

The Scientific and Intellectual Efforts of Suleiman Pasha Al-Barouni (1870–1940)

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Abstract:

This article aims to examine the scientific and intellectual efforts of Suleiman Pasha Al-Barouni by presenting these contributions and exploring the objectives he sought to accomplish through them. Al-Barouni established a distinguished presence in the field of scientific journeys, the founding of schools, the authorship of books, and the composition of poetry. He also sought to engage in journalistic activism and intellectual resistance through the written word.

The study concludes that Al-Barouni maintained a significant presence across numerous fields of knowledge and culture, leaving evident imprints and remarkable contributions. Through these efforts, he sought to serve the Islamic nation and contribute to its progress and advancement. The spirit of struggle was also clearly reflected in his writings, which he employed as a platform for criticizing the difficult circumstances endured by Muslims under colonial domination, particularly in Libya.

Keywords: Sulayman Pasha al-Baruni, al-Baruni, Libyan figures, notables of Nafusa, Libyan scholars, Libya.

Introduction:

Libya witnessed the emergence of prominent figures who played influential roles in its history through their achievements and significant activities, which contributed to generating substantial transformations within Libyan society. Among these figures, Suleiman Al-Barouni emerges as a personality who combined political engagement, scholarly pursuits, and resistance. He was one of the most prominent Libyan leaders during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He established a notable presence within both the Libyan and Ottoman political spheres and carried the banner of resistance against the Italian occupation of Libya.

His role was not confined to the political and revolutionary spheres; rather, it extended to the domains of Islamic scholarship and culture through the efforts and achievements he accomplished. As a result, he left behind intellectual and scientific legacies that reflect the breadth of his knowledge, his profound engagement with the issues of his time, and his significant role in promoting awareness and strengthening the cultural and intellectual movement in Libya and across the Arab and Islamic worlds.

From this perspective, this study seeks to shed light on the scientific and intellectual efforts of Suleiman Al-Barouni and to highlight his most significant contributions in the fields of knowledge and scholarship, as well as their influence on the scientific and intellectual renaissance in Libya and the Arab and Islamic worlds.

Within this historical framework, the central research problem addressed by this study can be formulated as follows: What were the scientific and intellectual efforts of Suleiman Al-Barouni? This central question leads to several subsidiary questions, including: Did the scholarly education received by Suleiman Al-Barouni contribute to shaping the scientific and intellectual efforts he undertook? Did he travel to various Islamic countries? What were the most prominent manifestations of his scientific and intellectual contributions? Were these efforts pursued in every location where he settled and travelled, or were they confined solely to the geographical context of Libya? What constituted the scientific and intellectual legacy that he left behind?

To address the research problem, the study adopts the historical method to understand Al-Barouni's scientific and intellectual efforts, the analytical method to examine his positions within the scientific and cultural fields, in addition to the comparative method, which facilitated the comparison of various historical narratives and their evaluation through the perspective of scientific criticism in order to reach the most accurate possible representation of historical reality.

His Educational Background

According to the account provided by his daughter Zaima, Suleiman Pasha Al-Barouni was born in 1290 AH/1873 AD ¹in the city of Jadu, located in the Nafusa Mountains of Libya,² into a distinguished family recognized for its virtue, knowledge, and governance. The lineage of this family can be traced back to Sheikh Abu Harun Musa ibn Harun Al-Tamlushai, one of Libya's scholars during the fourth century AH. His mother was Aziza bint Suleiman Takhshisha, while his father was the scholar and sheikh Abdullah ibn Yahya Al-Barouni, who travelled across various regions in pursuit of knowledge.³

This environment provided him with a scholarly atmosphere that enabled a young individual to develop his intellectual abilities and attain distinction.⁴ He found in his father a highly qualified mentor who educated and nurtured him until his talents became apparent. He also memorized the Holy Qur'an in the mosques of Jadu. As he sought to broaden his knowledge, his father sent him to the Zaytuna Mosque in Tunisia in 1305 AH/1888 AD to pursue advanced studies under the

¹ While a report by the French colonial administration states that he was born in 1867 in the Libyan city of Nalut. See: *Curriculum vitae de Sliman El Barouni*, 20 June 1939, A.N.O.M 9H47.

² Muhammad Masoud Jabrān, *Suleiman Al-Barouni: His Works and Legacy*, Arab House for Books, 1st ed., Libya, 1991, p. 25.

³ Suleiman ibn Sa'id Al-Shibani Al-Nafusi, *Suleiman Pasha Al-Barouni: A Nation in One Man*, Al-Fath Association for Ibadi Studies, 1st ed., Libya, 2013, p. 13.

⁴ Abu Al-Qasim Al-Barouni, *The Life of Suleiman Pasha Al-Barouni, Leader of the Tripolitanian Mujahideen*, 2nd ed., Libya, 1948, p. 12.

supervision of Sheikh Muhammad Al-Nakhli, Sheikh Othman Al-Makki, Sheikh Muhammad Al-Makki ibn Azouz, Sheikh Omar ibn Al-Sheikh, Sheikh Salem Bouhajeb, and Sheikh Muhammad Al-Najjar. He remained in Tunisia for five years, after which he moved to Egypt around 1310 AH/1892⁵ AD to continue his studies at Al-Azhar Mosque.

In 1313 AH/1895 AD, he returned to Tunisia for rest and to meet his companions. From there, he travelled to Wadi Mzab in southern Algeria, where he joined the institute of Sheikh Muhammad ibn Yusuf Atfayyish to continue his studies under the guidance of the Sheikh, who was regarded as one of the leading figures of the Ibadi scholarly movement.⁶

The Position of Some Ottoman Officials Toward Him:

The Ottoman authorities adopted a strict stance toward Suleiman Al-Barouni due to his positions and views concerning their policies. During the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid, he was subjected to various forms of persecution and restrictive measures, including imprisonment, exile, and displacement.⁷ When he published the newspaper *Al-Asad Al-Islami* (The Islamic Lion) in Egypt in 1907, the influence of the Ottoman authorities extended to the publication, resulting in its prohibition and the suspension of its circulation.⁸

Suleiman Al-Barouni responded to this matter by submitting a complaint to the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid, appealing to him regarding the unclear position of the Ottoman administration in Libya toward him. In his letter, he stated: “Under your banner, which waves with justice, O Commander of the Faithful, the governing authority in Tripoli of the West arrested me in 1316 AH while I was returning from Egypt through Europe, Algeria, and Tunisia. They treated me with extreme harshness, not out of concern for your state nor out of preservation of your sovereignty. No, by God, rather it was for personal motives, as a means of supporting themselves and those to whom they were affiliated, and as a way of indulging themselves in the pleasure of subjugating men and the satisfaction of tyranny.”⁹

In his letter, Al-Barouni clarified the reasons that led the Ottoman administration in Libya to conspire against him. This occurred after they discovered, during the search of his belongings, a letter addressed by him to the people of the Nafusa Mountains, in which he encouraged them to receive military training and highlighted the shortcomings of foreigners in Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt¹⁰. He was also accused of seeking to establish an Ibadi Imamate in the Nafusa Mountains,

⁵ A report by the French colonial administration mentions that in 1903 he travelled to Cairo, where he studied law in French, English, and Italian. See: *Curriculum vitae de Sliman El Barouni*, 20 June 1939, A.N.O.M 9H47.

⁶ Suleiman ibn Sa'id Al-Shibani Al-Nafusi, previous reference, pp. 22–23.

⁷ Ahmad Sidqi Al-Dajani, *Libya Before the Italian Occupation, or Tripoli al-Gharb During the Final Period of the Second Ottoman Era (1882–1911)*, Modern Technical Printing Press, 1st ed., Libya, 1971, p. 410.

⁸ Hadiya Mishikhi, *A Moroccan Ibadi Politician: Suleiman Al-Barouni (1873–1940)*, introduction by Farhat Al-Ja'biri, Ims Plus Printing Press, 1st ed., Tunisia, 2013, p. 39

⁹ Zaima Al-Barouni, previous source, p. 58.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 58.

an allegation that was regarded as a serious accusation and a form of conspiracy against the Ottoman state.¹¹

The conspirators sought to fabricate charges against Suleiman Al-Barouni, the punishment for which could have reached execution or life imprisonment. However, they were only able to secure his imprisonment for two and a half months, during which he endured humiliation, harassment, and psychological suffering. Through this oppression and imprisonment, these conspirators sought to obtain ranks and medals.¹²

The first period of imprisonment imposed on Al-Barouni lasted two and a half months, after which he was released on bail. However, this outcome did not satisfy the conspirators, as two years later, a decision was issued by the High Authority to overturn the acquittal verdict and dismiss the members of the Court of Appeal who had ruled in his favor. This was carried out in order to gain complete control over him. On this occasion, he was sentenced to five years of imprisonment and placed in a prison for criminals alongside the lowest elements of society and highway robbers. There, he experienced various forms of humiliation and retaliation and was exposed to circumstances that caused him profound distress and resentment.¹³

In reality, this excessive restriction imposed on Al-Barouni was merely an attempt to humiliate and weaken him to the greatest possible extent, with the aim of psychologically breaking him and preventing him from undertaking activities and efforts that served the Ibadi community in Libya and other regions.

After his release from prison, he remained under the surveillance of the Turkish intelligence services, which monitored his movements and inspected his correspondence. Those who held hostile intentions against him took advantage of spreading false rumors about him until an order was issued for his arrest and deportation to Turkey in 1324 AH/1906 AD. However, the Governor of Tripoli, Rajab Pasha, advised him to leave Libya in order to avoid arrest. He followed this advice and headed to Egypt, where he decided not to return to Libya until circumstances improved and stability was restored.¹⁴

His First Journey to Wadi Mzab 1313 AH/1895 AD:

Suleiman Al-Barouni's first journey to Wadi Mzab was undertaken with the aim of expanding his knowledge at one of its most prominent scholarly institutions, namely the institute of Sheikh Muhammad ibn Yusuf Atfayyish. There, he received great respect and recognition from the Mzabite scholars. He also conducted several visits throughout the villages of the valley accompanied by Sheikh Atfayyish, including a visit to Al-Qarara in 1314 AH/1896 AD and Al-Atf in 1315 AH/1897 AD. Through these visits, his relationships became firmly established with

¹¹ Suleiman ibn Sa'id Al-Shibani Al-Nafusi, previous reference, p. 26.

¹² Zaima Al-Barouni, previous source, p. 58.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 59–60.

¹⁴ Suleiman ibn Sa'id Al-Shibani Al-Nafusi, previous reference, p. 30.

several prominent figures of knowledge and culture, including Sheikh Ibrahim Abu Al-Yaqzan, Sheikh Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Atfayyish, and Sheikh Omar Al-Anq.¹⁵

In this regard, Abu Al-Yaqzan mentions that he met him at the residence of the scholar Atfayyish, where they attended several gatherings, banquets, and scholarly and literary councils in the villages of Wadi Mzab. When the time came for Al-Barouni's return to the Nafusa Mountains, Abu Al-Yaqzan requested that he recite two or three verses from his own poetry so that they could provide him with comfort during his absence and alleviate the pain of separation. However, Al-Barouni apologized, explaining that his thoughts were overwhelmed by the sorrow of parting.¹⁶

This visit continued for three years, after which he returned to Libya. Prior to his departure, he sought permission from his teacher, Muhammad ibn Yusuf Atfayyish, to visit the ruins of the city of Tihert, the former capital of the Rustamid dynasty. This visit took place in 1316 AH/1898 AD, and he lamented its ruins in a poem documented in his book *Al-Azhar Al-Riyadiyyah fi A'immah wa Muluk Al-Ibadiyyah* (The Sporting Flowers Concerning the Imams and Kings of the Ibadiyyah).¹⁷

The opening lines of the poem were as follows:

*"Stand still and let us weep over ruins whose shade has diminished,
And mourn the traces of those who remained only as memories.
The sons of Rustam, whose rule was established upon justice,
Yet Tihert became, after them, like a blooming garden."*¹⁸

His Second Journey to Wadi Mzab:

Suleiman Al-Barouni visited the Wadi Mzab region for the second time. His strong connection with the region was based on two primary factors: his education under Sheikh Muhammad ibn Yusuf Atfayyish and his affiliation with the Ibadi school of thought. These factors fostered his deep interest in Wadi Mzab, its scholars, its people, and its various issues, motivating him to undertake a second visit¹⁹. He was able to accomplish this in April 1914, during which he met with the sheikhs and prominent figures with whom his relations had previously been established. He also made a point of visiting the mausoleum of his teacher, Sheikh Muhammad ibn Yusuf Atfayyish.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁶ Abu Al-Yaqzan Al-Hajj Ibrahim, *Suleiman Al-Barouni Pasha Through the Stages of His Life*, Vol. 1, Al-Dar Al-Omaniyah, Sultanate of Oman, 1956, p. 57.

¹⁷ Previous reference, p. 23.

¹⁸ Suleiman Pasha Al-Barouni, *Al-Azhar Al-Riyadiyyah fi A'immah wa Muluk Al-Ibadiyyah* (The Sporting Flowers Concerning the Imams and Kings of the Ibadiyyah), revised by Muhammad Ali Al-Salibi, Dar Al-Hikmah, 1st ed., London, 2005, p. 359. See also: Suleiman ibn Abdullah Al-Barouni, *Diwan Al-Barouni* (Al-Barouni's Poetry Collection), Al-Azhar Al-Barouniyah Printing Press, 1st ed., Egypt, 1908, p. 100.

¹⁹ Abu Al-Qasim Sa'dallah, *Studies in Arab Islamic History*, Alam Al-Ma'rifah, 1st ed., Algeria, 2011, p. 401.

Al-Barouni travelled to Wadi Mzab in a private vehicle and received an elaborate reception from the prominent figures and merchants of the Mzabite community in the cities of the Tell region. In Algiers, he was welcomed by Mr. Abdullah ibn Al-Hajj Saleh and Mr. Yahya ibn Qasim. In Tebessa, he was received by Al-Hajj Omar ibn Al-Hajj Ibrahim. He also received receptions befitting his status in Médéa, Ksar El Boukhari, Djelfa, and Laghouat. In Berriane, its inhabitants welcomed him outside the city while carrying banners and flowers.²⁰

Al-Barouni remained under the surveillance of the French colonial administration. A French police report dated 11 April 1914 documented that he arrived in Djelfa by car at five o'clock in the evening, accompanied by Abdullah ibn Al-Hajj Saleh, Yahya ibn Ya'qub, and Al-Hajj Omar Al-Anq, all of whom were Mzabites residing in Algiers. Another individual was also accompanying them, although the report did not mention his name.

Al-Barouni stayed at the Hôtel France, where the head of the Mzabite community in Djelfa, Al-Hajj Muhammad, arrived accompanied by a number of Mzabites residing there to welcome him. He then proceeded to Al-Hajj Muhammad's residence, where all the Mzabites of Djelfa gathered to receive him. He also visited Agha Si Muhammad and Judge Si Al-Hassani. Afterwards, he went on an excursion outside the city with a group of Mzabites that lasted half an hour, before returning with his companions to Al-Hajj Muhammad's residence, where they drank tea.

He sent a telegram to some Mzabites in Ghardaïa informing them that he would spend the following Sunday night in Berriane and arrive in Ghardaïa on Monday morning. He also sent a telegram to the city of Laghouat requesting the reservation of his lunch meal. At that time, he was having dinner at Al-Hajj Muhammad's residence in the company of several Mzabites.²¹

Upon his arrival in the city of Ghardaïa, a remarkable celebration was organized in his honor. He first visited the headquarters of the French governor, where he met with French civilian and military officials. He then accompanied local administrators, judges, scholars, and notable figures to visit the grave of Sheikh Muhammad ibn Yusuf Atfayyish. Afterwards, he visited the ksar of Beni Isguen, where an elaborate banquet and a grand reception were organized in his honor. During the following days, he visited the ksars of Ghardaïa, Bounoura, El Atteuf, and Melika. In each of these ksars, he received a warm welcome, generous hospitality, and numerous expressions of appreciation through speeches and poems. The civilian administrators and judges accompanied him during his visits among the ksars of Wadi Mzab after obtaining authorization from the French administration permitting them to do so.²²

²⁰ Zaima Al-Barouni, *Eternal Pages from the Jihad of the Libyan Fighter Suleiman Al-Barouni*, Al-Istiqlal Al-Kubra Printing Press, 1st ed., Libya, 1964, p. 450.

²¹ *Rapport de M. le Commissaire de Police de Djelfa*, 11 April 1914, A.N.O.M 9H47.

²² Zaima Al-Barouni, previous source, pp. 450–451. See also: Abu Al-Qasim Sa'dallah, previous reference, pp. 405–406.

Al-Barouni expressed his gratitude to all those who celebrated his arrival and honored him in the Wadi Mزاب region and Algeria in general. He also conveyed his appreciation to the French administration for the facilities it provided, which enabled him to undertake this visit, as well as for permitting the Mزابites to honor and welcome him. Furthermore, he emphasized that visiting the mausoleum of his teacher, Sheikh Atfayyish,²³ represented a moral and scholarly obligation toward him, considering the role he had played in teaching him the principles of his religion, guiding him toward the correct path, emphasizing the necessity of defending the religion of God, and fulfilling one's duty toward the homeland. Therefore, he stated that travelling to visit his grave by land or sea alone was insufficient to fulfill his teacher's rights and express his gratitude toward him.²⁴

His visit lasted only a few days before he returned due to the approaching opening of the Council of Elders in Istanbul. The inhabitants and the French civilian and military administrative officials bid him farewell, and he, in turn, was keen to say goodbye to everyone, expressing his profound gratitude to the French administration and to all the inhabitants of the region.²⁵

His Pilgrimage to the Holy Sanctuary:

Suleiman Al-Barouni performed the pilgrimage to the Sacred House of God after responding to the invitation of Sharif Hussein, King of the Hejaz, who granted him permission to enter the Kingdom despite the pressures and threats exerted by Britain against King Hussein. His departure to perform this religious duty took place on Wednesday, 11 August 1924, when he travelled aboard a ship departing from Egypt. Upon its arrival in Alexandria, he was prevented from disembarking and from meeting his son Ibrahim, who was studying at one of the colleges there. He remained aboard the ship for three days under strict surveillance by Egyptian police officers and British authorities.²⁶

He arrived in Jeddah on 30 August 1924 and was received by the King of the Hejaz with a reception befitting distinguished figures. He was awarded the Hashemite Medal of Honor by the Sharif of Mecca, and a luxurious vehicle and a well-equipped residence were placed at his disposal. Al-Barouni took advantage of his presence in Mecca to criticize King Hussein for being drawn into the British deception of establishing an Arab empire and separating from the Ottoman state. The King acknowledged that the British had misled and deceived him.²⁷

The Sharif of Mecca requested that Al-Barouni remain in the Hejaz after completing the pilgrimage rituals and offered him the position of private advisor. However, Al-Barouni declined

²³ He praised it in his *Diwan* through three poems. See: Suleiman ibn Abdullah Al-Barouni, *Diwan Al-Barouni*, previous source, pp. 43–46.

²⁴ Zaima Al-Barouni, previous source, p. 453.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 454.

²⁶ Hamu Abu Al-Siddiq, *Suleiman Pasha Al-Barouni: The Prince of the Sword, the Word, and the Pen*, Dar Nuzhat Al-Albab for Publishing and Distribution, 1st ed., Algeria, 2019, p. 68.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 68.

the offer and preferred to travel to Oman after the King of the Hejaz intervened with the British authorities and requested their approval for Al-Barouni's entry into the country. They granted permission, as Oman was among the territories under British influence.²⁸

His Journey to Oman:

Oman was among the Islamic countries visited by Suleiman Al-Barouni. His decision to travel there came after completing the pilgrimage rituals, particularly after realizing that he was prevented from entering Egypt and other Islamic countries due to his positions and views. Consequently, he had only two options: remaining in the Hejaz or returning to his exile in Paris, neither of which corresponded with his aspirations. However, upon learning of the presence of a ship carrying Omani pilgrims, he joined it and took advantage of its departure to travel to Oman, a journey that would not have otherwise been possible for him.²⁹

The ship departed on 25 Dhu al-Hijjah 1342 AH. When it reached the region of Aden, news of Al-Barouni's presence there reached Sultan Taimur of Oman, who was residing in India at that time. He instructed his government in Muscat to receive Al-Barouni in a manner appropriate to his status. News of his arrival also spread throughout the Sultanate of Oman.³⁰

The ship arrived at the port of Muscat on 2 Muharram 1343 AH. The Council of Ministers received him and provided him with a royal boat to transport him to the royal palace. Upon his arrival, he was welcomed by Prince Nadir, the brother of the Omani Sultan, along with members of the Sultan's family, scholars, and prominent figures. Delegations from various regions of Oman also came to visit and greet him. In his honor, a lavish luncheon was held on 7 Muharram 1343 AH by Prince Nadir, attended by ministers, scholars, leaders, and notable figures of the Omani capital.³¹

Al-Barouni visited numerous Omani cities and regions, including the town of Mutrah, Bayt Al-Falaj, Ruwi, Al-Amerat, Wadi Bousher, Al-Seeb, Al-Khoudh, Fanja, Surur, and Samail, in addition to other Omani cities and areas. During these visits, he received an exceptionally warm welcome and generous hospitality, and numerous poems were composed and recited in his honor.³²

The remarkable reception received by Suleiman Al-Barouni in Oman was attributed to his status as one of the most prominent Ibadi scholarly and cultural figures, as well as his reputation as a revolutionary figure recognized for his courageous actions against the Italian occupation in Libya.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 68.

²⁹ Suleiman ibn Abdullah Al-Barouni Pasha, *The Letters of Al-Barouni*, collected, arranged, and commented upon by Abdullah ibn Suleiman Al-Salimi and Hamza ibn Suleiman Al-Salimi, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Lubnani, 1st ed., Vol. 2, Beirut, 2022, p. 744.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 745.

³¹ Ibid., p. 745.

³² Ibid., pp. 748–767.

His Projects and Achievements:

Al-Barouni was among the active figures in Libyan society. Alongside his brothers from the Nafusa Mountains, he contributed to the expansion of the mosque in the Jadu region. He praised this work, which was dedicated to serving one of the houses of God, and commended the efforts of his brothers among the people of Jadu. The following verses appeared at the beginning of a poem he composed in his collection:³³

“Praise is due to the people of (Jadu),
For they built the House of God and gave generously.
They expanded it and renewed it from its foundations,
And they hastened to build it with devotion and commitment.
Blessed is the group who established it,
Through its construction they cooperated and exerted their efforts.”

The Establishment of Al-Barouni School and Its Affiliated Library:

Suleiman Al-Barouni established Al-Barouni School in the village of Al-Bakhebakha in the city of Yefren, on the site of the former school of Sheikh Al-Hajj Salem Abu Al-Houl. The latter had established his school in 1213 AH/1798 AD, and it had been endowed with numerous charitable endowments, particularly in Tunisia and Djerba. However, following his death, these endowments declined and gradually diminished due to sales and other circumstances. The French occupation of Tunisia also contributed to accelerating the disappearance and eventual decline of this school.³⁴

Driven by his conviction regarding the importance of knowledge and its role in the advancement, awareness, and progress of nations, Suleiman Al-Barouni revived the educational project in Yefren. The initiative began on the occasion of the Prophet's Birthday celebration on 12 Rabi' al-Awwal 1322 AH/1904 AD, when a ceremony was held to inaugurate the school under the supervision of Sheikh Abdullah Al-Barouni.³⁵ The event was attended by numerous scholars, royal and military officials, prominent figures, and members of Sufi orders.

During this ceremony, the administrator of the Nafusa Mountain District, Ilham Izzet Pasha, delivered a remarkable speech, which Al-Barouni praised through a poem included in his collection. Its opening lines were:³⁶

“The virtues of this era have appeared, and it has responded
With joy, acceptance, and adorned goodness.
For the establishment of schools has once again become a means of devotion,

³³ Suleiman ibn Abdullah Al-Barouni, *Diwan Al-Barouni*, previous source, pp. 34–35.

³⁴ Hamu Abu Al-Siddiq, previous reference, p. 39.

³⁵ Suleiman ibn Sa'id Al-Shibani Al-Nafusi, previous reference, p. 29.

³⁶ Zaima Al-Barouni, previous source, p. 56.

Under the shadow of the Sultan of mankind, Abdul Hamid.”³⁷

Teaching at the school was conducted by several scholars from the Nafusa Mountains, including Sheikh Amr ibn Isa Al-Tandamirti, Sheikh Saleh Al-Jali, and other instructors. The subjects taught included the Holy Qur'an, Hadith, rhetoric, morphology, principles of jurisprudence, logic, composition, and the Arabic language.³⁸

Al-Barouni School did not continue for an extended period, as education there ceased following the arrival of the Italian occupation of Libya in 1911. It was subsequently neglected and fell into deterioration. The inhabitants of Yefren and Al-Bakhebakha later undertook its restoration, maintenance, and rehabilitation to enable it to resume its educational mission.³⁹

In addition to the school, Al-Barouni established the Barouni Library, which contained numerous significant and authoritative works, as he considered the library an essential component of every educational project. It served as a resource for students and teachers, enabling them to engage in reading, expand their knowledge, and deepen their understanding of various sciences and fields of learning. He referred to it in one of his poems, stating:

*“Gather guidance in the gardens of a library where
Barouni books stand as the foundation for the seeker.”*⁴⁰

His Establishment of Samail School in the Sultanate of Oman:

Suleiman Al-Barouni was among the figures who maintained a prominent presence in the scientific and educational fields wherever they settled. During his visit to the region of Samail in the Sultanate of Oman, during the era of Imam Al-Khalili, he established a school there. Through this visit, he sought to present a comprehensive reformist project for the Imamate of Oman, focusing on the development and improvement of conditions in the financial, intellectual, health, and military fields.

Among the initiatives he sought to undertake in the educational and intellectual sphere was the establishment of a large secondary school in Samail based on a modern educational system. He intended to recruit qualified educational personnel from Islamic countries to work there, provided that he was able to accomplish this objective and that the colonial powers controlling those countries would permit such efforts.⁴¹

However, his health conditions prevented him from completing this educational project. He was only able to complete the first floor of the school building and was also unable to bring teachers

³⁷ Suleiman ibn Abdullah Al-Barouni, *Diwan Al-Barouni*, previous source, p. 3.

³⁸ Suleiman ibn Sa'id Al-Shibani Al-Nafusi, previous reference, pp. 29–30.

³⁹ Hamu Abu Al-Siddiq, previous reference, pp. 39–40.

⁴⁰ Suleiman ibn Abdullah Al-Barouni, *Diwan Al-Barouni*, previous source, p. 120.

⁴¹ Abu Al-Yaqzan Al-Hajj Ibrahim, *Suleiman Al-Barouni Pasha Through the Stages of His Life*, Vol. 2, previous source, pp. 45–46. See also: Mansour Nasser Al-Mahrazi, *State and Society in Oman from the Nabhanids to the Modern Era (1154–2012): From the Struggle for Power to Development and Its Crises*, Muntada Al-Ma'arif, Beirut, 2014, p. 79.

from outside Oman to undertake teaching responsibilities there. Furthermore, the country at that time continued to rely on the traditional educational system.⁴²

Since the educational project at Samail School was not fully realized, Al-Barouni utilized the textbooks and curricula he had brought from Iraq for the benefit of the Sultan's School, which was later established in the city of Muscat.⁴³

His Establishment of Al-Barouni Printing Press:

Among Suleiman Al-Barouni's achievements in the fields of knowledge and scholarship was the establishment of Al-Barouni Printing Press in 1324 AH/1906 AD. It was known as the Al-Azhar Al-Barouniyah Printing Press and was located in Cairo, Egypt. The press printed and published numerous significant scholarly works, including the book *Wafa' Al-Dhamanah bi Ada' Al-Amanah* by Muhammad ibn Yusuf Atfayyish, the second and third parts of *Jizyat*, the book *Hashiyat Al-Sheikh Al-Salimi 'ala Musnad Al-Imam Al-Rabi' ibn Habib fi Al-Hadith*, the second part of *Al-Azhar Al-Riyadiyyah fi A'immah wa Muluk Al-Ibadiyyah*, Al-Barouni's poetry collection, *Diwan Al-Sayf Al-Naqqad* by Sheikh Al-Hadrami, and *Diwan Al-Qala'id Al-Durriyyah* by Sheikh Omar Al-Tandamirti.⁴⁴

The press also published several valuable works that had previously been printed by the Salafiyah Printing Press, managed by Muhibb Al-Din Al-Khatib, as well as important works from the Muniriyah Printing Press, managed by Muhammad Munir Al-Dimashqi.⁴⁵

Al-Barouni's objective in establishing this printing press was to serve, publish, and promote Ibadi intellectual and scholarly production. At that time, there were no printing presses in North Africa specifically dedicated to publishing Ibadi writings, which motivated Al-Barouni to undertake the responsibility of printing and disseminating these works in order to introduce them to readers and preserve them from disappearance.

Through the establishment of this printing press, he sought to serve religion, promote literature and virtuous morals, provide benefit and value to the Islamic nation, and contribute to its advancement.⁴⁶

His Publication of Al-Asad Al-Islami Newspaper:

Al-Barouni also maintained a significant presence in the field of journalism, represented by the establishment of *Al-Asad Al-Islami* newspaper. It was his first newspaper, through which he documented and expressed his ideas, with the expectation that it would achieve wide influence

⁴² Abu Al-Yaqzan Al-Hajj Ibrahim, *Suleiman Al-Barouni Pasha Through the Stages of His Life*, Vol. 2, previous source, pp. 45–46.

⁴³ Hassan Madan, *Modernity with Its Back Against the Wall: Readings in Cultural Transformations in the Societies of the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula*, Dar Al-Rafidain for Printing, Publishing, and Distribution, Beirut, 2024, p. 23.

⁴⁴ Abu Al-Yaqzan Al-Hajj Ibrahim, *Suleiman Al-Barouni Pasha Through the Stages of His Life*, Vol. 1, previous source, p. 83.

⁴⁵ Muhammad Masoud Jabrān, previous reference, p. 384.

⁴⁶ Zaima Al-Barouni, previous source, p. 49.

and lasting impact. He founded it in Egypt in 1324 AH/1906 AD.⁴⁷ The newspaper was religious, literary, social, political, Islamic, and national in character. It was issued weekly in four large-format pages and was printed at his own Al-Azhar Al-Barouniyah Printing Press⁴⁸. However, due to the positions and principles it presented, the newspaper was subjected to restrictions and was suspended after the publication of its third issue.⁴⁹

The newspaper received recognition from several writers, including Najm Al-Din Ghalib Al-Keib, who highlighted Suleiman Al-Barouni's political and national awareness, as well as his understanding of international affairs, based on the articles he published in the newspaper.⁵⁰ The newspaper sought to raise significant intellectual issues and address sensitive topics through Al-Barouni's perspective on religion and politics. It also aimed to provide readers with accessible journalistic content that could be understood by all segments of society. It succeeded in achieving this objective and created a notable impact among readers both inside and outside Egypt. It reached Algeria and other Maghreb countries despite strict colonial surveillance and attempts to restrict its circulation.⁵¹

His Publication of Al-Barouni Newspaper:

Suleiman Al-Barouni published a newspaper in Istanbul under the name *Al-Barouni* after his involvement in the struggle in Tripoli⁵². Through this newspaper, he presented his national and patriotic principles. It was printed at his residence in Turkey at the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920.⁵³

His Works:

Suleiman Al-Barouni produced numerous works in the fields of poetry, literature, and history. Some of these works were published, while others remained unpublished in manuscript form, and some became among his lost writings. Among his most prominent works are the following:

- **The Book *Al-Azhar Al-Riyadiyyah fi A'immah wa Muluk Al-Ibadiyyah* (The Sporting Flowers Concerning the Imams and Kings of the Ibadiyyah):**

This book is considered the first work published by his printing press, which bore the name Al-Azhar Al-Barouniyah. The printing press was named after the title of this book. Al-Barouni used

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

⁴⁸ Muhammad Ali Dabbouz, *The Renaissance of Modern Algeria and Its Blessed Revolution*, Alam Al-Ma'rifah, 1st ed., Vol. 2, Algeria, 2013, p. 11.

⁴⁹ Abu Al-Yaqzan Al-Hajj Ibrahim, *Suleiman Al-Barouni Pasha Through the Stages of His Life*, Vol. 1, previous source, p. 83.

⁵⁰ Muhammad Masoud Jabrān, previous reference, p. 294.

⁵¹ Muhammad Ali Dabbouz, previous source, p. 11.

⁵² Abu Al-Yaqzan Al-Hajj Ibrahim, *Suleiman Al-Barouni Pasha Through the Stages of His Life*, Vol. 1, previous source, p. 84.

⁵³ M. H. Kastris, *Bibliography of the Ibadis – Maghreb Section*, Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs, Vol. 1, 1st ed., Sultanate of Oman, 2012, p. 215.

to submit chapters of the book to newspapers for publication while simultaneously preparing them. Through this work, he intended to provide a reference introducing the Imams of the Ibadiyyah, similar to the approach adopted by Abu Zakariya in his book *Siyar Al-A'immah wa Akhbaruham* (Biographies of the Imams and Their Accounts). He also sought through this work to present an objective portrayal of a Muslim group throughout its history and to refute the claims of those who considered the Ibadis to have neither a historical legacy nor a significant status and regarded them as an unknown group.⁵⁴

The book addressed the Imamate in Tripoli and its transfer from there to Tihert, as well as the latter's remarkable civilizational development and the statements of scholars and authors concerning it. It also discussed the city of Draa and the events and developments it witnessed. Furthermore, it examined the Imamate of Imam Abu Hatim Yusuf ibn Muhammad and the events and rebellions that occurred during his period of rule.

Al-Barouni devoted extensive attention to the subjects discussed in his book, which is evident in his detailed writing style. He benefited from the guidance and advice of his teacher, Muhammad ibn Yusuf Atfayyish, in collecting scholarly materials and maintaining careful consideration of the subject matter of the work.⁵⁵

• **A Brief History of the Ibadis:**

This book was published by Al-Istiqamah Library, located in Tunisia and owned by Muhammad Al-Thamini, in 1938. Through this work, Al-Barouni aimed to introduce the history of the Ibadis, which he considered an essential component of Islamic history.

The motivation behind writing this book was the widespread lack of knowledge among many people regarding the Ibadi school of thought, while others possessed only limited information about it. Some classified the Ibadis alongside other Kharijite groups, such as the Azariqa, Sufriyya, and Najdiyya, from whose actions and beliefs the Ibadis distinguished themselves. Others regarded the Ibadis as Mu'tazilites who adopted Qadari beliefs, an assumption that has no basis in historical or theological reality.

The Ibadis differ from the Mu'tazilites in several major theological issues, including the concepts of divine decree and predestination, as well as the creation of human actions. The Ibadis maintain that human beings neither create their own actions nor are compelled to perform them; rather, everything that exists in the universe is created by God Almighty. They also believe that a person's declaration of "There is no deity but God" alone is not sufficient for entering Paradise;

⁵⁴ S. Aroussi, *Suleiman Al-Barouni in Italian Documents*, Bayt Al-Ghasham for Publishing and Translation, 1st ed., Sultanate of Oman, 2014, p. 64.

⁵⁵ Suleiman Pasha Al-Barouni, *Al-Azhar Al-Riyadiyyah fi A'immah wa Muluk Al-Ibadiyyah (The Sporting Flowers Concerning the Imams and Kings of the Ibadiyyah)*, previous source, pp. 31–32.

rather, one must fulfill the obligations and duties prescribed by God and refrain from His prohibitions.⁵⁶

Through this book, Suleiman Al-Barouni called for unity among Islamic schools of thought and emphasized the importance of conducting a profound study of Islamic history in order to clarify the areas of disagreement among Muslims. He believed that reformers and righteous members of the Muslim community should work toward reducing and overcoming these differences to achieve broader unity among Muslims.⁵⁷

Regarding the content of the book, Al-Barouni included the biographies of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, beginning with the biography of the Prophet, peace be upon him. He then discussed the biographies of the early Umayyad rulers. Afterwards, he addressed the emergence of the Ibadi school of thought and introduced the first Ibadi Imams. He explained the spread of the Ibadi school and the emergence of Ibadi Imams in the Islamic Maghreb, which led to the establishment of the Rustamid state. He also discussed the Rustamid Imams and the events experienced by the Rustamid state. Subsequently, he addressed the history of the Barouni family and its rule in the Nafusa Mountains. He then moved to the history of the Ibadis in Oman. The book concluded with comments by several prominent authors and a discussion of the issues in which the Ibadis differ from the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence.⁵⁸

- **Al-Barouni's Diwan (Poetry Collection):**

This work consists of approximately eighty poetic compositions, some of which are extensive in length, while others are of moderate length. It includes improvised verses extending over approximately 128 pages. It was supplemented with appendices containing comments by Libyan and Egyptian authors and literary figures who expressed their admiration for the publication of the collection, the poems it contained, and their appreciation of Al-Barouni's personality as reflected through these poetic works. This collection is considered one of the earliest printed poetic works in Libya and represents the third published poetry collection by a Libyan poet in the modern era.⁵⁹

These poems constitute a record of Al-Barouni's life, his positions regarding various issues he encountered, and the history of several Ibadi landmarks. The collection was printed at the Al-Azhar Al-Barouniyah Printing Press in 1326 AH/1908 AD.⁶⁰ It was reprinted in 1972, when Dar Lebanon undertook its printing and publication. The motivation behind its second publication

⁵⁶ Abu Al-Rabi' Suleiman Al-Barouni, *A Brief History of the Ibadis*, Al-Istiqamah Library, 1st ed., Tunisia, 1938, p. 3.

⁵⁷ Muhammad Kamal Al-Din Biram, *One Hundred Ibadi Books*, introduction and supervision by Abdullah Al-Salimi, Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs, Vol. 3, 1st ed., Sultanate of Oman, 2013, p. 79.

⁵⁸ Abu Al-Rabi' Suleiman Al-Barouni, *A Brief History of the Ibadis*, previous source, pp. 82–83–84.

⁵⁹ Muhammad Masoud Jabrān, previous reference, pp. 77–78.

⁶⁰ Suleiman ibn Abdullah Al-Barouni, *Diwan Al-Barouni (Al-Barouni's Poetry Collection)*, previous source, pp. 1–32.

was the increasing need of historians, writers, and researchers for this work after the first edition had become unavailable. This prompted the author's daughter, Zaima Al-Barouni, to republish it, add a second volume, and include the poems composed by Al-Barouni after the publication of the first edition, in addition to the verses and poetic fragments he produced on various occasions, which exceeded twenty-five texts in number.⁶¹

• **A Brief History of Al-Barouni:**

This work is included within another book, as Abu Al-Yaqzan Ibrahim incorporated it into his book entitled *Suleiman Al-Barouni Pasha Through the Stages of His Life*. This occurred after he repeatedly requested Al-Barouni to provide him with historical material concerning himself and his family. Al-Barouni responded to this request by sending him the material in a private letter from Baghdad dated 5 Safar 1354 AH, accompanied by advice and guidance addressed to his son Ibrahim.

Abu Al-Yaqzan clarified that he did not reproduce the contents of the letter exactly as written; rather, he summarized it and transmitted selected excerpts from it while adhering to Al-Barouni's recommendation and intended purpose.⁶²

• **The History of the War in Tripoli al-Gharb:**

This work is considered one of the valuable books that Al-Barouni sought to compose. However, he was unable to complete it, and its scholarly materials remained in the form of drafts without being compiled into a complete book during his lifetime⁶³. This led Abu Al-Yaqzan to describe it as one of the important works that had not yet reached publication. Its scholarly materials and official military historical documents remained preserved in four boxes, with the possibility that one of his family members might eventually bring this significant scholarly work to publication.⁶⁴ He later revised his statement and mentioned that Al-Barouni, in a letter addressed to Sheikh Ibrahim Mitiyaz dated 12 Dhu al-Hijjah 1352 AH, wrote the following: "I hope that God will grant me relief in body and heart, so that I may write the history of the Tripoli War from 1911 to 1919, supported by official evidence, so that the veil may be lifted from everything concealed by those with ulterior motives or that they have added without any basis in truth..."⁶⁵

The book *The History of the War in Tripoli al-Gharb* remained in manuscript form until two Omani researchers published it within a book entitled *The Letters of Al-Barouni* in 2022.

⁶¹ Muhammad Masoud Jabrān, previous reference, pp. 77–78.

⁶² Abu Al-Yaqzan Al-Hajj Ibrahim, *Suleiman Al-Barouni Pasha Through the Stages of His Life*, Vol. 1, previous source, pp. 6–7.

⁶³ Suleiman ibn Sa'īd Al-Shibani Al-Nafusi, previous reference, pp. 84–85.

⁶⁴ Abu Al-Yaqzan Al-Hajj Ibrahim, *Suleiman Al-Barouni Pasha Through the Stages of His Life*, Vol. 1, previous source, Vol. 1, p. 85.

⁶⁵ Abu Al-Yaqzan Al-Hajj Ibrahim, *Suleiman Al-Barouni Pasha Through the Stages of His Life*, Vol. 2, 1st ed., Al-Dar Al-Omaniyah, Sultanate of Oman, 1956, p. 374.

The book addressed the history of Tripoli al-Gharb, beginning with the Roman period, during which the Romans established their presence in the region, followed by the Greek era, the Islamic period, the period of Spanish occupation, the era of Italian occupation, and the Ottoman period. It also examined the European invasion campaigns that the region experienced thereafter. The book further described Tripoli in terms of its population, religious affiliations, schools of thought, and Sufi orders, as well as its climate and the characteristics of its inhabitants. It also discussed the war between the Ottomans and Italians in Tripoli, the military confrontations between the two sides, and the circumstances faced by the Tripolitanian resistance fighters during this conflict, including the famine and hardships they endured.⁶⁶

The book also presented various stages of Suleiman Al-Barouni's life during this war, his efforts throughout its course, the declaration of independence, and the subsequent events and developments witnessed by Tripoli after independence, in addition to Al-Barouni's positions regarding several issues.⁶⁷ After presenting the contents of the book, related documents were published and attached to it. These documents were taken from the book *Eternal Pages from the Libyan Jihad*, written by Zaima Al-Barouni, which is considered an important and authoritative source, as its author was among the individuals closest to Suleiman Al-Barouni.⁶⁸

His Articles in Newspapers and Magazines:

Suleiman Al-Barouni was one of the active figures in the field of journalism. He contributed articles to several newspapers and magazines. Among these articles are the following:

An article entitled: "Be as You Wish, But Do Not Include Tripoli in Your Theories":

This article was published in *Alif Ba* newspaper in June 1935. In it, Al-Barouni called upon some writers to uphold professional integrity and avoid exploiting the issue of Libyan Tripoli as a means of achieving certain gains, whether through praising Italy's actions in Libya or condemning and criticizing them, while neglecting the defense of their country's and homeland's cause. Al-Barouni urged these writers to redirect their attention away from Tripoli and toward other Italian colonies.⁶⁹

An article entitled: "The Island War: The Opinion of Pasha Al-Barouni":

In this article, Al-Barouni addressed the fierce conflict in Yemen between the Zaydi armies and the Wahhabi armies, as well as the alignment of Arab newspapers in the Levant, Palestine, Egypt, and Iraq with one side or the other. Al-Barouni compared this conflict with the confrontation between the Ottoman Empire and Greece. However, he argued that the latter represented a

⁶⁶ Suleiman ibn Abdullah Al-Barouni Pasha, *The Letters of Al-Barouni*, collected, arranged, and commented upon by Abdullah ibn Suleiman Al-Salimi and Hamza ibn Suleiman Al-Salimi, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Lubnani, 1st ed., Vol. 1, Beirut, 2022, pp. 37–60.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 60–134.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 135.

⁶⁹ Muhammad Sa'id Al-Qashat, *Suleiman Pasha Al-Barouni and His Literary Works in Exile 1923–1940*, no publisher, 1st ed., 2010, pp. 273–275.

conflict between a state carrying the banner of the Islamic Caliphate and a European nation that had previously been under its authority before rebelling against it. Therefore, the Ottoman state sought to bring it back under its control. This situation, according to Al-Barouni, was understandable, as it would expand the geographical boundaries of the Ottoman state and generate additional economic revenues.⁷⁰

However, the first conflict represented a struggle between two Muslim states under the supervision of colonial Britain, which, together with France and Italy, was waiting for the opportunity to divide the defeated Islamic state or both states once the appropriate circumstances and moment arrived. Al-Barouni called upon the Islamic press that supported this ongoing war between Muslims to explain to him the benefits that Islam and Arab nationalism would gain from this conflict. However, unfortunately, he argued that they would not obtain even the slightest benefit from it.⁷¹

An article entitled: “Pasha Al-Barouni’s Response to Prince Shakib Arslan”:

This article was published in *Al-Rabita Al-Arabiyya* newspaper, issue no. 92. In it, Al-Barouni discussed the intellectual exchange and disagreement that occurred between him and Shakib Arslan in the Arab press regarding an article written by the latter about the Muslims of the Western Islamic world, namely Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Morocco.

Shakib Arslan had criticized Al-Barouni for writing something against the Muslims of the Maghreb. However, Al-Barouni explained to him what he had stated in one of his speeches regarding the impossibility of unity between the Muslims of the East and the West, arguing that the Muslims of the Maghreb were Amazigh and that establishing a union with them was impossible. He maintained that any attempt of this kind would eventually transform into hostility, something that the Muslims of the East had no need for. He also argued that throughout history no political or social union had existed between the Muslims of the East and the Maghreb. In addition, he accused Shakib Arslan of mocking and belittling Muslims living under colonial rule in different parts of the world.⁷²

Suleiman Al-Barouni also clarified to Shakib Arslan that the main reason behind his criticism of him was his disavowal of the Muslims of Cyrenaica and Tripoli in order to avoid the anger of Mussolini and the Italians. According to Al-Barouni, this position amounted to providing a service to the occupiers. He further stated that Shakib Arslan deliberately called upon the prominent figures among the emigrants to attend the speech he delivered in order to instill despair in their hearts, remove them from their positions in their countries of exile, and encourage them to return to their homelands submissive and surrendering to the Italian occupiers. Al-Barouni

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 277–279.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 278–281.

⁷² Ibid., pp. 282–287.

condemned the poor treatment experienced by Libyan emigrants in their countries of residence, whether in Tunisia or Syria.⁷³

Al-Barouni also criticized Shakib Arslan for his praise and expressions of admiration toward Anwar Pasha and Jamal Pasha and his claim that they had served Arab nationalism due to the victories they achieved against the Italians in Libya. In contrast, he argued that Jamal Pasha had expelled from Syria everyone who supported Arab nationalism and genuine patriotism, persecuted Syrians, displaced them, and exiled them. Attempts had also been made to introduce legal provisions into the Ottoman administration in Syria that would serve as a means of eliminating those who advocated Arab nationalism and patriotism. However, Suleiman Al-Barouni did not approve these legal measures due to his membership in the Ottoman Senate.⁷⁴

Al-Barouni reminded Shakib Arslan of several events that had taken place in Syria and had been orchestrated by the Ottomans against the Syrian Arabs. He stated that he had personally witnessed these events, yet Shakib Arslan had chosen to seek the protection and support of the Ottomans.

Al-Barouni continued his criticism and reproach of Shakib Arslan in another article entitled: **“Suleiman Pasha Al-Barouni Declares His Disavowal of Prince Shakib Arslan.”** In this article, he continued his criticism of the statements Shakib Arslan had made in his speeches and writings.⁷⁵

His Composition of Poetry:

Suleiman Al-Barouni is considered one of the literary figures who wrote poetry and composed numerous poems addressing various themes. Most of these poems were compiled in a book entitled *Diwan Al-Barouni (Al-Barouni's Poetry Collection)*, while some of his poems remained outside the collection and were not included in it.

Among his poems is one he composed in the French city of Marseille on 22 February 1924, inspired by what he observed regarding the activities of the Mزابite students enrolled in scientific missions to Tunisia. This came after some of his friends from Wadi Mزاب sent him photographs of these students along with samples of their writings. In the opening lines of this poem, he said:⁷⁶

*“A life has emerged, illuminating the people with its light,
And a sun has appeared, by which the West has been enlightened.
A spirit has spread from the Creator of the universe, causing*

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 288–291.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 291–303.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 304–317.

⁷⁶ Abu Al-Yaqzan Al-Hajj Ibrahim, *Suleiman Al-Barouni Pasha Through the Stages of His Life*, Vol. 1, previous source, pp. 189–190. See also: Muhammad Ali Dabbouz, *Figures of Reform in Algeria*, Dar Al-Ba‘th for Printing and Publishing, 1st ed., Vol. 3, Algeria, 1980, p. 281.

*The young man of the desert's center to aspire toward the heights.
It is knowledge; wherever it settles, even ruins become radiant,
And wherever it reaches a lofty and firmly established mountain, it advances."*

He also said in the opening lines of another poem entitled: **"To the Distinguished Students, May God Protect and Grant Them Success":**⁷⁷

*"The breezes of longing have blown in harmony,
Carrying greetings and peace.
The nightingale of affection has sung and become captivated,
As the crescent of the homeland has adorned the sky."*

Among the poems he composed is one in which he recalls his exile in Paris, his suffering, and his patience while living in foreign lands. In its opening lines, he said:⁷⁸

*"The month of fasting has departed, and I have taken leave,
So upon you, O month of contentment, be peace.
The month of God, toward God have advanced
The deeds of those who are blamed for fasting within you."*

Among his poems is also one he composed on 16 Rabi' al-Awwal 1344 AH, regarding his departure from exile and his arrival in Oman, where he was warmly received in every Omani city he visited. The poem was entitled: **"On Some Peaks of the Green Mountain."**⁷⁹

*"On the side of Al-Hamra stands a lofty mountain,
Girdled and crowned with clouds.
I journeyed toward its elevated summit on foot,
And prostrated before the Creator in a sanctuary."*

Conclusion:

At the conclusion of this study, which focused on examining the scientific and intellectual efforts of Suleiman Al-Barouni, several findings were reached, the most prominent of which are: Suleiman Al-Barouni moved, within the framework of his scientific and cultural formation, among various regions. He travelled between Libya, Tunisia, Wadi Mzab, and Egypt, and was not confined to a single geographical area. These movements in pursuit of knowledge contributed to shaping his scholarly and intellectual personality and enabled him to benefit from diverse scientific and educational experiences.

⁷⁷ Abu Al-Yaqzan Al-Hajj Ibrahim, *Suleiman Al-Barouni Pasha Through the Stages of His Life*, Vol. 1, previous source, p. 190.

⁷⁸ Muhammad Masoud Jabrān, previous reference, p. 52.

⁷⁹ Suleiman Pasha Al-Barouni, *Al-Azhar Al-Riyadiyyah fi A'immah wa Muluk Al-Ibadiyyah (The Sporting Flowers Concerning the Imams and Kings of the Ibadiyyah)*, previous source, p. 17.

His scientific and intellectual production was characterized by diversity and richness, as he wrote in various fields of knowledge and scholarship. Consequently, he left behind a multidisciplinary body of work that encompassed history, poetry, journalism, Islamic sciences, and politics.

The struggle-oriented and revolutionary thought, as well as the defense of the rights of the oppressed, became evident in Suleiman Al-Barouni's writings. This clearly demonstrates that he combined words with action in his efforts and positions.

Al-Barouni's leadership thought is also evident through his positions and writings, as they reflect his role in the revolutionary struggle in Libya, his membership in the Ottoman Senate, and the positions he adopted throughout his political activities and revolutionary struggle. He believed that these represented the correct steps that needed to be taken. He also believed that he should leave his mark in every region he visited. When he visited Wadi Mzab, for example, he strengthened his relationships with numerous scholars and prominent figures. Likewise, when he visited Oman, he sought to establish a school in the region of Samail, where educational institutions were scarce during that period.

The historical dimension dominates Al-Barouni's writings, which indicates his deep interest in history and his awareness of the importance of drawing lessons from it. He considered history the only means of connecting the present generation with the achievements of past generations. This motivated him to author several historical works documenting Libya, the Ibadi community, and the Libyan resistance against the Italian occupation.

Suleiman Al-Barouni was among the figures who attracted the attention of Italian, French, and British colonial powers due to his political and revolutionary positions and efforts, as well as the extent of his influence in Libya, Algeria, and other regions of the Islamic world.

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