

French Cultural Crimes in Algeria

" Case study of the destruction of Libraries and Books "

جرائم فرنسا الثقافية في الجزائر " الاعتداء على المكتبات والكتب " أمودجا -

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Abstract:

French policy in Algeria was characterized by criminality, encompassing various fields: political, economic, social, and cultural. These crimes aimed to violate sovereignty, plunder wealth, distort identity and undermine the personal and cultural foundations of Algerian society. The crime of attacking libraries and books is considered one of the most horrific colonial cultural crimes in Algeria. Hence, this paper examines the nature of cultural reality in Algeria during the occupation period, evaluating French educational policy in Algeria, and explaining the reasons and motives that led to the attacks on libraries and books. This quest is important because it helps explain the harm done to books and libraries and the practices of the occupation. The destruction of books and libraries happens not just in Algeria; it is part of a larger global issue of book destruction that has occurred throughout history.

Keywords: crime, educational policy, occupation, libraries, books, identity.

الملخص:

تلوّنت السياسة الفرنسية في الجزائر بصبغة الجريمة التي شملت مختلف الميادين "السياسية، الاقتصادية، الاجتماعية، والثقافية" التي استهدفت من خلالها انتهاك السيادة، ونهب الثروة ومسح الهوية وضرب المقومات الشخصية والحضارية للمجتمع الجزائري، وتعتبر جريمة الاعتداء على المكتبات والكتب إحدى

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أفّطع الجرائم الثقافية الاستعمارية في الجزائر. سنحاول من خلال المداخلة طرح إشكالية تصب في عمق الموضوع، مفادها البحث في طبيعة الواقع الثقافي في الجزائر خلال فترة الاحتلال، وتقييم السياسة التعليمية الفرنسية في الجزائر، وشرح الأسباب والدوافع التي أدت إلى الاعتداء على المكتبات والكتب؟ وهي إشكالات نخالها وجيهة، لتكون طريقا نحو تفسير الجريمة التي طالت الكتاب والمكتبات والممارسة من قبل الاحتلال. ولا يختص أمر الاتلاف للكتب والمكتبات بالجزائر فحسب، بل تقدم المداخلة نماذج أخرى كعنية عالمية لعملية اتلاف الكتب قديما ومعاصرا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الجريمة، السياسة التعليمية، الاحتلال، المكتبات، الكتب، الهوية.

Introduction:

The intellectual and cultural invasion was intrinsically linked to the military invasion, forming a key component of the colonial strategy that systematically dismantled Algeria's civilizational foundations. The cultural invasion of Algeria went through several stages, the most important of which was the systematic demolition of cultural institutions and their components⁽¹⁾

including books and libraries. The French occupation authorities employed various methods to destroy these institutions, including theft, burning, tearing, and selling their contents. The goal was to destroy the landmarks of the Algerian character and history, thereby distorting the identity and personality of the Algerians to facilitate the process of taming them, then subjugating them and controlling their resources. This policy, stemming from Western colonial thought, reinforces the theory of domination and enslavement of weak peoples whose personal characteristics differ from their own, making them targets for exploitation and control of their wealth and resources. Therefore, this study addresses another aspect of French aggression in Algeria, represented by its violation of the Algerian entity and identity through its cultural crimes, which manifested in the prohibition of education and the violation of various educational and cultural institutions, most notably the violation of the sanctity of books and libraries .

1- The Cultural Reality in Algeria Before the Occupation:

Before the occupation, Algeria—according to the enemy's testimony—experienced widespread education, manifested in the large number of Kuttab's (schools of Quran), zawiyas, and the people's eagerness to learn. Algerian society was characterized by a very low, almost non-existent, illiteracy rate, a fact confirmed by many researchers in this field. Professor Tawfiq al-Madani noted that Algeria has been a home for science ⁽²⁾ throughout the ages and has never witnessed a decline in scientific activity. Since the Arab-Islamic conquest, it has witnessed a major scientific revolution, manifested in prosperity and development across various disciplines.

Abu al-Qasim Saadallah also points out that despite the negative aspects of the Ottoman presence in Algeria, particularly in the cultural sphere, since they did not establish a university like al-Qarawiyyin, al-Azhar, or al-Zaytouna, which disseminated knowledge and graduated scholars and writers, they nevertheless maintained a free education system based on community participation. At the same time, they strengthened the role of the waqf to foster care for education and learners.⁽³⁾ It has also been noted that the period of Ottoman rule witnessed a clear decline in rational sciences in the face of a growing interest in traditional sciences. This period was described as one of intellectual stagnation, as was indicated by the scholar Abdul Qadir al-Rashidi when he said:

The interpreter has reported that I am an unbeliever in what reason has decreed.

What reason has decreed is not part of religion. Rather, religion is what reason contains.⁽⁴⁾

Abu al-Qasim Sa'dallah also criticized the situation and described this phenomenon - intellectual stagnation - during the Ottoman rule when he wrote in his book, *The Cultural History of Algeria*, "The cultural institutions during the Ottoman era were almost no more than the mosque, the school, the zawiya, and the library, and most of them were for education more than for culture in its current sense. Among these institutions, there was no university or higher institute, although some mosques, schools, and zawiyas provided higher education".⁽⁵⁾

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Comparably, Nasser Al-Din Saidouni, in his book "Algeria in History," recorded some indications about the reality of culture and education in Algeria under Ottoman rule. He provides testimonies from the mouths of foreigners about the state of education, "This city is not devoid of distinguished readers, scholars, men of letters, and eminent preachers. Their mosques are filled with teaching, and their children's libraries are filled with reading and are famous. I have mentioned the good scholars there."⁽⁶⁾ Others confirm that education in Algeria before the occupation was based on charitable institutions and the efforts of the population. Families were very keen to send their children to schools to receive education, especially learning the Arabic language and memorizing the Holy Quran.⁽⁷⁾

Therefore, the need to verify the intellectual, educational, and cultural condition of Algeria during the Ottoman era necessitates further research and investigation, ensuring that the study does not succumb to the weight of conclusions drawn from only a portion of the texts, especially when numerous texts that elucidate cultural life are missing, presenting a reality different from that held by those who confine themselves to a single, unique reference or source. Reading the licenses given by sheikhs to students can help us understand the academic journey during the Ottoman era. By sorting through the texts of lessons taught in Kuttab's and mosques, and by examining endowment documents, we can gather clear information about the academic and cultural life of that time. Reviewing what was written and printed during that period also contributes to this understanding.

2- The educational policy of France in Algeria and the Algerians' attitude towards it:

Education remained unchanged during the first years of the occupation, due to the French authorities' preoccupation with the military aspect and expansionist operations. During this period, the occupying authorities issued a decision to seize Islamic endowments in September 1830, during the reign of "de Bourmont".⁽⁸⁾ Scholars, imams, and sheikhs of the zawiya were persecuted and their activities restricted.⁽⁹⁾ "Alexis de Tocqueville" noted this, saying: "We have seized funds everywhere, the funds of charitable institutions that met the needs of the people and provided public education, we have left the schools to collapse, scattered study circles and made Muslim society more ignorant."⁽¹⁰⁾ Within the

framework of the expansionist policy, schools (mosques), zawiyas, and Kuttab's were destroyed. Not content with stripping Algerians of their land and distorting their personalities, France also worked to corrupt hearts and minds. This was evident in the closure of mosques and schools that taught Arabic, and the fight against the Arabic language, promoting French as an alternative. Thus, Algerians were faced with two choices: either French or ignorance.⁽¹¹⁾

3- The French Educational Approach in Algeria and Its Impact:

French educational policy in Algeria was part of the general policy pursued by the colonial administration to subjugate Algerians. It made the education system the most important tool for achieving its projects and policies, which aimed to colonize the population and transform its cultural model.

The French colonial administration implemented a selective education policy, limiting access to schools for Algerians who demonstrated loyalty to the colonial regime. It did not allow all members of Algerian society to attend school, but rather limited education to those who demonstrated loyalty to the occupation. This was stipulated in the imperial decree issued on March 14, 1857, which specifically designated Algerians who had served and were serving France, as well as the children of soldiers who died or were wounded on the battlefields in the service of the French. The colonial policy provided education tied to the demands of the market, controlled by the settlers.⁽¹²⁾ This education then became more aligned with the types of industries present in Algeria. For Algerians, woodworking was not a profitable industry, while Europeans were turning to mechanical industries,⁽¹³⁾ which were highly sought after at that time. Education in Algeria during this era was divided into two categories:

1. Advanced education, provided with all necessary means, was compulsory and free (Jules Ferry Law of 1882), and was intended for the children of settlers.
2. Weak education, directed at a small segment of Algerians—mentioned above—aimed at training a workforce to serve the settlers and the French economy. This was known as vocational education. The Egyptian writer Muhammad Farid Bey described education in Algeria during his visit in 1901, saying: " The Algerian population was subjected to stringent and discriminatory laws under French

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colonial rule. They are forbidden from writing and reading books and newspapers. They are not permitted to establish a printing press or newspaper and Arabic newspapers were also banned from them." ⁽¹⁴⁾

4- Libraries: Definition and Importance:

Libraries are among the most important indicators of the level of civilizational and cultural progress. ⁽¹⁵⁾ They are a treasure of information that preserves the heritage and history of nations, and the contributions of their scholars and elites to human civilizations. The importance of libraries of all types, including public, university, school, and private, lies in developing individuals' abilities and encouraging them to read and study. Furthermore, libraries contribute to preserving human history and cultural heritage and recording the discoveries made by humanity throughout the ages by providing free access to intellectual and scientific knowledge. Throughout history, libraries have been the most important means of written and spoken communication between people. This communication often takes place through direct and indirect discussions between people, which further enriches ideas among people and strengthens relationships through the factor of influence and impact. Libraries are the most important means of knowledge for students to access references and sources, including information ⁽¹⁶⁾ and knowledge in a variety of fields and specializations.

5- Violation of identity and memory through the destruction of books and libraries:

Libraries with their knowledge and science, including books, are among the most significant victims of conflicts, disputes, and wars. They have been subjected to numerous crimes and barbaric acts of vandalism throughout the ages. Many libraries and their contents of books, records and manuscripts have been subjected since ancient times to acts of vandalism, seizure and theft, and many of their holdings have been damaged through tampering, burning and destruction. The most prominent examples of this are the ancient Library of Alexandria by Julius Caesar around the year 48 BC, ⁽¹⁷⁾ the Baghdad Library in the Middle Ages and the modern era by the Mongols, and the Sarajevo Library at the beginning of the summer of 1992 by the fanatical Crusaders, where thousands of Islamic,

Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts were burned by the Serbian armies, and thousands of various Islamic manuscripts were destroyed, which were kept in mosques. Like the ancient mosques in Bosnia, which housed numerous manuscripts in their libraries,⁽¹⁸⁾ the university library in Algeria suffered a similar fate during the French occupation, particularly during the actions of the extremist group O.A.S.

6- Reasons and Motives for Burning Libraries and Destroying Books:

The reasons and motives for burning libraries and destroying books and manuscripts are numerous, including ideological, personal, and political.

1-6 Personal Reasons:

Individuals set fire to their books for personal reasons and specific circumstances. A historical example of this is the actions of the philosopher and writer Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi,⁽¹⁹⁾ who, driven by despair and hopelessness, burned his books. He expressed this by saying: "I gathered most of them for the people to seek examples from them, establish leadership among them, and extend my influence among them. So I forbade all of that. I have become a stranger in my condition, a stranger in my speech, a stranger in my creed, a stranger in my behaviour, accustomed to loneliness, content with solitude, accustomed to silence, perpetually confused, tolerant of harm, and miserable in everything I see." In addition to Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi, many scholars withdrew from society and preferred to stay away from people, and their books were banned. We mention among them, for example, "Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti," "Sufyan al-Thawri," "al-Hasan al-Ash'ari," "H. Abu Bakr al-Ja'ad,"⁽²⁰⁾ and others.

2-6 Military reasons:

These are among the most significant causes of library burning and the destruction and theft of books. Throughout history, occupations have contributed to tampering with the heritage of occupied peoples. A prominent example of this is the Mongolian assault on the House of Wisdom in Baghdad, where Hulagu destroyed 36 libraries in the city in 656 AH. Then the Americans returned to destroying libraries in Baghdad during the years 1991 and 2003, where they destroyed the

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libraries of Baghdad and Iraq in general and looted books and manuscripts. One of the most prominent examples is what the French occupation did in Algeria in terms of destroying libraries, books and manuscripts during the occupation period, including of course the burning of the University of Algiers Library on June 7, 1962. Perhaps the goal behind these crimes (burning libraries) was the occupier's desire to obliterate the identity of these peoples, eliminate their existence and cast doubt on their belonging, thus establishing the policy of a defeated race that is not capable of learning in all fields, including the cultural field. This is what France claimed in Algeria, where it insisted on denying the existence of the Algerian state and sought to hide all evidence to confirm its allegations and to establish the idea it wanted to promote, that the Algerian was never able to form a civilization.

3-6 Political and religious reasons:

Muhammad ibn Abi Amir in Andalusia burned ancient books on logic, philosophy, astrology, and Greek sciences. This was done to gain public favour and appease the jurists, who believed that these sciences were considered reprehensible by the people of Andalusia and by most of its scholars.

Memory crimes are also being committed against three cultural institutions that are crucial to preserving humanity's cultural heritage: museums, libraries, and archives. These crimes also extend to newspapers, educational institutions, intellectual, literary, and artistic clubs, mosques, religious sites, artefacts, and antiquities. In April 2003, Iraq witnessed the looting of museums in Baghdad and Mosul, as well as tens of thousands of archaeological sites. The Iraqi National Library, founded in 1961, housed over 417,000 volumes, 2,618 collections of newspapers and periodicals, and 4,412 rare books during the 1980s. Its holdings were estimated at two million digital publications on the eve of the US invasion. The Awqaf Library, located 500 meters from the National Library, was also looted and burned.⁽²¹⁾ The Americans followed this operation by persecuting and eliminating Iraq's most brilliant scholars and thinkers, hoping to paralyze the Iraqi mind.

7- The burning and destruction of libraries in Algeria during the French occupation.

Before the occupation, public libraries, mosques, and zawiyas in Algeria possessed vast and important manuscripts. Private libraries were found throughout the country, among families of scholarly standing and nobles. A single-family would possess several thousand manuscripts in good condition. The libraries of the mosques in Algiers, including the Great Mosque, contained precious manuscripts, reportedly exceeding 40,000 volumes.⁽²²⁾

Documents and manuscripts were among the victims of the French army in Algeria. The manuscripts and documents were destroyed in the Casbah in front of the eyes of military commanders, most notably the campaign commander, Dubourmont, who was famous for forcing the rulers of Algeria to sign the surrender document. This document stipulated that France must respect the property of Algerians and pledge to preserve it. The Arab bureau officers who were stationed in every city and every village took over, and they wanted to know everything about families and individuals, about genealogies, histories, biographies, Sufism, language, and other things. They took everything they could get their hands on and their eyes by force.

These looted documents and manuscripts were used by many historians, thinkers, and orientalists without attributing them to their owners (the Algerians). Some of them went so far as to distort them, such as Charles Vere, Bruss lard, Pelissier de Renaud, Hanotiaux, Louis Rinn, and others.⁽²³⁾ One of the manifestations of the barbaric attack on Algeria's intellectual wealth is that the soldier would light his pipe with documents of great importance. Some important documents were also sent as souvenirs⁽²⁴⁾ by the French soldiers to their families and friends in France, as evidence of the victory of the cross over the crescent, revenge against Islam and revenge for Christianity to confirm that what France was doing in Algeria was an ideological war targeting the entire Islamic world.

The French occupation of Algeria aimed to obliterate the landmarks of Arab-Islamic identity and civilization, replacing them with Western Christian culture, thus affirming the superiority of the Bible over the Qur'an and the cross

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over the crescent. This was emphasized by many European philosophers and thinkers. For example, the French historian and geographer Augustin Bernard stated: "We did not come to Algeria to establish security, but to spread French civilization and ideas. Algeria is not a colony like Indochina, but rather a part of France, as it was during the days of Rome. We want to create a race there that will integrate with us through language and customs, and this will happen after the dissemination of the language of Victor Hugo,⁽²⁵⁾ the French writer".⁽²⁶⁾

This was confirmed by the French historian Yvonne Touraine in her book "Cultural Collision in Colonial Algeria," when she said: "The conflict began the day the occupier began to impose its language and way of thinking, using schools and hospitals, teachers and doctors. But the Muslims returned the poisoned gift to its owner, who spent about 20 years, from 1830 to 1850, building schools but no students were found, hospitals were built but no patients came to them, and the difficulties facing the occupation multiplied, while the Islamic religion remained like reinforced concrete protecting against disintegration and integration. This is what General "Hanotou"⁽²⁷⁾ also pointed out from the first stages of the occupation in his book "The Kabylie Region and Kabyle Customs."

8- Examples of Attacks on Libraries and Archives in Algeria:

Immediately after the occupation of Algeria, the French seized mosques and zawiyas (religious schools) in the capital. They confiscated their contents and transferred their endowment revenues to the financial administration. The libraries attached to these facilities were among the victims of this confiscation. Despite being endowments, books disappeared and changed hands without accountability or punishment. Libraries vanished, such as the library of the Great Mosque in the capital, which Muslim travellers and researchers mentioned, as well as the libraries of the mosques of Tlemcen, Constantine, Mascara, Blida, Medea, Bejaia, Annaba, Mazouna, and others. They also included the books that Saleh Bey provided for his school in Constantine and Muhammad al-Kabir for his school in Mascara.

1-8 The Assault on Emir Abdelkader's Library:

After the French army seized Emir Abdelkader's zawiya (mobile capital), his precious library, which housed his most valuable and precious books, was attacked. Thousands of books and volumes were smashed, burned, looted, and torn apart. The Emir's library contained approximately 5,000 volumes and manuscripts, which were destroyed. Some of these were transported to France and are housed in the Chantilly Library. The Duke of Daumella donated them to the city's municipality, but the donation he made represented only a very small portion of the Emir's library. It is noteworthy that when the Emir lost his capitals and used the mobile capital, he, his scholars, and commanders took their libraries with them, including the famous Zawiyat al-Qaytna Library. Among those with him were scholars who were inseparable from their books, including Muhammad al-Kharrubi, Muhammad ibn Allal, Muhammad al-Barkani, Ibn Friha, and Mustafa ibn al-Tahami. When the French seized the zawiya, these libraries were transferred, and their fate is unknown to this day.

2-8 Attacks on the Archives:

The Algerian archives, including those from the Ottoman period, were neglected and destroyed by the French authorities. Initially, they were managed by Albert Devoulx,⁽²⁸⁾ who transferred the books and documents that were under the supervision of the French domain administration (public property) and deposited them in the State Public Library. He translated the documents with the assistance of two Algerian figures, Muhammad bin Mustafa and Muhammad bin Othman Khoja. He collected thousands of documents for translation, and published many of these studies in the African Journal. Among his studies on the Ottoman period are "The Book of Ceremonies," "The Pact of Security," "The Register of Sea Spoils," "A Statement on the Janissary Barracks," "Introduction to the Life of the Sailor, Chief Hamidou," and "The Register of the Chiefs of Algiers,"⁽²⁹⁾ among others. Devoulx was known as the first archival engineer for Algerian and Ottoman documents at the beginning of the occupation.

3-8 Burning of the Algiers Library, June 7, 1962:

The university library was established by law on December 20, 1879, and was initially housed in a small library belonging to the schools of medicine and pharmacy, which were established in 1857. In 1888, the university library was permanently established in the new building designated for it. During the academic year 1909-1910, approximately 179,680 volumes were counted, and in 1958, approximately 6 million copies were counted. The university library was subjected to a criminal act by the terrorist organization (O.A.S), adding this crime to France's cultural crimes in Algeria. This was done by throwing three phosphorus bombs near the university. The fire resulted in the destruction of 400,000 books out of 600,000 books⁽³⁰⁾ and manuscripts, in addition to the destruction of a number of structures. During this fire, it was recorded that the firefighters, according to some testimonies, destroyed what the fire had left behind, as they directed water hoses at the books that were not touched by the flames,⁽³¹⁾ under the pretext of preventing their spread. This confirms that this terrorist act was committed by the terrorist organization (O.A.S) with the complicity of the occupation authorities, and thus it is a crime that rises to the level of a state crime that does not disappear with the passage of time.

The historical documents, including manuscripts and archives, were left neglected, leaving them vulnerable to damage and deterioration. The only preserved ones were what the immigrants carried with them including "Ibn al-Annabi" and "Mustafa al-Kababti", as well as the books that were immigrated to France in the bags of officers, translators, orientalists, thieves, representatives, writers and others. Therefore, this archive and these books belonging to Algeria are now scattered in the libraries of the world, including the libraries of the East and the West and the French libraries, both public and private. Hamdan bin Othman Khoja, the owner of Al-Mir'at, expressed the phenomenon of attacks on the library and the book, saying: "General Clauzel ordered the demolition of shops called Qaysariya, which sold books that are tools of civilization, which illuminate the path of the educated person, and in them were the copyists, because printing presses are non-existent in Africa, and since the French intended to introduce civilization to Africa, why was this source that provides science and knowledge in all fields demolished?" He also said, "This behaviour indicates that

this general, instead of working to provide us with the light of science and civilization, intends to plunge us into darkness and ignorance."⁽³²⁾

Hamdan Khodja's statement was confirmed by what the Duke of Daumal said: "Building a school is better than a military corps to establish security." He also said: "We have concentrated in Algeria and seized scientific institutes, turning them into shops, residences, or horse stables. We have appropriated the endowments of mosques and institutes".⁽³³⁾

According to the occupiers' testimony, Algerian heritage — both written and manuscript, especially that written by Algerians, which expressed their thoughts and affiliation—was subjected to neglect and destruction. Manuscripts were looted and sold in the markets, a precious Algerian heritage was lost, and Algeria lost important resources, including manuscripts, artefacts, and antiquities—sources considered the property of the nation and a legacy to humanity.

4- Conclusion:

Hulagu's destruction of the House of Wisdom Library and the libraries of Baghdad is no different from the crime of burning libraries in Andalusia and the French colonialists' destruction of the central university⁵⁵ library in Algeria. The multiple burnings of the Library of Alexandria over various periods are no different from what the Bosnian library in Sarajevo experienced by the Serbs, and no different from what the Americans did in Iraq in 1991 and 2003. These crimes share the destruction of countless books and publications, a human treasure that bears witness to human civilizations throughout history. They are thus classified among state crimes against humanity, carried out by international political entities. What France committed in Algeria is an example of a premeditated and deliberate crime. It was noted that there was a systematic destruction and tampering of human thought, through the burning, and demolition of libraries, the destruction or theft of books, and the forgery or sale of letters and manuscripts. The scope falls within international crime because there is a global network that has contributed in one way or another to the smuggling, sale and destruction of cultural intellectual stock in the past and this is still ongoing theft, which requires

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an international market. An in-depth investigation must be opened into the looted and destroyed global assets that require global attention and an effective response.

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from Shiraz or Nishapur. He was named al-Tawhidi in reference to the fact that his father sold a type of date called Tawhid dates in Iraq. He was one of the most prominent writers and philosophers of the 4th century AH. He died in 414 AH.

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²⁶ The author of the story "Les Misérables" visited Algeria while he was a French MP in 1881. He brought back scenes from Algeria (a woman in a cave eating her young), but he did not transmit these scenes as an attack on human rights or as crimes, but rather as part of the defense of workers' rights.

²⁷ French officer who entered service in Algeria in 1847, with the rank of lieutenant. He assumed an administrative position within the Arab Bureau. He mastered the Arabic and Amazigh languages. He was appointed head of the Arab Bureau of Medina and participated in the military campaigns in Kabylie from 1847 to 1856. He was appointed commander of the Arm of the Center Mizan in 1859, and of the Fortress of Napoleon in 1860, then he was appointed director of civil affairs of the city of Algiers in 1859. 1862, Then he returned to Kabylie to the Fort Fornacional barracks in 1866 as barracks commander. See, Hanuto and Louternou, the Kabylie region and tribal customs, vol. 1, Dar Al-Amal, 2013, p8.

²⁸ Curator of the Archives of Arabs (Algerians) at the Department of Archives and Domains (Public Properties), founding member of the Algerian Historical Society, correspondent of the Egyptian Institute, Direction of Axis, of the Statistical Society of Marseille and of the Society of Letters, Arts and Sciences of Toulon, and officer decorated with the Royal Medal in Tunisia. Albert Devoulx; The Religious Edifices of Ancient Algiers; Bastide Typography; Alger 1870, P1.

²⁹ Hanifi Hlaili, Albert Dufau, Archiving Engineer of Algerian and Ottoman Documents in Algeria, Mediterranean Dialogue, 2023, P 188.

³⁰ Amal Laamrous, The Marketing Approach in Academic Libraries - A Case Study of the Central Library of the University of Algiers 1, Journal

of Library Science, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2014, P 135.

³¹<https://www.alaraby.co.uk.culture>.

³² Hamdan bin Othman Khoja, The Mirror, Introduction and Translation, Muhammad al-Arabi al-Zubayri, ANEP Publications, 2005, P 245.

³³ Al-Sayeh Fawzi, Op.Cit, P677.

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