

The French Orientalist de Slane and his Discovery of Ibn Khaldūn's Manuscript -al- Muqaddimah

المستشرق الفرنسي دو سلان واكتشافه لمخطوطة ابن خلدون -المقدمة-

Dr/ HAOUA Fatima *

Higher School of Teachers in Laghouat, (Algeria)

h.fatima@ens-lagh.dz

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Abstract:

We shed light on the French orientalist de Slane and his discovery of Ibn Khaldūn's manuscript by first, defining the orientalist de Slane, his life and orientations, then, citing the most important publications of the manuscript heritage. Next, we evaluate his efforts on the manuscript heritage, then, how did he discover Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah and how he contributed to bringing it to the European light.

We found that he was a credit to serving our historical legacy by promoting and delivering it to the European World. In which he translated Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah into French and made it accessible to all scholars and researchers.

Keywords : De Slane; al- Muqaddimah; manuscript; Ibn Khaldūn; discovery; translation; orientalist; the European World.

الملخص:

حاولنا في بحثنا هذا تسليط الضوء على المستشرق الفرنسي دو سلان واكتشافه لمخطوطة ابن خلدون (المقدمة). وذلك بالتعريف أولا بالمستشرق دو سلان وحياته وتوجهاته، ثم

*Dr/ Haoua Fatima. Lecturer, Class B.

أهم منشوراته من التراث المخطوط، وتقييم جهوده بشأن التراث المخطوط، وكيف اكتشف مقدمة ابن خلدون، وكيف ساهم في إخراجها إلى النور .
و وجدنا أنه كان له الفضل في خدمة إرثنا التاريخي وذلك بالترويج له وإيصاله للعالم الأوربي. و ذلك بترجمته لمقدمة ابن خلدون إلى الفرنسية وجعلها في متناول جميع العلماء والباحثين حتى وإن كانوا من غير المستشرقين.
الكلمات المفتاحية: دو سلان؛ المقدمة؛ المخطوطة؛ ابن خلدون؛ اكتشاف؛ ترجمة؛ المستشرق؛ العالم الأوربي.

- Introduction:

The French School of Orientalism is considered as one of the most important European schools at all, as it is distinguished by the institutional momentum that supports its activity, and its ability to mobilize hundreds of loyal researchers who accompanied the colonial movement in Africa and Asia.

The research movement was led by prominent thinkers, historians, and writers, whose research and studies benefited the Arabic manuscript heritage. Its prominent leader were Adrien Barbaregger, the pioneer of research and collection in the field of Arabic manuscripts in Algeria, Sylvester de Sassi, Sheikh of the Orientalists, Louis Jacques Brenet, Baron Poisoni, Rene Passe, Priest Barges, Adrian Delpeche, Motilinsky, Hodas, Alfred Bell, Brothers Marsais, Levi Provençal, Henri Masset... and the orientalist de Slane, who was appointed at the top of the translators of the French Africa armies, And the latter distinguished himself from his counterparts with his famous report on the precious Algerian manuscripts.(Būsa'īd Aḥmad: 2017: p 131).

In our study, we focused on the orientalist de Slane, the prominent figure in the classical French school of orientalism, as well as his role in bringing Ibn Khaldūn's manuscript to European light. We used the descriptive and analytical approach, as well as

comparing novels and texts with each other. In order to understand all aspects of our topic, the following questions must be asked:

- Who was the orientalist de Slane?
- What were his publications related to the manuscript heritage?
- How did he contribute to bringing out Ibn Khaldūn's manuscript to the European light? And was Ibn Khaldūn's manuscript not really known in Europe, especially the Muqaddimah? Although Andalusia was owned by Arabs and Muslims at the time of Ibn Khaldūn. (See comment 01)?

1- The Baron de Slane:

To introduce the orientalist de Slane, we first talk about his full name, his orientalist personality, and the most important personalities he was influenced by them. Then we deal with the traces of the manuscript heritage.

1-1- His life and Directions:

His full name was Mac Joucan de Slane, known as Baron de Slane (1879/1801). He is a French orientalist of Irish origin. He came to Algeria immediately after its occupation and became a prominent figure in the classical French school of Orientalism. He was named a chief translator in the Ministry of War, and then in the French army in Algeria on the first of September 1846, because of he was one of the best French masters of the Arabic language in all of Europe on one hand, and one of the founding pioneers of the Algerian historical institution on the other hand (Badawī Abd al-Rahmān: 1993: p. 336).

In addition to Arabic, De Slane was fluent in the Turkish language, and he studied this language in Istanbul during a French mission to study manuscripts. He taught Turkish and then the Algerian colloquial dialect at the School of Living Oriental Languages in Paris, replacing the orientalist Pierre Joubert in 1848. However, this orientation negatively affected his linguistic ability and his relationship with Standard Arabic. Because he was a

scholar who was well versed in the special knowledge of the East and its languages and literature, and by virtue of the high position of De Slane and the oppressive military background of the French occupation, he was constantly subject to routine military exercises; He was being a permanent escort of the French army forces (al-Jabrī Abd al-Muta‘āl Muḥammad: 1995: p. 145).

De Slane was a student of the “Sheikh of the French Orientalists,” the thinker Sylvester de Sacy (1758/1838), the founder of the Modern French Oriental School and its spiritual leader, who devoted his efforts to in-depth study of the Arabic language and its literature and Islam and its history, doctrines, and beliefs. So, he chose a group of manuscript texts to publish under the name of "Arab anthologies". He is also famous for ‘al-Muqaddimah almsjw‘h’ and the full explanation in Arabic, with which he issued the unique edition of the book "Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī" currently in use to this time. Despite this, he does not claim to possess a complete knowledge of this vast language, the vastness of the surrounding sea, as he acknowledges (Badwī: p.336).

Some intellectual trends can be deduced in de Slane's scientific endeavors based on the efforts of his first professor, de Sacy, who gave European orientalism a French tint, especially after establishing the School of Living Oriental Languages, which its courses impressed de Slane and others like him. As a result, Paris became a center for Arab studies (Hayṣām Mūsá: 2014: p. 230). The stage of France's occupation of Algeria came to represent a favorable opportunity for these orientalist to learn from its raw heritage, and to transform those theoretical lessons into applied field practices on Algerian soil.

The second influential figure in the orientations of French Orientalism inside Algeria, whom De Slane was greatly influenced by, is the archaeologist Adrian Berbrugger President of the Algerian Historical Society which was established in 1856. He was

a founder and governor of the Algeria Library and Museum. De Slane was his deputy and assistant, tracing his footsteps in the process of collecting the largest number of manuscripts, until the matter became urgent and absurd. Some of that was what - May Allah have mercy on him – "Saad Allah" conveys in the following picture: "He loaded part of the manuscripts on the back of a camel and part on the back of a horse, and on the way from a Massacre to Mostaganem, the camel fell from a height into a deep abyss, and it had forty manuscripts on its back, so they were all lost with it. As for those which were carried on the horseback were safe carried back by Burbruger» (Sa'd Allāh Abū al-Qāsim: 1998: p. 334).

We conclude from the above that the personality of the French orientalist de Slane was influenced and shaped by several personalities, through collecting manuscripts and trying to verify and translate them.

1-2- De Slane's Publications from the Manuscript Heritage:

It is sufficient for De Slane to be the third of the three pioneering scholars and researchers in Arab heritage in general and Algerian heritage during the 19th century, after the aforementioned pioneers: De Sassi and Berberger. Therefore, his publications were very important, and Europeans did not see them with admiration except through his research and translations. Most of it was derived from the manuscripts of French colonial Algeria. The following is an inventory of the most famous of them (Yaḥyá Murād: p. 540) :

- History of Ibn Khaldūn (the section on the countries of Islamic Maghreb) after its investigation on several manuscripts and translation. The text is in two parts (for Algeria 1847/1852), and the translation in three parts (1852/1856).
- Translation of Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah to three parts.
- A book on the history of the Berbers and the Islamic families that owned North Africa (from his classification).

- The book of 'Al-Moghrib fī dhikr bilād ifrqiyyah wa-al-Maghrib', which is part of a book of 'al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik for -Abī 'Ubayd al-Bakrī'. text and translation. And after comparing it to four manuscripts in Algeria, he entitled it

Description de l'Afrique septentrionale

- The first part of the book 'al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik for 'Abd Allāh al-Qurṭubī ' in Algeria.
- Dīwān Imru' al-Qays: Translation, explanation and introduction to the poet's translation, citing the Book of 'al-Aghānī'.
- The book of 'Wafayāt al-A'yān w'Nbā'u Abnā' al-Zamān' for - Ibn Khallikān, titled: "Translations of Famous People in Islam", but he did not complete it.
- The Book of 'Taqwīm al-Buldān for-Abī al-Fidā'.
- The Book of 'al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-bashar for-Abī al-Fidā.
- The Book of 'al-Mushtabih fī Asmā' al-rijāl for-Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī'.
- The Book about ' Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr al-Andalusī al-Ḥijāzīyah'.
- Catalog of Arabic and Syriac manuscripts in the French National Library in Paris. In Arabic and French, in four parts. (See comment 02) .

We conclude here that the orientalist de Slane was not known in Europe until he published the Arab and Islamic manuscript heritage, and translated various Oriental and Maghreb manuscripts.

1-3- Evaluation of De Slane's Efforts Regarding Manuscripts:

In fairness and appreciating the efforts of others, we can say that Baron de Slane tried as much as possible to investigate scientific honesty and substantive transmission of texts.

He published the book of 'al-'Ibar of -Ibn Khaldūn', which was mentioned in the report of 1843 in the Arabic language in 1847, after reviewing and checking out the book (Taḥqīq al-Kitāb). And then, he translated Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah into French, after correcting and clarifying some ambiguous paragraphs on one

hand, including notes and comments in the margin on the other hand. (Būsaʿīd: p.133).

Therefore, we find the Algerian thinker Malik bin Nabi (1973 / 1905) acknowledges the importance of that work, saying: “I discovered – when I was 15-to-20 – the glories of Islamic civilization, in de Slane's translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah*” (Šāyim ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm: 2014: p. 306). And Dozy wrote about it “It's to De Slane's credit, he also corrected the scientific estimation mistake made by Pastor Barges, when he attributed a book of “*Bughyh al-Rūwād fī dhikr al-mulūk min Banī ʿAbd al-Wād*” to Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, while it is originally for his brother Abī Zakarīyā Yaḥyá Ibn Khaldūn”. (Al-ʿAqīqī Najīb: 1964:p. 206).

Despite this gratitude, it is necessary to warn against the orientations of some orientalist, who translate and publish religious texts in particular, and mistakes that they fall into intentionally or unintentionally (Karkār Jamāl: p. 258). The interest of the French in this type of studies hides aggressive colonial purposes; Evidence for this is that the Ministry custodian of this research is the French Ministry of Colonies. Even de Slane's in-depth manuscript report praises these intentionally distorted texts, thus we find him tends to highlight books of anecdotes, songs, wines, and others.

From the above, we can say that the orientalist de Slane followed the scientific method in verifying and translating his manuscripts, by seeking scientific honesty and objective transmission of texts.

2- The Orientalist de Slane and his Discovery of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah*:

To answer our question that we asked before: was Ibn Khaldūn known in Andalusia and European countries before De Slane? We find some testimonies of other orientalist, and then we

discuss the results of de Slane's translation of Ibn Khaldūn's manuscript. And how did this translation contribute to the interest of European researchers in studying the Muqaddimah.

2-1 The opinions of orientalist before De Slane discovered the Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah:

Nathaniel Schmidt believes that the effects of Ibn Khaldūn were known in Spain during the fifteenth century. Perhaps he is correct in this belief, because Ibn Khaldūn traveled to Andalusia twice, and stayed there during his first trip for several years. He contacted a large number of its writers and thinkers directly, and he continued to communicate with them after writing the Muqaddimah for a period of no less than twenty year while it is not reasonable that his most wonderful works remain unknown in Andalusia, it is not certain anything was transmitted from Ibn Khaldūn to Europe through Spain.

It is believed by Professor Schmidt that the reason for this is due to the burning of Arabic books when the Arabs were evacuated from Andalusia after its fall. It is known that Cardinal Simmons ordered the burning of Arabic books in the year 1499, and the burning process took place in Bab al-Ramla Square in Granada.

We do not have reliable information on the number of volumes that were burned and destroyed, because the accounts of European historians and their estimates differ greatly from each other. One of them says that the total number of volumes that were burned was more than one million. Another limits this number to eighty thousand, whereas another one claims that it was five thousand. But it is certain that the number of surviving Arabic manuscripts in the Monastery of Escorial in 1583 was only 261 manuscripts. However, it is known that the places where books were found in Andalusia during the Arab era were many and very rich. There is no doubt that the Arabic manuscripts that were destroyed during the "Great Jalwa" were very large. This is the

reason why the news of Ibn Khaldūn and his effects were not transmitted to Europe through Andalusia.

Also, the first mention of Ibn Khaldūn's name in European countries was through the book of Ahmad ibn Arabshāh, known as *Ajā'ib almqdwr fī Akhbār Taymūr*. Its Arabic text was printed in 1636 by Jacob Golius and its translation into French was published in 1658 AD by Pierre Vattier, and it was translated into Latin in 1767 by Samuel Manger.

Ahmed ibn Arabshāh described in his book the news of Tamerlane and his meeting with Ibn Khaldūn in Damascus. This description was the first mention of Ibn Khaldūn's name in a book printed and published in European countries.

As for the second book that transferred the name of Ibn Khaldūn to the West, it is *Kashf al-zunūn*, because this book aroused the interest of orientalists, which made them translate it into Latin on the one hand, and to french on the other hand, And Ibn Khaldūn was mentioned in this book many times.

Although Ibn Khaldūn's name was mentioned in these two books translated from the Arabic language, this did not attract the attention of Europeans. Therefore, Ibn Khaldūn remained unknown in Europe until the nineteenth century.

The Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* did not arouse the interest of orientalists until after the second decade of the nineteenth century. It did not leave the arena of Orientalism and enter the arena of scholars' research until after the seventh decade of the century.

In fact, it did not remain unknown to the Orientalists until that date, the orientalist Herbelo in the late seventeenth century and Sylvestre de Sacy in the early nineteenth century (Badwī: p.336). They wrote some information about Ibn Khaldūn, and they published some excerpts from his book *al-Muqaddimah*. However, the name of Ibn Khaldūn did not stand out sufficiently among the names of the thousands of Arab authors that were passing through

the Orientalists. Likewise, al-Muqaddimah did not gain the fame it deserves among the thousands of Arabic authors. All the writings were not enough to highlight the importance of al-Muqaddimah, and show Ibn Khaldūn's wit. (See comment 03).

After that, Hammer first published a treatise in German on some aspects of the history of Islam, in it, he referred to some of Ibn Khaldūn's opinions and he called him “the Arab Montesquieu”. After that, he published an article in the Asian magazine in French in 1822, on the Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah. He drew the attention of orientalist to al-Muqaddimah, saying: «The correctness of judgment and the soundness of criticism, which prevail in al-Muqaddimah. It dazzles the eyes of everyone who reads it». He added to this the following: «There is little among the Eastern literature that deserves a complete translation as much as Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah». (See comment 04).

Hammer was busy collecting documents needed to write his great history of the Ottoman Empire, and he noticed that Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah was read with great passion by the Ottomans, especially in its Turkish translation. In his article, he wrote: “Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah is one of the most important and well-known books published in the capital of the Ottoman Sultanate”. It is what all educated statesmen, ministers, and translators who are employed in various interests read.

It didn't take long for Hammer's article to circulate. Even Garcin de Tassy commented on it with an article, In it, he mentioned that he found in the Royal Library in Paris a complete (manuscript) copy of Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah, He published the titles of the chapters that make up the sixth chapter to complete what Hammer had published. (See comment 05).

Then, in 1825, Schultz made a strong publicity for Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah, He published an article in the Asian Journal, about the great historical and critical book of Ibn Khaldūn,

He called for printing and translating al- Muqaddimah. Schultz criticized the plan that the Orientalists were following at the time, saying: “They take care of poets in particular, and neglect historians and thinkers. Their investigations pay equal attention to the most absurd antiquities and the most important news, making no distinction between myth, which is of no use, and philosophy, which deserves the attention of all who dispose to introspection”. (See comment 06).

Then Schultz commented on all this with the following words: “I wrote these readings and notes under the influence of a manuscript book that I recently read— meaning al- Muqaddimah — and I am very sorry that I did not see it fully printed and translated.” Schultz's writing found a deep echo among orientalists, and it got them to transfer and translate some chapters of al- Muqaddimah.

However, copies of the known manuscript al- Muqaddimah at that time were limited. Therefore, this movement did not activate quickly enough until the French orientalist Qatremère printed al- Muqaddimah in three volumes in 1858. This orientalist, after he printed al- Muqaddimah, proceeded to translate it as well, but he died before did much progress in it. So, Baron de Slane took this task upon himself, and he did it quickly, so he printed this translation with a long introduction, and many explanations and comments, in three volumes, the first appeared in 1862, and the last in 1868 (Catermere: 1965:p18).

So, we can say that the French orientalist de Slane's discovery of Ibn Khaldūn's manuscript, and his verification and translation, came after the help of many orientalists before him. This is through their discovery of some Ibn Khaldūn's works and opinions in many books, and their discovery of Ibn Khaldūn's manuscript. That forced orientalists and others to translate and verify it.

2-2 Results of de Slane's translation of Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah:

This translation brought out Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah from the limited circle of orientalists' knowledge and it put it within the reach of scholars and thinkers.

The Muqaddimah was not properly appreciated except by the research that was published after the appearance of its French translation. Because it was confined to the scope of the research of orientalists who are fully acquainted with the Arabic language. They were not in a position to appreciate the importance of its sections properly, in particular, the most important sections of al-Muqaddimah and its funniest topics are related to sociology. And this science was at the time in its infancy, and its issues were still outside and far from the knowledge of the Orientalists in general. For this reason, we can say that Baron de Slane served the memory of Ibn Khaldūn invaluable service, by translating the Muqaddimah in its entirety.

The spread of the translation of the Muqaddimah had a profound impact on the scholars and thinkers who read it. And it generated in them a strong admiration for the genius of this great Arab thinker, who preceded many Western researchers to many valuable opinions and theories, even this admiration reached the point of astonishment for some.

After the spread of the Muqaddimah translation, economists, historians and sociologists are familiar with the views of Ibn Khaldūn. They draw attention to some issues, which they did not finish studying and discussing until recently.

They noticed with great astonishment that the information that was established in the history of the aforementioned sciences needed to be changed and modified, in light of the facts they found it in Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah.

They used to claim that Vico was the first to think about the philosophy of history, but then they learned that Ibn Khaldūn had done so in his introduction, more than three and a half centuries before Vico. And they used to claim before that August Comte was the one who established sociology on independent scientific foundations, but then they learned that Ibn Khaldūn had preceded Comte to that more than four and a half centuries ago.

They found that many of the opinions and principles expressed by economists and social thinkers such as Jean-Baptiste Say, Karl Marx, and Bakunin in the mid-nineteenth century were written in the *Muqaddimah* was written by Ibn Khaldūn in the fourteenth century, sometimes in the case of small seeds and offshoots, and at other times in a fully developed state.

Therefore, we find that reading Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* has dazzled the attention of the scrutinizing scholars, and it makes them show their admiration for them in articles, letters or books they publish.

2-3 De Slane Opened the Door to Westerners Rushing to Study the *Muqaddimah*:

We can divide what Westerners wrote about Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* into three basic types:

- Studies aimed at analyzing and presenting Ibn Khaldūn's views directly in the form of a stand-alone book, or in a feature article in a scientific journal.
- Research devoted to Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* to Islamic Philosophy Books, or the history of Islamic countries, or the history of science among Arabs and Muslims in general.
- Research on Ibn Khaldūn's views and theories in general scientific books, on history, economics, or sociology, or on the history of these sciences (Hindawi:p.41).

Therefore, we can say that the value of Ibn Khaldūn and his *Muqaddimah* did not appear to the Europeans sufficiently until De

Slane published its French translation. And he made it accessible to all scholars and researchers, even if they were not Orientalists. As the publication of the French translation took place during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, between 1857 and 1868.

- Conclusion:

De Slane helped to perform his research tasks on the Arab-Islamic heritage by acquiring many of the valuables of the Arabic manuscript heritage, He verified it and studied it in scientific conferences. Despite the mistakes and omissions that touched the facts, either out of ignorance or deliberately to serve colonial purposes or religious fanaticism.

Despite all this, the French orientalist de Slane has somewhat served our historical heritage, by promoting it and delivering it to the European world. This is by translating Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah into French and making it accessible to all scholars and researchers, even if they are not Orientalists.

We can also say that despite the positives were presented by the French orientalist and others to promote our Islamic history in the east and west of the world, this does not mean that their writings are not without negatives. Most of their writings were to serve the crusade's religious and expansionist military purposes.

The results of our research can be summarized in the following points:

- De Slane's Orientalist personality was influenced and shaped by several personalities who dealt with him in collecting manuscripts and trying to verify and translate them.
- De Slane was not known in the European world until he investigated, translated, and published various Arabic and Islamic manuscripts.
- The French orientalist de Slane followed the scientific method in examining and translating various manuscripts, by investigating scientific integrity and objective transmission of most texts.

- The orientalist De Slane's discovery of Ibn Khaldūn's manuscript and his investigation and translation of it came after the help of many orientalists before him, through their discovery of Ibn Khaldūn's opinions and influences in many books, and then their discovery of Ibn Khaldūn's manuscript. This forced orientalists and others to transfer and translate this manuscript.
- After the discovery of Ibn Khaldūn's manuscript, it became accessible to various scholars and thinkers, which contributed to increasing scientific production in various fields.
- The value of Ibn Khaldūn's manuscript did not become sufficiently apparent to Europeans until after the orientalist De Slane published its French translation.

Therefore, we can make a recommendation from our research; it urges researchers in Islamic history to criticize and scrutinize the scientific material in the books of the Orientalists and compare it with what was mentioned in the Arabic and Islamic manuscripts. For a good understanding of our civilizational history.

Comments and explanations:

(01)- The date of birth of Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun: 732 AH / 1332 AD, and the date of death: 808 AH / 1406 AD. As for the fall of Andalusia, it was in the year: 1492 AD.

(02)- It is a very important reference index, which De Slane did not finish as he died in 1879, so his mentioned work was completed by Zotenberg, director of manuscripts in the French National Library between the years 1883-1895.

(03)- Sylvester de Sassi (1758-1838) was born in Paris and he learned Latin and Greek. Then he studied with some priests, including Rev. Moore and Father Bartaro. Then he studied Arabic, Persian and Turkish. He worked in publishing oriental manuscripts at the Paris National Library, and he wrote many researches on the Arabs and their literature, and he achieved a lot of manuscripts. During his reign, France became a destination for orientalists from

all over the European continent. De Sacy worked with the French government and he translated the statements published during the occupation of Algeria and upon the occupation of Egypt by Napoleon's campaign in 1797.(Al-Bayan:2010:p.14).

(04)- Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856) was an Austrian orientalist. He translated parts of the biography of “Antarah” and “A Thousand and One Nights. Or Alf laylah wa-laylah” He also translated Tā’īyat Ibn al-Fāriḍ into German, with the publication of its Arabic text. He made his first attempt to write a history of Arabic literature “The Literary History of the Arabs from its Beginning to the End of the Twelfth Century of Hijrah” (7 parts, Vienna, 1850-1856).

(05)- The famous orientalist Garcin de Tassi was born in Marseille in the year 1794. In Paris, he studied oriental languages under de Sacy. He was famous for it, especially in the Persian and Hindustani languages. He published the book *Kashf al-asrār fī ḥukm al-ṭuyūr wa-al-azhār li-Ibn Ghānim al-Maqdisī*, and he translated it into French. And he died a year (September 2, 1878).

(06)- Albertus Schultz (1686-1750) was a Dutch orientalist. He is the father of Jean-Jacques Scholtens. He translated many of *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* into Latin. In Arabic, he wrote a book on the effects of the Arabs (*Āthār al-‘Arab*), which is a collection of their ancient poems, with their translation into Latin. (Badawī: p.336).

Appendices:

Appendix 01: Orientalist De Slane



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