūrshīd, *Fī al-riwāya al-‘arabiyya: ‘Aṣr al-tajmī‘*, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Shurūq, 1982), 15.
- ¹⁴. See Mārūn ‘Abbūd, *Ruwwād al-nahḍa al-ḥadītha*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-‘Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1952), 144.
- ¹⁵. ‘Abbūd, *Ruwwād al-nahḍa al-ḥadītha*, 144.
- ¹⁶. Rakān al-Ṣafādī, *al-Fann al-qaṣaṣī fī al-nathr al-‘arabī ḥattā maṭla‘ al-qarn al-khāmis al-hijrī*, 1st ed. (Damascus: Manshūrāt al-Hay‘a al-‘Āmma al-Sūriyya lil-Kitāb, 2011), 5.
- ¹⁷. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Khaṭīb, *al-Qaṣaṣ al-qur’ānī fī manṭūqihi wa-mafḥūmihi*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 1975), 16.
- ¹⁸. Abū ‘Uthmān ‘Amr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiz, *al-Ḥayawān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 3rd ed., vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1969), 132.
- ¹⁹. ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, *Dalā’il al-i‘jāz*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1988), 44.
- ²⁰. Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥasan ibn Bishr al-Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana bayna shi‘r Abī Tammām wa-al-Buḥturī*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh Ḥamad Muḥārīb, 1st ed., vol. 3 (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Madanī, 1990), 471.
- ²¹. Ibn Mulayk al-Ḥamawī, *Dīwān al-naḥḥāt al-adabiyya min al-zahrāt al-ḥamawīyya*, intro. and ed. Isrā’ al-Hīb (Mu‘assasat al-Bābṭayn), 3.