

Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim: His Life and Legacy

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Abstract

Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim was a pioneer of the modern intellectual renaissance in Algeria. He contributed through his writing as a fighter and a creative mind, producing works in poetry, literature, politics, textual investigation, translation, and interpretation. His published and unpublished books number nearly sixty, some of which were burned by the French authorities. Despite this prolific output, the man has not received the scholarly attention he deserves and remains largely unknown to the public — even among students of literature and critics. This academic paper is an attempt to remove the dust of obscurity from his legacy, to introduce him to the wider public and to students, and to shed light on the lesser-known aspects of his life, works, and relationships with other writers and intellectuals.

Keywords:

Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim, life, legacy, literary heritage, poetry, Algerian.

Introduction

Zemoura was not unique among Algerian towns that experienced the period of French colonization; it suffered great hardships—diseases ravaging the population, displacement, torture, and abuse at the hands of the usurping occupier. Like other villages and hamlets, Zemoura endured its darkest economic, material, and social days, as previously mentioned. Yet, despite these grim circumstances and difficult, dark days, this town possessed a high level of knowledge, learning, and vitality. It was rich in kuttab (Qur'anic schools), houses of learning, study circles, gatherings for remembrance (majalis al-dhikr), fatwa councils, and judicial sessions. It adopted a social code that preserved its religious and social identity, its dignity and distinctiveness, and protected it from being absorbed into France and its so-called political and social law—under the false pretense of civilization and modernity, far removed from true civil values.

During this very period, Zemoura became a beacon of intellectual and cultural enlightenment for surrounding towns and villages. Its scholars—shuyukh, imams, teachers, and students—spread across various regions such as Qanzat, Chelata, al-Kattaniyya, Zaytuna, and al-Azhar al-Sharīf. The scholars and religious figures of Zemoura at this time were divided into two main groups: those affiliated with al-Azhar, or who had studied under al-Azhar's scholars—among them Sheikh al-Hussein al-Bouzidi, Sheikh al-Sa'id Ibn Dawud, and Sheikh 'Ali

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and 'Uthman Boubekour—and those affiliated with Zaytuna, or one of its institutes, such as Mohamed Ibn al-Salih Ibn Mouloud Shoutri and Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim.

Another group studied at al-Kattaniyya in Constantine and in Chelata, including: al-Hajj Ibn Sha'ban, Ahmed Ibn Kaddour, 'Uthman Boubekour, 'Ali Ibn Sa'ud, al-Akhdar Beljoudi, 'Abdelkader Ibn Dawud, 'Ali Kali 'Ali, and Qwider Qajouti.

Among these notable figures, I have chosen Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim for three reasons:

- The great mystery surrounding his intellectual and literary life, despite his being a towering figure in Algerian scholarship and literature, deepened by the fact that nothing significant was written about his life.
- The sheer volume and diversity of his writings, ranging across authorship, creative writing, manuscript verification, exegesis, thought, philosophy, and religion, marked by encyclopedic thinking.
- The public's ignorance of him, and the lack of a thorough and accurate academic biography to which specialized researchers can refer when needed.

For this biography, I have adopted both the historical and sociological approaches, as they are appropriate for tracing the lives of individuals and their social circumstances. This methodology aims to reveal many of the obscure angles in this figure's life and to present him to the Algerian reader and critic in particular, and the Arab audience in general. So, who is Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim? What was his childhood like? Where did he receive his education, and who were his most prominent teachers? How did his social circumstances influence his intellectual and literary life? What are his major works, and in which fields did he write?

Scholar Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim: His Life and Legacy

Dr. Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim was one of those intellectuals and men of letters who received their education at the hands of such distinguished scholars. He descended from a Turkmen family that had settled in Zemoura, migrating with others during the great exodus of Andalusian Muslims, fleeing with their faith, lives, and identity from conversion and extermination. He was born at his maternal uncle's house in Bordj Bou Arreridj, in the popular neighborhood of El-Batouar (slaughterhouse), at the home of his uncle Bach Adel, on April 25, 1924.

He later moved to Zemoura, where his father worked as a simple artisan, nicknamed Belkhouja—a title inherited from his grandfather's involvement in the Ottoman local administration in Zemoura as a Khouja (scribe).

He lived as an orphan, having lost his mother within a few months of birth and then his father while still very young, enduring hardship and deprivation at the age of six. His maternal uncles took him in and cared for him. He lived between Bordj Bou Arreridj and Zemoura, benefiting from the support and affluence of his uncles, especially his uncle Ahmed, who enrolled him in the Ibn Faraj Mosque under Sheikh Al-Arabi Kachat, the elder (d. 1936), where he memorized part of the Qur'an.¹

He did not complete formal education due to family responsibilities and multiple distractions. He was largely self-taught and never attended a formal school at this age. He should not be confused with Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim Al-Jaza'iri, who died in 1690. To distinguish between the two, Abdelhalim Boubekour writes:

“History shows that the latter lived in the Ottoman era and was a student of Sa'id Qaddoura in Algiers. To ease the distinction, we add 'Al-Zemouri' to the contemporary's name, which he used in some of his later books, and to the older one, we add 'Al-'Uthmani' (the Ottoman). The latter traveled to Egypt for education and studied under scholars like Al-

Ajhoori, Al-Baabli, Al-Qabshi, and Al-Zarqani, and used to frequent Fez until he migrated there in 1672 and died in 1690. The Zemouri, however, traveled to Tunisia for the same purpose, eager for more knowledge, and also visited Morocco to donate 3,000 copies of his books printed in Lebanon to the universities of Fez and Rabat.”²

He returned to Ibn Faraj Mosque, now older, to study under Sheikh Mohamed Kachat, memorizing more than a third of the Qur’an (though this is disputed). He then joined study circles to learn the basics of Arabic language, adhering to Sheikh Omar Abi Hafs, from whom he learned grammar through the books *Qatr al-Nada* and *Shudhoor al-Dhahab*, fiqh from *Risalat Ibn ‘Ashir*, astronomy from *Al-Siraj Al-Munir Al-Soussi*, and Qur’anic readings from *Al-Jazari*. Later, he studied under Sheikh Ali Boubekour (d. 1986), who taught him *Aqida* (creed) using *Al-Jawhara* and grammar using *Al-Ajrumiyya*. He also studied under Sheikh Abdelkader Ibn Dawood. He was known from a young age for his eloquence, ability to argue and debate in all sciences, and his passion for Sufism, with inclinations toward the ‘Alawiyya order.

As mentioned earlier,³ he was self-taught, shaping his own education. Circumstances forced him to abandon the study circles, Qur’an memorization, and review to work and earn a living. He worked as a gardener, trader, wool dyer, and taught children before marrying at a young age. These harsh experiences deepened his misery and suffering. Adding to this was the repression by the colonial authorities, which strengthened his resolve to emigrate in pursuit of knowledge. Unlike many of his peers who traveled only to Al-Hamel, Chelata, or the Kattaniyya in Constantine, he aspired to attend Zaytuna, Al-Qarawiyyin, or Al-Azhar.

His departure abroad was also hastened by a jurisprudential dispute with his teacher Sheikh Omar Abi Hafs, after which he swore never to return to his hometown until he had firmly established himself in knowledge. He departed in the early morning for Tunisia in 1946 (though Abdelhalim Boubekour claims it occurred in 1952), where he joined Al-Sadiqiyya Institute,⁴ which rivaled Zaytuna in its curriculum and exceeded it in openness to foreign languages.

There, he deepened his knowledge of French and studied under many prominent scholars, most notably Sheikh Tahar Ibn ‘Ashur. He remained at Al-Sadiqiyya until he quenched his thirst for its knowledge and obtained the Tatawii‘Certificate, then returned to Zemoura . However, Abdelhalim Boubekour notes that his stay there was under one year.⁵ This marks a pivotal phase in his life, where his intellectual maturity, devotion to learning, study of jurisprudence, literature, and history became evident, along with his dedication to engaging with scholars.

He eventually returned to Algeria, working as a teacher in Maghnia and Arzew, finding solace in reading, studying, and writing. Back in Zemoura , he taught at the Belhassan and Ibn Al-Rayqat Mosques, using texts like Ibn ‘Ashir in fiqh and Qatr in grammar, and began private teaching from 1948. He then moved to Algiers in 1958, where he worked as a private teacher at the Al-Jilaniyya School. During this period, he met Tayyib Al-‘Uqbi, before being forced into exile in France due to increasing colonial repression.

He arrived in Lyon, France, where, on board the ship, his emotions overflowed in his famous poem:

شرقت أو غربت في المعموره
لم يبق في الذكرى سوى زموره
مهد الفضيلة والوفاء نزاها
سلوى قناعتها بها مستوره
وصل الكرامة بالشجاعة والعللا

صفة مشبهه لها مسطوره
سكانها دأبوا على عمرانها
صلواتهم في وقتها مبرورة

*East or west I may roam across the world,
Only Zemoura remains in cherished memory.
Cradle of virtue and integrity, uprightness its banner,
Content with little, honor preserved in modesty.
Its dignity fused with bravery and nobility,
A noble trait engraved in its legacy.
Its people ever devoted to its flourishing,
Their prayers on time, with sincere piety.* ⁶

Upon his arrival, the Algerian Revolution was at its peak. The French authorities increasingly harassed him, so he immediately changed his residence to evade possible assassination. He joined the nationalist struggle in France and endured repeated raids, persecution, and interrogations. His papers and books were confiscated, and the French authorities burned two cherished manuscripts: a poetry collection titled *Dum'at Al-Jazair* (Tear of Algeria), filled with nationalistic and resistance poems, and *Al-Ilhamat Al-Rabbaniyya 'ala Ma'na Al-Ajurrumiyya*, a mystical interpretation of the grammatical introduction by Ibn Ajurrum, which he had dictated to his student Ali Al-Qasimi at the Bou'abdelli Zawiya in Maghnia. Only the titles remain today.

He was imprisoned in La Villette prison for six months, and spent eighteen months in the prison hospital, suffering numerous illnesses: tinnitus, nerve spasms, asthma, and impaired vision. He was released only after writing a letter to the Minister of the Interior, awakening from this nightmare only with Algeria's independence.

He returned among the earliest repatriates in 1963, dedicating himself to serving his society and nation in the field of education. However, he was soon disillusioned by unfolding events that crushed his morale. He lived unsettled during his remaining years in Algeria, trusting no one.

He submitted his employment application and offered his services to the Ministry of Education, then holding a Tatawii' Certificate, working to spread knowledge throughout the country.

Upon the beginning of his professional career in 1963, fate assigned him as a modest teacher at the intermediate level in Amir Secondary School located in the popular Belcourt district of Algiers. It was there that his problems began due to the rampant spread of corruption. He also taught at "Tawfiq School" in (Madame L'Afrique). During this period, he met Tayyib Al-Uqbi at his home, accompanied by his fellow townsman Lakhdar Cherrouk.

He enrolled in the Institute of Arab Studies at the University of Algiers, which had replaced the Faculty of Arts. He quickly advanced through its stages, earning a Professional Competence Certificate for Secondary Education in 1965, which qualified him to work as a secondary school teacher in one of the capital's high schools, just as he had hoped. However, he was assigned instead—against his wishes—to the School of the Revolution Cadets in Kolea, where he remained only four days.

His dream of obtaining housing was dashed. He was forced to sleep in public baths, effectively becoming homeless, carrying his life on his back like a snail. He expressed this suffering in a poem:

متى يا بلادي أستقر وأنزل ... وألقي عصا الترحال لا أتجول؟
أعلل بالتسوية نفسي ترجيا ... فرحت به أسلو ولا أتوصل

أبعد جواز العمر سبب عواشر... أعيش بلا مأوى أهييم وأرحل؟
فأمسيت كالحزون أحمل مسكني... دوما به على ظهري أتجول
*When, O my country, will I settle and rest,
And lay down the wanderer's staff, ceasing to roam?
I soothe myself with delays, seeking hope,
Rejoicing in them, yet never reaching my goal.
After life has passed seven decades,
Shall I live without shelter, drifting and departing?
I've become like a snail, carrying my home,
Always wandering with it upon my back.*⁷

This situation led to his repeated absences from work and neglect of his position. Consequently, the administration suspended his salary for many months. After much hardship and pleading, he was finally reassigned to Nakheel Secondary School in Oran (1965–1966). However, he still did not obtain the housing he sought and stayed in Oran for two years. He later taught at Kharouba Girls' School in 1976, then returned to the Technical Secondary School in Hussein Dey, Algiers, hoping to settle due to its proximity to the university and academic facilities. Yet disappointment continued to shadow him wherever he went.

During his stay in the capital, he visited Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi at his home in Hydra, precisely on December 27, 1964. Though the sheikh was bedridden, he still generously offered guidance, which aided Ibn Abdelkarim in some of his writings. In the introduction to his critical edition of "Bada'i' al-Silk fi Taba'i' al-Mulk", he wrote:

"He admired my intelligence and praised my boldness with him. I remember his words to a companion who visited with me, El-Hawas Bousenna: "Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim will be a source of great wonder, and he will gain scholarly fame, but Algerians remain unaware of him."⁸

It was Al-Ibrahimi who encouraged him to edit the manuscript of Abu Abdullah Mohamed Ibn Al-Azraq Al-Andalusi, previously mentioned.

He had sharp confrontations with educational officials, including a notable incident at the Technical Secondary School in El-'Asir District in 1977, which caused him psychological and health issues. This incident marked the end of his teaching career. He was then called upon by the Ministry of Culture and joined the National Library as a librarian.⁹

The Ministry of Culture enabled him to travel to Turkey, specifically to Istanbul, starting in 1968, multiple times with his friend Mahmoud Ayad, then Director of the National Library. According to researcher Abdelmajid Ben Daoud, his goal was to complete a doctoral degree. He passed the required exams, but numerous obstacles prevented him from achieving it. Instead, he took advantage of the opportunity to author his book "Algerian Manuscripts in the Istanbul Library", published in Lebanon in 1972.

He returned from Turkey in 1969 and was appointed to the Manuscripts Department at the National Library, though he didn't remain long. He was dismissed in 1970 under arbitrary circumstances.

Through persistent effort, he obtained a Diploma of Higher Studies in Modern History in 1969, based on a manuscript by Ibn Maymun Al-Jaza'iri, titled "Al-Tuhfa Al-Mardiyya fi al-Dawla al-Bakdashiyya", which was published in 1972.

He studied Turkish and mastered it. To this day, it is unclear how, when, or where he learned English, yet he mastered it in speech and translation. He also deepened his command of French when he enrolled at the Sorbonne University.¹⁰

His troubles escalated in 1973, as he began publicly expressing reformist views, especially during the National Charter Referendum, focusing on the issue of Arabization, closely tied to national identity. His bold, critical articles, widely read by the public, embarrassed the authorities. Among his setbacks was the bitter experience of printing two of his books in Lebanon and then failing to import them into Algeria. He gifted them instead to the universities of Fez and Rabat, as previously mentioned. This caused significant trouble in Algeria and hindered his academic and social ambitions, particularly during his postgraduate studies and pursuit of a doctorate.

He was placed under surveillance, restricted in all his movements and activities, banned from traveling, and had his passport and potential university employment revoked. He remained a secondary school teacher until 1977.

They even placed obstacles to prevent the defense of his doctoral dissertation, orchestrated by the "fifth column" to break his spirit. Despite these deterrents, he succeeded, and prominent scholars such as Dr. Abdullah Cheriet, Abdelwahid Wafi, and Abdelaziz Al-Ahawami attended the defense. Ihsan Al-Nass supervised his dissertation, which focused on the edition of Al-Maqri's work "Nafh al-Tib". On the day of the defense, the hall was packed with students and intellectuals, and Didouche Mourad Street was closed to traffic due to the crowd. This occurred in 1972, sparking envy and conflict among his colleagues, leading to conspiracies and slander that deepened his suffering in the teaching profession, which he ultimately renounced with the following poem:

أيا مهنة التعليم إنك طـالق وإني لحسن الحظ قلبي مفارق
وإني لحسن الحظ فيك لزاهد..... وكيف يروم الزهد إلف وعاشق
ظننتك بستانا حوى كل زهرة..... تفوح برف الطيب والطير ناطق
ولكني أدركت أنك غابسة..... تضم شراك الشوك والبوم ناعق
O profession of teaching, you are divorced!
And by fortune's grace, my heart from you departs.
By fortune's grace, I've grown ascetic in you—
How can one long for detachment, being lover and part?
I thought you a garden of fragrant bloom,
Where birds sang sweetly in poetic art.
But I found you a forest of traps and thorns,
*Where only owls croak in gloom and dark.*¹¹

He was later offered a position as an Islamic preacher in France by the Libyan Islamic Da'wa Association, which he accepted. He remained in this role for three decades, marking the most productive and creative period of his life.

After a long life and considerable hardship, he devoted himself entirely to reading, writing, researching, editing manuscripts, and compiling biographies of overlooked national figures. His total works reached nearly sixty, some published, others in manuscript form, and a few burned by the brutal French authorities.

He concluded this final phase of his life with seven volumes of Qur'anic interpretation, which he entitled Tawjihat al-Qur'an al-'Azim ("Guidance of the Mighty Qur'an")—most of which he authored in Algiers—before death overtook him on Saturday, November 10, 2012.

The essence of what has been mentioned above was succinctly summarized by the esteemed researcher Abdelhalim Ben Al-Khodeir Boubekour, who divided the life of Dr. Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim into five distinct stages, as follows:

First stage: Childhood.

Second stage (1952–1956): This stage consisted of his journey to Tunisia, where he studied under scholars such as Tahar Ben Achour in exegesis and Sheikh Ifrissa in mathematics and rhetoric. He also studied under Sheikh Asweeh and Mohamed Al-Abed. He later returned to Algeria, where he began teaching in Maghnia, then Arzew, and finally in Zemmoura, where he taught Ibn Ashir's work in jurisprudence and Al-Qatr in grammar at the Belhassen and Ibn Al-Riqat mosques. He also taught at Al-Tawfiq School in (Madame Lafrique) for two years, during which time he met Tayyib Al-'Aqoubi at his home, accompanied by his fellow townsman Lakhdar Cherrouk.

Third stage (1956–1962): During this period, he went to Lyon, France, where he was imprisoned for four months, including eighteen months in the prison hospital. He contracted several illnesses during this time. He wrote to the Minister of the Interior, which led to his release. During this period, France burned his two unpublished manuscripts at the La Villette center: Divine Inspirations on the Meaning of al-Ajrummyah, a mystical commentary on Ibn Ajurrum's grammar introduction—once taught to his students at the Bouabdely Zawiya in Arzew—and his poetic manuscript Tear of Algeria, a collection of patriotic poetry composed between (1952–1959), along with other documents including an elegy for Sheikh Abdelkader Ben Daoud (d.1954). He was subjected to torture and interrogation.

Fourth stage (1963–1977): This marks his return to Algeria and his involvement in education in Algiers and Oran. During this time, he met Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi at his home. He worked in the Department of National Documents at the Governor's Office in (1967). He later traveled to Turkey in (1968) to prepare for a diploma in manuscript sciences qualifying him to work at the National Library, only to find that Istanbul University did not offer that specialization. He was then advised to enter a writing competition that would allow him to pursue a doctorate. He succeeded with distinction, only to discover that the certificate he had brought from Algeria was not recognized. He returned to Algeria in (1969) to find his position occupied. He was reassigned to the manuscripts department but was unjustly dismissed in (1970). During this period, he earned a higher diploma and a doctorate—though he never taught at the university level—and continued teaching in secondary education until the incident at the Technical High School in Al-'Anasir in (1977), which caused him both physical and psychological hardship.

Fifth stage (1978–2012): A period defined by preaching and authorship. He moved to Libya and accepted a position as an Islamic preacher in France, offered by the Libyan Islamic Da'wah Association, which he held for three decades. This was the most productive period of his writing and publication career. He traveled to numerous countries including Britain, Belgium, Switzerland, Africa, and met many renowned scholars such as Maurice Bucaille, Sheikh Mohamed Hamidullah Al-Hindi, Dr. Abdelwahhab Ben Mansour, and the Libyan scholar Abu Hamed Al-Mahdi. During this time, he suffered from various illnesses, including tinnitus, nerve spasms, asthma, and poor eyesight, yet these afflictions did not deter him from writing and publishing until his passing in 2012.¹²

He left behind more than sixty works across diverse fields. In authorship, we find Culture and the Tragedy of Its Men; in religious advocacy, Shura in the Scale of Islam; in translations, The Memoirs of Hamdan Ben Othman Khoja; and in textual criticism, Introduction to the Craft of Poetry and Prose by Mohamed Al-Nawwaji Al-Masri.

Many scholars praised his efforts to revive and preserve heritage. Among them are Mohamed Massaïef, Mohamed Bouchrit, Al-Mahdi Bouabdely, Al-Arabi Kchate, and Abu Al-Qassem Saadallah.

Conclusion:

This simplified biography reveals a few discrepancies in dates and events, likely due to the fact that our subject never recorded his autobiography, unlike others. However, more importantly, it highlights five key aspects that warrant further exploration and scholarly attention. These aspects present fertile ground for researchers aiming to connect Algerian—and Arab—readers with their literary and intellectual heritage. They also help uncover obscured elements of the man's life and works, while providing academic opportunities for students and enriching university libraries with valuable references in literature and history, especially Algerian literature.

These aspects can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. **His encyclopedic knowledge:** Dr. Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim mastered religious sciences such as jurisprudence, exegesis, and Sufism; linguistic and literary sciences such as grammar, morphology, rhetoric, and essay writing; and modern sciences like mathematics and astronomy.
2. **His linguistic proficiency:** In addition to his command of Arabic, he mastered French with great skill, as well as English—both spoken and written—and Turkish, which is evident in his work on Turkish manuscripts.
3. **His extensive travels:** These reflect his wide experience and life knowledge. Among the Arab countries he visited were Tunisia, Libya, Morocco, and Lebanon, and among the Western nations: France, Belgium, Britain, Switzerland, and Turkey. His teaching career also took him across Algeria, including **Algiers, Oran, Arzew, and Maghnia.**
4. **His contact with prominent scholars:** Chief among them were his teachers Sheikh Al-Arabi and his son Mohamed Kchate, Sheikh Ali Boubekour, Sheikh Omar Abu Hafs, Sheikh Abdelkader Ben Daoud, Sheikh Tahar Ben Achour, Sheikh Mohamed Al-'Abed, Sheikh Iqriça, Abu Hamed Al-Mahdi, Abu Al-Qassem Saadallah, Mohamed Hamidullah Al-Hindi, Maurice Bucaille, Tayyib Al-'Aqoubi, Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi, Mutawalli Al-Sha'rawi, and Mohamed Al-Saleh Siddiq.
5. **His perseverance and patience in the face of hardship:** From orphanhood—losing his mother in infancy and father in early youth—to imprisonment, the burning of his manuscripts, unjust dismissals from his job, and pressure from education authorities, he continued moving from place to place. Despite chronic illnesses, his resolve only strengthened in his pursuit of knowledge and contribution.

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² Abdelhalim Ben Al-Khodeir Boubekour: *Glimpses from the Life of the Scholar Dr. Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim Al-Jaza'iri (1924–2012)*, *Al-Bassa'ir Newspaper*, Issue 853, published April 10–16, 2017, p. 15.

³ Kara Mohamed Slimane: *Journal of Literature and Languages*, Mohamed El Bachir El Ibrahim University, Bordj Bou Arreridj, Vol. 09, Issue 01, January 2023, p. 181.

⁴ According to Abdelhalim Boubekour in his book *Zemmoura the Learned*, he entered the Manzilat Mim Institute, one of the branches of Ez-Zitouna University, p. 175.

⁵ Abdelmajid Ben Daoud: *Symposium on the Scholar*, previously cited reference.

⁶ Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim: *Kashf al-Sitar (Lifting the Veil)* [Poetic Collection], n.d., n.p., p. 84.

⁷ Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim: *Kashf al-Sitar (Lifting the Veil)*, p. 87.

⁸ *Bada'i' al-Silk fi Tabai' al-Mulk (The Marvels of the Order in the Nature of Kingship): Study and Critical Edition* by Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim, Vol. 1, Dar Al-Wa'i, Algeria, 1st edition, 2017, p. 09.

⁹ See: Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim, *Al-Thaqafa wa Masayir Rijaliha (Culture and the Tragedies of Its Men)*, n.d., n.p., p. 361.

¹⁰ Abdelmajid Ben Daoud: *Symposium on the Scholar*.

¹¹ Mohamed Ibn Abdelkarim: *Kashf al-Sitar (Lifting the Veil)*, p. 35.

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