

Orientalists' Endeavour to Collect Andalusian Manuscripts

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Orientalists began to grow high interests in manuscripts, as these are regarded as abundant materials for those intending to conduct studies and research. Including, Edward Pococke Sr.¹ who was appointed as a chaplain in the Levant Company between (1630 – 1635). In addition to his religious duties, he devoted the remaining time for two things. First, learning the Oriental Languages, written and spoken Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, and Ethiopian languages. The second thing is, collecting the oriental manuscripts, and devoting time and effort to verify and spread such manuscripts. For that cause, he hired an Arabic language teacher to teach him, and another person to help him buy, or even copy manuscripts in case those are not available to be purchased.² He owned a large collection of manuscripts which included, historiography, translations, philology, poetry, literary letters, philosophy, astronomy, medicine, and so on. In its impact, Orientalism deviated from “caring for Islam and its history” to “caring for Arabic literature and its arts”. Also, his son, Pocock, followed him by translating Hayy Ibn Yaqzan. His interest in this manuscript did not come from the fact that it is an exotic Andalusian script, but because his father brought the whole script with other scripts during his expeditions to the East. So, he showed high interests in this manuscript not because it is of an Andalusian Origin, but rather because of the importance of its content in the first place, which is “**The Relationship Between Reason and Religion**”. This is a topic of great interest in Europe at the time³.

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The tendency of the French Orientalist schools towards publishing and verifying Arabic manuscripts, translating or even introducing some others, was criticized in the nineteenth century. “The trend

¹Edward Pococke (1604 - 1691) was an English Orientalist and biblical scholar.

²Abdul Majeed Diab: Verifying the Methodology and Development of the Arabic Heritage.

³Rasha Abdullah Al-Khatib: The Andalusian Literature in the British Oriental Studies.

towards manuscript verification or publication was uncoordinated back then. As was prevalent, an orientalist would publish manuscripts related to poetry, grammar, history and geography, with no adherence to a specific historical period, or a specific genre, except for what a few have done so⁴. Thus, the French orientalist began searching for the manuscripts related to the Arab-Islamic intellectual heritage, which is preserved in various European libraries and universities. In addition to what the orientalist have brought from the East.

One of the most famous orientalist is Baron Sylvester de Sacy⁵, who had a great impact on all orientalist in Europe. He was called (The Father of Orientalism). He was considered one of the first Arabic professors in all of Europe, and because he worked as a teacher at the time, many students have been taught the art of investigation and publication by him. Also, all credit goes to him for transforming Paris into a center for Arab Studies, and a beacon visited by students and scholars from all over the world to be tutored by him.

One of his pupils from Germany was, the author of the Arabic-Latin Dictionary, which is still used today, Georg Wilhelm Freytag. And in (1778), the king appointed him as one of the eight members of The Islamic Manuscript Association in the National Library of Paris. In (1822), he established The Asian Association, with the help of his disciples, established a journal for the association, and was elected as president of the journal. Among the Arabs who were taught by him is Al-Tantawi, Michel Sabbagh, and others. From Germany, Theodor Nöldeke⁶ (1836 - 1931), Carl Brockelmann, Reinhart

⁴ Salma Hussein Alwan Al-Mosowy: The Historical Development of the French Orientalism until the 20th Century.

Nader Alber Nasri: The Orientalists' Interest in the Early Arab-Islamic Thinking.

⁵ Antoine Isaac, Baron Silvestre de Sacy, was a French nobleman, linguist and orientalist. His son, Ustazade Silvestre de Sacy, became a journalist.

⁶ Theodor Nöldeke was a German orientalist and scholar. His research interests ranged over Old Testament studies, Semitic languages and Arabic,

Dozy, and Michael Jan de Goeje⁷ (1836 - 1909). Also, Carl Brockelmann was one of the most famous orientalist among the Arab researchers in general, and among the Arab Literary and Historical Heritage researchers in particular. That is because he is the author of the book (History of Arabic Literature), which is considered the most complete book mentioning the location of Arabic manuscripts, whether inside the Arab or the European countries⁸. Whereas, the French Orientalism during the first half of the twentieth century "was revolving around the exact frameworks drawn by leading orientalist, those who planted the unilateral and malevolent viewpoint, which seeks to divide and widen the gap between the peoples of the Arabic and Islamic region⁹.

In the second half of the twentieth century, influential factors occurred, which changed the thinking of the Orientalists forever. This includes World Wars (first and second), which weakened the Western man's confidence in his cultural and mental superiority, and made him lose the feeling of his value. Among other factors, the growth and success of liberation movements in the colonial countries, which led to instability regarding the topic and ideology of "the West's knowledge of the East"; in addition to the development of the human sciences¹⁰. However, with the beginning of (1942) and the end of the Second World War, and until now, we find traces of the French interest with a thorough methodology, depth, familiarity, and a hint of specialization in Arabic studies. Because the early people used to learn something from each and every source of knowledge, whereas, the contemporary orientalist limit their attention to one side of these studies. Some of them specialize in Arabic geographic literature, and some in historical literature, while others study other type of literature, poet, period, or branch of the human sciences; such

Persian and Syriac literature. Nöldeke translated several important works of oriental literature and during his lifetime was considered an important orientalist.

⁷Michael Jan de Goeje was a Dutch orientalist focusing on Arabia and Islam.

⁸Rudi Paret: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the German Universities.

⁹Farouq Omar Fawzi: Orientalism and History of Abbasid Caliphate.

¹⁰Salma Hussein Alwan Al-Mosowy: The Historical Development of the French Orientalism until the 20th Century.

as the Study of the Holy Qur'an and the Holy Hadith of Prophet Muhammad¹¹.

This was not enough for the orientalist, they went beyond that and searched for "manuscripts related to various literary topics, such as Poetry and its Collections, or Artistic Prose, such as Stories, Literary shrines, Proverbs, and Gospels. All of this was an expression of the French desire to delve into the nation's spirit, which is highlighted through its literary masterpieces represented via poetry and artistic prose, which is not present in the French culture in the first place¹².

The nineteenth century represents the summit of European Orientalist activity in The Arabic studies. It witnessed a great activity from orientalist of all nationalities in the fields regarding the Arab-Andalusian heritage. The search in European libraries for sources related to the history and literature of Andalusia has begun. Then studies and research expanded and spread within its framework, leading orientalist to discover the features of Andalusian heritage. They worked on publishing, verifying, and translating it. For the purpose of becoming under the eyes of those concerned with the Andalusian heritage, to benefit from it in their studies and research.

The Association of German Orientalists, established in 1845 in the city of Halle, took upon itself studying and investigating the Arab heritage, and publishing its knowledge. Among its most important branches was Astana in 1918. The Association published a number of important heritage books, including "Nafh al-Tibby al-Maqqari, Al-Dhakhira (The Treasury) by Ibn Bassam, The Ring of the Dove by Ibn Hazm," and many others. In Morocco, there were many libraries, including: Al-Zahra Library in Cordoba, the Great Mosque in Kairouan, and the Zaytouna Mosque in Tunisia, and many others. Not only did this heritage remain preserved in libraries, but some of it was scattered and some other was destroyed by the European campaigns that raided the East, misplacing the majority, and taking what they could from its knowledge to their countries. Let alone that much of the heritage was destroyed by the Arabs themselves, as a result of the differences in doctrines and opinions. Therefore, the Europeans acquired most of the Arab heritage, and credit goes to them for

¹¹Mahmoud Fouad Al-Miqdad: History of Arabic Studies in France.

¹²Mahmoud Fouad Al-Miqdad: History of Arabic Studies in France.

collecting and preserving it from being lost. Also, the devoted themselves to understand, study, investigate, and publish its knowledge¹³.

These various and multiple contributions by German Orientalism in dealing with the Andalusian heritage represent the highest and most ideal level of its activity, and the degree of awareness of the Other. Which is considered a deviation from the egoistic viewpoint in its specifications, components, and building elements. Also, the German Orientalism was not in any shape or form related to colonialism, or the ideological, cultural, and political struggle. These concepts, on the contrary, were prevalent in the French, English, Dutch, and Italian Orientalism. That is because the Germans did not colonize, occupy, or even have any interest whatsoever in any Arab country, and this is what Dr. Ahmed Howaidi¹⁴ pointed out at. He showed that colonialism was one of the reasons that led to the Germans' interest in contemporary studies of the Islamic world. However, how were there such colonial ambitions while they did not colonize any Arab country? It is apparent that Dr. Ahmed Howaidi's opinion was not correct.

German Orientalism has achieved remarkable success in studying with the Andalusian heritage and its scripts, utilizing what they had regarding scientific research strategies, and people with just, objective, and neutral manner of thinking regarding the research of this great heritage.

Because of the first and second world wars, and because they are disconnected and remote from the East, their studies focused on what they had available to them of such manuscripts. In some way or another, German scholars of Eastern studies transcended to other fields of studies, vigilantly and steadily after World War I and II. Thus, encouraging knowledge through researching the abundant materials that were available for them in Germany at that time, or that of which they had collected from the East before war¹⁵.

When the Germans were allowed again to go to the East, scientists traveled via permission of the Emergency Aid Association for Scientific Research in Germany, with the purpose of encouraging the sciences that, at that time, replaced Caesar's

Academy. In addition to the academies and scientific societies which were impoverished due to inflation that affected Germany. At first, scientists were not able to conduct any type of research in a thorough manner. So, the German Orientalists searched first in the libraries of the Near East region - according to what they called it earlier, and discovered some rare, or even unknown manuscripts¹⁶.

It seems that the German orientalists were interested in languages studies, introducing the nations that spoke such languages, which means Islam and its history, and the ideas it carries, as well as literature inside all Arab regions. However, regarding Andalusian studies field, the interest was not comparable to the rest of the Arab countries, and this continued up until this day. After the Nazis got into power, this forced a group of German Orientalists into exile after 1933, for political and racist reasons. The Nazis tended to dilute Oriental studies, claiming that decades of support for Orientalism had diverted attention from studying the distinct culture of Germany¹⁷.

In the second half of the twentieth century, some Andalusian texts were published in Britain, and were translated into English, including the translation of (The Journeys of Ibn Jubayr) by Broad Hurst in 1952 from a copy of William Wright¹⁸, and the translation of (Banners of the Champions and the Standards of the Distinguished) by Ibn Said Al-Maghribi in 1953. In addition to the second translation of The Ring of the Dove, which was published by Arthur John Arberry in 1953¹⁹.

Among the most important manuscripts acquired by the British are (Hayy ibn Yaqzan Letter), which have been brought by Pococke Senior during his travels to

¹³Mahmoud Fouad Al-Miqdad: History of Arabic Studies in France.

¹⁴Muhammad Al-Amarty: Andalusia in the Eyes of Mozarabs.

¹⁵Rudi Paret: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the German Universities.

¹⁶Rudi Paret: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the German Universities.

¹⁷Hasan Issa Al-Hakim: Orientalist Studies.

¹⁸William Wright was an American leading man in films who was most popular in the 1940s when he was typically compared to Clark Gable, whose career was temporarily derailed by World War II. Wright even played Gable's part in a 1945 musical comedy remake of It Happened One Night entitled Eve Knew Her Apples.

¹⁹Arthur John Arberry FBA was a British orientalist. A scholar of Arabic, Persian, and Islamic studies, he was educated at Portsmouth Grammar School and Pembroke College, Cambridge. His English translation of the Qur'an, The Koran Interpreted, is popular amongst academics worldwide.

Aleppo, and (Al-Muqtabis fi Tarikhal-Andalus) manuscript along a collection of manuscripts that belong to the Dutch orientalist JUCOLUS GOLIUS²⁰(1596 - 1667), then it was acquired by the Pollyanna Library in 1700. However, not so many manuscripts were available to the British, because they were collecting them during their travels to the East. On the other hand, the opportunity was opened for the Spanish and French to obtain large numbers of manuscripts, due to the historical and geographical conditions, in addition to the European colonial expansion in the nineteenth century. However, the British Library had lots of manuscripts that did not grasp the required attention to search inside, or even thoroughly investigate the Andalusian heritage²¹.

In summary, German Orientalism has achieved great success while approaching the Andalusian heritage and its scripts. All of which is empowered via the presence of notable names to conduct highly discreet research, with fair, objective, and neutral viewpoints that were on of its most prominent characteristics, which, in turn, produced such great works in favor of the Andalusian Heritage. Above all that, German Orientalism was kept away from politics up to this day, as it remains the closest in preserving science, integrity, and depth in regard to studying, researching, and analyzing this heritage. Despite having hints of occupation and political sentiments, which were not explicitly prominent, those sentiments were most likely subtly unexpressed²².

Orientalists have had a great interest in Arab and Islamic studies in all trends, including teaching, descriptions, commenting, publishing, collecting, writing articles, and conducting researches. Because, the Arab manuscripts that spread in most countries around the world gave researchers of Arabic language the opportunity to study its heritage, especially The Andalusian Heritage. Because it is the closest to them, blending-in and travelling to Andalusia, in addition to the various manuscripts they have acquired and brought-in to their countries. All of which helped them study and investigate those manuscripts, and they were distributed among them. This, in addition to the spread of printing services in foreign countries, helped them have multiple copies of the manuscripts.

²⁰This Dutch orientalist studied a number of studies at Leiden University, namely theology, philosophy, medicine and mathematics.

²¹Rasha Abdullah Al-Khatib: The Andalusian Literature in the British Oriental Studies.

²²Arabic Poetry in Andalusia.

Their authorities had a great role encouraging them to move manuscripts to their countries, and benefit from their financial and moral value. The abundance of manuscripts helped the widespread and growth of Arabic studies in France, England, Germany, Netherlands, and many other countries. Also, this enhanced the growth and familiarity of Arab studies in Spain, Cordoba, and Granada. This is due to the presence of orientalist interested in Arabic studies in Andalusia, so it gave them the freedom of selecting and grasping from this great knowledge. All of that to the point that some orientalist learned the Arabic language, in order to be more accurate and scientific while researching the Arabic books. In order not to rely on books translated from Arabic, some of them mastered the Arabic language, and were able to serve the Arab heritage in general, and the Andalusian heritage in particular. Some orientalist's research did not reach the level of ambition they were pursuing. Therefore, they mixed some of their culture and language into writing those manuscript in the original language. While others were satisfied with the transferring the contents literally without any change or interference to the original script, rather, they transmitted the script with no comments whatsoever.

As for the ones who were proficient in the Arabic language and have read most of the Arab heritage, they were able to verify the books and protect them against deviation and distortion. They also set up indexes, linked the information in the manuscripts to their original sources. In addition, they felt the importance of adding the information found in the original sources to the manuscripts. Thus, they became valuable and rich materials for those intending to study and research the Arabic language and Arabic sources, in the shadow of addressing writing about the Arab people, their civilization, and their history.

The continuous quest of the Orientalists to acquire manuscripts made their academic and private libraries full of manuscripts. To the point that the number of manuscripts at Oxford University exceeded (1400) manuscripts in various fields of the Arab heritage. It was briefly described in the Uri Index in 1787, which was created to list contents of the Oxford Library, which is the largest collection of oriental manuscripts in Europe. Also, the Bodleian Library contained a collection of manuscripts, one of which is the Collection of Bishop Laud (1635 - 1640), and additional 124 Arabic manuscripts, as well as the collection of Pococke Senior, which was bought by the Bodleian Library in 1692. This collection included 400 volumes, 270 manuscripts of

which were in Arabic. As for the University of Cambridge, the number of its books remained limited until Abraham Willock (1593 - 1653) was appointed as a secretary in (1629). As a result of that, the number of books acquired in Cambridge University increased to 12,000 upon his death.

The British Library included the largest collection of Arab Islamic manuscripts, 7000 manuscripts in total, and a set of printed Arabic books, nearly 40,000. Those books were divided into two categories, the first: the British Museum Library Collection, and the second is: the Indian Collection Library. After that, these two groups were merged inside "The British Library", which was established in 1973. In 2001, the library created a new index entitled: (Guide to The Arabic Manuscripts in The British Library). It contains brief and concise information about 7620 Arabic manuscripts, and the index is categorized according to the subjects²³.

By the nineteenth century, the tomes and masterpieces of Andalusian books, which origin is the manuscripts, had been published in the European libraries. This encouraged researchers around the world to search for Andalusian books, bring them to light, and bring them to the hands of readers and those who are interested in the Andalusian heritage. Among the books that appeared after Al-Ghaziri's index is the book of Juan Andres²⁴ (1740-1817), the Spanish orientalist, (Origin, Progress, and Current State of All Literature) in the Italian language between (1782-1799). This book caused a huge uproar, as many had denounced Juan viewpoints, who believed that European Renaissance Era owes its scientific and literary achievements to The Arab-Andalusian culture. This was the initial spark that made people study and research the Arab books, trying to refute his viewpoints as a response to him²⁵.

There were so many copies of books that did not get their fair share of investigation, but rather orientalists were content to publishing an original copy with

neither correction nor investigation of the original author or title. This was prevalent to me in the books addressed by the orientalists throughout my research. The orientalists "were keen to approach the text correctly, as written by the original author, they mentioned the differences found in different copies of the manuscript accurately and thoroughly. Some of them exceed this point, they even leave the obvious errors without no correction whatsoever, under the pretext that "this is a representation of the author's language and era"²⁶.

I have found that orientalists had presented us with organized, edited, and verified Arabic books, which could be relied upon and could be made as original and reliable copy for those who seeking to investigate or study these works. Some Arab scholars gave an excuse for the publishing and investigating mistakes done by the orientalists, saying: "Early Literary Books were copied, because book-copying markets were so popular, which prompted some of them deal with such books as a commercial property, which lead to a great deal of distortion"²⁷.

The scientific method pursued by orientalists in regard to publishing our manuscripts protected them from executing any error to a large extent. Also, when we began printing and republishing those books that were previously published by them, some of the names, descriptions, and glossaries of the original work were overlooked by them! Their explanations and conclusions were distorted. and as the orientalists preferred editions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Muthanna Library in Baghdad began to reprint the most important oriental publications by offset, so it increased to more than a hundred books.

The publications of ancient texts between (1867-1896) have become mostly of the critical genre today. However, early critical publications of the notable eras were not completed until less than thirty years ago, and some of our scholars gave excuses for the publication errors done by the orientalists. For the reason that those Early Literary Books were copied, because book-copying markets were so popular, which prompted some of them deal with such books as a commercial property, which lead to a great deal of distortion.

²³Rasha Abdullah Al-Khatib: The Andalusian Literature in the British Oriental Studies.

²⁴Juan Andrés y Morell (15 February 1740 in Planes, Alicante – 12 January 1817 in Rome) was a Spanish Jesuit priest, Christian humanist and literary critic of the Age of Enlightenment. He was the creator of world history and comparative literature (i.e. of Letters and Sciences of the eighteenth century) through the most important and extensive of his works

²⁵History of Andalusian Thinking.

²⁶Abdul Majeed Diab: Verifying the Methodology and Development of the Arabic Heritage

²⁷Abdul Majeed Diab: Verifying the Methodology and Development of the Arabic Heritage

The first thing that Reynold A. Nicholson²⁸ mentions is the methodical accuracy he followed while approaching and presenting his manuscript, and this accuracy is prevalent via two aspects. The first aspect is Accuracy: he did not change anything from the original text without notifying the reader and confirming the original narration describing it. He referred to this in his introduction, and he did give himself the right to add anything to the original script. The other aspect is Methodological Precision: he described the original manuscript from which he borrowed, mentioned its origin, and verified it. As for his understanding of the script, it has so many errors and flaws! Some of which could be easily overlooked, while many of others present ambiguous ramifications of this great orientalist's understanding of the Arabic texts²⁹.

However, if the author's copy is lost, and nothing remains in front of the researcher except for a single copy that is transferred from the author's copy, he must adhere to "Accuracy and Caution" to confirm if its contents and scripts are correct. Because, no matter what level of accuracy and integrity the transcriber has, he could be a subject to flaw or error while rewriting from the original text, either because of his ignorance of the author's purpose and era, or even claiming the ultimate knowledge. This leads him to come with conclusions himself in a try to fix or deviate the original text in accordance with his shallow understanding, which in turn, results in big abuse to the text³⁰.

In case the original text is lost and several copies of it still exist, the age of the manuscript should not be considered the determining factor of its validity. In such a case, there may be a manuscript of a recent date, written in (1300 AH), for example, and it was directly copied from an exotic manuscript. Such copy is considered of a high value in antiquity, so such a copy is very much preferred over a copy written in (700 AH), for example, even if the second script was taken from a high value of antiquity manuscript.

²⁸Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, FBA, or R. A. Nicholson, was an eminent English orientalist, scholar of both Islamic literature and Islamic mysticism and widely regarded as one of the greatest Rumi scholars and translators in the English language.

²⁹Abdul Majeed Diab: Verifying the Methodology and Development of the Arabic Heritage

³⁰Abdul Majeed Diab: Verifying the Methodology and Development of the Arabic Heritage

Modern investigators are distinguished from their predecessors in this domain, as they are able to compare between multiple copies transferred from the early and unknown original, in addition to the ability to obtain better and more accurate information regarding such copies. As for printed copies that have lost their origins, or went out of reach, many investigators ignore on purpose, while some others regard them as secondary assets for the process of investigation, because they consider printing as a "republication" but in a modern way. As for the last case, it is the text chosen, which is what should be worked on. It means the copy the whole process depends on. The researcher, sometimes, resorts to a specific manuscript and use it as a basis for publishing a certain script, then he adds a whole different story about it in the margin.

This is what the researchers who are against the widespread of our ancient heritage have become accustomed to. They collect every copy they can that they have published, and then select one of them and name it "The Original", and then present it as an exact copy of what the narrator has written, or the commentator has spoken. After that, they highlight what differences between the original and other copies might be existing³¹, and that is a popular aspect of publishing books.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, and when Arab researchers proceeded to research the Andalusian heritage, they would seek help from the manuscripts inside the British libraries which were not taken care of by the orientalist there. The next step for collecting and indexing manuscripts is The Introduction, either via separate articles of the book, or by the introductions that were in the forefront of verified books and collections. Through which, the researcher explains his approach of researching manuscripts.

The British had their limited contribution to articles that are less than 10. In the series of articles, Lord Stanley (1827-1903) published in the (Asian University's magazine) Poems of Moresco Muhammad Ramadan written in Spanish on a manuscript preserved in Paris, and a part of it was copied from a manuscript, which is in the British Museum library. It includes Praises of Prophet Muhammad's Birth (Peace be upon Him). However, he provides a description of the manuscript, but his work is closer to an investigation than of which to a

³¹Abdul Majeed Diab: Verifying the Methodology and Development of the Arabic Heritage

description, and in the last part, he presented a critical viewpoint regarding the level of the text that he considers to be of a less quality than the others that had been previously published. Because it is pretty difficult as a result of change of the spoken language among the Moriscos, which was Aljamiado at the time.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the orientalist Fritz Krenkow (1872-1953)³², published a description of two Andalusian manuscripts in the British Museum via an article in French entitled (The British Museum Obtains Two Arabic Manuscripts on the Muslim Spain). The article deals with preparing detailed indexes of Arabic manuscripts, describing the number of papers, the layout of the sheets, versions of the book inside the volume, the name of the author, and the integrity and general state of the manuscript.

He published some papers from the Appendix and Supplement manuscript by Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Marrakushi. It contains translations related to people who bear the name Abd al-Malik, published in the Arabic language, just like what he did with (The Complete Source on the History of Granada) manuscript. He provided a description, and published excerpts from it in the Arabic language alongside an evaluation of both books regarding the quality of the manuscripts, and whether they are suitable for publishing and printing, or do they need an auxiliary manuscript to support their contents³³.

It seems to me that the orientalist's efforts which were exerted in the framework of Arabic Manuscripts were prevailed via several aspects. Including: researching, collecting, transferring, preserving them in the libraries, developing indexes to facilitate the researcher's work, and publishing quotes or summaries from those manuscripts as an introduction. They exerted great efforts to verify, publish, and to translate some of these manuscripts into international languages, including French, German, English, and other languages, as well as copying or photographing some of them.

³²Fritz Johann Heinrich Krenkow was a German orientalist. He was the uncle of D. H. Lawrence. Born in Germany, Krenkow moved to England aged 12. He earned a living with a hosiery firm in Leicester, and later acquired a reputation as an Arabic scholar.

³³Rasha Abdullah Al-Khatib: The Andalusian Literature in the British Oriental Studies.