

The Foundations of the Modern Tunisian State: Relation between the Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Empire, 1574–1814*

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Aux 16-19^{ème} siècles, une relation spéciale s'est développée entre l'Empire ottoman et ses provinces maghrébines (La Régence d'Alger, Tunis et Tripoli). L'objectif de cette étude est de présenter les principales caractéristiques de cette relation du point de vue du développement du système politique de la Régence de Tunis. L'histoire de l'Afrique du Nord dans l'époque moderne antérieure a commencé avec la conquête des Ottomans (1529, 1551 et 1574). En 1574, le Grand Seigneur a annexé l'*Ifriqiya*, qui comprend la Tunisie, la Libye occidentale et l'Algérie orientale moderne. Cependant, cette région est devenue progressivement indépendante de l'Empire ottoman aux 17-18^{ème} siècles. Depuis le début des années 1700, dans la Régence de Tunis une « monarchie semi-nationale » et un « État semi-indépendant », dirigés par les Husseinites, se sont développés, comme l'ont souligné par Mohamed Hédi Chérif et Robert Mantran. Hammouda Pacha Bey (1782-1814) fut l'un des membres les plus illustres de cette dynastie.

Mots-clés: Régence de Tunis, État vassal/tributaire, thèse d'autonomie, la dynastie Husseinite, Hammouda Pacha Bey



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Introduction

During the 16–19th century a special relationship developed between the Ottoman Empire and her North African provinces, the Regency of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. In this paper I describe the main features of this relationship in light of the development of the political system in the Regency of Tunis.

Several Muslim empires and states were established in North Africa, particularly in Tunisia in the Middle Ages – the most important was led by the Hafsid dynasty between 1229 and 1574 – which was the political basis for the Ottoman regencies. The history of North Africa in Early Modern Times began with the Ottoman conquest (1529, 1551 and 1574). The Sublime Porte annexed western *Ifriqiya* that is modern Tunisia, western Libya and eastern Algeria in 1574.¹

However, the region step by step became quasi-independent from the Ottoman Empire in the 17–18th century. The Regency of Tunis underwent a political transformation in several phases between 1574 and 1705, at the end of which the Husainids' state formed part of the Ottoman Empire. From the beginning of the 1700s, a “*semi-national monarchy*” and a “*semi-independent state*” developed, led by the Husainids, as Mohamed Hédi Chérif and Robert Mantran pointed out.² One of the most illustrious members of this dynasty was Hammuda Pasha Bey (1782–1814). The present essay describes not only the relationship between the Tunisians and the Ottomans,

¹ *Ifriqiya* or *Afriqiyya* is the Arabic equivalent of the Latin term „*Africa*”. The Arabs used this term for the area which was previously under Roman and Byzantine rule (*Africa Proconsularis* and *Byzancenia*). This concept was in use until the beginning of the Hafsid dynasty when it was replaced by the term „*Tunisia*”. Talib, M.: „Ifrikiya”, In: *Encyclopedia of Islam*. New edition, Prepared by a Number of Leading Orientalists. 13 vols., E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1986, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2004. 3:1047–1050.

² Chérif, Mohamed Hédi: “Algeria, Tunisia and Libya: the Ottomans and their Hiers”, In: Ogot, B. A. (ed.): *General History of Africa. Volume 5: Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1999. 261; Chérif, Mohamed Hédi: “La « Déturquisation » du pouvoir en Tunisie : Classes dirigeantes et société tunisienne de la fin du XVIe siècle à 1881”, *Cahiers de Tunisie*, Vol. 39, 3-4ème trim. (1981), No. 117-118. 197; Mantran, Robert: “L'évolution des relations entre la Tunisie et l'Empire Ottoman du XVIe au XIXe siècle”, *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 26/27 (1959), 332.

but also the characteristics of Hammuda's reign at the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century.

Historiography

During the 20th century several monographs were published on the political history of North Africa during the Ottoman rule. There are a number of bibliographies which help the work of researchers about the history of the Maghreb. For example, the *Bibliographie du monde méditerranéen*, written by Alain Blondy in 2003 is very useful. This bibliography contains important works about the history of the Early Modern Mediterranean.³

In addition, there are many references to the history of North Africa in the 16–19th century in the concise history books on Africa. On the one hand, we can highlight the series *General History of Africa* which was launched by the UNESCO in 1964. The fifth and the sixth volume of this series describe the history of the Maghreb region in the 16–19th century.⁴ On the other hand, in the series of the Cambridge University Press, which discusses the history of Islam, we can find the essays of notable historians about the Maghreb, such as Robert Mantran or Robert Le Tourneau.⁵

General works on North Africa also contain useful information about the period of the Ottoman rule. One of them is Jamil M. Abun-Nasr's work, the *History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period*, published in 1971. This work is probably the most widely-used and most frequently quoted English monograph on North Africa's general history.⁶ On the other hand, the French-language works of the early 20th century are often characterized by the views of colonial historiography. One of the best examples is the work of the noted French historian, Charles-André Julien. Nevertheless, besides the

³ Blondy, Alain: *Bibliographie du monde méditerranéen : Relations et échanges (1453–1835)*. Presse de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Paris, 2003.

⁴ Ogot: *General History of Africa. Volume. 5*, 200–261; Ajayi, J. Fade (ed.): *General History of Africa. Volume 6: Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1989. 448–496.

⁵ Holt, Peter M. – Lambton, Ann K. S. – Lewis, Bernard (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Islam. Volume 2A: The Indian Sub-Continent, South-East Asia, Africa and the Muslim West*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1970. 209–326.

⁶ Abun-Nasr, Jamil M.: *A History of the Maghrib*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1971.

exaggerations of the colonial historiography, many findings of the *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord : Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc*, published in 1926 stand the test of time, what is more, it is still an excellent monograph for anybody who wants to research this region. Julien supported and tried to confirm the so-called “*autonomy*” thesis in his work. According to this thesis, the North African provinces, particularly the leaders of Tunisia could gradually become independent from the Sublime Porte. In addition, the Tunisian beys managed to establish a semi-national monarchy at the beginning of the 18th century.⁷ Finally, the American Phillip C. Naylor’s work, *North Africa: A History from Antiquity to the Present* is considered to be relevant to the general history of the Maghreb. In his monograph Naylor devoted great emphasis not only to the history of the Western Maghreb, but also to the history of Egypt.⁸

Historical research on the Regency of Tunis was carried out by French scholars between the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century. The above mentioned bibliography of 2003, and Henry S. Ashbee’s work, *A Bibliography of Tunisia* are excellent starting points for research.⁹ Furthermore, we can get an overview of the history of the region from general monographs about Tunisia. Kenneth J. Perkins, who is currently Senior Assistant Professor at the University of Southern California and is a specialist of the Maghreb during the colonial period, published his work about Tunisia in 1989. This work, besides its several merits, has a great and useful thematic bibliography.¹⁰

The two main topics which arouse the interest of colonial researchers, such as Pierre Grandchamp on the history of Tunisia in the 17–18th century

⁷ Julien, Charles-André: *History of North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco: From the Arab Conquest to 1830*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, (first edition in 1926) 1970.

⁸ Naylor, Philip Chiviges: *North Africa: A History from Antiquity to the Present*. University of Texas Press, Austin, TX, 2009.

⁹ Ashbee, Henry Spencer: *A Bibliography of Tunisia: from the Earliest Times to the End of 1888*. Dulau & Co., London, 1889.

¹⁰ Perkins, Kenneth J.: *Historical Dictionary of Tunisia*. Scarecrow Press, Inc., Lanham, MD, 1997. In addition, the American researcher also wrote two important monographs on the history of Modern Tunisia: *Tunisia, Crossroads of the Islamic and European Worlds*. Westview Press – Croom Helm, Boulder, CO – London, 1986 and *A History of Modern Tunisia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York, NY, 2004.

were the Tunisian corso or privateering and the commercial relations with the French Monarchy.¹¹ After 1956 (that is the end of the colonial period in Tunisia), research on the history of the Muslim country during the Ottoman period took another impetus. Several Arabic sources, such as chronicles have been published after Tunisian independence. For example, Ahmed Abdesselem published his monograph, *Les historiens tunisiens des XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* in 1973, about the Tunisian chroniclers in the 17–19th century.¹² Tunisian corso flourished in the 17th century which was an important, but not the only source of the State's income. Tunisian commerce was also significant with the European ports. Sadok Boubaker, a Tunisian scholar examined the commercial connections of the Regency of Tunis with Marseille and Livorno in detail during the course of the 17th century in his monograph entitled *La Régence de Tunis au XVIIe siècle*.¹³

In the second half of the 20th century several excellent monographs were published by the Tunisian historians. The three founding fathers of the modern Tunisian historiography were Taoufik Bachrouh, Mohamed Hédi Chérif and Khélifa Chater who devoted their research to a specific century of Tunisian history. Bachrouh's monograph *Formation sociale barbaresque et pouvoir à Tunis* primarily focuses on the 17th century in presenting the history of the regency.¹⁴ Chérif's work, entitled *Pouvoir et société dans la Tunisie* discusses the first years of the 18th century, namely the reign of

¹¹ An example for the former: *Documents relatifs aux corsaires tunisiens (2 Octobre 1777 - 4 Mai 1824)*. J. Barlier & Cie, Tunis, 1925; while an example for the latter: *La France en Tunisie au XVII^{ème} siècle : Inventaire des archives du consulat de France à Tunis*. 10 vols., La Rapide, Tunis, 1920–1933. Furthermore, Paul Masson wrote an excellent monograph about French commerce and trade in the Mediterranean in the 17th century. Masson, Paul: *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIIe siècle*. Hachette, Paris, 1897.

¹² Abdesselem, Ahmed: *Les historiens tunisiens des XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles : Essai d'histoire culturelle*. Librairie C. Klincksieck, Paris, 1973.

¹³ Boubaker, Sadok: *La Régence de Tunis au XVIIe siècle : ses relations commerciales avec les ports de l'Europe méditerranéenne, Marseille et Livourne*. Ceroma, Zaghuan, 1987.

¹⁴ Bachrouh, Taoufik: *Formation sociale barbaresque et pouvoir à Tunis au XVIe siècle*. Publications de l'Université, Tunis, 1977.

Husain ibn Ali bey between 1705 and 1735.¹⁵ Furthermore, Chater's monograph was published in 1983 whose title is *Dépendance et mutations pré-coloniales*. The events of the 19th century were placed at the centre of investigation in this masterpiece.¹⁶

Apart from Mohamed Chérif's monograph, many scholars chose as their research topic the life and reign of one of the rulers of the Husainids dynasty. For example, Rassad Al-Imâm's doctoral dissertation, which was written in Arabic and published in 1980, presents the reign of Hammuda Pasha Bey.¹⁷ In addition, L. Carl Brown, who is a Professor of the Princeton University, examined the governance of Ahmed I bey (1837–1855). The reformer Ahmed was the bey who took important steps to modernize Tunisia in the first half of the 19th century. The first chapter of Brown's work is particularly useful on the early history of the Regency of Tunis. For example, it discusses the administration, the high officials and the politics of the Regency.¹⁸

In the early 21st century, researchers began to re-evaluate the nature of the relationship between the Maghreb States and the Ottoman Empire. Asma Moalla, a Tunisian researcher, was one of the first who began to reconsider the “*autonomy*” thesis in her monograph entitled *The Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, published in 2004. According to Moalla, the Tunisian leadership, particularly Hammuda Pasha Bey, was very close to the Ottoman Empire and that connection had formal and direct signs in Early Modern Times.¹⁹

¹⁵ Chérif, Mohamed Hédi: *Pouvoir et société dans la Tunisie de H'usayn bin 'Alî (1705–1740)*. 2 vols., Deuxième édition, Centre de Publication Universitaire, Tunis, 2008.

¹⁶ Chater, Khélifa: *Dépendance et mutations pré-coloniales : la Régence de Tunis de 1815 à 1857*. Publications de l'Université, Tunis, 1984.

¹⁷ Al-Imâm, Rassad: *Siyâsat Hammuda Bâsâ fî Tûnis 1782–1814* [The Policies of Hammouda Pasha in Tunisia, 1782–1814]. PhD Dissertation, The University of Tunis, Tunis, 1980.

¹⁸ Brown, L. Carl: *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey 1837–1855*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1974.

¹⁹ Moalla, Asma: *The Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte, 1777–1814: Army and government of a North-African Ottoman eyalêt at the end of the eighteenth century*. Routledge Curzon, London – New York, NY, 2004.

Ottoman North Africa between Vassalage and Quasi Independence

During the 1500s, the Sublime Porte conquered the Eastern and the Central Maghreb region step by step, first Algiers (1529), then Tripoli (1551) and last Tunis (1574). The Kingdom of Morocco remained an independent state in the 16–19th century. Initially, the Ottoman sultans administered the newly conquered region in one unit till the death of Uluj Ali (1519–1587), beylerbey of Algiers and Kapudan Pasha of the Ottoman fleet in 1587. After that, it was divided into three major provinces or regencies.²⁰

The term *regency*, generally used in the Christian sources, was basically the same term as *ejalet/vilayet* and *sancak* which were the major and lesser provincial administration units in the Ottoman Empire.²¹ In addition, the term “*Barbary States*” in English and “*États barbaresques*” in French is another commonly used name for these provinces and for Morocco. Tunisian and Turkish historiography also uses the term *regency*, furthermore the term of “*garp ocakları*” that is *odjak*, the western military stronghold or garrison of the Empire, is also an accepted name for the provinces of the region.²² The *Western Odjaks* were key factors in the struggle against the infidels on the western frontier of the Ottoman Empire. For example, Tunisia was considered the “*well-guarded city of the Holy War*” according to several sources.²³

²⁰ Julien: *History of North Africa*, 301–302.

²¹ Sebag, Paul: *Tunis au XVIIe siècle : Un cité barbaresque au temp de la course*. L’Harmattan, Paris, 1989. 7. In the Christian sources the term “*Regency of Tunis*” first appeared in the Tunisian treaty with France of 1672. *Ibid.* cited Plantet, E.: *Correspondance des beys de Tunis et des consuls de France avec la Cour (1577–1830)*. 3 vols., F. Alcan, Paris, 1893–1899. 1:269.

²² Julien: *History of North Africa*, 284; Mantran, Robert: “L’évolution des relations politiques entre le gouvernement ottoman et les odjaks de l’ouest de XVIe au XIXe siècle”, Université d’Aix, Marseille, 1964. 53.

<http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/18/817/10371.pdf>, Accessed on December 2013. The so-called odjak was an organization unit which protected the social, economic and political interests of the Janissaries; moreover, it was also the official term of the North African provinces in Ottoman sources. Kreiser, K.: “Odjak”, In: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 8:161.

²³ For example: Truce between the Regency of Tunis and the United States of America, June 15, 1796. Knox, Dudley W. (ed.): *Naval Documents Related to the United States Wars with the Barbary Powers*. 6 vols., Government Printing Office,

The status of North Africa was not unique in the Ottoman Empire because the Crimean Khanate, Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, etc. also had privileged rights within the Empire.²⁴ Western European historiography tried to distinguish these provinces from the rest of the empire. Initially, scholars used the so-called *vassal state* term which has been increasingly replaced by the *tributary state* term by recent research.²⁵

According to both concepts, as long as these areas regularly paid tax/tribute to the sultans, they were militarily protected and enjoyed certain independence. Tax payment, in the traditional sense, was quite problematic in the case of North Africa because the provinces of the region only had to send their military assistance to the Sublime Porte when it was needed.²⁶ Several researchers, such as Taoufik Bachrouh, considered that the term “*eyalet mumtaze*” that is privileged province is also a proper terminology for the Ottoman Maghreb States, mainly for Tunisia.²⁷

Was Ottoman dominance real or formal in North Africa? Could autonomous or independent territories develop within the Empire? On the one hand, Sándor Papp pointed out that there was a cliché in Hungarian histo-

Washington, DC, 1939–1944. 1:158–159. The “*Tunus el-mechruse, dar el-cihad*” formula can also be found in the letter sent by the Tunisian divan to Constantinople in 1816. Moalla: *Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, 71.

²⁴ See: Papp Sándor: “Keresztény vazallusok az Oszmán Birodalom észak-nyugati határainál. Diplomatikai vizsgálat a román vajdák szultáni ahdnámái körül”, *Aetas*, Vol. 17 (2002), No. 1. 67–96. The Lebanese mountain region whose autonomy formed in the 17th century also enjoyed special rights in the empire in our period. In addition, the turn of the 18th century in Lebanon was also a golden age which was dominated by the rule of Emir Bashir II (1788–1840). For Ottoman Lebanon see: Ferwagner Péter Ákos: *A libanoni kérdés és a nagyhatalmak: 1840–1861*. JATEPress, Szeged, 2013.

²⁵ Kármán, Gábor – Kuničević, Lovro (eds.): *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth – Seventeenth Centuries*. Brill, Leiden – Boston, MA, 2013.

²⁶ Valensi, Lucette: *On the Eve of Colonialism: North Africa Before the French Conquest*. Africana Publication Company, London – New York, NY, (first edition in 1969) 1977. 77. In 1835 the Ottomans demanded for the first time that Mustafa IX, Bey of Tunis (1835–1837) had to pay regular taxes to the empire. Abun-Nasr: *History of the Maghrib*, 183.

²⁷ Bachrouh, Taoufik: “Fondements de l’autonomie de la Régence de Tunis au XVIIe siècle”, *Revue tunisienne de sciences sociales*, Vol. 40/43 (1975), 173.

riography about the relations of Transylvania towards the Ottomans.²⁸ According to the theory of quasi-independence, these provinces enjoyed autonomy as long as they paid a regular tax/tribute to the Ottoman sultans. Klára Hegyi and Vera Zimányi's monograph, entitled in English *Ottoman Empire in Europe* also represent this view.

“Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia and the Crimean Khanate remained independent states with their own ruler, army, administration and legal system, in theory with independent foreign relations. They had to pay annual tribute, and together or instead of it, they had to support the Porte in a military way during the Turkish campaigns in testimony of their vassalage.”²⁹

According to the above mentioned works, another cliché also emerged in the international historiography regarding the relations between the Ottoman Empire and her North African provinces, particularly the Regency of Tunis. In the Maghreb, according to Lucette Valensi “*the suzerainty of the Porte was, from a political and diplomatic standpoint, a fiction*”.³⁰ On the other hand, Khélifa Chater also came to the conclusion about the reign of Hammuda Pasha Bey that his rule was almost without control.

“Hammuda Pasha ruled the Regency «in utter independence». He did not reject the authority of the Ottoman State, as long as the latter let him govern as he wished, and did not meddle in the affairs of the Regency, or intervene in the Maghrib.”³¹

²⁸ Papp, Sándor: “Muszlim és keresztény közösségek, egyházak és államok autonóm rendszerei az Oszmán Birodalomban”, *Keletkutatás*, (Spring, 2011), 25.

²⁹ “Erdély, Havasalföld, Moldva és a Krími Tatár Kánság önálló államok maradtak saját uralkodóval, hadsereggel, igazgatással és jogrendszerrel, papíron önálló külkapcsolatokkal. Vazallusi függésük bizonyosságul évi adófizetéssel, mellette vagy helyette a török hadjáratok katonai támogatásával tartoztak a portának.” Hegyi Klára – Zimányi Vera: *Az oszmán birodalom Európában*. Corvina, Budapest, 1986. 122.

³⁰ Valensi: *On the Eve of Colonialism*, 77.

³¹ “Hammouda Pacha gouvernait la Régence en « toute indépendance ». Il ne rejetait guère l'autorité ottoman tant qu'elle le laissa gouverner à sa guise, ne s'immisçait pas dans les affaires de la Régence et n'intervenait pas au Maghreb.” Chater: *Dépendance et mutations pré-coloniales*, 34.

In contrast, Asma Moalla's aforementioned monograph has shown that Tunisia could be read as part of the Ottoman Empire which had also formal and direct signs at the end of the 18th century.³² Moreover, Nora Lafi's essay, published in 2015 pointed out, among other things, that duality of integration and autonomy characterized the political life of North Africa during the Ottoman period. According to Lafi, local dynasties may have emerged within the framework of autonomy. However, she drew attention to the fact that colonial historiography emphasized the latter, in order to minimize the dependence of the provinces on the Empire.³³

The Periodization of the Regency of Tunis between 1574 and 1815

The history of Tunisia as part of the Ottoman Empire started with the aforementioned date of 1574 and lasted until 1881 when the French monarchy, because of the Algerian–Tunisian border dispute occupied the region.³⁴ In this time-frame initially, pashas, appointed from Istanbul administered Tunisia, later outsiders and local deys and finally beys.

In addition, in the middle of the 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th century, local dynasties emerged at the national level and with the support of the inhabitants. The Husainid dynasty, established in 1705, determined the political leadership of Tunisia up to July 25, 1957, when its power was overthrown in a democratic way. The Tunisian Republic was also proclaimed in that year, whose Prime Minister (1956–1957) and first President (1957–1987) was Habib ben Ali Bourguiba (1903–2000).³⁵

³² Moalla: *Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, xii–xxiii.

³³ Lafi, Nora: "L'Empire ottoman en Afrique : perspectives d'histoire critique", *Cahiers d'histoire. Revue d'histoire critique*, Vol. 128 (2015), 5. <http://chrhc.revues.org/4505>, Accessed on September 2015.

³⁴ The French troops, led by General Jules Aimé Bréart (1826–1913) attacked the city of Tunis on May 8. Four days later, Bréart concluded the *Treaty of Bardo* or *Ksar Said* with Sadok bey/Muhammad III (1859–1882). Finally, the last remnants of the independence of Tunisia were abolished in 1883 by the so-called *Convention of La Marsa*. J. Nagy László – Ferwagner Péter Ákos: *Az arab országok története: 1913–2003*. JATEPress, Szeged, 2004. 15; J. Nagy László: *A Magreb-országok története a 20. században*. JATEPress, Szeged, 2014. 16.

³⁵ The French government already recognized the independence of Tunisia on March 20, 1956. J. Nagy–Ferwagner: *Arab országok története*, 99, 170; J. Nagy:

The periodization of the Ottoman period in Tunisia is outlined along the rule of social and political elites which replaced each other during the years. Mantran determined three major periods in the history of Early Modern Tunisia. The first was the military administration of the pashas which ended with the Janissary revolt of 1591, also supported by locals. As a result of the revolt, the holders of power then became the elected deys. Initially, the second stage was dominated by the rule of deys, after that the beys came to power. The beys established a ruling dynasty, namely the Muradid dynasty in the 1630s, however, it was short lived. The Husainids were much more successful than the Muradids, and, as it was mentioned above, it was a ruling dynasty until the mid-20th century.³⁶

Chérif determined a similar periodization. However, the Tunisian scholar sharply distinguished the period of the deys and the rule of the Muradid beys who came to represent local Tunisian identity from each other. Furthermore, he divided the period of the Husainids into two major parts, namely 1705–1815 and 1815–1881.³⁷ According to Chérif, the political “*development of the Regency towards autonomy has proved irreversible*” after 1815.³⁸ It seems to us that this date is also the closing year of the Early Modern History in Tunisia and the end of the actual influence of the Ottomans in *Ifriqiya*.

Formal and Direct Signs of the Ottoman Rule in Tunisia

Unlike Algiers and Tripoli which joined the Ottoman Empire thanks to the activity of Muslim corsairs, namely Khair ad-Din Barbarossa (1478–1546) and Dragut rais (1485–1565), Tunisia was occupied by an Imperial force led by the Grand Vizier, named Sinan Pasha (1520–1596) and the aforementioned Kapudan Pasha, called Uluj Ali. Thanks to the monarchical traditions of the Arabic *Ifriqiya* and the distance from the centre of the empire, the Tunisian character soon came to fore both in the command of the army and in the administration of the Regency. In his essay, Chérif wrote about “*deturquisation*” that is, the total exclusion of the Turks from

Magreb-országok története, 223–230; Perkins: *Historical Dictionary of Tunisia*, 46.

³⁶ Mantran: *Évolution ... Tunisie et l'Empire Ottoman*, op.cit.

³⁷ Chérif: *Déturquisation du pouvoir en Tunisie*, op. cit.

³⁸ “*L'évolution de la Régence vers l'autonomie s'avérait irréversible.*” *Ibid.* 183.

the social and political life of the Regency of Tunis.³⁹ In addition, the political and social development of the Regency of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli was quite different from each other during the Ottoman period.⁴⁰

Date	Dynasty	Ruler
1613–1631	The Muradid dynasty	Murad I
1631–1659		Hammuda I (Pasha)
1659–1675		Murad II
1675–1686		Ali [pretender]
1686–1696		Muhammad Bey
1696–1699		Ramadan
1699–1702		Murad III
1705–1735	The Husainid dynasty	Husain ibn Ali (Husain I)
1735–1756		Ali Pasha (Ali I)
1756–1759		Muhammad ibn Husain (Muhammad III)
1759–1782		Ali II
1782–1813		Hammuda Pasha Bey (Hammuda II)
1812/13–1814		Uthman
1814–1824		Mahmud

The Muradid and the Husainid dynasty in Tunisia, 1613–1824⁴¹

There were several signs about the formal acceptance of the influence of the Sublime Porte. First, most elements of the Ottoman provincial administration were established in the North African provinces. All regencies

³⁹ Chérif: *Déturquisation du pouvoir en Tunisie*, 177–197.

⁴⁰ Chérif: *Algeria, Tunisia and Libya*, 252, 260–261; Brown: *Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, 79–92. There was a significant difference between Algiers and Tunis in that the local subjects could participate in the leadership of the state. The so-called kuluglis (Turkish: *kul-oglu*; sons of slaves) were the offsprings of the Janissaries and the native women had the opportunity to hold various offices in the state. [author unknown] “Kul-Oghlu”, In: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 5:366–367.

⁴¹ Brown: *Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, 31; Perkins: *Historical Dictionary*, xxiv–xxv.

were governed by the beylerbeys and pashas, appointed from Istanbul. The office of pasha existed until the 19th century, but in some cases its bearer had only nominal power, especially in Tunisia.⁴² Another sign of Turkish rule was a standing army in each province whose soldiers came from the Levant. Jean Pignon, a French historian estimated that the Tunisian janissary garrison numbered 3000 and 4000 which was divided into units of 100 under junior officers called *deys* between 1590 and 1650.⁴³ The third sign was the emergence of the *divan* that is a council or high governmental body. The *divan* acted as an advisory body next to the pasha whose officers were senior members of the Janissary Corp.⁴⁴ Further supporters of the Ottoman domination were the Muslim corsairs from the Levant or from other parts of the Mediterranean. The pirates' leaders were the *raises* (Arabic: *ra'is*, Turkish: *re'is*), the captain of the corsair ships who created an organization for protecting their interest, which was the so-called *taifa*.⁴⁵ The *raises* had a strong influence on defining the foreign policy of the regencies in the 17th century when the Maghrebian Muslim corsairing was at its zenith.⁴⁶

There were also several signs for the direct acceptance of sovereignty of the Sultan's power in the provinces. First, legitimacy was ensured by the appointment letter, granted by the Ottoman chancellery, which could be a *berat*, *ferman*, *ahdname* etc.⁴⁷ Sándor Papp found the Tunisian bey and founder of the Husainid dynasty, Husain ibn Ali's *berat*, which was issued and dated by the Ottoman chancellery in 1709.⁴⁸ Heirs of the dynasty's

⁴² The Husainid beys were the ones who practically abolished the independent office of the Pasha and incorporated it into their own royal titles. Moalla: *Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, 69.

⁴³ Pignon, Jean: "La milice des janissaires de Tunis au temps des Deys 1590–1650", *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, Vol. 4, 3^{ème} trim. (1956), No. 15. 301–326.

⁴⁴ Colin, G, S.: "Diwan", In: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2:332.

⁴⁵ Mantran: *Évolution ... le gouvernement ottoman et les odjaks de l'ouest*, 53.

⁴⁶ See: Bono, Salvatore: *Les corsaires en Méditerranée*. Éditions La Porte, Paris, 2000.; Bono, Salvatore: *Piraten und Korsaren im Mittelmeer. Seekrieg, Handel und Sklaverei vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*. Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart, 2009.

⁴⁷ In the Ottoman Empire there were three types of *ahdnames*: capitulation, *ahd-nâmei hümayun* or imperial letter and unilateral treaty with states which recognized Ottoman sovereignty. The former were usually trade agreements with the Christian States, while the latter was a Sultanian document, which acknowledged and appointed the rulers of the vassal/tributary states.

⁴⁸ Papp: *Muszlím és keresztény közösségek*, 31.

founder also considered that it was necessary to strengthen their power in this way, even Hammuda Pasha Bey whose power was almost absolute.⁴⁹

In addition to the legitimacy of the local beys' power, symbols of the Sultanian sovereignty also appeared in the Regency of Tunis. On the one hand, coins could only be minted on behalf of the Sultans in the Regency.⁵⁰ This practice lasted until the last decades of the 19th century, which shows its significance. On the other hand, the mention of the Ottoman Emperor's name in the sermon before the Friday prayer (*khutba*) was also obligatory.⁵¹ In the Islamic world, all of these symbols were prerogatives of sovereignty which were intended to express that the province was an integral part of the Empire.

Foreign policy of the regencies was one of the most striking signs of depending on to the Empire. Paradoxically, it was also a sign of independence from the Ottomans. All of the North African provinces participated in several maritime campaigns and defensive wars of the Sublime Porte, launched against the infidels. It is well-known that Uluj Ali took part with a huge Algerian squadron in the battle of Lepanto on October 7, 1571. On the other hand, during the Venetian–Ottoman conflict, that is the War against Crete or the Siege of Candia between 1645 and 1669, Algerian, Tripolitan and Tunisian galleys also represented themselves on the side of the Otto-

⁴⁹ Moalla: *Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, 71–74.

⁵⁰ Fenina, Abdelhamid: *Les monnaies de la Régence de Tunis sous les Husaynides : Études de numismatique et d'histoire monétaire (1705–1891)*. Thèse dactylographiée de doctorat, Université de Tunis, Faculté des Sciences Humaines et Sociales de Tunis, Tunis, 2003. 235–236. On Hammuda's golden coins it also can be read the names of the Ottoman sultans. Hugon, Henri: *Les Emblèmes des Beys de Tunis : Étude sur les signes de l'autonomie Husseinite*. Leroux, Paris, 1913. 15–39, 21. For example, on the eve of the French protectorate, between October 1859 and October 1860 Abdul-Mejid I. Ottoman Sultan's (1839–1861) name appeared with the attributive of “conqueror”, that is al-Ghâzî on the Tunisian coins. About on this issue see in Hungarian: J. Nagy László: “Adalékok a kereskedelem és pénzgazdálkodás történetéhez Észak-Afrikában”, In: Nagy Ádám (ed.): *A numizmatika és a társtudományok*. Móra Ferenc Múzeum – Magyar Numizmatikai Társulat, Szeged, 1994. 23–27.

⁵¹ Moalla: *Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, xx; Hugon: *Emblèmes des Beys de Tunis*, 15; Mantran: *Évolution ... le gouvernement ottoman et les odjaks de l'ouest*, 56; Wensinck, A. J.: “Khutba”, In: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 5: 74–75; Sebag: *Tunis au XVIIe siècle*, 8.

mans.⁵² In the 19th century, the Regency of Tunis continued to participate in the wars of the Ottoman Empire. For example, on October 20, 1827 Tunisian ships were also present in the battle of Navarino which was a complete and shameful disaster for the Ottoman Navy.⁵³

The Regency supported the Sublime Porte not only with galley squadrons, but also with land-based troops. Ahmed I bey (ruled 1837–1855) was the ruler who took important steps to modernize the Tunisian army. For example, he founded a military academy at Bardo.⁵⁴ The new type of army was deployed into action in 1853 when the Crimean War broke out (lasted till 1856). The sending out of a 14,000-man contingent⁵⁵ to the Crimea was motivated by Muslim solidarity and not political subversion. According to Brown, Ahmed “*could send an expeditionary force to fight alongside the sultan’s troops, expressing thereby his deep sense of Islamic solidarity*”.⁵⁶ The American scholar also drew attention to the fact that international historiography unjustifiably neglected the participation of the Tunisian Army in the Crimean War. Recently, Andrew McGregor tried to fill this gap by publishing an essay on this issue in 2006.⁵⁷

On the other hand, the Ottoman North African provinces’ foreign policy was also characterized by the fact that sometimes they also pursued an independent policy with the permission of the Sublime Porte. This practice

⁵² Setton: Kenneth M.: *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century*. The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA, 1991. 126; Eickhoff, Ekkehard: *Velence, Bécs és a törökök. A nagy átalakulás Délkelet-Európában (1645–1700)*. Európa Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 2010.

⁵³ Chater: *Dépendance et mutations pré-coloniales*, 341–342; Valensi: *On the Eve of Colonialism*, 77.

⁵⁴ Brown: *Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, 261–299. Hammuda I, Muradid bey (1631–1659) decided to build an official accommodation for the beys. The Bardo palace was the residence of the Tunisian rulers in the 18–19th century. Abun-Nasr, Jamil M.: “The Beylicate in Seventeenth-Century Tunisia”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 6 (January, 1975), No. 1. 78; Chérif, Mohamed Hédi: “Tunisia”, In: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 10:649.

⁵⁵ J. Nagy: *Magreb-országok története*, 14.

⁵⁶ Brown: *Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, 303; Hugon: *Emblèmes des Beys de Tunis*, 161.

⁵⁷ Brown: *Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, 303–310; Hugon: *Emblèmes des Beys de Tunis*, 155–164; McGregor, Andrew: “The Tunisian Army in the Crimean War: A Military Mystery”, *Aberfoyle International Security*, December 22, 2006. <http://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/?p=1195>, Accessed on January 2018.

could imply the existence of certain autonomy. For example, in the course of the 17–18th centuries several peace and commercial treaties were concluded between the Ottoman Regencies and the Western European Powers.

Contracting State	First Treaty	Renewed or Altered Treaties
France	1605	1663, 1665, 1666, 1672, 1683, 1685, 1691, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1711, 1710, 1713, 1720, 1728, 1742, 1743, 1763, 1765, 1768, 1770, 1774, 1781, 1782, 1790, 1792, 1793, 1795, 1802, 1824, 1830
Holland (The Netherlands)	1622	1626, 1662, 1704, 1708, 1728, 1741, 1760
England/Great-Britain	1662	1674/5, 1686, 1716, 1751, 1762, 1812, 1813, 1816, 1817
Austria (Habsburg Empire)	1725	1748, 1758, 1784
Sweden	1736	
Denmark	1751	
Venice	1763	1764, 1792
Spain	1791	
United States of America	1797	1799, 1824
Portugal	1799	
Sardinia-Piedmont	1816	
Naples	1816	
Tuscany	1822	
Papal States	1826	

*Treaties between the Regency of Tunis and the Christian States, 1605–1830*⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Jerad, Mehdi (ed.): *Cahiers des Archives : Traités et accords conclus entre la Tunisie et les puissances occidentales (1626–1955)*. Archives Nationales de Tunisie, Tunis, 2011. 11–117; *Archives-Histoire No. 1. “Sources – Preuves – Souveraineté” : Publication annuelle des Archives Nationales de Tunisie*. Les Archives Nationales de Tunisie, Tunis, 2014. 36–224; Panzac, Daniel: *Barbary Corsairs*:

According to Abun-Nasr, after 1685 Tunisian trade was significant both in its quantity and quality with the European merchants. The main Tunisian export products were wheat, wool, olive oil, hides, beeswax, *chechias* (red cap, more commonly known as *fez*), dates and sponge at this time.⁵⁹ In addition, according to Pierre Dan (?–1649) who was a French Redemption Father, Christian merchants were treated better in Tunis than in other cities in the Barbary, that is North Africa.

“Indeed, Christian traders and others are much more welcome in Tunis than any other city in the Barbary. Perhaps the reason for this is that the militia [army] has no such power here as in Algiers and that the unlimited power is in the hands of one man, named Yusuf dey [ruled between 1610 and 1637] [...].”⁶⁰

Furthermore, the Maghreb States did not only wage wars against the infidels, but from time to time also against each other. For example, the Algerian deys attacked their Tunisian neighbour several times in the 17–18th century. Between 1728 and 1756 there was a Civil War in Tunisia when the Algerian deys gave military support sometimes to one, sometimes to the other fraction. The campaign of 1756 was the most significant amongst the

The End of a Legend 1800–1820. Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden – Boston, MA, 2005. 335–337.

⁵⁹ Valensi, Lucette: “Islam et capitalisme : production et commerce des chéchias en Tunisie et en France aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles”, *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, Tome 16 (juillet-septembre, 1969), No. 3. 376–400; Abun-Nasr: *Beylicate in Seventeenth-Century Tunisia*, 87.

⁶⁰ “Aussi à vray dire, les Marchands Chrestiens, & autres, sont beaucoup mieux receus à Tunis, qu'en aucune autre Ville de Barbarie; ce qui procede sans doute, de ce que la Milice n'y a pas le mesme pouuoir qu'en Alger, & que le gouuernement absolu y est entre les mains d'un seul, qui est Issouf Day...” Dan, Pierre: *Histoire de la Barbarie et de ses corsaires, des royaumes, et des villes d'Alger, de Tunis, de Salé, & de Tripoly : divisée en six livres où il est traité de leur gouuernement, de leurs moeurs, de leur cruautés, de leurs brigandages, de leurs sortilèges, & de plusieurs autres particularités remarquables: Ensemble des grandes misères et des cruels tourments qu'endurent les chrétiens captifs parmi ces infidèles*. Chez Pierre Rocolet, Paris, 1646. 169.

expeditions to help the pretenders of the throne, during which the Algerians completely looted and plundered Tunis and the Bardo palace.⁶¹

The Reign of Hammuda Pasha Bey and his Policy in the Mediterranean, 1782–1814

International prestige and internal stability of the Regency of Tunis were in their heyday during the reign of Hammuda Pasha Bey who was called by André Raymond, a French historian the “*Tunisian Charlemagne*”.⁶² In addition, according to Abun-Nasr, during his long reign “*the Beylicate became an absolute monarchy*”.⁶³ This golden age of Tunisia, the “*tunisian augustan age*” as it was titled by James Richardson (1809–1851), British traveller and explorer,⁶⁴ began in 1782 when Hammuda, at the age of 23 took the power from his father. Thomas MacGill, Scott merchant who was at Tunisia at the beginning of the 19th century, also highly praised the stability of the country and the military power of the bey in his work, entitled *An Account of Tunis*, published in 1811.

⁶¹ Raymond, André: “North Africa in the Pre-Colonial Period”, In: *Cambridge History of Islam*, 2A, 287. During this conflict, the Tunisian bey asked Manoel Pinto de Fonseca, Grand Master of the Hospitallers (1741–1773) to help to defend the Muslim city. This unusual event was the last major maritime campaign of the Order of St John of Malta in the Mediterranean Sea. Atauz, Ayse Devrim: *Eights Thousand Years of Maltese Maritime History: Trade, Piracy, and Naval Warfare in the Central Mediterranean*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville, FL, 2008. 147.

⁶² Raymond: *North Africa in the Pre-Colonial Period*, 287. About the long reign of Hammuda Pasha Bey in modern historiography see: Chérif, Mohamed Hédi: “H’ammûda Pacha Bey (c. 1759–1814) : et l’affermisssement de l’autonomie tunisienne”, In: Julien, (ed.): *Les Africains*. Vol. 7. Editions Jeune Afrique, Paris, 1977. 102–127; Panzac, Daniel: “La Régence de Tunis et la mer à l’époque d’Hammouda Pacha bey (1782–1814)”, *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, Vol. 165 (1995) 67–84; Moalla: *Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, 47–138; Chater: *Dépendance et mutations pré-coloniales*, 25–39.

⁶³ Abun-Nasr, Jamil: “The Tunisian State in the Eighteenth Century”, *Revue de l’occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, No. 33 (1982), 55.

⁶⁴ Chater: *Dépendance et mutations pré-coloniales*, 28, footnote 12 cited Richardson’s report on March 1847. *Public Record Office London* (Ruskin Avenue, Kew Gardens) FO 102/29 (1845). “An Account of the Present State of Tunis”.

“The state of Tunis never was on so respectable a footing as it is present; and the subject[s] never before enjoyed such independence and protection from external enemies. The troops of Hamooda, such as they are, are better paid than those of any former prince [...].”⁶⁵

Hammuda was an authoritarian prince and yet, to some extent, he was also an enlightened ruler, who also read the famous Arab historiographer and historian, Ibn Khaldun’s (1332–1406) works. Both the Maghrebian and the Western sources had a very good opinion about the young prince, for example, several accounts highlighted the Muslim ruler’s literacy and his language skills. We must mention the work of Ahmad ibn Abi Diyaf (1804–1874), famous Tunisian chronicler, politician and diplomat, which is one of the best chronicles of the history of Early Modern Tunisia.⁶⁶ The Tunisian statesman in his work entitled *Ithaf Ahl al-zaman bi Akhbar muluk Tunis wa ‘Ahd el-Aman* (Presenting Contemporaries the History of Rulers of Tunis and the Fundamental Pact) which among other things discuss the reign of Hammuda, presented the history of this region from the Arab conquest to the middle of the 19th century.⁶⁷ In addition the description of demographic, economic and commercial features of the Regency the aforementioned MacGill also emphasized Hammuda’s excellent intellectual and physical abilities.

⁶⁵ MacGill, Thomas: *An Account of Tunis: of Its Government, Manners, Customs, and Antiquities; especially of Its Productions, Manufactures, and Commerce*. Hedderwick & Co., Glasgow, 1811. 17.

⁶⁶ About Diyaf’s life, his work and the judgement by the contemporaries on him see: Abdesselem, A.: “Ibn Abi ‘l-Diyaf”, In: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 3:684; Abdesselem: *Historiens tunisiens*, 332–382; Brown: *Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, 12–13; Perkins: *Historical Dictionary*, 82.

⁶⁷ Diyaf presented the history of the Tunisian rulers until 1856/7. This date is considered to be a milestone of the constitutional development of Tunisia, because the Ottoman *Hatt-ı Hümayun*, the Imperial Reform Edict was proclaimed in the province. J. Nagy: *Magreb-országok története*, 14. About the chapters of *Ithaf*... see: Brown: *Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, 391. Nearly half of Chapter 3 discusses Hammuda’s reign. The French translation of this chapter was made by Mohamed Ben Smail and Lucette Valensi. Ben Smail, Mohamed – Valensi, Lucette: “Le règne de Hammouda Pacha dans la chronique d’Ibn Abi-D-Diyaf”, *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, Vol. 73 (1971), 87–108.

“Hamooda Bey is a man of a handsome, shrewd, and penetrating countenance; he is possessed of very good natural talents, and considering his extremely limited education, his judgement is tolerably enlightened. He reads, writes, and speaks, the Arabic and Turkish languages, and also speaks the “Lingua Franca,” or Italian of the country.”⁶⁸

In addition, the Scott merchant also noted about the prince that „*his palace had more the appearance of being the seat of a northern, than of an oriental prince*”.⁶⁹ Diplomats, *chargés d'affaires* and consuls of the Western European States also acknowledged the cultural abilities of the “*enlightened despot*”.⁷⁰ For example, Basile-François-Pierre, Delespine de Châteauneuf (1750–1799), French consul between 1787 and 1791 in Tunis reported to Eugène Gabriel de la Croix, Marquis of Castries on February 17, 1787 that „*the young prince combined a fine figure, noble bearing and affable manners; I heard him speaking with equal facility three different languages [Arabic, Turkish and Italian]*”.⁷¹ Louis Frank (1761–1825) was also a Frenchman who was the physician at the bey’s court at the beginnings of the 1800s.⁷² Frank wrote down his experiences in a memoir in 1816 which is one of the most prominent Christian sources in reconstructing the bey’s character and the function of his household. According to Frank, “*the Bey is a tall, proportionate man, and he can rightly be considered as one of the finest men in Tunis [...]*”.⁷³

⁶⁸ MacGill: *Account of Tunis*, 15.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 20.

⁷⁰ Abun-Nasr: *Tunisian State in the Eighteenth Century*, 54.

⁷¹ Windler, Christian: “Diplomatic History as a Field for Cultural Analysis: Muslim-Christian Relations in Tunis, 1700–1840”, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 44 (March, 2001), Issue 1. 86. cited Delespine de Châteauneuf to Castries, February 16, 1787. *Archives Nationales*, Paris, AE B¹ 1152.

⁷² Chérif: *H’ammûda Pacha Bey*, 116; Gallagher, Nancy Elizabeth: *Epidemics in the Regency of Tunis 1780–1880: A study in the Social History of Medicine*. PhD Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, CA, 1977. 53; Gallagher, Nancy Elizabeth: *Medicine and power in Tunisia, 1780–1900*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – Sydney – New York, NY, 1983. 1.

⁷³ “*Le Bey est d’une haute taille, bien fait, bien proportionné dans sa stature, et peu, à juste titre, être considéré comme des plus beaux hommes de Tunis.*” Frank,

Hammuda's 32-year-reign in the Regency of Tunis was characterized by foreign and domestic prosperity and the development of the state. Thanks to his activity, Tunisia became a regional power in the Western Mediterranean.⁷⁴

In domestic politics, Hammuda primarily relied on Christians, local servants (*mamluk/mameluk*) and on his subjects. The Neapolitan Mariano/Mario Stinca, Suleiman Kahiya, Mustafa Khuja and Yusuf were the trusted men of the bey.⁷⁵ For example, Yusuf from Moldavia was the *sahibtappa*⁷⁶ that is the keeper of the seals, and he was also the Grand Vizier. He enjoyed Hammuda's confidence, which made him the second man of the state.

Parallely with the increasing influence of the Tunisians, the importance of the Turkish elements decreased in the leadership of the Regency. However, in 1811, the Janissaries who had been forced out of politics, tried to regain their former power but their insurrection was drastically crushed by the central government.⁷⁷

In addition to political stability, a certain level of economic development also characterized the Regency. There were only few natural disasters in Tunisia (a plague in 1784–1785, famine in 1777–1778).⁷⁸ According to MacGill, “*it is said, that the last plague and famine carried off from one-third to one-half of the inhabitants, throughout the regency*”.⁷⁹ In spite of the negative events, the Regency carried out profitable trade with the European states, especially with the French Monarchy in the Mediterranean Sea.

Louis: *Histoire et description de la Régence de Tunis*. publié par Marcel J.-J., Firmin Didot Frères, Paris, 1851. 70.

⁷⁴ Abun-Nasr: *History of the Maghrib*, 184.

⁷⁵ Chérif: *H'ammûda Pacha Bey*, 116–117; Moalla: *Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, 83–85.

⁷⁶ The Tunisian office of *sahib at-tabi* was similar to the Ottoman *nisanci* or chancellor which was the most important position besides the Grand Vizier in the Ottoman Empire. The *sahib at-tabi* placed not only the bey's stamp on the official documents but also had organizational tasks (head of legation, head of the army etc.) Moalla: *Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, 109–110.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 57–58.

⁷⁸ Gallagher: *Epidemics in the Regency of Tunis*, 49–67; Gallagher: *Medicine and Power in Tunisia*, 14–39.

⁷⁹ MacGill: *Account of Tunis*, 52.

For example, Tunisian merchants regularly sailed to Marseille.⁸⁰ The aforementioned Scott merchant also listed the exported and imported goods of Tunisia at the beginning of the 19th century.⁸¹

Despite the economic cooperation, the relationship of Regency of Tunis with the Christian and even the other Muslim States of North Africa was not always friendly and military conflicts broke out from time to time in the Maghreb. The “warrior king” of the Husainids dynasty, as Moalla titled Hammuda in her monograph⁸² fought his first major war against the Republic of Venice between 1784 and 1792. The Venetian fleet bombed the seaports of the northern and eastern coasts of Tunisia, such as Sousse, Bizerte, Sfax and La Goletta. However, ultimately the bey was victorious in the conflict.⁸³

Immediately after the Venetian War, Hammuda launched another campaign against Tripoli between 1793 and 1794. The *casus belli* of this conflict was that Ali Burghul, former marine captain in Algiers and governor of Tripoli attempted to get Tripoli under the tighter control of the Ottoman Empire in the early 1790s. Concerned about potential Ottoman intervention in the area, Hammuda took Jirba Island. The disagreement resolved in 1795 when a Tunisian delegation, lead by the sahibtappa, Yusuf was sent to Istanbul.⁸⁴ According to this, the Tunisians installed Yusuf Karamanli as pasha of Tripoli (ruled between 1795 and 1832).

The Wars of the French Revolution (1789–1802) and the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815) brought a significant change in the foreign policy of the Regency of Tunis. On the one hand, Hammuda broke up the friendly ties with France and he supported the Sublime Porte during Napoleon’s ex-

⁸⁰ Panzac: *Régence de Tunis et la mer*, 67–75, 78–82; Panzac: *Barbary Corsairs*, 139–145; Chater: *Dépendance et mutations pré-coloniales*, 31–34.

⁸¹ According to MacGill Tunisia exported grain, oil, wood, hide, wax, soap, oil of roses, and ostrich feather. The Scott merchant also listed the import goods of the Regency. Tunisia imported cloth, British muslin, linen, serge, druggets, coffee, sugar, spices, alum, vitriol, tin, lead, iron, silk, Spanish wool, wine, spirits, earthen ware, cutlery, cochineal, gum lac, vermilion, indigo, and pernambucco at the end of the 18th century. MacGill: *Account of Tunis*, 135–148, 166–187.

⁸² Moalla: *Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, 49.

⁸³ Chérif: *H’ammûda Pacha Bey*, 112; Julien: *History of North Africa*, 331.

⁸⁴ Chater: *Dépendance et mutations pré-coloniales*, 34–35; Moalla: *Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, 50–54.

pedition against Egypt in 1798.⁸⁵ On the other hand, the Maghrebian corsairing, as well as the Tunisian flourished once again thanks to the fact that Christian States fought against each other between 1789 and 1815.⁸⁶ During this period, the Barbary States also got in contact with the United States, with which they signed several treaties (1786, 1795, 1796 and 1797 etc.), but wars (1801–1805, 1815–1816) also evolved between the states.⁸⁷

However, the significance of the above mentioned conflicts was overshadowed by the outcome of the war against the Regency of Algiers. Hammuda gained his most important military victory over his Western neighbour in 1807. Initially, the Tunisian–Algerian War of 1807 was characterized by the failure of the Tunisians. For example, the battle of Constantine in Algeria ended with the defeat of Hammuda's army in May. The next engagement was much more successful, as the Tunisians, led by Yusuf were victorious at the battle of Salata on July 13. As a result of this military victory, the influence of Algiers over Tunisia which began in 1705 essentially ended. Chérif rightly summed up the importance the outcome of the conflict in his essay. „*Victory was decisive, since the grand army of Algiers surrendered with weapons and luggages. Note that this was the first victory of*

⁸⁵ Ben Tahar, Jamel: “Les stratégies de la Régence de Tunis durant l'expédition d'Égypte”, *Égypte monde arabe*, deuxième série, (1999), No. 1. 161–169. <http://ema.revues.org/764>, Accessed on March 2015.

⁸⁶ About the Tunisian corsairing at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century see: Grandchamp: *Documents relatifs aux corsaires tunisiens*, op. cit.; Moalla: *Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, 64–67; Chérif: *H'ammûda Pacha Bey*, 123; Panzac: *Régence de Tunis et la mer*, 75–78; Chater: *Dépendance et mutations pré-coloniales*, 29–31; Sebag, Paul: *La course tunisienne aux XVIIIe siècle*. Publications de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes, Tunis, 2001.

⁸⁷ There are several secondary works which describe the early diplomatic and military relations between the United States and the Maghreb. A standard work is Ray Watkins Irwin's monograph in this topic. Irwin, Ray Watkins: *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers, 1776–1816*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC, 1931. See also: Parker, Richard B.: *Uncle Sam in Barbary: A Diplomatic History*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville, FL, 2004; Lambert, Frank: *The Barbary Wars: American Independence in the Atlantic World*. Hill and Wang, New York, NY, 2005; Palotás Zsolt: “Political, Military and Cultural Impact of the North African Muslims on the United States during the first years of the Early Republic, 1783–1807”. *Mediterrán Tanulmányok*, XXIV. SZTE, Szeged, 2015. 19–40.

the Tunisian beys in open countryside over the Turkish troops of Algiers for two centuries.”⁸⁸ However, Hammuda could not conclude the peace treaty with the Regency of Algiers because he passed away at the peak of his power in 1814. The Algerian Treaty was eventually signed by Mahmud bey (1814–1824) in 1821.⁸⁹

Conclusion

The *Western Odjaks* of the Ottoman Empire, namely Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli had the similar relationships and connection to with Sublime Porte. The North African provinces had privileged rights within the Empire, as they supported the Ottoman fleet several times with huge naval contingents during the sultans’ military efforts against the infidels. Nevertheless, each of these territories developed in a different way both in a political and an economic sense during the 17–19th century. This phenomenon can be explained by the different geographical characteristics and the different historical or monarchical traditions of the regencies. The most important conclusion of the presentation is that several aspects of independence and dependence can be traced *vis-à-vis* the Empire in the policy of the regencies with the Sublime Porte. According to Lafi, „*the idea of an empire was thus deeply rooted in the social and institutional practices of North Africa*”⁹⁰

In the case of the Regency of Tunis, we can state that an almost independent monarchy was established during the rule of the Husainid dynasty. Although several Maghrebian provinces of the Ottomans enjoyed some kind of independence, they did not want to leave the Empire and to acquire *de facto* independence from the Ottoman state. In addition, although the Maghreb provinces, especially the Regency of Tunis were integral parts of

⁸⁸ “*Victoire décisive, puisque le gros d’armée d’Alger se rendait avec armes et bagages. Signalons que c’était la première victoire en rase campagne des beys du Tunis sur les troupes turques d’Alger depuis deux siècles.*” Chérif: *H’ammûda Pacha Bey*, 122. Despite the victory, the Algerians repeatedly invaded the regency in 1808 and 1811, but this did not change the success of 1807. Moalla: *Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte*, 56–57; Abun-Nasr: *History of the Maghrib*, 185–186.

⁸⁹ Raymond: *North Africa in the Pre-Colonial Period*, 288.

⁹⁰ “*L’idée d’un empire était ainsi profondément ancrée dans les pratiques sociales et institutionnelles de l’Afrique du Nord.*” Lafi: *Empire ottoman en Afrique*, 16.

the Ottoman Empire, in some cases there were many signs and examples relating to their sovereignty. Finally, the North African regencies, as part of the Ottoman Empire became a significant and recognized factors in international diplomacy in Early Modern Times.