

## Between Conflict and Convergence: A Study of the Relationship between the Governors of the Algerian and Tunisian Regencies in the Late Ottoman Period through Tunisian Archival Documents

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### Abstract:

Geographic proximity and contiguity between Algeria and Tunisia contributed to the formation of a shared historical experience, reflected in their subjection, at various periods, to a single authority, including Ottoman rule during the modern era. What characterized Ottoman governance in both territories was the relative autonomy of each side. However, the autonomy of the Regency of Tunisia remained limited, as the rulers of Algeria intervened in its internal struggles for power during the period from 1725 to 1756, at the request of its rulers, within the framework of the Husaynid Basha conflict. Despite the end of this conflict, its effects remained evident, particularly in the continued intervention of Algerian rulers in Tunisian affairs as a result of the privileges they had obtained, having played a decisive role in resolving the conflict. This situation persisted until 1807, when Hamuda Pasha al Husayni decided to put an end to Algerian influence in Tunisia by launching a campaign against Constantine, an action that led to a deterioration in relations between the two sides for several years, until the intervention of the Ottoman Sultan, who brokered a reconciliation between them in 1821.

Subsequently, channels of communication were formalized at the level of the authorities of the two Regencies, as well as in the organization of commercial transactions between them. A degree of rapprochement emerged, driven by the necessity of maintaining relations in military, political, and economic spheres, in light of their geographic proximity and shared interests.

Through this study, we aim to examine the impact of the interventions of Algerian rulers in the Husaynid Basha conflict during the eighteenth century on the trajectory of relations between the two Regencies at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The analysis is based first on local historical sources from both Regencies, before turning to Tunisian archival documents to highlight aspects of conflict and the attempts, particularly by the Tunisian side, to foster rapprochement.

We also seek to investigate the impact of geographic proximity and neighboring relations between the Regencies of Algeria and Tunisia in shaping a form of quasi political hegemony exercised by Algerian rulers over Tunisia. This was manifested in their continuous intervention in its internal affairs, whether at the request of its rulers or on the basis of privileges they had obtained. Furthermore, the study examines the repercussions of this situation on both subjects and officials, especially in Algeria, at the political, social, and economic levels.

Based on the foregoing, this study is guided by the following central problem: what characterized the relations between the rulers of the Regencies of Algeria and Tunisia during the late Ottoman period, and what factors influenced the course of conflict and rapprochement between them within the specified timeframe?

In addressing this core problem, the research focuses on various issues reflecting the nature of relations between the two Regencies, beginning with the origins of the Husaynid Basha conflict and the interventions of Algerian rulers at the request of one of its parties. This aspect is examined through a historiographical approach, based on the analysis of local Algerian and Tunisian sources and their accounts of the conflict and its impact on Algerian Tunisian relations.

Given that this study relies primarily on Tunisian archival sources, part of its inquiry is devoted to assessing the significance of the selected corpus of archival documents in tracing the course of relations between the two Regencies during the campaign of Hamuda Pasha al Husayni, Bey of Tunisia, against Constantine?, as well as in the aftermath of its consequences and the conclusion of the peace agreement?. These documents reveal, in particular, the efforts of the Tunisian side to achieve reconciliation with Algeria before ultimately appealing to the Ottoman Sultan, who sanctioned the peace between them.

Methodologically, and in order to address the research problem and its related questions, the study adopts a comparative approach between Algerian and Tunisian historical sources in examining the Husaynid Basha conflict. It also employs the historical method based on describing and analyzing events in light of the content of the archival documents used as primary sources, alongside a critical and analytical reading of these materials.

The study also reviews the most significant previous works on the subject, which have addressed aspects of Algerian Tunisian relations in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries primarily through local sources, without extensively engaging with Tunisian archival materials. These archives constitute a neutral and reliable source, containing official correspondence between the two Regencies, as well as with the Ottoman state, regarding various aspects of Algerian Tunisian relations, a dimension that this study emphasizes.

This research demonstrates that geographic proximity and shared subjection to Ottoman rule contributed to both conflict and interaction between the two Regencies. This was evident in the interventions of Algerian rulers in Tunisian affairs, and in the reaction of Hamuda Pasha, who launched a campaign against Constantine. Tunisian archival documents provide important historical details on the course of Algerian Tunisian relations during and after this campaign, while also clarifying the position of the Ottoman state regarding these conflicts. Furthermore, they highlight the subsequent formalization of relations between the two Regencies across various domains, including governance and the interactions of their respective subjects.

**Keywords:** Algerian and Tunisian Regencies, Ottoman period, Conflict and Convergence, Tunisian Archives.

### **Le résumé**

Le voisinage géographique entre l'Algérie et la Tunisie a largement contribué à façonner une communauté de trajectoires historiques, perceptible à travers leur intégration, à diverses périodes, au sein d'un même ensemble politique, en particulier durant l'époque ottomane.

Toutefois, cette appartenance commune n'excluait pas une autonomie relative de chacune des deux régences — Alger et Tunis — dans la gestion de leurs affaires internes. Cette autonomie demeurerait néanmoins inégale, notamment dans le cas de la Régence de Tunis, dont la souveraineté fut partiellement limitée par les interventions des autorités d'Alger dans ses affaires internes. Entre 1725 et 1756, ces interventions s'inscrivirent dans le cadre des luttes de pouvoir opposant les factions bachiques et husseinites, et furent souvent sollicitées par les protagonistes eux-mêmes. Bien que ce conflit ait officiellement pris fin, ses effets se prolongèrent durablement, en particulier à travers le maintien d'un droit d'ingérence implicite des autorités algériennes, fondé sur les prérogatives acquises à l'issue de leur rôle déterminant dans le règlement de la crise. Cette situation perdura jusqu'en 1807, date à laquelle Hammouda Pacha entreprit de remettre en cause cette tutelle en lançant une expédition militaire contre Constantine. Cette initiative entraîna une dégradation notable des relations entre les deux régences, laquelle se prolongea jusqu'à l'intervention de la Sublime Porte, aboutissant à la conclusion d'un accord de paix en 1821.

À la suite de cet épisode, les relations algéro-tunisiennes connurent une phase de réorganisation et de normalisation progressive, marquée par un encadrement plus formel des interactions politiques et économiques, notamment dans le domaine des échanges commerciaux. Ce rapprochement relatif répondait à des impératifs pragmatiques, dictés par la nécessité de préserver des intérêts communs dans les domaines militaire, politique et économique, dans un contexte structuré par la contrainte du voisinage géographique et des interdépendances régionales.

Cette étude vise à analyser l'impact des interventions des autorités de la Régence d'Alger dans le conflit bachique-husseinite au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle sur l'évolution des relations entre les deux régences au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Pour ce faire, nous nous appuyons, dans un premier temps, sur les sources historiques locales propres aux deux entités, avant d'examiner de manière approfondie les documents issus des archives tunisiennes, qui mettent en lumière à la fois les dynamiques de confrontation et les tentatives de rapprochement, notamment à l'initiative de la partie tunisienne. Par ailleurs, cette recherche s'attache à étudier l'influence du voisinage géographique et des relations de proximité entre les Régences d'Alger et de Tunis dans l'émergence d'une forme de quasi-hégémonie politique exercée par les autorités algériennes sur la Tunisie. Celle-ci se manifeste à travers des interventions récurrentes dans ses affaires internes, tantôt à la demande des dirigeants tunisiens, tantôt en vertu des prérogatives acquises. L'étude examine également les répercussions de cette situation sur les populations et les détenteurs du pouvoir, en particulier en Algérie, dans leurs dimensions politiques, sociales et économiques.

Sur la base de ces considérations, notre réflexion s'articule autour de la problématique suivante : quelles sont les caractéristiques des relations entre les autorités des Régences d'Alger et de Tunis à la fin de la période ottomane ? Quels facteurs ont contribué à façonner les dynamiques de conflit et de rapprochement entre les deux entités durant la période considérée ? Afin de répondre à la problématique centrale de cette étude, notre analyse s'est articulée autour de plusieurs axes permettant d'appréhender la nature des relations entre les deux régences. Nous avons ainsi commencé par examiner les fondements du conflit bachique-husseinite, en mettant l'accent sur les interventions des autorités de la Régence d'Alger,

souvent sollicitées par l'une des parties en conflit. Cette question a été abordée selon une approche historiographique, fondée sur l'analyse critique des sources locales algériennes et tunisiennes, afin de mieux cerner les enjeux du conflit et ses répercussions sur les relations algéro-tunisiennes.

Dans la mesure où notre étude repose principalement sur l'exploitation des archives tunisiennes, une attention particulière a été accordée à l'évaluation de la portée et de la valeur des documents mobilisés pour retracer l'évolution des relations entre les deux régences, notamment durant la campagne menée par Hammouda Pacha, bey de Tunis, contre Constantine?, ainsi qu'à l'issue de celle-ci et lors de la conclusion de la paix. Ces documents témoignent, en particulier, des efforts déployés par la partie tunisienne en vue de parvenir à un règlement pacifique avec Alger, avant de recourir à l'arbitrage du sultan ottoman, lequel entérina finalement la réconciliation entre les deux parties.

Sur le plan méthodologique, et afin de traiter les différentes dimensions de la problématique, nous avons adopté une démarche comparative, fondée sur la confrontation des données issues des sources historiques algériennes et tunisiennes dans l'analyse du conflit bachique-husseinite. Par ailleurs, nous avons eu recours à la méthode historique classique, reposant sur la description et l'analyse des événements à partir du corpus archivistique étudié, tout en appliquant une lecture critique et analytique de son contenu.

Nous avons également examiné les principales études antérieures consacrées au sujet, lesquelles ont généralement privilégié l'exploitation des sources locales pour aborder les relations algéro-tunisiennes aux XVIIIe et début du XIXe siècle, sans accorder une attention suffisante aux archives tunisiennes. Or, celles-ci constituent une source à la fois fiable et relativement neutre, en raison notamment des correspondances qu'elles contiennent, qu'elles soient échangées entre les deux régences ou avec les autorités ottomanes, concernant les relations bilatérales — un aspect sur lequel se concentre précisément la présente étude.

Enfin, cette recherche a permis de mettre en évidence le rôle du voisinage géographique et de l'appartenance commune à l'Empire ottoman dans la genèse de tensions et de rivalités entre les deux régences. Ces tensions se sont notamment traduites par les interventions répétées des autorités d'Alger dans les affaires tunisiennes, ainsi que par la réaction de Hammouda Pacha, matérialisée par son expédition contre Constantine. Les documents issus des archives tunisiennes apportent, à cet égard, des éclairages précieux sur l'évolution des relations algéro-tunisiennes durant et après cette campagne, tout en révélant la position de l'autorité ottomane face à ces conflits. Ils mettent également en lumière le processus de normalisation et de régulation des relations entre les deux régences après la conclusion de la paix, tant au niveau des autorités politiques que des interactions entre leurs sujets respectifs.

**Mots clefs :** Régence d'Alger et de Tunis, époque ottomane, conflit et convergence, archives tunisiennes.

### **Introduction:**

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed a period of tension in relations between the Regencies of Algeria and Tunisia, resulting from the interventions of Algerian rulers, particularly the beys of the Eastern Beylik, in the course of the Husaynid Basha conflict. This conflict opposed Husayn ibn Ali, ruler of Tunisia from 1705 to 1735, to his nephew Ali

Pasha, who seized power in 1735 following his revolt against his uncle. After several years, the conflict ended in 1756 with the consolidation of power in favor of the sons of Husayn ibn Ali.

Algerian rulers supported one side or the other according to their interests and the privileges they could secure as a result. These privileges enabled them to impose a degree of influence within the ruling establishment in Tunisia. The repercussions of this conflict continued to shape Algerian Tunisian relations until the campaign of Hamuda Pasha al Husayni, ruler of Tunisia from 1782 to 1814, against Constantine in 1807, followed by the conclusion of peace between the two Regencies after several confrontations in 1821. Within this framework, the present study seeks to trace the scope and characteristics of relations between the rulers of Algeria and Tunisia during the late Ottoman period, drawing on a body of archival documents preserved in the Tunisian National Archives within the historical series. These documents consist primarily of correspondence between the rulers of Algeria and Tunisia, as well as exchanges between both Regencies and the Ottoman central authority concerning the conclusion of peace.

It is important to note that numerous studies have addressed Algerian Tunisian relations during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, most of these works rely primarily on Algerian and Tunisian historical sources, while the use of archival materials to trace the evolution of relations between the two Regencies remains limited and insufficiently explored.

Among the relevant studies is the work of researcher Hissam Souria on relations between the Regencies of Algeria and Tunisia during the eighteenth century. This study focuses on the interventions of Algerian rulers in Tunisian affairs, as well as on Algeria's relative autonomy from the Ottoman central authority in managing its relations with Tunisia. It also addresses cultural, economic, and social relations between the two Regencies. However, it relies mainly on local historical sources and does not engage deeply with archival sources preserved in various repositories.

For the nineteenth century, the doctoral dissertation by Rachad al Imam, entitled *The Policy of Hamuda Pasha in Tunisia 1782 to 1814*, submitted to the American University of Beirut, constitutes one of the most significant works on Tunisian history during this period. It examines his rule, internal and external policies, and relations with the Ottoman state. While it provides a detailed account of the planning and execution of Hamuda Pasha's campaign up to 1813, it does not fully explore its direct impact on the subjects of the two Regencies or the position of the Ottoman state, despite drawing on diverse archival sources from Tunis, Istanbul, Paris, and London.

Several articles have also been devoted to relations between the two Regencies, including the study by Mouad Omrani and Ahmed Mejouri on Tunisia's political relations with Algeria during the reign of Hamuda Pasha. This work addresses Algerian interventions in the Husaynid Basha conflict and the privileges obtained as a result, leading up to Hamuda Pasha's rule and his preparations for the campaign. These preparations included military reforms, intelligence gathering on the Regency of Algeria, and efforts to mobilize discontented border tribes, culminating in the campaign and its consequences. However, this study also relies mainly on local historical sources and does not incorporate archival sources.

These studies therefore tend to present events based on local historical narratives, often without critical comparison or systematic analysis, and without substantial use of archival documentation. Moreover, they do not sufficiently address the impact of the Husaynid Basha conflict in the eighteenth century on the tensions that characterized relations between the two Regencies in the nineteenth century.

Accordingly, this study seeks to examine the influence of the Husaynid Basha conflict and Algerian interventions therein during the late eighteenth century on Hamuda Pasha's decision to launch the campaign against Constantine at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It also aims to analyze in depth the content of correspondence preserved in the Tunisian archives, in order to better understand the dynamics of conflict and rapprochement between the rulers of the two Regencies during the period under study.

In light of the foregoing, the study is structured around the following central question: how were the dynamics of conflict and rapprochement between the rulers of the Regencies of Algeria and Tunisia manifested during the late Ottoman period? To address this question, several subsidiary questions are considered:

How did the Husaynid Basha conflict pave the way for Algerian intervention in Tunisian internal affairs and in the dynastic struggles of the Husaynid family, and how did local Algerian and Tunisian sources portray this conflict and such interventions?

What was the impact of this conflict and its outcomes on Hamuda Pasha's decision to launch the campaign against Constantine in 1807, and what was the position of the Ottoman state in this regard?

From a source perspective, what is the significance of Tunisian archival documents in depicting the forms of conflict and rapprochement and the nature of relations between the two Regencies during Hamuda Pasha's campaign and after the conclusion of peace?

Methodologically, the study is based on a comparative approach, examining how local sources address the Husaynid Basha conflict, alongside a historical method centered on the analysis of archival materials and the application of critical reading to their content. This approach makes it possible to construct a more objective understanding of both conflict and interaction between the two Regencies during Hamuda Pasha's campaign against Constantine, the subsequent peace process, and the position of the Ottoman state, as well as the aspects of communication and convergence, particularly after the peace agreement in 1821.

The study relies on a collection of correspondence preserved in the Tunisian National Archives, within the historical series, box 223, collection 384, entitled correspondence from Algerian authors addressed to the Bey of Tunisia. The documents used include exchanges between the Bey of Tunisia and the Ottoman Sultan concerning the conflict and efforts toward reconciliation, as well as correspondence between the Deys of Algeria and the Beys of Tunisia regarding the flight of subjects, soldiers, and officials to Tunisian territory. Additional documents include exchanges between the Beys of Constantine and those of Tunisia concerning border tribes, transgressions of territorial limits, taxation, and the conduct of trade within the territories of both Regencies.

These documents reveal the efforts of the Tunisian side to secure peace with Algeria, notably through appeals to the Ottoman Sultan as a mediator. They also highlight Algeria's standing within the Ottoman state in comparison to Tunisia. Furthermore, they demonstrate the

commitment of both parties, following the peace agreement, to respect the sovereignty of each Regency and to regulate their interactions in matters relating to subjects, borders, and commercial exchanges, with the aim of maintaining stable and secure relations.

### 1- Interventions of Algerian Rulers in the Husaynid Basha Conflict in Tunisia (1728–1756)

Geographic proximity and shared borders between the Regencies of Algeria and Tunisia contributed to the involvement of Algerian rulers in numerous succession conflicts within the Regency of Tunisia, particularly those that occurred within the Husaynid household. This included the struggle between Husayn ibn Ali, ruler of Tunisia from 1705, and his nephew Ali Pasha over the succession and leadership of the *mahalla*. Initially, the succession belonged to Ali Pasha, but it later shifted to his cousin Muhammad ibn Husayn, triggering a conflict that began in 1728 and continued until 1756, culminating in the death of Ali Pasha.

Many local historical sources, both Algerian and Tunisian, addressed this conflict. Among them, al-Antri, author of *Farida Mansiyaa*, chronicled the events during the reigns of three beys: Husayn Qulyan (1713–1736), Husayn Bouhenk (1736–1754), and Husayn Zaraq ‘Aynu (1754–1756) ( al-Salih al-Antri, 2009, pp. 54-61). The sources emphasize the financial privileges granted to the Beys of Constantine in exchange for supporting Ali Pasha initially, and later, for backing the sons of Husayn ibn Ali by assisting them in ascending to power after Ali and his nephew’s decline ( al-Salih al-Antri, 2009, pp. 56-57). Each party in the conflict sought the support of the Beys of Constantine in return for material privileges granted by the faction they supported at the time.

Regarding Sharif al-Zahhar, the head of the Ashraf of Algiers at the end of the Ottoman period, he chronicled the Husaynid Basha conflict, noting the flight of Muhammad, Ali, and Mahmud, the sons of Husayn ibn Ali, to Algeria in 1740 to escape their cousin Ali Pasha. He recorded that Ibrahim Dey of Algiers had received them in 1710 and apologized for his previous support of Ali Pasha against their father, Husayn ibn Ali, promising instead to restore them to power (al-Zahhar, 1974, p. 17). Sharif al-Zahhar linked the interventions of Algerian rulers in the Husaynid Basha conflict to the appeal of Husayn ibn Ali’s sons to the Dey of Algiers, an appeal he considered based on the friendship between the rulers of the two Regencies, rather than on material privileges, which were largely reserved for the Beys of Constantine, geographically closer to Tunisia.

Tunisian sources also paid attention to chronicling the course of the conflict, among which the most notable is **al-Saghir bin Yusuf**, author of the book *Al-Mushri ‘al-Malaki*, who documented the Husaynid Basha conflict while attempting to remain impartial in narrating the events without favoring either party (bin Taher, 2019, p. 49); He also wrote about the beginning of the conflict with the spreading news that Algeria was preparing a campaign against Hussein Bey after Ali Pasha requested assistance against his uncle. He paid particular attention to the role of the sheikhs of the Algerian border tribe of Hanansha, specifically its branches Ouled Ammar and Bouaziz, in the conflict, due to the extension of the family’s influence and lands into the Tunisian border region, even though these areas were territorially under the Regency of Algeria (Maachi, 2015, p. 220). It was divided into two factions: Bouaziz, the chief of the Hannache tribe, initially supported Hussein Bey, while the Oulad Ammar supported Ali Pasha

and allied with him through the marriage of Ali Pasha to the daughter of Muhammad al-Saghir, chief of the Oulad Ammar (bin Yusuf, 2009, p. 105). The change of loyalty by the family towards Hussein and his nephew Ali Pasha led to the killing and mistreatment of their elders in 1152 AH / 1739 CE by Ali Pasha, namely Mohamed Al-Saghir and his brother Sultan, the sheikh of the Hannacheh (bin Yusuf, 2009, p. 123). Then Younes, the son of Ali Pasha and the official in charge of leading the districts during his father's rule, was arrested (Al-Barhoumi, 2020, p. 48). Bouaziz, the chief of the Hennansha in El-Kaf, was handed over to his father, Ali Pasha, who had him killed in 1740 (Feraud, Ch, 1874, p. 328), thus ending the family's alliance with the Beys of Tunisia. The significance of the book *Al-Mushri' al-Malaki* by Al-Saghir bin Yusuf lies in its detailed account of the Husaynid Basha conflict, with a clear focus on how the geographic proximity of the Beylik of Constantine and the interventions of its rulers and the Hennansha sheikhs, a powerful border tribe, shaped the course and outcomes of the conflict, depending on the loyalty of the parties toward the Constantine Beys and their preference for one side over the other.

The Husaynid Basha conflict concluded with the consolidation of power in favor of the sons of Hussein ibn Ali. From that period onward, Algerian rulers enjoyed privileges and exercised interventions in Tunisian affairs, which troubled many and eventually led to the campaign against the Beylik of Constantine in 1807, led by Hammuda Pasha al-Husayni, with the goal of abolishing the privileges of Algerian rulers in Tunisia.

## **2- Hamouda Pasha's Campaign on Constantine in 1807 and the Course of Reconciliation between Algeria and Tunisia in Archival Documents**

The campaign of Hamouda Pasha, Bey of Tunisia, against Constantine took place on 21 Sha'ban 1222 AH, corresponding to 24 January 1807, as a result of his desire to put an end to the pressures and interventions in Tunisian affairs exercised by the rulers of Algeria, particularly the Beys of Constantine, due to the privileges they had obtained following their role in restoring the sons of Hussein ibn Ali to power (ben al-Attar, 2011, p. 115), a view widely supported by most Algerian and Tunisian local sources. In addition, Abdallah Bey of Constantine, who ruled from 1804 to 1806, addressed Hamouda Pasha of Tunisia regarding the claim of the Beylik of Constantine to ownership of the Jerid region in Tunisia, a territory rich in date production that provided substantial financial revenues to Tunisia through taxation (Al-Imam, n y, pp. 422-423). Accounts of the campaign and its causes vary from one source to another, as beyond Hamouda Pasha's intention to abolish the economic privileges granted to Algerian rulers, the campaign has also been linked to the exile of Mustafa Ingliz Bey, who ruled Constantine from 1798 to 1803, a deposed Bey under whose rule the Beylik experienced significant prosperity, but whose removal was precipitated by the misconduct and oppression of one of his sons, leading to his dismissal by the Dey of Algeria (al-Salih al-Antri, 2009, pp. 68-69). He was received by Hammouda Pasha, who promised to restore him to his position (Ibn Abi Dhiyaf, 1999, p. 40), accordingly Mustafa Ingliz Bey and his son Ali, who accompanied him to Tunisia after his dismissal, participated in the campaign directed against Constantine on 24 Dhu al Qi'dah 1221 AH, January 1807 AD, its repercussions continued between victory and defeat among the armies of the two regencies until Tunisia suffered defeat in Safar 1222 AH, May 1807 AD (Ibn Abi Dhiyaf, 1999, p. 42). The rapprochement that

occurred between Hammouda Pasha Bey of the Regency of Tunis and the deposed Bey of Constantine, Mustafa Ingliz Bey, was a convergence imposed by the shared circumstances between the two rulers, as both were subjected to the domination of the central authority in Algiers, although in different forms, dismissal in the case of the Bey of Constantine, and intervention in governance in the case of Tunis.

The exile of Mustafa Ingliz Bey also contributed to motivating the Bey of the Regency of Tunis to launch the campaign, and granted it a degree of legitimacy, adding an official and convincing reason in the eyes of Tunisian public opinion for the invasion of the Beylik of the East. As a result of Mustafa Ingliz Bey and his son's participation in the Tunisian campaign against Constantine, the remaining members of the Ingliz Bey family in Constantine were subjected to harsh treatment in the city, including the seizure of their properties, the destruction of their homes, and the confiscation of their lands. Hassan bin Ali bin Mustafa Ingliz Bey was imprisoned until the death of his father Ali and his grandfather the aforementioned Bey, and a peace agreement with Tunis was signed<sup>1</sup>. Thus, to the extent that the exile of Mustafa Ingliz Bey to Tunisia benefited Bey Hammouda Pasha in executing his campaign against Constantine, and although the Ingliz Bey family influenced the course and planning of the campaign, the campaign's effects and the defeat of the Tunisian Bey harmed the remaining members of the family in Constantine. Years later, after the fall of Constantine to the French occupation, family members sought refuge in Tunis through correspondence.

mid the ongoing conflict between the two regencies, which continued until 1821, the Regency of Tunis made several attempts to reach a peace settlement with the Regency of Algiers before that date, as documented in numerous correspondences preserved in the Tunisian archives. Tunis sent multiple envoys to the Sublime Porte to request Ottoman intervention to end the conflict between the two regencies, including a letter dated 2 Jumada al-Awwal 1227 AH / 14 May 1812 AD. This letter, a reply to Muhammad Ghanoud, residing in İzmir—whose position and title are unknown—was addressed to the Governor of Tunis. The correspondence highlights the Ottoman Sultan's concern with the conflict between the “two sides” (as stated in the document) and his efforts to establish peace by sending a ship with a faqih (religious jurist) along with a sultanic decree mandating the peace agreement<sup>2</sup>. The letter also emphasizes the Sultan's insistence that both parties comply with the sultanic decree and warns that any disobedience would incur the Sultan's wrath<sup>3</sup>. The Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839), who was known for his efforts to impose central authority over the Ottoman provinces (Al-Duri, 1984, pp. 130-131), sent an envoy to negotiate regarding the two regencies, but this was rejected by the rulers of Algiers, which led the Sultan to order a boycott of all Algerian ships within the Ottoman domains, along with threats of launching a campaign against Algiers, yet the Dey of Algiers paid no attention to this (Ilter, 1989, pp. 597-598). The refusal of the Regency of Algiers to negotiate and conclude peace despite the intervention and mediation of the Ottoman Sultan is evidence of the strength and dominance of the Algerian

<sup>1</sup> **This is what appears in a letter dated 5 Muharram 1288 AH / 1871 AD**, sent by Hassan bin Ali bin Mustafa Ingliz Bey to Muhammad Pasha of Tunis, in which he requested refuge in Tunis after the fall of Constantine to the French occupation, Source: Tunisian National Archives, Historical Series, Box No. 223, File 384, Document No. 98.

<sup>2</sup> **Tunisian National Archives**, Historical Series, Box 223, File 384, Document No. 08.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

side, and it also indicates that the regency enjoyed a degree of autonomy from the Sublime Porte which enabled it to impose its own approach in managing the course of the conflict with Tunis, therefore the conflicts between the two regencies continued and were renewed in 1813, when war was declared again after Hammouda Pasha refused to pay the customary tribute to Algiers (Hamil, 2021, p. 78), and the conflicts continued for a period before Tunis attempted once more to reach a settlement.

In a letter from Ahmed al Murali whose identity is not specified in the text, sent from Istanbul to Hussein Pasha of Tunis, namely Hussein bin Mahmoud Bey 1814 to 1824, who assumed power in Tunis after the death of his father in 1824 and ruled until 1835, the letter dates back to 1231 AH 1815 AD, in which he informed him of his negotiations in the Ottoman capital with the Ottoman Sultan regarding the harm suffered by the Regency of Tunis due to the oil shipments that were sent each time to the Algerians, and he inquired about whether news of the conflict between the two regencies after the campaign of Hammouda Pasha had reached the Ottoman Sultan<sup>4</sup>. Tunis used to send a tribute of 250 jars of oil along with ghee and soap and various gifts annually during the rule of Hammouda Pasha and even before that in accordance with the concession agreements granted to the rulers of Algiers in Tunis (Omrani & Mejouri, 2022, p. 342), the letter also addresses the desire of the Kapudan Pasha who is the head of the Ottoman navy and whose name is not mentioned in the letter at that time to achieve peace between the two regencies on the condition that Tunis continues to pay oil to Algiers and that it is considered a custom that cannot be abolished, while reminding of the merit of the Algerians who send gifts to the Sublime Porte every three years, therefore the letter indicates that the Ottoman side tended to acknowledge the legitimacy of Algeria in what it had obtained of privileges in Tunis after years from the campaign of Hammouda Pasha on Constantine despite the attempts of the Tunisian side to influence the Ottoman decision by emphasizing the continuation of the conflict and the tension of relations between the two regencies since the campaign of Hammouda Pasha on Constantine.

The distinguished status of the rulers of Algiers with the Ottoman Sultans stemmed from numerous acts serving the Ottoman state and its rulers, foremost among them being the well-known practice of the rulers of Algiers since the era of the Barbarossa brothers of sending various local gifts to the Ottoman Sultans, and these gifts varied in form and type according to the differences among the rulers of the Regency of Algiers. This custom also encouraged the Ottoman Sultans to send gifts on various occasions to the regency, consisting of military equipment which strengthened Algiers' military influence (Belkacem & Baarsia, 2023). The rulers of the Regency of Algiers maintained good diplomatic relations with the Sublime Porte throughout their subordination to the Ottoman state, which granted them protection and support from the Ottoman Sultans and increased their influence in the western Mediterranean region.

The correspondence includes the reaction of Hussein Pasha of Tunis to the Ottoman Sultan's decision, saying, "By God, if your intention is to sell Tunis, sell it to some Christians who possess compassion and mercy, and do not sell it to these Algerians whom God has deprived of mercy in their hearts"<sup>5</sup>. This statement reflects the intensity of the conflict between the two

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<sup>4</sup> **Tunisian National Archives**, Bundle 221, File 354, Document No 02.

<sup>5</sup> **Tunisian Archives**, Document No 02, previously cited source.

regencies and shows the clear frustration of the ruler of Tunis at the Ottoman position supporting the rulers of Algiers by recognizing their right to take oil from Tunis.

On another level, the correspondence illustrates the degree of sovereignty that Algiers enjoyed over Tunis by addressing the Christians as if the Tunisians were Algerian subjects, and it shows the Tunisian ruler's view of this as a diminution of the sovereignty of the Regency of Tunis<sup>6</sup>. This position makes clear that Hammouda Pasha's campaign against Constantine did not alter the dominance exercised by the rulers of Algiers over Tunis since the eighteenth century; what changed was only the intensification of the conflict between the rulers of the two regions after privileges had previously been imposed on Tunis and paid voluntarily. The correspondence concluded by presenting the agreement reached by the Tunisians to achieve peace through the payment of 65,000 qirsh, including the price of oil, as a means to secure peace with Algiers<sup>7</sup>. This decision reflects the desire and determination of the rulers of Tunis to end the conflict while preserving the Algerian privileges in Tunis, with adjustments in the method and content of their payment to safeguard Tunisian sovereignty. It also shows the Ottoman state's attempt to formulate a settlement between the two sides by affirming Tunis's right to sovereignty, preventing interference by the rulers of Algiers, while maintaining Algeria's share of Tunisian oil production.

After the failure of the Ottoman state's mediation to achieve peace between the two regencies, Tunis turned toward direct negotiations with the rulers of the Regency of Algiers by sending influential figures from the Tunisian administration to negotiate directly with the Algerian rulers. It appears that the positions of the rulers of Algiers regarding the conflict and the issue of peace were not unified and were not always against the course of reconciliation; some of them were open to negotiation in order to reach a settlement between the two sides. This is shown in a document, a letter from Al-Hajj Yusuf bin Si al-Arabi—whose position or rank is not specified—dated 17 Safar 1233 AH / 27 December 1817 AD, addressed to the ruler of Tunis, Mahmoud Pasha, and his sons Hussein Bey and Mustafa Pasha, who ruled Tunis after the death of his brother Hussein Bey from 1835 to 1837. The letter stated that he had met with the Dey of Algiers, Ali Pasha (1817–1818), and raised the issue of the conflict between Tunis and Constantine following Hammouda Pasha's campaign<sup>8</sup>. The document shows that the Dey of Algiers received the Tunisian representative, who presented the efforts of Tunisian rulers toward peace, and that Ali Pasha welcomed this initiative. The correspondence confirms the Regency of Tunis's pursuit and initiative for peace and shows the beginning of the Algerian rulers' inclination toward adopting reconciliation. Ali Dey concluded agreements with Tunis, the most important of which was direct dealings between the Bey of Tunis and the Dey of Algiers without mediation from the Bey of Constantine. However, Ali Dey of Algiers did not remain long in office; he ruled for only six months before succumbing to the plague that was spreading in Algiers at that time (Omarioui, 2022, pp. 110-117), which returned the situation to tension between the two regencies.

Despite this, the repercussions of the campaign continued, with several clashes recorded on land along the border and at sea until 1235 AH / 14 March 1821, when Tunis again requested

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> **Tunisian National Archives**, Document No 02, previously cited source.

<sup>8</sup> **Tunisian National Archives, Historical Series**, Box 223, File 384, Document No 06.

Ottoman mediation to conclude peace with Algiers and establish a final resolution to their conflict (al-Zahhar, 1974, p. 146). This was successfully achieved, codifying relations between the two regencies to prevent further conflicts until Algiers fell to the French occupation in 1830, followed by the Beylik of Constantine in 1837.

Based on the above, the peace agreement marked a new pattern of relations between the two regencies, characterized by codifying the conduct of relations at the level of authority and subjects in all areas, imposing respect for the borders and sovereignty of each regency (al-Zahhar, 1974, p. 146), and preventing violations. It also established cooperation between them in resolving issues related to sovereignty and upholding the terms of the peace treaties, including the return of Algerian subjects who had fled to Tunis following conflicts or uprisings in Algeria.

### **3- The Issue of Algerian Military and Officials Seeking Refuge in Tunis after the Peace Agreement and Methods of Resolution between the Two Regencies**

After the signing of the peace treaty, relations between Algiers and Tunis were redrawn along a path that preserved the sovereignty of each regency while respecting the authority of their rulers over their areas of influence. The geographical proximity between Algiers and Tunis contributed to the flight or refuge of many officials of the Regency of Algiers to Tunis due to changes in the position of the Dey, whether through dismissal, exile, or assassination, which created instability in positions close to the authority of the Dey. This was manifested in migration out of fear of assassination due to loyalty to the Dey, as occurred in 1817 following the murder by strangulation of Dey Omar Pasha (1815–1817) (al-Zahhar, 1974, p. 131) during a revolt of the military against him. This event led to the dismissal of his ministers by his successor, Dey Ali Pasha (1817–1818), while many were exiled to Tlemcen and Mostaganem and some were killed (al-Zahhar, 1974, p. 131). Consequently, many officials sought refuge in Tunis, as noted in a letter sent from Algiers to Hussein Pasha of Tunis regarding the refuge of some state leaders—whose names and positions were not specified—at the Zaouia of Sheikh Sidi Ali al-Makki in Tunis after the strangulation of the Dey of Algiers, along with some of his associates, while others were exiled. Many fled toward Halq al-Wad.

The letter stressed the need to confirm their arrival and correspond with the head of the Zaouia regarding the matter without mentioning demands for their return or imposing specific measures against them<sup>9</sup>. During the Ottoman period, Zaouias served as centers of protection where those fleeing authority or subject to punishment could seek refuge (al-Zahhar, 1974, p. 132). Tunisia, being geographically closest to the Regency of Algiers, became a natural refuge for deposed rulers, administrative officials, and others. The correspondence also illustrates the aspect of interaction and cooperation between the two regencies in such cases, coordinating between the authorities to resolve the issue of asylum even during times of tension<sup>10</sup>; this incident occurred before the signing of the peace treaty.

Similarly, the Janissaries of Algiers also fled to Tunis due to the killing of rulers, evasion of military obligations, or other circumstances affecting their stability in Algiers. One example is

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<sup>9</sup> Tunisian National Archives, Historical Series, File 384, Document No 05.

<sup>10</sup> Tunisian National Archives, Historical Series, File 384, Document No 05.

the flight of several Janissaries from Rumelia and Anatolia to Tunis after being ordered to join the Ottoman fleet for jihad against the Christians. Consequently, in 1827, Hussein Dey, ruler of Algiers (1818–1830), sent a letter to Hussein Pasha of Tunis urging him to prevent the reception of fugitive Janissary delegations, deny them permits to enter Tunisia, and arrest any Janissary soldier fleeing toward Tunis or Tripoli of the West<sup>11</sup>. This military mobilization appears related to the planned participation of Algerians in the Battle of Navarino in Greece alongside the Ottoman fleet; however, recent studies by the Algerian researcher Khalifa Hamash confirm that the Algerian fleet did not actually participate in the battle (Hamash, 2020). The reluctance of the Janissary army in Algiers to enlist may have been one of the main reasons for the Algerian fleet's non-participation in the battle. This correspondence highlights the respect of the rulers of the two regencies for the terms of the peace treaty by ensuring the prevention of any military or political transgression that could reignite conflict between the rulers of the regencies. Regarding the migrations of Algerian Janissaries toward Tunis or the eastern provinces, these movements were linked to policies adopted by the Deys of Algiers during the nineteenth century against the Janissary troops, including the establishment of a Janissary army composed of local forces from the Kouloughlis or Zawawa soldiers (Mercier, 1868, p. 499), as well as physical purges of rebellious soldiers and punishments in cases of incitement or disobedience (Devoulx, 1860, pp. 211-218). The correspondence also indicates the weakness of recruitment and discipline within the Janissary corps in Algiers during the late Ottoman period, which, according to Hamdan Khodja, was related to changes in recruitment methods and criteria. These methods increasingly relied on Jews, Greeks, or individuals who had been legally punished, whose personal goal in joining was to pursue individual gain rather than to serve the regencies to which they were assigned for military service (Khodja, 2005, p. 111). On the other hand, the correspondence highlights the regulated military communication and dealings between the rulers of the two regencies, under the oversight of the Ottoman Grand Vizier, as an effort to preserve peace and ensure continued adherence to the terms of the peace treaty.

Based on this, the geographical proximity between the two regencies remained an important factor in achieving political stability. Tunisia served as a refuge for military personnel from the Janissaries or for officials in cases of unrest within the Regency of Algiers. However, the resolution of issues related to flight or asylum was conducted through negotiation and reference to the sultanic firmans that regulated the various interactions between Algiers and Tunis.

#### **4- The Scope of Economic Interaction at the Level of Rulers and Subjects between the Two Regencies after the Peace Treaty**

After the signing of the peace treaty between Algiers and Tunis, trade matters especially among the rulers returned to their previous state but became more regulated. In a letter dated late Sha'ban 1237 AH / May 1822 from Ahmed Bey al-Mamluk who governed the Beylik of Constantine from 1820 to 1822 ( al-Salih al-Antri, 2009, pp. 87-88), addressed to Hussein Pasha of Tunis it is evident that the Bey of Constantine continued sending goods for sale in Tunis. The letter also clarifies that the purpose of selling the declared goods 450 camels 100

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<sup>11</sup> Tunisian National Archives, Historical Series, Box 223, File 384, Document No 55.

bulls and 1 000 rams was to collect the *marasim al-danush*<sup>12</sup>, a financial obligation imposed on every Beylik (Belkacem H. , 2022-2023, p. 74). This included the *danush al-kabir* delivered every three years by the Bey of each Beylik to the Dey along with reports on the Beylik's condition and stability (Shaler, 1982, p. 46), and the *danush al-saghir* which the Bey's deputy was responsible for sending to the Sultan's court every six months (Rozet, 1833, p. 387). The letter does not specify which type of danush was intended though it is likely the *danush al-kabir* considering the Bey himself wrote the letter.

The letter also mentions that the agent responsible for selling the goods on behalf of Ahmed Pasha of Constantine named Si Ali bin Ashour sent only part of the proceeds to complete the remaining *marasim al-danush* and refused to respond to Ahmed Pasha's messages or deliver the remainder of the goods' value<sup>13</sup>. As a result, Ahmed Pasha wrote to Hussein Pasha of Tunis requesting him to locate the mentioned agent and present him to the deputy of the Bey of Constantine in Tunis to settle the remaining amount or to convince him to return to Constantine. Ahmed Pasha expressed his trust in the Pasha of Tunis to achieve this purpose and thanked him in advance<sup>14</sup>. The letter demonstrates the resumption of economic interaction and communication between the Beys of Constantine and the rulers of Tunis immediately after the signing of the peace treaty between the two regencies.

Regarding the issue of borders and the scope of economic transactions among the border tribes, a letter dated 24 Ramadan 1242 AH / 21 April 1827, from Ahmed Pasha, the last Bey of Constantine who ruled between 1826 and 1837, addressed to Hussein Pasha of Tunis, documents the continued border violations by these tribes, whether Algerian or Tunisian, due to their reluctance to pay their dues and taxes. In his letter, Ahmed Bey raises the problem of the settlement of more than ninety households of the Al-Awawda clan on the lands of the Tunisian border tribes, and he demanded their return to their lands in Algeria<sup>15</sup>. He also stressed the necessity of respecting the covenants of the peace treaty through the intervention of both regencies to suppress uprisings of the Zaghlama, Charn, Ouled Boughanem, Ouled Khiar, and Beni Barbar clans from the Tunisian border tribes, while also obliging the Bey of Constantine to monitor the Firqah and Shetata of the Hanancha homeland and compel them to pay their outstanding dues<sup>16</sup>. The movement of Algerian or Tunisian border clans within the territories of the two regencies indicates that relations between these clans were not always conflictual or tense, but sometimes marked by cooperation and solidarity, particularly when they refused to pay dues to the authorities in Tunis or the Eastern Beylik. However, at the level of the regencies' authority, there was respect and adherence to the covenants of the 1628 border treaty, which confirmed the territorial domain of each regency and detailed the human boundaries of each (Haniya & Tunisia, 2012, pp. 127-128), including the demarcation of the homelands of tribes and clans belonging to each regency and the affirmation of their territorial exten.

<sup>12</sup> **Tunisian National Archives**, Historical Series, Box 223, File 384, Document No 14.

<sup>13</sup> **Tunisian National Archives**, Document No 14, previously cited source.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> **Tunisian National Archives**, Historical Series, Box 223, File 384, Document No.52.

<sup>16</sup> **Tunisian National Archives**, Document No 52, previously cited source.

The letter also addressed the violations of the Tunisian Wergha tribe across the border separating them from the Hanancha, noting that the cause of the violation was the clan's refusal to pay the customary wages for plowing the land in their territory. Ahmed Pasha of Constantine requested that the Bey of Tunis send someone to verify the borders to prevent conflicts between the two groups. The letter concluded with Ahmed Pasha emphasizing to Hussein Pasha the necessity of cooperation between the two regencies to ensure that each clan returned to its proper place while monitoring the borders to prevent subjects of one regency from fleeing to the other<sup>17</sup>. Ahmed Pasha of Constantine also corresponded directly with the leaders of the Tunisian border tribes, such as the Zaghlama and the Ouled Yahya clans (Boulhabal & Bourghda, 2024, p. 296), without going through the Bey of Tunis, in order to limit their violations of the border. Border violations undermined authority at the level of both regencies, as they affected loyalty and dependence on either side.

Regarding the practice of trade among the subjects, it was conducted directly without interference from the authorities of either regency, and intervention occurred only in cases of disputes over sales, purchases, or repayment of debts. This is documented in a letter dated mid-Rajab 1237 AH / early April 1822, in which Ahmed Pasha of Constantine sent a message to Hussein Pasha of Tunis outlining the existence of debts owed by Tunisian subjects to Algerian subjects. He requested that the Pasha of Tunis collect these debts and pay them to Ali bin Achour, who acted as the agent for the Algerian subjects<sup>18</sup>, managing their affairs and overseeing their commercial interests within Tunis, thereby easing some of their financial burdens or travel obligations (Mhaideb, 2015-2016, pp. 54-55). The intervention of Ahmed Pasha of Constantine in claiming the debts arose after delays in payment by the Tunisian subjects. Regarding Ali bin Achour, it is clear that he was responsible for supervising most commercial transactions related to the Beylik of Constantine, whether involving authorities or the subjects themselves.

We can conclude from the above that the Beys of Constantine, after the signing of the peace treaty between the two regencies, continued to conduct trade within the Regency of Tunis to generate revenue for the Beylik, while the subjects of the Regency of Algiers also engaged in direct trade within Tunis without direct oversight from the rulers of either regency. The authorities intervened only in cases of border disputes, delays in paying taxes and levies, or to collect debts owed by the subjects.

## Conclusion

The geographical proximity between the regencies of Algiers and Tunis, along with their subordination to a single authority, the Ottoman government, shaped the nature of their relations, which were at times marked by clashes and wars due to the interference of the rulers of Algiers in the internal affairs of Tunis, either at the request of its governors or to protect their own privileges within Tunis.

The campaign of Hammuda Pasha al-Husseini against Constantine represented a turning point in the trajectory of relations between the two regencies, particularly after the signing of

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<sup>17</sup> Tunisian National Archives, Document No 52, previously cited source.

<sup>18</sup> Tunisian National Archives, Historical Series, Box 223, File 384, Document No. 17.

the peace treaty, which thereafter regulated relations between them at the level of authority, ensuring respect for the sovereignty of each regency over its areas of influence. On another level, commercial interactions involving the rulers of the Regency of Algiers and their subjects were organized through the appointment of agents and granting the right for direct trade between the subjects of the two regencies, with the rulers intervening only in cases of violations by traders of either regency.

Thus, the history of relations between the regencies of Algiers and Tunis in the early nineteenth century experienced wars and political tensions, which ultimately ended with the intervention of the Ottoman state and the conclusion of the peace treaty, leading to the stabilization of relations until the fall of Algiers to the French occupation.

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