

**The Ottoman Province of Tripoli (Libya) in  
German Politics between 1884 and 1918**

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*To my mother Warda and my father Mohamed: You  
are the reason of what I am today and what I want to  
be tomorrow*

*To my brothers: I am really grateful for your continues  
help and support; without you I could not have  
reached this stage in my life*

## **Abstract:**

This study focuses on the role played by the province of Tripoli (the name under the rule of the Ottoman Empire) in German politics and the relations between Germany and the province of Tripoli between 1884 and 1918. In addition to proving the central relevance of the province of Tripoli to German military, political and economic strategy, it also examines the reasons for this significance. Attention is also paid to the international events that provided the background and frequently a motivating factor for developments in German policy towards Libya (name changed in 1911 when Libya was occupied by Italy), particularly the European ‘Scramble for Africa’. 1884 is chosen to be the beginning of the research period because the German expansion started practically in this year when the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck decided to have colonies outside Europe. Despite the wealth of literature investigating the activities of Britain, France, and Italy in the North African region during the ‘scramble for Africa’, the actions and role of Germany have received less attention from researchers in this field. This thesis tries to fill this gap and thereby contribute to a better understanding of German imperialism. The primary aims of this study are to explore the general situations in the province of Tripoli in the period under study, so as to establish an understanding of the context in which the relationship was built. Since the province of Tripoli was under the Ottoman rule (1551-1911) thus the German-Ottoman relationship, particularly in view of the weakened position in which the Empire found itself following the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, will be analyzed. In addition to this, the Italian occupation of the province in 1911 is also analyzed in this study. Moreover, the German support for Libyan opposition to Italian occupation in the form of Islamic *Jihad*, and the attempt to redirect this *Jihad* against British forces in Egypt, is covered in this study. The theoretical framework of this research invokes colonialism and economic imperialism as a broader explanatory paradigm to explain the relationship between Germany and the province of Tripoli. This study is relevant to the theoretical arguments of Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel on German imperialism and will contribute to research on understanding the informal colonial expansion of Germany. The methodology of this research depends on *histoire croisée* and the conscious inter-referencing of contemporary sources of data. The main sources for the study include documents from archives based in Libya, Tunisia and Germany, books written by Arabic, Ottoman and German scholars and journals or reports of consuls and travellers who visited the province of Tripoli. Following Germany’s defeat in World War 1 and the wide-reaching political developments the date of 1918 has been chosen as a cut-off point for this study to show the causes for the decline in the strategically relevance of Libya around this period.

## Zusammenfassung

Diese Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Rolle, die die Provinz Tripoli (dies ist der Name, die die Provinz unter der Herrschaft des Osmanischen Reiches innehatte) zwischen 1884 und 1918 in der deutschen Politik spielte, sowie mit den Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und der Provinz Tripoli im selben Zeitraum. Sie erörtert die zentrale Bedeutung der Provinz Tripoli für die militärische, politische und wirtschaftliche Strategie Deutschlands und untersucht die dieser Bedeutung zugrunde liegenden Faktoren. Zudem wird das Augenmerk auf internationale Entwicklungen und Ereignisse gelegt, vor deren Hintergrund sich die deutsche Politik gegenüber Libyen (der Name wurde 1911 mit der Besetzung der Provinz durch Italien geändert) vollzog und die oft einen Motivationsgrund für Entwicklungen und Veränderungen der deutschen Haltung hinsichtlich Libyens darstellten, wie zum Beispiel der europäische „Wettlauf um Afrika“.

1884 wurde als Beginn des Untersuchungszeitraums ausgewählt, da in jenem Jahr die deutsche Expansionspolitik mit dem Entschluss des deutschen Kanzlers Otto von Bismarck begann, Kolonien außerhalb Europas zu erwerben. Trotz der zahlreichen Literatur, die sich mit den Unternehmungen von Großbritannien, Frankreich und Italien in Nordafrika während des „Wettlaufs um Afrika“ beschäftigt, schenken Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler dieses Themenfeldes der Rolle und den Aktivitäten Deutschlands bisher weniger Aufmerksamkeit. Diese Arbeit möchte diese Lücke schließen und so zu einem besseren Verständnis des deutschen Imperialismus beitragen.

Die wesentlichen Ziele dieser Arbeit sind die Erforschung der allgemeinen Situation in der Provinz Tripoli im gewählten Untersuchungszeitraum, um so ein Verständnis für den Kontext zu entwickeln, in dem die Beziehung zwischen beiden aufgebaut wurde. Da sich die Provinz Tripoli unter osmanischer Herrschaft befand (1551-1911), wird auch das deutsch-osmanische Verhältnis analysiert, vor allem im Hinblick auf die geschwächte Position des Osmanischen Reiches nach der Unterzeichnung des Berliner Vertrages 1878. Daneben wird auch die 1911 erfolgte italienische Besetzung der Provinz in den Blick genommen. Die deutsche Unterstützung für die libysche Opposition, die sich im Rahmen eines islamischen *Dschihad* formierte, sowie der Versuch, diesen *Dschihad* gegen die Briten in Ägypten zu richten, wird ebenfalls im Rahmen dieser Arbeit beleuchtet.

Der dieser Arbeit zugrunde liegende theoretische Ansatz bezieht sich auf Theorien des Kolonialismus und des ökonomischen Imperialismus, um die Beziehung zwischen Deutschland und der Provinz Tripoli zu erklären. Damit nimmt diese Arbeit Bezug auf die theoretischen Ausführungen von Sebastian Conrad und Jürgen Osterhammel zu deutschem Imperialismus und leistet einen Beitrag zum Verständnis der informellen kolonialen Ausbreitung Deutschlands.

Die Forschungsmethodik basiert auf *histoire croisée* sowie dem bewussten und kritischen Miteinander-in-Bezug-Setzen zeitgenössischer Quellen. Die Quellen dieser Arbeit beinhalten Archivmaterialien aus Libyen, Tunesien und Deutschland, von arabischen, osmanischen und deutschen Wissenschaftlern verfasste Bücher sowie Zeitschriften oder Berichte von Konsuln und Reisenden, die die Provinz Tripoli besuchten.

In Anbetracht der Niederlage Deutschlands im Ersten Weltkrieg und den daraus folgenden weitreichenden politischen Entwicklungen, wurde 1918 als Ende des Untersuchungszeitraums dieser Arbeit ausgewählt, um die Gründe für die Abnahme der strategischen Bedeutung Libyens in dieser Periode aufzuzeigen.

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## Glossary of Arabic Words:

*Uyūn* (Singular *‘ayn*): They are the water sources or springs<sup>1</sup>.

*Aqḍiya* (sing. *Qaḍā*): The administrative divisions of the provinces ruled by the Ottoman Empire<sup>2</sup>.

*Bey*: A Turkish title given to some governors in the Ottoman Empire<sup>3</sup>.

*Eyālet*: The largest administrative divisions in the Ottoman Empire<sup>4</sup>.

*Fatwa*: A legal opinion or learned interpretation of a qualified jurist or mufti which is given on issues pertaining to Islamic law<sup>5</sup>.

*Hāra*: Neighborhood.

*al-Ḥalfā* (Sparto or Cortaderia Selloana): This is a species of palms. It grows in poor and very dry soil under very high temperatures in North Africa beside other places. Its leaves are thin (one millimeter width) and can be one meter long; they are used in handicrafts like producing mats<sup>6</sup>.

*Ḥaṣīr* (Mats): They are mats made of the Sparto (*ḥalfā* plant) made manually or by using looms and used domestically to sit on<sup>7</sup>.

*Ḥenna*: It is a plant, its leaves are dried and used to dye hair or skin or fingernails as a body art<sup>8</sup>.

*al-Ḥizb*: Political party.

*Īd al-Adḥa*: An Islamic festival that comes two months after the fasting month of Ramaḍān celebrated after Ḥajj<sup>9</sup>.

*Īd al-Fiṭr*: An Islamic festival celebrated immediately after the fasting month of Ramadan. There are special prayers in this festival that gather all Muslims together<sup>10</sup>.

*Jihad*: The armed struggle to defend Islam, whether in a territorial or ideological sense<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *al-Mu‘jam al-mujaz*, p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> *al-Wibā, al-idārā al-‘ūthmāniyyā fī Ṭarābulis al-gharb*, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Ṣabān, Suhail, *al-m‘ajam al-mausu‘i li-l- mṣtalahat al- ‘ūthmāniā al-tārīkhīyya*, al-riyyad, 2000p.6 3

<sup>4</sup> Ṣabān, *al-m‘ajam al-mausu‘i li-l-mṣtalahat al- ‘ūthmāniā al-tārīkhīyya*, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> Hallaq, Wael B. "Fatwa". Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa. Encyclopedia.com

<sup>6</sup> McAuliffe, Jane Dammen(ed.), Encyclopaedia of the Quran, Volume Three, 2003, pp.35-42.

<sup>7</sup> *Nāji, tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, translated by ‘Abd al-Salām Adham wa Muḥammad al-‘Ustā, al-jāmi‘a al-lībbiyya, kuliyyat al-adāb, Ṭarābulus, (D.T), p.35.

<sup>8</sup> *Nāji, tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 51.

<sup>9</sup> *al-Mu‘jam al-mujaz*, majma‘ al-lughā al-‘arabiyya, wizārat al-tarbiya wa al-ta‘līm, al-Qahirā, 1994, p. 174.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Mūsā, Taysīr, *al-mujtama‘ al-‘arabī al-lībīfī al-‘ahd al- ‘ūthmānī*, al-dār al-‘arabiyya li-l-kitāb, Ṭarābulus, 1988, p. 36.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama‘ al-‘arabī al-lībī...*, p.35.

*al-Jihādiyya*: A tax that was imposed by the Ottoman Empire used to cover the expenses of *Jihad*, at the beginning it was temporary and later it is continued to be permanently taken from local people in all Ottoman provinces and territories<sup>12</sup>.

*al-Jinn*: Supernatural creatures.

*Kalīm* (Mats): They are also mats but thicker than the *Ḥaṣīr* because they are made of wool and used to cover the walls or the ground to be protected from humidity<sup>13</sup>.

*al-Kuwāriḡhliyya* :These are the sons of Ottoman officers of diverse origins who married women from Tripoli, they were known by this name<sup>14</sup>.

*Liwā'* : It is one of the largest administrative divisions in the Ottoman Empire and its provinces, it was headed by *Mutaṣarrif* and he was responsible in front of the governor<sup>15</sup>.

*Majlis al-baladiyya*: The Municipal Council<sup>16</sup>.

*Mūjahidīn*: Persons involved in fighting in *Jihad* (Islamic war against the enemies of Islam)<sup>17</sup>.

*Mutaṣarrifiyya*: The administrative divisions of Ottoman provinces. They were also called *Sanjaq*<sup>18</sup>.

*Mutaṭawwi'in*: The persons who were voluntarily enlisted in the conscription or any military actions to defend their country<sup>19</sup>.

*Nawāḡhī*: They are the smallest administrative divisions of the Ottoman Empire and its provinces and many of them are under the supervision of *Qaḡā'*<sup>20</sup>. The *Nawāḡhī* (Singular: *nāḡhiya*) were established in Tripoli after the reforms in 1869 that eliminated the position of *Shaykh al-balad* and the Ottomans established instead localities that should have an elected board of the elites of the city or town<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> McAuliffe, Encyclopaedia of the Quran, pp. 35-42.

<sup>12</sup> al-Wībā, Kāmil 'Alī, *al-idārā al-ūthmāniyyā fiṭarābulisal-gharb*, murāja'at Ṭāhir Khalf al-Baka', markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2005, p. 160.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī...*, pp. 151-152.

<sup>14</sup> *Baladiyyat Ṭarābulis fi mā'at 'ām 1286/1391H - 1870/1970M*, dār al-ṭiba'a al-ḡadītha al-maṭaba'a al-lībiyya Ṭarābulus, (n.d.), p. 412.

<sup>15</sup> al-Wībā, *al-idārā al-ūthmāniyyā fiṭarābulisal-gharb*, p. 60.

<sup>16</sup> al-Wībā, *al-idārā al-ūthmāniyyā fiṭarābulisal-gharb*, pp. 73-77.

<sup>17</sup> *al-M'ajam al-wasīf*, majma' al-lughā al-'arabiyya, dār al-shrūq, al-Qahirā, 2004, p.124.

<sup>18</sup> Masūwd, Jūbran, *al-ra'adm 'ajam laghawī a' ṣrī*, dāral-'ilim li-l-malāyīn, Bayrūt, 1992, p. 709.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Kūrū, Frānshiskū, *Lībiyā athnā' al-'ahid al-ūthmānī al-thānī*, ta'rīb Khalīfa al-Tilīsī, al-munsha'a al-'ammā li-l-nashir wa al-tawzi' wa al-i'lān, Ṭarābulis, 1984, p. 26; Ibn Mūsā, Taysīr, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī...*, p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī...*, p.30.

Öşür (‘ushr): An Ottoman tax paid on agricultural products. Farmers had to pay one tenth of their agriculture production such as wheat, barley and olives to the government<sup>22</sup>.

Pasha: A Turkish title given to honor some governors with military ranks in the Ottoman Empire and it was given to the governors of the Ottoman provinces<sup>23</sup>.

Qā’immaqām: A managerial position appointed by the Ottoman rule at the head of any district *Qadā’* (plural *Aqdīya*), the position entrusted with all administrative, legal, security and financial responsibilities<sup>24</sup>.

Qirsh: The Ottoman Qirsh. Was a silver currency and was used in the Ottoman Empire<sup>25</sup>.

*Qunşuliyya* (Consulate): The highest diplomatic representatives of one state in the territories of other state<sup>26</sup>.

*Ra’īs al-Baladiyya*: The position of the head of each municipality (*baladiyya*) and municipal council who was elected by local municipal residents<sup>27</sup>.

Şahrā: The Great Desert at the beginning of south Libya. It was known by the main trade routes that were passing through the Sahara that linked Tripoli with other trade centers in the south of Sahara in Africa<sup>28</sup>.

*Sayyid*: Traditionally title of descendants of the prophet and a religious position and title which was given to the leaders of al-Sanūsiyya movement in Libya<sup>29</sup>.

*Shaykh al-Balad*: A position created by the Ottomans in the province of Tripoli was held by someone from the local people; this person had to be well-known and his tasks were to help the governor concerning different issues at a local level. He used to have considerable power, so the position was abolished by the Ottomans after the reforms of 1869<sup>30</sup>.

*Shaykh al-Islām*: It was the highest Islamic position in the Ottoman Empire. He was also called a mufti and he had not only religious role but also political and legal roles because they were to

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<sup>22</sup>al-Wībā, *al-idāraal-‘uthmāniyya fī Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, pp. 135-136.

<sup>23</sup> Şabān, *al-m’ajam al-mausu’i li-l-mṣtalahat...*, p. 52

<sup>24</sup>Halāq, Ḥasan wā ‘Abās Şabāgh, *al-mu’jam al-jami’ fī al-muṣṭalāḥāt al-ayūbiyya wa al-mamlūkiyya wa al-‘ūthmāniyyā dhāt aluṣūl al-‘arabiyya wa al-fārisiyya wa al-turkiyya: al-muṣṭalāḥāt al-idāriyyā wa al-‘askariyya siyāsiyya wa al- al-iqtisādīyya wa al-ijtimā’iyya wa al-‘ailiyya*, dār al-‘ilim li-l-malāyīn, Bayrūt, 1999, p. 153.

<sup>25</sup>Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama’ al-‘arabī al-lībī...*, pp.205-205.

<sup>26</sup>*al-m’ajam al-wasīṭ*, majma’ al-lugha al-‘arabiyya, dār al-shrūq, al-Qahirā, 2004, p.762.

<sup>27</sup>Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama’ al-‘arabī al-lībī...*, p. 30.

<sup>28</sup>Brūshīn, N. A., *tārīkh Lībiyā min nihāyāt al-qarn al-tasi’ ‘Ashar;ḥata ‘am 1969*, translated by ‘Imād Ḥātim, murāja‘at Milād al-Maqrāhi, markaz jihād al-lībīyyīn ḍid al-ghazu al-Itāli, Ṭarābulis, 1988, p. 43.

<sup>29</sup> Morimoto, Kazuo ed, 2012, *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies: The Living Links to the Prophet* (illustrated ed.). Routledge. pp. 2, 11.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Mūsā *al-mujtama’ al-‘arabī al-lībī...*, pp. 29-30.

issue legal rulings that should be followed by all Muslims in different issues that were not clear in Quran or (The deeds and sayings of the Islamic prophet Moḥammed)<sup>31</sup>.

*Shaykh al-Maḥalla*: He is the leader of a tribe and responsible in his area in front of the governor<sup>32</sup>.

*Sunna*: The deeds and sayings of the Islamic prophet Muḥammed.

*Sūq*: Market. These used to be open places in Tripoli where trade took place of varied types of local as well as exported goods. Some of these markets were operating on weekly or monthly bases<sup>33</sup>.

*Tanzīmāt* (Reforms): The name of the reforms that were carried out by the Ottoman Empire to restructure and improve all the government bodies in 1865.

*Tarīqa Ṣūfiyya*: Schools or orders followed by some Muslims called Sufism; every school has its own mystical teachings and spiritual practices. Sufism also meant to emphasis the implementation of the orders of God and to avoid his prohibitions<sup>34</sup>.

*Waqf* (endowment): A property withheld from market circulation so that it could be dedicated to philanthropic or religious purposes<sup>35</sup>.

*Werko*: Ottoman tax was attribute annual tax known also as *Mīrī*. It was supposed to be paid by every adult on livestock or trees or wells and the amounts were determined by the Ottoman government for each of these possessions<sup>36</sup>.

*al-Wikāla al- Qunṣuliyya* (Consular Agency): A diplomatic representation of a lower grade than a consulate. Its mission is to provide the needed help and support to national citizens and strengthen political, economic and cultural relations between the two states. Such an agency was opened in states where there was no consulate. Sometimes the responsibility of such consular agency was given to a consulate of another state<sup>37</sup>.

*Wilāya* (Provinces):<sup>38</sup>.(See *Eyālet*)

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<sup>31</sup>Halāq wā Ṣabāgh, *al-mu'jam al-jami' ...*, p. 133.

<sup>32</sup>Kūrū, *Lībiyā athnā' al-'ahid al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*, p. 27.

<sup>33</sup>'Amara, Moḥammed, *mu'jam al-muṣṭalāḥāt al-Iqtisādīyyā*, dār al-shrūq , al- al-Qahirā, 1993, p.299.

<sup>34</sup>*al-mu'jam al-mujaz*, p. 374.

<sup>35</sup>Extracted from <http://journal.mufad.org/attachments/article/452/7>, pdf. (March 2016)

<sup>36</sup>al-Wībā, *al-idārā al-'ūthmānīyyā fiṭarābulisal-gharb*, p.141-142.

<sup>37</sup>al-Naṣar, 'Abdul-Wahid, *al-mu'assāt al-dawalīyya*, dār ḥaṭīyn, al-Rabāt, 1994, p. 135; Farḥat, Ibn Ṣaf, *al-'alāqāt al- Qunṣuliyya*, risālat mājistīr, Jami'āt Qsanṭīna, 2013-2014, p. 88.

<sup>38</sup>For this point see Günes Isiksel, *La diplomatie ottomane sous le règne de Selim II: paramètres et périmètres de l'Empire Ottoman dans le troisième quart du XVIème siècle*, Collection Turcica, 20, Peeters, Paris, 2016.

*Wukalā'*: It is the plural form of *Wakīl* who is the middleman or a broker who works for someone or some company to represent them in commercial transactions<sup>39</sup>.

*al-Yahūd*: The Jews.

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<sup>39</sup>*al-mu'jam al-mujaz*, p. 680.

# Chapter One: Introduction

## 1.1 Context of the Research: European Colonial Ambitions and Economic Expansion of the Reich (18784-1918)

This thesis investigates the relations between Germany and the Ottoman provinces of Tripoli (Wilāyat Ṭrāblus al-Gārb) during the period between 1884 and 1918. It focuses on German interests in the province of Tripoli throughout this period and the relevance of this province in particular for German foreign policy. It also considers the political, economical and institutional factors that influenced the relationships between Germany and the province of Tripoli.

Given that the province of Tripoli was one of the provinces under the rule of the Ottoman Empire from 1551 until its colonization by Italy in 1911, this research will also analyze the relationship between Germany and the Ottoman Empire, particularly in the light of events of a more international significance that were taking place around the same time and influencing this relationship.

The time period focused on in this research (1884-1918) has been selected for its essential relevance to the history of the relationship between the East and the West. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were characterized by an extension of European control outside the European continent<sup>40</sup>, an enterprise that included what came to be known as the "scramble for Africa"<sup>41</sup> in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which will be discussed in detail in the theoretical background to this introductory chapter. This period was also marked by the Industrial Revolution in Europe. The mechanization of the industrial sector that it brought about as well as mass production of different products led to enormous economic developments<sup>42</sup>. Following these developments European powers began to search for markets for their products and for regions that would supply the raw materials required for the growing industries<sup>43</sup>. In order to secure their access to these markets and raw materials, it was necessary to have political control over these areas, either by entering into treaties with the original landowners or by the

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<sup>40</sup> Conrad, Sebastian, *German Colonialism: A Short History*, (translated by Sorcha O'Hagan), Cambridge University Press, 2012.

<sup>41</sup> Pakenham, Thomas, *The Scramble for Africa: The White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876 to 1912*, Harper Perennial, 1992.

<sup>42</sup> Giordani, P, *The German Colonial Empire – Its Beginning and Ending*, Translated by Mrs. Gustavus W. Hamilton, London: G. Bell and Sons

[https://archive.org/stream/germancoloniale00gioruoft/germancoloniale00gioruoft\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/germancoloniale00gioruoft/germancoloniale00gioruoft_djvu.txt) (05.05.2016), p:vi

<sup>43</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism ...*, p. 27.

imposition of direct political and military control. The expansion outside Europe came from these specific needs, which took both political and economic character.

Many European countries sought to obtain control over territories outside their borders. Alongside more internationally powerful countries such as Britain, France, Spain and Portugal, Germany also had ambitions of this nature. Britain had succeeded in extending its influence into many areas including India in Asia, Egypt and Sudan in North Africa as well as some other areas in the Central and West Africa. France was controlling some areas in North Africa like the Ottoman province of Algeria since 1830 and Tunis in 1881, whilst Spain and Portugal had managed to control some of the areas bordering the Indian Ocean.

It should be noted here that Germany did not participate in the earlier colonial competition of the European countries. Only after the political and administrative unification in 1871 did it become possible to develop a policy of expansion towards territories outside Europe and Africa more specifically. Germany had acquired some areas in Central and Western Africa, albeit later than other European countries such as Britain and France. The German expansion started practically since the time in which Otto von Bismarck (1815-1895)<sup>44</sup>, the German Chancellor of the Reich (1871-1890) decided to have colonies outside Germany in 1884, a move which he viewed as crucial to protect his country from other powers. The German minister Bernhard von Bülow (1849-1929) who was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1897-1900) and later the Chancellor of the German Empire (1900-1909) expressed the necessity of expansion explicitly in his speech before the house of the Imperial Diet of the German Empire (Reichstag) in December 11, 1899:

*“In our nineteenth century, England has continually expanded its colonial empire – the Largest the world has seen since the days of the Romans. The French have gained a firmer and firmer foothold in North Africa and Africa and created for themselves a new empire in the Far East. In Asia, Russia has embarked on a series of victories that has taken it to the Pamir Plateau and the coasts of the Pacific Ocean...”<sup>45</sup>.*

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<sup>44</sup>For more information on the Prussian statesman and the German Chancellor (1815-1898) see Pflanze (Otto), *Bismarck and the Development of Germany*, Vol. 3: The Period of Fortification, 1880-1898, 2nd edition, 1990.

<sup>45</sup> Bernhard von Bülow, Speech given: “Dynamic Foreign Policy” (December 11, 1899), German History in Documents and Images (GHDI): [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=779\(05.03.2016\)](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=779(05.03.2016)).

In these words he stressed the position of England as the first colonial empire in the world, as well as the gains of the other major powers mainly France and Russia. In a speech comparing these powers, he mentioned the main interest of each and the German interest specifically, as well as the main reasons behind the expansion, in the following words:

*“It is out of the question for the simple reason that we now have interests in all parts of the world. [ . . . ] The rapid growth of our population, the unprecedented expansion of our industry, the industriousness of our merchants, in short, the phenomenal vitality of the German people have integrated us into the world economy and drawn us into international politics. If the British speak of Greater Britain, if the French speak of Nouvelle France, if the Russians move into Asia, we too have the right to a Greater Germany”<sup>46</sup>*

Another important event which took place during the time period under research was the Second Berlin Conference which was also known as Congo Conference in 1884. This conference was a very influential political event that shaped the relationship between the major European powers as well as their respective expansion in Africa. The conference was held in response to the emerging conflict among the European powers about their colonies in Africa, especially in the Congo Basin. It discussed questions such as how to colonize, what to colonize and how to implement a free trade and freedom of navigation in the Congo Basin and came out with new regulations with regard to their colonies in the area<sup>47</sup>. The main regulations included the supervision of colonies to prevent any single country abusing the rights of another. These were stated in Article 34 and 35 of the conference agreement<sup>48</sup>. The countries participating in the conference also agreed to prevent slave trade in Article 9. Article 6<sup>49</sup> specified the regulations to deal with the local populations in the colonies.

The year 1918 has been selected as the cut-off point of this research period because it represents the end of World War I and the decline of the German influence over the province of Tripoli, which was named “Libya” in 1911 after the Italian occupation of the country<sup>50</sup>. However, the

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<sup>46</sup> Bernhard von Bülow, Speech given: “Dynamic Foreign Policy” (December 11, 1899).

<sup>47</sup>On the topic see for example Craven (Matthew), *Between law and history: the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 and the logic of free trade*, in *London Review in International Law*, 3-1, pp. 31-59.

<sup>48</sup> Stoecker, Helmuth, *German Imperialism in Africa from the beginning until the Second World*, Translated from the German by Bernd Zöllner Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1986, p. 37.

<sup>49</sup> Stoecker, *German Imperialism in Africa . . .*, p. 37.

<sup>50</sup>Lászlo J. Nagy, *La guerre italo-turque en Tripolitaine (1911-1912) et la Hongrie*, in *La Libia nella storia del Mediterraneo*, Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente- Libyan Studies Center, Roma-Tripoli, pp. 312-325.

period after the Italian occupation will also be mentioned in the course of this research to see if and how the German interest on Libya changed during this time and whether or not it was affected by Italian occupation of the country. In 1918 the Tripolitanian Republic was established under Italian rule. The political and economical conditions in which the declaration took place were difficult, owing to the recent defeat of the Ottoman forces (which was supported by Germany) and their withdrawal from the region including Libya. Even if the Ottoman forces were asked to leave the country, however, the representative of the Ottoman Empire and the German commander Baron Fred von Tundort stayed to help building the new republic that expected to rule the country<sup>51</sup>.

The geographical scope of this research is limited to the area belonging to the last North African Ottoman province of Tripoli of the end of the nineteenth century and within its boundaries which were defined geographically in that period by Britain and France.

The province of Tripoli shared its eastern borders with the former Ottoman province of Egypt. The British army had occupied Egypt since 1882 but it was not declared a British colony, making its status unclear. The western border of the province was shared with the former Ottoman province of Tunisia and the former Ottoman province of Algeria that had been colonized by France since 1830. The northern borders of Tripoli were constituted by the Mediterranean Sea, and to the south lay the middle, eastern and western regions of Sudan, which are now divided into Chad (colonized by France 1900-1960)<sup>52</sup>, Niger (colonized by France 1922-1960) and Sudan (colonized by Britain 1899-1956). These geographical borders had been defined differently under the administration of the Ottoman Empire, and they were changed when the European countries colonized the area and redefined the new borders according to their interests and influence.

The province of Tripoli was considered important for different European powers. Historical literature showed that in 1899 the province of Tripoli was an issue of dispute between England and France since it was viewed as the easiest intermediary passage between the basin of the Chad, English Nigeria and French Senegal and the Mediterranean. In Giordani's words "*Tripoli, for evident geographical reasons has always been the shortest way to the sea*"<sup>53</sup>. The importance of the province of Tripoli resulted also from the coastline stretching north to the Mediterranean

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<sup>51</sup>Tahir angular, *Jihadheroes*, pp. 310-311

<sup>52</sup>See J.-C. Zeltner, *Tripoli, carrefour de l'Europe et des pays du Tchad (1500-1795)*, Paris, 1992.

<sup>53</sup> Giordani, *The German Colonial Empire – Its Beginning and Ending*, p. 131.

with a distance exceeding 1,900 km. This rendered the province of Tripoli an important commercial center with many 'Libyan' cities established since the period of the Phoenician and then under the Carthage and Roman Empire. The province and the city of Tripoli was also the meeting point of the African trade routes that gathered both the Eastern and European trade<sup>54</sup>.

With regard to Germany, this importance was stressed in the German media at the time supported by businessmen, travellers and investors to prompt the German politicians and decision makers to seek a place in North Africa starting from the good relations they built with the Ottoman Empire. In addition to that, they tried to find an entrance to reach their colonies in East and West Africa easily<sup>55</sup>. The province of Tripoli was the best place to realize this objective. It is argued in literature that the German presence in the province of Tripoli was subjected to the international policies and was different from the colonial intentions of Italy<sup>56</sup>. Germany's interests in the province were more specifically economic and strategic in contrast to Italy, which wanted to fully occupy the province. The Italian interest was based on the concern to have a colony in the province of Tripoli, the coast of which it regarded as its fourth border (*Quarta sponda*)<sup>57</sup>. It was also aware of the strategic and economic importance of the province of Tripoli<sup>58</sup>.

These points together outline the importance of the province that reinforced the choice of this specific topic in addition to the lack of a comprehensive study that investigates the subject thoroughly.

The province of Tripoli also attracted many travellers to visit the province, who played a major role in highlighting its importance. It is mentioned in literature that large numbers of travellers of differing European nationalities visited the province of Tripoli; they came also with different intentions. Most of them came under the aegis of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of Interior Parts of Africa, also known as the African Association; which was established in London in 1788<sup>59</sup>. The association was used by Britain to collect as much information as possible on the areas that were not yet under the control of any European countries, the association was

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<sup>54</sup> See Les annales tripolitaines de Charles Féraud, with an introduction by Nora Lafi, Bouchène, Paris, 2005, 437p; See also *Tripoli, port de mer, port de desert*, Revue de l'école doctorale d'histoire de Paris 1, *Hypothèses*.

<sup>55</sup> Giordani, *The German Colonial Empire – Its Beginning and Ending*, p. 131.

<sup>56</sup> Politisches Archiv, Das Auswärtigen Amtes Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche konsulat in Tripoli, Bd.1, vom Juli 1869 bis Oktober 1888, R 901/52506, 19 Juni, 1899, Nr. A.z.14524/99/1899.

<sup>57</sup> <https://chronicle.fanack.com/libya/history-past-to-present/italys-fourth-coast/>

<sup>58</sup> al-Zawī, al-Ṭāhir Ahmad, *Jihād al-Abtāl*, dār al-Madār al-Islāmi, Bayrūt, 2004, p. 29.

<sup>59</sup> On the African Association, see: Rutherford, Robert Vincent, Sir Joseph Banks and the Exploration of Africa (1788-1820), Berkeley, University of California, 1952, 704p ; See also : Mūrī, *al-Raḥḥāla wa al-kashif al-jughrāfi fī Lībiya*, op.cit., p. 8.

financing scouting trips and other activities that helped in collecting the needed information. Many European travellers were financed through this association, such as the German traveller Heinrich Barth (born 1821) who wrote extensively on the province<sup>60</sup>.

However, other travellers who visited the province of Tripoli came individually, driven by their desire to explore the area. They subsequently developed their interests and were supported by some associations that had specific missions. In addition to Heinrich Barth (born 1821)<sup>61</sup> it is possible to mention Gerhard Rohlfs (born 1831)<sup>62</sup>, Gustav Nachtigal (born 1834)<sup>63</sup>, Gottlob Adolf Krause (born 1834)<sup>64</sup>, and Ewald Banse (born 1883)<sup>65</sup> amongst others. Obviously they benefited from the experience of the Libyans in understanding the desert as well as their knowledge about the routes and pathways leading to the center of Africa.

The European travellers who visited the province of Tripoli could be divided into two categories: The first came to the province of Tripoli to explore and research the historical and geographical aspects in addition to the monuments, for example Baron von Maltzan and Gottlob Adolf Krause. The second group tried to study the province focusing on the political, economic and social aspects, and they intended to collect as much information as possible. Members of this group, such as Gerhard Rohlfs and Gustav Nachtigal, had been used to serve the colonial objectives at first.

The research will present the most important European travellers according to the chronological order in which they arrived to the province of Tripoli.

Those travellers, among them especially the Germans, realized the economic, strategic and political significance of the province of Tripoli and what the province could offer German interests especially after the beginning of the German presence in the West and East Africa.

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<sup>60</sup> Barth's journey to the province of Tripoli will be presented in chapter 3.

<sup>61</sup>H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, London, 1857.

<sup>62</sup>Friedrich Gerhard Rohlfs (1831-1896) a former consul in Zanzibar appointed by Otto von Bismarck was before that a doctor in the French colonial Legion in the ottoman province of Algiers where he took part at the violent colonization in the Kabylia region. In 1878 he was commissioned by the German African Society to travel to the region of Wadai in the South of the Province of Tripoli. As geographer as well he explored Afrika and dedicated very interesting pages on the province of ottoman Tripoli, see Rohlfs, Gerhard, *reise durch Marroko, ueber steigung des grossen Atlas, Exploration der Oasen von Tafilet, Tuat, Tidikelt und Reise durch die Grosse Wüste über Rhadames nach Tripoli*, Kühtman's Buchhandlung, Bremen, 1868, 200p.

<sup>63</sup>Nachtigal, Gustav, *Sahara Und Sudan*, 3 vols, Weltgeist - Bücher Verlags - Gesellschaft m.b.h, Berlin – Leipzig 1879-1889.

<sup>64</sup>Krawzā, Ghūtlūb Adūlf, *tāgārīr Ghūtlūb Adūlf Krawzāal-ṣahafīyya ḥawla al-ghazū al-īṭālī li-Lībiyā*, translated by 'Imād al-Dīn Ghānim, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 1993.

<sup>65</sup> Banzā, Ifāld, *Ṭarābulis maṭla' al-Qarn al-'Aishrīn fī wasf al-Jughrāfī al-'Almāni Ifāld Banzā*, translated and studies by 'Imād al-Dīn Ghānim, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 1998.

The German consular agency (*al-Wikāla al-Qunṣuliyya*) which opened in the province of Tripoli in 1884 and was later upgraded in 1909 to a consulate (*Qunṣuliyya*) is crucial to the period of this research. The opening of the consulate is viewed in the literature as representing the highpoint of German interest in the province of Tripoli<sup>66</sup>. It revealed the interests of Germany in the province despite the reserve with which German diplomacy worked with the province through other channels, such as those of Constantinople. As such, the activities of the German Consul are critical to understanding the German approach to the region. Moreover, varied information also was provided to the German decision makers through this consular agency and the consulate. They might have played a very important role in shaping the German politics in North Africa region. The consulate also served the Germans who resided in the province including the travellers and investors<sup>67</sup>.

The international conditions which were prevailing in the nineteenth century and the control of the European countries over the territories of the Ottoman Empire helped the former to expand their presence in these territories. This was especially true after a series of settlement agreements and acts between the major powers including the Ottoman Empire, for example the Triple Alliance (Germany, Italy, Austria / Hungary) in 1882 and the agreement between France and Britain in 1899, which provided for the sharing of Sudan between them. In addition to that the German-Italian Agreement in 1887 that was secretly signed by the Chancellor Otto von Bismarck; by signing this agreement Germany stated the eligibility of Italy to occupy the province of Tripoli<sup>68</sup>. There was also an Entente Cordiale signed between France and Britain in 1904<sup>69</sup>. It is to be noted here that signing this agreement resulted in the first Morocco crisis which was solved in the Algeiras conference<sup>70</sup>. More and detailed information on all these

<sup>66</sup> Ghānim, 'Imād al-Dīn wa Hānis Shlūtir " al-Qunṣuliyya al-'almāniyya fī Ṭarābulis wa makanātuha fī al-'alāqāt al-Lībīyya al-'almāniyya ḥattā nihāyat al-ḥarab al-'aālāmīyyā al-'ūlā, Baḥṭh ghīr manshūr, p.

<sup>67</sup> Bundesarchiv, Die Handels-und Schiff fahrts-Verhältnisse mit Tripolis, Bd1, Vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904, R901/11936, Nr. 16857, 19 Juni 1899.

<sup>68</sup> On the agreement of 1887: Medlicott (W.N.), "The Mediterranean Agreement of 1887", The Slavonic Review, 1926, 5-13, p. 66-88; Ismā'īl, Ḥilmi Maḥrūs, *tārīkh Afrīqiyyā al-ḥadīt min al-ghazū al-'ūthmānīlā nihāyat al-ḥarab al-'alāmīyyā al-'ūlā*, al-juzu' al-awwal, mu'ssasat shabāb al-jamī'a al-Iskandarīyya, 1977, p. 263.

<sup>69</sup> On the Entente Cordiale: Bell (P.M.H.), *France and Britain (1900-1940)*, Routledge, London, 2014, 288p. See also: Mīkhā'īl, Hinrī 'Anīs, *al-'alāqāt al-Injīlīzīyya al-Lībīya ma'a taḥlīl li-l-mu'āhadāal-Injīlīzīyya al-Lībīya*, al-hai'a al-maṣrīyya al-'āmmā li-l-ta'līf wa al-nashir, al-Qāhira, 1973.

<sup>70</sup> Jones, Heather, "Algeiras Revisited: European Crisis and Conference Diplomacy 1906", European University Institute EUI working paper Max Weber Program MWP 2009/01; See also: Anderson (Eugene), *The First Moroccan Crisis (1904-1906)*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 420p.

agreements is provided in chapter (3) to shed light to the argument that Italy had entered into many agreements and used other agreement to pave its way to occupy the province of Tripoli.

## **1.2 Main Objectives and Hypotheses of the Research:**

The importance of this research lies in its exploration of the significance of the province of Tripoli to the European powers in general and Germany in particular. It considers the nature of the German interests in the Province of Tripoli and the extent to which the province of Tripoli was incorporated into German politics in the time between 1884 and 1918.

The research will realize this aim through fulfilling specific objectives such as providing:

1 - An assessment of the general conditions in the province of Tripoli, which will be used in the research as a framework to understand the context of the relationships between Germany and the province of Tripoli. International main events and agreements that affected the relationships between Germany and the province of Tripoli will also be taken into account.

2 - An identification of the political and economic interests of Germany towards the province of Tripoli. The German interests and intentions are suppose of to be reflected on activities such as information exchange, trade exchange, any sorts of explorations of travellers and their role in attracting the attention of the German politicians or diplomatic representation.

3 – An analysis of Germany’s relationship with the Ottoman Empire, since the province of Tripoli was under the rule of the latter.

4 – A study of the German influence and support provided to the leadership of the Libyan *Mujāhidīn*<sup>71</sup> in 1914 in moving their troops to fight in a war outside their province, specifically against the British in Egypt instead of supporting them in the internal war against the Italians.

This research argues that Germany was trying to emulate the major European countries, particularly Britain and France, in the process of extending its control beyond Europe. Germany had political, strategic and economic interests on North Africa, particularly the province of Tripoli but never had colonial intentions like the other European countries. To realise these goals Germany started to strengthen its relations with the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. They also developed the military forces of the Ottomans and established economic projects like building the Baghdad railway.

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<sup>71</sup>People who are involved in *Jihad* (Islamic war against the enemies of Islam).

It is also argued that because Germany already had a political and military presence in other parts of central Africa, the province of Tripoli was viewed by Germany as the gate to the German colonies in Africa.

### **1.3 Methodology and Literature Reviewed:**

In this research a methodology depending on the concept of "histoire croisée"<sup>72</sup> and the conscious inter-referencing of contemporary sources of data is used. This methodology is used to analyze the political historical events. Depending on this methodology, the research seeks to follow the style of the constant comparison of information contained in sources, references, and previous studies in order to increase the validity of information gathered to realize the research objectives, for the same reason as the descriptive approach is used in this research.

The descriptive approach was thought to be useful to describe the local circumstances in both the province of Tripoli and Germany. Moreover, describing the local community in the province of Tripoli in terms of social and class structure viewed as crucial. In addition to that, the research provides comprehensive description of the caravan trade routes through different areas of the territory of the province of Tripoli. Maps and pictures are also provided in all chapters and statistical tables are used to describe other volume of trade activities and goods exchanged between Germany and the province of Tripoli.<sup>73</sup>

Consequently, varieties of sources of data are used to apply the concept of "histoire croisée" systematically. These sources include:

1 - Published and unpublished archival documents found in the Political Archive and the Federal Archives in Berlin (Politisches Archiv and Bundesarchiv) and the National Center for Documentation and Archives in Libya and the National archives of Tunisia. These documents have been written in a variety of languages including German, English, Italian, and French. The archival documents found in the Libyan National Center for Documentation and Archives were also in different languages (Arabic, English German and Ottoman language) while the archival documents found in Tunis were mainly in Arabic. With respect to the published archival documents they were mainly written in Arabic or translated to or from German, Italian, English and French languages. Assortment of topics existed in these archived documents including

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<sup>72</sup> Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, *Beyond Comparison: Histoire croisée and the challenge of reflexivity*, History and Theory, Volume 45, Issue 1, February 2006, pp. 30–50.

<sup>73</sup>It worth mentioning that the first version of this research was written originally in Arabic and translated later on into English.

political, economic and social topics. The search has revealed some valuable historical archival documents about the main political events that took place in the period under study. These archival sources include government reports and correspondents on the one hand and reports of travellers and witnesses who experienced the events as they were taking place on the other hand. Some German, English and French consuls' reports found in the archives contain also important information about the province of Tripoli. Examples of these archival documents are the reports written by the British consul in the province of Tripoli. These reports include very valuable information on the trade exchange and volume of trade between Germany and the province of Tripoli in the years 1884, 1885 and 1886 among other information. For instance the reports included statistics in terms of total exports of the province of Tripoli to Germany and compared between the volumes of trade in different years and also compared to the volume of trade of other European powers. An example this trade of Ottoman documents was the letter <sup>74</sup> released by the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs with regard to the German consulate in the province of Tripoli in 1910, Or the letter sent to confirm the approval of the Ottoman Empire about the new consul in 1910. An example of the Arabic archival documents was the slave trade file <sup>75</sup> at the National Center of Historical Archives in Tripoli – Libya. This file contained documents regarding the continuation of the slave trade in the province of Tripoli and specifically in the port of Benghazi in the eastern part of the province despite the universal decision to prevent it.

2 - Arabic books written about the time period under study. Some of the scholars wrote about their personal experiences in the province of Tripoli. For example, Ḥasan, al-Faḳīḥ Ḥasan's chronicle<sup>76</sup> is a major account of the history of the Ottoman province of Tripoli in the period. Ḥasan wrote this chronicle that included detailed information on the daily life in the province of Tripoli and the events he experienced. It was edited and published by the famous Libyan historian 'Amār Jih̄īdir and provides valuable information on travellers in this region.

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<sup>74</sup> Wathīqa 4288, ṣādīra 'an wizārat al-khārijīyyā al-'ūthmāniyya ilā wilāyat Ṭarābulis al gharab, Wathīqa 'ūthmāniyyā bi-tārīkh 1327H / 1910, dār al-mahāfūzāt al-tārīkhiyya, al-Sarāy al-Ḥamrā', Ṭarābulis.

<sup>75</sup> Wathīqa 12, malaf al-wathāiq al-ijtimā'iyya, bi- tārīkh 1/6/1902, shu'bat al- wathāiq wa al- makhtūṭāt, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-māhafūzāt wa al- dirāsāt al- tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>76</sup> Ḥasan, al-faḳīḥ Ḥasan published by two famous Libyan historians : *al-yawmiyyāt al-lībīya, al-juz' al-'awwal, 958h-1248h (1551-1832)*, M. al-Ustā' et 'Amār Jih̄īdir., 1984 (markaz jihād al-Lībīyīn lil-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiya, Ṭarābulis, collection of textes and archives, 7) ; and *al-yawmiyyāt al-lībīya, al-juz' al-thānī, al-harb al-'ahlīya wa nihāya al-'ahd al-qaramānī, 1248-1251h. (1832-1835)*, 'Ammar Juhayder (ed.), markaz jihād al-lībīyīn lil-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, collection textes and archives, 2-7), Ṭarābulis, 2001.

There was also ‘Abdul-Raḥmān ‘Azzām<sup>77</sup>, who was present during the war between Libya and Britain in Egypt in 1915-1916. He wrote a book about the battles in Egypt between the British on one side and the Libyan *Mujāhidīn*, the Ottomans and the German who supported the *Mujāhidīn* on the other side. In his book ‘Azzām provided details about the difficulties that faced the *Mujāhidīn* and their leader Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf during the battles and their withdrawal towards Libya and the period after their defeat. It is worth mentioning that ‘Abdul-Raḥmān ‘Azzām accompanied the army that started from the province of Tripoli and headed to Egypt to fight the British there. The importance of his book comes from the fact that he witnessed many events during that war.

Another contemporary Arabic writer was al-Ṭāhīral-Zāwī<sup>78</sup> who wrote a book addressing the struggle of the Libyans against the Italians, the book’s title was the “*Jihad* of the heroes”, the book focused on the most important events that al-Zāwī personally experienced. He also wrote about the last period of the Ottomans in Libya and went further to describe the battles of the Libyans against the Italian occupation to the point of time when the local Libyan leaders were negotiating with the Italians. He wrote also about the Republic of Tripoli that was declared after the end of World War. This is only a selection of a variety of sources which will be mentioned in detail later in different chapters.

3 - Books written by travellers, particularly from Germany, which contain a wealth of information about the economic, cultural and social life and the importance of the province of Tripoli for Germany. These travellers began to reach the province of Tripoli during the last decade of the first half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the German travellers in particular provided a lot of scattered information about various aspects of life in the province of Tripoli. To give an example of the German travellers, one of the most influential German travellers was Gerhard Rohlfs, who wrote a lot about his trips to the province of Tripoli and North Africa and provided a lot of information about the province and its significance to Germany. Gerhard Rohlfs’ book title was “a Trip to Al Kufra”<sup>79</sup>, one among many books he wrote about the

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<sup>77</sup> ‘Azzām, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, “Kifāh al-sha‘b al-lībī fi sabīl al-ḥurriyya”, translated by ‘Imād al-Dīn Ghānim, *majallat al-wathā‘iq wa al-makhtūṭāt* 2, 2, markaz jihād al-lībīyyīndīd al-ghazu al-iṭālī, Tarābulus, 1987.

<sup>78</sup> See: Kraus, Jakob, *Geschichte als Widerstand, Geschichtsschreibung und "nation-building" in Qaḍāfīs Libyen*, Ergon Verlag, Würzburg, 2016.

<sup>79</sup> Rohlfs, Gerhard, *reise durch Marokko*, Bremen, Kühtmann's, 1868, 200p. Arabic translation: *Rihla ilā al-Kufrā: taqārīr al-raḥāla al-‘almāni Ghīrhārd Rulfis ilā Ṭarābulis ‘abr Bani-Walid wa Sūknā wa Hūn wa Waddān wa Zallā wa Ujlā wa Jālū wa Binghāzī*, transl. by ‘Imād al-Dīn Ghānim, markaz jihād al-lībīyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Tarābulis, 2006.

province of Tripoli. Another significant book was written by Gustav Nachtigal under the title of “Sahara und Sudan”<sup>80</sup>. He passed through the province of Tripoli in 1870.

4 - References including books, journals and internet sources English, German and French covering the period under study or the main historical local or international events. Some of this literature focuses on specific themes. For instance literature on the history of Libya includes the seminal works of Salvatore Bono<sup>81</sup> who collected historiography and western sources on the history of Libya (1510-1911) and Orhan Koloğlu who wrote about the history of the Turkish-Libyan relations<sup>82</sup>. In addition to that the works of ‘Imād al-Dīn Ghānim, who wrote many articles about the Germantravellers who visited Tripoli or other places in North Africa, is considered significant for this research because they provide valuable information on the relations between Germany and Tripoli at the time of the research. He also quoted from some German consuls who worked in Tripoli<sup>83</sup>. He also translated some of their books.

Given that the main theoretical background of this research revolves around colonization, imperialism and the European expansion in Africa, books, journals and internet sources on these concepts have been used intensively. The standpoint of a particular historian towards these topics is significant for the direction of their research. Amongst the German researchers whose work on colonialism has been of relevance for this study, the name of Sebastian Conrad is especially prominent. Conrad has written extensively about the history of the German imperialism and colonialism. In his book “German Colonialism: A short History”<sup>84</sup>, he discusses the German colonial expansion and its most important causes and consequences.

Another German historian of particular relevance for this work is Jürgen Osterhammel<sup>85</sup> He is the coauthor of “Globalization: A Short History”<sup>86</sup>. He wrote on the concept of imperialism and colonialism and provided a comprehensive definition of the two concepts and discussed their

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<sup>80</sup>Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan: Ergebnisse Sechsjähriger Reisen in Afrika*, Ersten Band, Graz, Austria, 1967.

<sup>81</sup>Salvatore Bono, *Storiografia fonti occidentali sulla storia della Libia (1510-1911)*, Rome, 1982; See also John Wright, *A History of Libya*, London, 2010.

<sup>82</sup>O. Koloğlu, *500 Years in Turkish-Libyan Relations*, Ankara, 2007, p. 10-11. See also Libya from the Ottoman perspective (1835-1918), in *La Libia nella storia del Mediterraneo*, Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente/ Libyan Studies Center, Africa, 63-2, 2008, pp. 275-282.

<sup>83</sup> Ghānim, ‘Imād al-Dīn, “al-maṣāliḥ al-‘almānīyya fī Lībiya khilāl al-‘aqd al-‘awal min al- al-qarn al-‘aishrīn kamā tuṣawiruhā wathāiq al-’ Arshif al-Siyāsī al-‘Almānī”, *majalat al-buḥūth al-tārīkhiyya*, al-sana al-khamisa, al-’adad al-awal, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīndīd al-ghazu al-iṭālī, Ṭarābulis, 1983.

<sup>84</sup> Conrad, Sebastian, *German Colonialism: A Short History*, translated by Sorcha O’Hagan, Cambridge, 2012.

<sup>85</sup>Osterhammel, Jürgen, *Kolonialismus : Geschichte-Formen- Folgen*, Verlag C.H.Beck, München, 1995.

<sup>86</sup>Osterhammel, Jürgen, “*Globalization: A Short History*” (with Niels P. Petersson, Princeton 2005) Max Weber and His Contemporaries (edited, with Wolfgang J. Mommsen, London 1987).

many dimensions and attributes<sup>87</sup>. Conrad and Osterhammel wrote an important book together in German about the position of the German transnational Empire in the World 1871-1914<sup>88</sup>. The theoretical arguments of Conrad and Osterhammel and other writers who focused on the two theories will be presented in the research theoretical framework in this chapter.

### **1.3.1 Translation and Transliteration:**

It worth mentioning that the main idea of this research was formulated in Libya in 2009 when I was registered at Damascus University in Syria as a PhD student. However due to the beginning of the war there I came to Germany. During these initial stages of the research I was writing in Arabic and used different Arabic literature and as soon as I was accepted at the Free University in Berlin in 2013 I translated all what I have written into English.

The research investigates the relationship between the province of Tripoli and Germany 1884-1918. The province of Tripoli was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire during this time and later occupied by Italy in 1911, consequently the nature of the research topic is cross-cultural and necessitates the use of different documents, books and journals written in different languages and thus I had to translate them into English only when it was a quotation in this work.

With regard to the transliteration I decided to use a systematic transliteration of Arabic and Turkish terms<sup>89</sup> for example *Uyūn* (Singular *ayn* that means sources and springs of water) and names such as Sayyid Aḥmad al-Sharīf are also written using the same transliteration system. Moreover, books which are written in or translated into Arabic are referenced using the same transliteration system. However, the names of cities and counties are not transliterated and used as they are written in the sources.

## **1.4 Theoretical Framework:**

### **1.4.1 Colonialism and Imperialism**

This study considers an episode of what has been called the "scramble for Africa". The events are analysed as part of the wider context of colonialism and imperialism. As such, theories on

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<sup>87</sup> Other books and journals Osterhammel, Jürgen, "The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century" (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014) Osterhammel, Jürgen, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, 2nd edn., Princeton 2005.

<sup>88</sup> Conrad, Sebastian and Jürgen Osterhammel, *Das Kaiserreich transnational. Deutschland in der Welt 1871–1914*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2004.

<sup>89</sup>Ijmes Translation and transliteration guide

([http://ijmes.chass.ncsu.edu/IJMES\\_Translation\\_and\\_Transliteration\\_Guide.htm](http://ijmes.chass.ncsu.edu/IJMES_Translation_and_Transliteration_Guide.htm))

colonialism and imperialism are used to situate the research and represent the main theoretical framework of the research. It is relatively common that the terms colonialism and imperialism are used interchangeably in literature discussing the subject, although they refer to different phenomena.

Colonization as a phenomenon had spread drastically in the period following the geographical discoveries at the beginning of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and became stronger in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This research uses Jürgen Osterhammel's definition of colonialism to explain the process. Osterhammel defines colonialism as a relationship of domination between two culturally different powers, in the context of which one party controls the decision of the other, who is forced to deal with these external pressures and serve the interests of the dominant party<sup>90</sup>. The interests of the colonized countries were not considered subordinated to those of the colonizers. Moreover, in colonialism, the ideological orientation of the colonizer, was taken to be superior to the colonized nations<sup>91</sup>.

Timo Särkkä supported the argument and definition provided by Osterhammel above that colonialism is an unequal economic, political and cultural relationship between the colonial powers and the colonized countries<sup>92</sup>.

It is noted that the concept of imperialism emerged later than the concept of colonialism. According to the same writer, the term imperialism means the collection of all the actors and all forces that contribute to the establishment and maintenance of colonial empires. Imperialism was not only a colonial policy of one power but it was shaped and reshaped by the influence of the international powers and powers of countries who seek to take part of the process and actions<sup>93</sup>.

#### **1.4.2 General Reasons behind Colonialism and Imperialism:**

The main factors behind the development of colonialism tend to be divided into four groups in the literature on the subject<sup>94</sup>. The first of these is the economic factor, including the rise of the Industrial Revolution in Europe. The Industrial Revolution was also taking place in the eighteenth

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<sup>90</sup>Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus...*, p. 21.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Särkkä, Timo, *Hobson's Imperialism A Study in Late-Victorian Political Thought*, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, 2009, p.13.

<sup>93</sup>Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus...*, p. 21.

<sup>94</sup> Aybar, Juan Carlos Ocaña, *Colonialism and Imperialism, Geography and History*, Bilingual Studies – IES Parque de Lisboa, Alcorcón, Madrid.

and nineteenth centuries in Europe and was accompanied by the mechanization of the industrial sector as well as mass production of different products that led to enormous economic developments<sup>95</sup>. These developments were the reason behind the attempts of the European powers to search for markets to sell their products, as well as to find new regions to get the required raw materials for the growing industries<sup>96</sup>. In order to secure their access to these markets and raw materials, it was necessary to have political control over these new regions, either by entering into treaties with the original rulers or by the imposition of direct political and military control. The expansion outside Europe came from these specific needs, which have taken both political and economic character.

It is also important to note that imperialism was not limited to the actual establishment of colonies but could also include the penetration by economic and financial means. This corresponds to Germany's relation with the Ottoman Empire. The idea of examining the economic motives of imperialism was originally developed by J. A. Hobson (1858–1940)<sup>97</sup> who argued that imperialism was driven by economic motives during the Industrial Revolution when the European powers tried to find new markets and sources of raw materials. The main argument of Hobson is that after the industrial and capitalist countries achieved production surplus they began to search for new markets to sell their products, invest their capital and acquire raw material for the growing industries and found their target in the developing countries. As part of this process the pressure that businessmen and venture capitalists put on their governments to protect their money and projects led to political intervention in the internal affairs of colonized countries<sup>98</sup>.

Jules Ferry justified the French motivations behind colonial expansion in his speech before the French National Assembly that:

*“which justify a policy of colonial expansion from the point of view of that need, felt more and more strongly by the industrial populations of Europe and particularly those of our own rich and hard working country: the need for export markets. Is this some kind of chimera? Is this a*

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<sup>95</sup> Giordani, P, *The German Colonial Empire – Its Beginning and Ending*, Translated by Mrs. Gustavus W. Hamilton, London: G. Bell and Sons, 1916.

[https://archive.org/stream/germancoloniale00gioruoft/germancoloniale00gioruoft\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/germancoloniale00gioruoft/germancoloniale00gioruoft_djvu.txt) (05.05.2016), p:vi

<sup>96</sup> Conrad, Sebastian, *German Colonialism...*, p. 27.

<sup>97</sup> Särkkä provided a comprehensive analysis of Hobson theory from his own perspective as well as the perspectives of other writers.

<sup>98</sup> Evans Richard J, 'Empire: The Scramble for Africa, Gresham College, London, 2001, (<http://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/the-scramble-for-africa>)

*view of the future or is it not rather a pressing need and, we could say, the cry of our industrial population? I will formulate only in a general way what each of you, in the different parts of France, is in a position to confirm. Yes, what is lacking for our great industry, drawn irrevocably on to the path of exportation by the (free trade) treaties of 1860, what it lacks more and more is export markets. Why? Because next door to us Germany is surrounded by barriers, because beyond the ocean, the United States of America has become protectionist, protectionist in the most extreme sense, because not only have these great markets.... there is a second point, a second order of ideas to which I have to give equal attention, but as quickly as possible, believe me; it is the humanitarian and civilizing side of the question”<sup>99</sup>*

The second factor was the political one, including the expansion of political power and influence that was supported by specific lobby groups and political prestige. The third includes geostrategic factors such as the acquisition of geographic privileged provinces and their transformation into colonies of the European powers. The larger the colonial empire, the more powerful were the colonizers. This can also be seen as linked to the first two factors. The fourth factor can be related to cultural and scientific factors, including the expansion of the European cultures and civilizations in the new colonies. This included using colonies to locate the growing European population to ease population pressures in Europe. It is argued also in literature that<sup>100</sup><sup>101</sup> political rivalries, anticipated economic gains, nationalism, and humanitarianism all contributed to the psychological atmosphere that led to this final chapter of Western expansion.<sup>102</sup>

Consequently, many European countries sought to obtain new territories or intensified their control over territories outside their borders, especially powerful countries like Britain, France, Spain and Portugal in addition to Germany. Britain had succeeded in extending its influence into many areas including India in Asia, Egypt and Sudan in North Africa as well as some other areas in Central and West Africa. France was controlling some areas in North Africa like the Ottoman

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<sup>99</sup>Jules Ferry (1832-1893) was a French politician who twice served as premier during the Third Republic, the name of the French government from 1871 until 1940.

<sup>100</sup> Ferry, Speech before the French National assembly

<sup>101</sup> Pakenham, Thomas, *The scramble for Africa, 1876-1912*, New York, Random House, 1991.

<sup>102</sup> Wesseling, Hendrik L., *Imperialism and Colonialism: Essays on the History of European Expansion*, Westport, Conn. Greenwood Press, 1997.

province of Algeria since 1830 and Tunis in 1881. Spain and Portugal had also managed to control some of the areas bordering the Indian Ocean.

Considering all these issues it can be argued that both economic and political factors played a significant role in prompting the Europeans to look for new areas outside the European continent. However since this research focuses on Germany, the question that arises here is whether the German Colonial Empire was different from the other European Colonial Empires? This question is to be dealt with in the next section.

### **1.4.3 German Colonial Ambitions and Economic Expansion of the Reich (1871-1890):**

It should be noted here that Germany did not participate in the earlier colonial competition of the European powers outside Europe because the German states were not united at that time. Only after German unity in 1871 did the policy of expansion towards territories outside Europe and specifically in Africa develop. Germany had succeeded in achieving its political unity -modelled already on Italy in 1860, which preceded it- as a result of the great efforts of the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck who decided to engage in war with Austria, France and Denmark to prove his country's military strength and power and for Germany to take a remarkable position among the major powers represented by Britain and France at that time. The German expansion began when the German Chancellor of the Reich (1871-1890) decided to have colonies outside Europe in 1884. These were viewed as crucial to protect his country from other powers. Germany had acquired some areas in Central and Western Africa, albeit in a time point later than the European countries like Britain and France.

Germany's unity which took place during the period of industrial revolution in Europe reinforced its economic activities and led to significant growth in the chemical industry, heavy industry, construction of the fleet and the army and so on, factors which formed the basis for its expansive interests in the 1890s and after.

Conrad<sup>103</sup> argued that there were pressure groups and agents behind the colonial German expansion, referred to by Göttsche<sup>104</sup> as the colonialist movement in Germany. These included the geographical societies and projects that helped to provide an academic insight into Africa by exploring uncharted territories. Conrad mentions Heinrich Barth and Gerhards Rolfs and Gustave

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<sup>103</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism...*, p. 23-27

<sup>104</sup> Göttsche, Dirk, *Remembering Africa: The discovery of Colonialism in Contemporary German Literature*, Camden House, USA, 2013, p. 44.

Nachtigal as the main travelers whose trips to different parts of Africa were influential in the German colonial expansion. As mentioned before these three German travelers visited the province of Tripoli, which led to the province becoming part of their ambitions. Conrad also refers to a second group, the colonial immigrants and missionaries including the Catholic missionaries that were sent by the French and Belgian churches. A third group included merchant networks such as the Hanseatic merchant families who set up trade linkages throughout the world. They fought for the principles of free trade and played an important role in preparing the ground for colonial activities. A fourth pressure group mentioned by Conrad was the educated, liberal and nationalist members of the bourgeoisie who were backed up by some nobility, missionaries and merchants who played a crucial role in setting the political policies. Conrad gave the names of Friedrich Fabri, an adviser to Bismarck and Adolph Woermann, a merchant and national liberal member of the Reichstag as a pioneer of the German expansion<sup>105</sup>.

In addition to the pressure groups Conrad also discusses the factors and motivation behind the German colonial expansion and argues that trade interest was the first motive behind the German colonial expansion. As he shows, colonies played an important role in solving the problem of overproduction. A second motive was related to migration. This had been ongoing since 1880, when politicians became motivated to find a place for new German settlements abroad, beyond which had hitherto represented the focus for German migration. There was a fear that Germany would be the 'fertilizer of people' and North America was considered as a 'melting pot'. Colonies were to play the role of the 'New Germany', meaning that Germans would remain German even if settling overseas<sup>106</sup>. A third motive were the internal conflicts and tension prompting unrest within Germany. In Conrad's words: "*Historians have termed this the strategy of social imperialism: it meant declaring colonial expansion to be a task for the nation as a whole, thus pushing material needs and social tensions into the background.*"<sup>107</sup> A fourth motive was the idea of colonising that was found in the German culture and ideology. Conrad portrays a German concept of a 'civilizing mission' as an idea that brought different people together<sup>108</sup>. Göttsche<sup>109</sup> supports this with a quotation from Osterhammel<sup>110</sup>. He agrees with Conrad to a

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<sup>105</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism ...*, p. 25.

<sup>106</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism ...*, p. 27.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism...*, p. 29.

<sup>109</sup> Göttsche, *Remembering Africa: The discovery of Colonialism...*, p. 45.

great extent that these factors and actors that influenced the German colonial expansion and mentions the main factors as “*the interplay of colonial expansion, Eurocentric capitalist trade, industrialization, the development of a world-wide modern infrastructure, and the increasing global movement of individuals, goods and ideas*”<sup>111</sup>.

The German Empire continued also after Otto von Bismarck, the German Bernhard von Bülow (1849-1929)<sup>112</sup> who was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1897-1900) and later the Chancellor of the German Empire (1900-1909) expressed the necessity of expansion explicitly in his speech before the house the Imperial Diet of the German Empire (Reichstag) in December 11, 1899<sup>113</sup>:

*“In our nineteenth century, England has continually expanded its colonial empire – the largest the world has seen since the days of the Romans. The French have gained a firmer and firmer foothold in North Africa and Africa and created for themselves a new empire in the Far East. In Asia, Russia has embarked on a series of victories that has taken it to the Pamir Plateau and the coasts of the Pacific Ocean...”*<sup>114</sup>.

His speech viewed the position of England as the first colonial empire in the world, as well the other gains of the other major powers, particularly France and Russia. In a comparison between these powers he mentioned the main interest of each and the German interest specifically, as well as the main reasons behind the expansion, in his words:

*“It is out of the question for the simple reason that we now have interests in all parts of the world. [ . . . ] The rapid growth of our population, the unprecedented expansion of our industry, the industriousness of our merchants, in short, the phenomenal vitality of the German people have integrated us into the world economy and drawn us into international politics. If the British*

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<sup>110</sup> Osterhammel, Jürgen, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Beck, München, 2009. In: Göttsche, *Remembering Africa: The discovery of Colonialism...*, p.44.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> German statesman was born on 3 May 1849 and died on 28 October 1929.

<sup>113</sup> Bernhard von Bülow (3 May 1849 – 28 October 1929), was a German statesman worked as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he served under Chancellor Bismarck for three years and then as Chancellor of the German Empire from 1900 to 1909.

<sup>114</sup> Bernhard von Bülow, Speech given: Dynamic Foreign Policy (December 11, 1899). German History in Documents and Images (GHDI), [http://germanhistorydocs.ghidc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=779](http://germanhistorydocs.ghidc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=779) (05.03.2016).

*... speak of Greater Britain, if the French speak of Nouvelle France, if the Russians move into Asia, we too have the right to a Greater Germany*”<sup>115</sup>.

Coming to the question of the period under research (1884-1918) and the reasons for its importance, it can be argued that many events took place during this period of time that contributed to its significance in the development of colonialism in Africa and the German colonial expansion. The most important event that took place during the period of research was the Second Berlin Conference in 1884. 1884 has been therefore chosen as a starting year in this research because of the significance of this conference to the relationships between the East and the West. This conference was called for and organized by Germany, which sought to develop a role for itself in mediating between the European powers, which were beginning to have conflicting interests in Africa. The conference was a significant political event that shaped the relationship between the major European powers as well as their expansion in Africa. It was held to deal with the emerging conflict among the European powers about their colonies in Africa, especially in the Congo Basin. It discussed very crucial points including how to colonize, what to colonize and how to implement a free trade and freedom of navigation in the Congo Basin. Its results also included new regulations with regard to their colonies in the area<sup>116</sup>. The main regulations included strong supervision of colonies to prevent any abuse of any country against the others. These were stated in Article 34 and 35 of the conference agreement<sup>117</sup>. The countries participated in the conference also agreed to prevent slave trade in Article 9. Article 6<sup>118</sup> specified the regulations to deal with the local populations in the colonies.

World War I started in 1914 and ended 1918 and was a turning point because the major powers mainly Russia, Germany, France, and Britain joined the hostilities that transformed it into a world war.<sup>119</sup> Thus the year 1918 has been chosen as the end of the time period studied in this research because it represents the end of World War I and the decline of the German influence over the province of Tripoli, which was named “Libya” in 1911 after the violent Italian

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<sup>115</sup>Bernhard von Bülow, Speech given: Dynamic Foreign Policy (December 11, 1899). German History in Documents and Images (GHDI).

[http://germanhistorydocs.ghdi.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=779](http://germanhistorydocs.ghdi.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=779) (05.03.2016).

<sup>116</sup>On the topic see for example Craven (Matthew), Between law and history: the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 and the logic of free trade, in *London Review in International Law*, 3-1, pp. 31-59.

<sup>117</sup>Stoecker, Helmuth, *German Imperialism in Africa from the beginning until the Second World*, Translated from the German by Bernd Zöllner Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1986, p. 37.

<sup>118</sup>Stoecker, *German Imperialism in Africa from the beginning until the Second World*, p. 37.

<sup>119</sup>Hamilton Richard and Herwig F. Holger H. (eds.) *The origins of WorldWar I*, Cambridge UnivPress, Cambridge [u.a.], 2003, p. 10.

occupation of the country<sup>120</sup>. However, the period after the Italian occupation is also included in the research to see if and how the German interest in Libya was changed during this time or affected by the Italian occupation of the country.

In 1918 the Tripolitanian Republic was established in very difficult political and economic conditions. The Republic was declared after the defeat of the Ottoman forces (which was supported by Germany) and their withdrawal from the entire region including Libya. However, even after the official departure of the Ottoman forces, the representative of the Ottoman Empire and the German commander Baron Fred von Tundort stayed to help build the new republican government that was expected to rule the country<sup>121</sup>.

A consideration of the factors that distinguished the German colonial expansion would refer to the argument, well-known in the relevant literature<sup>122</sup>, that the German colonial empire was one of the shortest-lived colonial empires in modern history, particularly when compared with the British and French empires. However, it is also argued that even if it was short, it was still a significant and integral part of the period when it took place and that it played a major role in the political events of the historical period, such as the First World War. Germany only started acquiring colonies after its unification in 1871 and in 1884-5 acquired large territories in Africa in what is called now Togo, Cameroon, Namibia and Tanzania, in addition to small territories in East Asia and the Pacific<sup>123</sup>. That made the German empire the fourth largest in the world after Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands.

The characteristic features of German colonialism included the concept of transporting the German civilization to their colonies. It is argued in literature that Germany aimed at a more thorough penetration of the colonized territories and population than other colonial powers and that this ambition was linked to the idea of modernism and the efficient forms of rule that were developed and invested in the infrastructure and human capital. Conrad<sup>124</sup> questions whether these ideas were carried out in reality. He emphasizes that the German empire tried to apply the same European state system in its colonies but in reality this could not take place, thus “*the*

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<sup>120</sup> Lászlo J. Nagy, *La guerre italo-turque en Tripolitaine (1911-1912) et la Hongrie*, in *La Libanella storia del Mediterraneo*, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente- Libyan Studies Center, Roma-Tripoli, pp.312-325,

<sup>121</sup> Tahir angular, *Jihad heroes*, pp.310-311.

<sup>122</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism...*, p. 1.

<sup>123</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism...*, p. 3.

<sup>124</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism...*, p. 37.

*colonial state was not simply an extension of the western European model but as Jürgen Osterhammel<sup>125</sup> suggests, ‘political form in itself’ ”*

Different writers describe German imperialism in different ways. Pro-German imperialism argued that Germany specifically penetrated the Ottoman Empire inspired by the idea of the “Orient”<sup>126</sup>. Fuhrmann<sup>127</sup> argued that how German orient was constructed. They did not have heavy weapons or ride high with waving banners but they instead were carrying all kinds of tools and machines. An army of industrious workers followed in their wake, constructing new buildings and transforming caravan trade paths into railways lines. The Germans wanted to liberate the Orient and spread the German version of civilization through railway construction, German schools and trade.

The main theoretical argument with regard to the German colonial expansion supported by Conrad<sup>128</sup> and Osterhammel<sup>129</sup> is that the dynamic of German colonialism extended not only to their protectorates and overseas possessions, which he called the formally acquired territorial colonial empire but also included places which were informally penetrated. Conrad called this ‘informal colonialism’<sup>130</sup>; and Osterhammel called it the “informal empire” or the quasi colonial control (Quasi- koloniale Kontrolle)<sup>131</sup>. He uses this term to refer to the spheres of influence of the German colonialism outside its formal territories. Osterhammel<sup>132</sup> argues that the German empire, like other colonial empires, built a colonial policy that operated not only in the colonies but also in other parts of the world like in China, Latin America and the Ottoman Empire. For Osterhammel the role of the informal colonies was to support the center and particularly to enhance the German trade and investments. One example provided by Conrad is the German economic projects in the Ottoman Empire such as the Baghdad railway. This example, amongst others, will be discussed in this research with regard to the province of Tripoli. Others include

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<sup>125</sup> Osterhammel, Jürgen, *Kolonialismus: Geschichte, Formen, Folgen*, C.H. Beck, Munich, 1995, p.62 quoted in Conrad, *German Colonialism...*, p. 66.

<sup>126</sup>Means the East in comparison to the West including Europe and America, see Said, Edward, “Orientalism”, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1978.

<sup>127</sup> MalteFuhrmann (2002), “Visions of Germany in Turkey: Legitimizing German Imperialist Penetration of the Ottoman Empire“ in *The Contours of Legitimacy in Central Europe: New Approaches in Graduate Studies*, European Studies Centre”, St. Antony's College, Oxford, Great Britain, (Mai 2002) Quoting from Paul Lindenberg in Fuhrmann , p. 9.

<sup>128</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism...*, pp. 169-170.

<sup>129</sup> Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus...*, pp. 23-26

<sup>130</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism ...*, p. 170.

<sup>131</sup> Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus...*, p.25.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

the German travelers, health missions, the German consulate, the German export to the province and the military help provided from German to the Ottomans in their war against Italy in 1911 and to the Libyan *Mujāhidīn*; all are conducted within the friendship between Germany and the Ottoman Empire. Quoting from Grüner,<sup>133</sup> Conrad refers to the German belief that “*We help the Turks to build railways and ports. We seek to awaken their industry. We support them with our credit. We supply ships and cannons...*”<sup>134</sup>

#### **1.4.4 *Jihad* as a Resistance Movement against Colonialism:**

As mentioned above, during the time in which Germany was searching for economic and political influence outside Europe, its attention was directed towards the Ottoman Empire, which had extended its influence into large areas in the Balkans and the Arab world. The Ottomans also succeeded in obtaining economic concessions which helped them to establish colonies in the center and east of the region. The African continent itself has been found to attract the Europeans and particularly during the European colonial competition to invest and settle in new locations outside Europe.

Not surprisingly, imperialism and colonialism faced strong local opposition. In the Muslim World this opposition became known as *Jihad*. But not all anticolonial resistance meant *Jihad* as many journalists wrote, *Jihad* as a general term includes many aspects, including the individual’s struggle to live according to his or her interpretation of the commandments of Islam, to contribute to a society that accords with the requirements of the religion, and to bring others to the religion of Islam<sup>135</sup>. In its political sense the term refers to the armed struggle to defend Islam, whether in a territorial or ideological sense<sup>136</sup>. This last usage tends to be known as defensive *Jihad*<sup>137</sup>. It is probably this term which is the most accurate description of the form of *Jihad* that was developed in reaction to the Italian occupation and colonization of Libya and

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<sup>133</sup> Die Welt am Montag, 21 November 1989, quoted from Grüner (ed), *Rassismus, Kolonien und kolonialer Gedanke*, p. 210. in: Conrad, Sebastian, *German Colonialism: A short History*, p. 170.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Lüdke, Tilman, (Not), Using Political Islam: The German Empire and its Failed Propaganda Campaign in the Near and Middle East 1914-1918 and Beyond, In Zürcher, Erik-Jan, *Jihad and Islam in World War I: Studies on the Ottoman Jihad on the Centenary of Snouck Hurgronje’s “Holy War Made in Germany”*, Leiden University Press, 2016 p 83.

<sup>136</sup> McAuliffe, Jane Dammen (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Quran*, Volume Three, 2003, pp. 35-42.

<sup>137</sup> Shaykh Yusuf al-Uyaari (rh), “The Ruling on *Jihad* and Its Divisions”, Translated by Abu Osama, Series of researches and studies in Shari’ah. 2, p. 9.

other parts of the Muslim World. According to Imam Qurtubi<sup>138</sup> this type of *Jihad* is obligatory upon all Muslims:

*„If the situation becomes such that the enemy has occupied the Islamic state [...], it becomes an individual obligation according to all those belonging to that city to go out in the way of Jihad, lightly and heavily, young and old, all upon their individual capability and vigor; those with fathers even without their permission and those without; no one who is able and has the capability to fight, whether they are fighters or non-fighters can remain behind“<sup>139</sup>.*

Imam al-Qurtubi also explained that the concept of *Jihad* also includes helping the neighboring localities or states in their fight against the enemies' invasion:

*“If despite all this that locality is unable to repel the enemies' invasion, the duty falls upon those closest in geographical locality [...]. They must send whatever is necessary to help the occupied locality so that the enemy can see that the Muslims have sufficient energy and resources to drive them back. Any Muslim who comes to learn that the Muslims in that area are weak and need help against their enemy, and also knows that he has the ability to help and assist them is obliged to go out to them. The Muslims are one hand against their enemy”<sup>140</sup>.*

When does the duty of *Jihad* end? According to Imam al-Qurtubi, it is only over when the occupying enemies are repelled:

*“If the Muslims in the area of occupation were successful in repelling their enemy, only then would the obligation of Jihad fall from the necks of the Muslims elsewhere. Even if the enemies of Islam were to come close to the borders of the Islamic state, but not enter, it is still obligatory to come out in Jihad to establish Islam and protect the honour and to humiliate the enemy and there is no disagreement about this”<sup>141</sup>.*

The Libyan Islamic *Jihad* began with the announcement of Italy's war on the Ottoman Empire in Tripoli in September 1911. Most Libyans registered themselves in groups under the guidance of the Libyan tribal leaders and used whatever weapons were available to attack the Italian soldiers and their army centers in the cities and regions. These Libyans were referred to as *Mujāhidīn* *Mujāhidīn*. Most of them did not have military training and did not participate in the struggle as

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<sup>138</sup> Imam Qurtubi was a famous mufassir, muhaddith and faqih scholar from Cordoba of Maliki origin, the Maliki legal school. He is most famous for his commentary of the Quran, *Tafsir al-Qurtubi*. (Bosworth, C.E.; van Donzel, E.; Lewis, B.; Pellat, Ch. (1986). *Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition)*. Volume V (Khe-Mahi). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill. p. 512)

<sup>139</sup> *Tafsir al-Qurtubi* Vol. 8/151.

<sup>140</sup> *Tafsir al-Qurtubi* Vol. 8/151.

<sup>141</sup> *Tafsir al-Qurtubi* Vol. 8/151.

professionals; rather, they were motivated by the concern to defend their land against the Italian colonization. As such, the *Mujāhidīn* included all social classes<sup>142</sup>.

### **1.5 The Structure of this Research:**

This research is divided into six chapters which are arranged in chronological order. The main references and documents used are listed at the end of the research.

**The first chapter** constitutes the introduction to the research. This chapter includes the research objectives and hypotheses, methodology and literature reviewed in addition to the theoretical background of the research.

**The second chapter** examines the geopolitical importance of the province of Tripoli and how this lent the province a geographic, strategic and economic significance that attracted the attention of the countries seeking control over areas in North Africa. The next part of this chapter presents the general situation in the province of Tripoli between 1870 and 1884 and includes the political situation when the province was under the Ottoman rule. Tripoli's administrative divisions were set by the Ottomans to ease their control. Examples of some Ottomans governors are given, particularly those who had a prominent role at that time. The economic situation between 1870 and 1884 is also discussed in the chapter, with reference to key indicators such as taxes, industry and commerce. The society of the province of Tripoli is discussed in the context of different social conditions and characteristics which are presented in regard to the origin of the province's residents and an analysis of their origin. Other social aspects, such as culture and education starting from the beginning of establishing schools to the era of publishing newspapers and magazines in the province of Tripoli, will also be included in the analysis of social circumstances of the region.

**The third chapter** begins by discussing the relations between the province of Tripoli and Germany from the second Berlin Conference in 1884. It ends with the year 1909, and includes several aspects concerning the German interest in the province of Tripoli and when the topic began to be clearly and officially discussed.

The second subchapter discusses the second Berlin Conference in 1884 and its impact on the Maghreb region. This conference was held because of the intersection of the European interests

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<sup>142</sup>al-Zawī, *jihād al-abṭāl*, pp. 66.91.

in Africa. The question here is about the consequences in the African Continent? What are the regulations and laws at the European level that have been adopted to prevent conflicts and wars including the political and economic interests in the future? This chapter is also exploring the role of the German travellers in Tripoli and Fezzan at the end of the nineteenth century and how it granted them access to Central Africa with the consent of the Ottomans in Tripoli. Moreover what was their role in supporting the country's policy towards the province through the reports that they sent to Germany? The question that arises in this context is about if the activities of the travellers impacted on the development of the relations between the province of Tripoli and Germany until 1895, especially with focus on economic and trade exchanges? This chapter is concluded by discussing the opening of the German consulate in Tripoli in 1909, and raises the question about why Germany was relatively late, in comparison to the other European countries, in establishing diplomatic representation in the province of Tripoli. The chapter also tries to find an answer to the question about why Germany decided to open an agency Consulate in 1884, and why it was only in 1909 that the agency consulate was developed into a consulate?

**The fourth chapter** focuses on investigating economic developments and the German policy towards the province of Tripoli during the time period between 1909 and 1914. It also takes the major events that occurred during this phase into account. The chapter tries to answer the question about whether and how far the establishment of the German diplomatic representation impacted upon the relations between the two countries. The chapter goes on to discuss the international conventions and the occupation of the province of Tripoli by Italy in 1911. The main conventions between the European countries are presented and the chapter considers the extent to which these conventions shaped and reshaped the interests of the European countries outside Europe. Within the same political context, the subject of the Ottoman-German relation and the alliance between these powers before the First World War and the evolution of this relationship are discussed. The subchapter concludes with the issue of declaration of the Germany neutrality toward the province of Tripoli after Italy occupation a move which entailed open hostilities with the Ottoman Empire, given that the province of Tripoli was administratively and politically managed by the Ottomans. The next subchapter discusses how the German presence in Libya continued after the Italian occupation in the form of sending health missions to the province of Tripoli which was providing assistance to the war-wounded Libyans in their war against Italy.

**The fifth chapter** discusses the relationships between Germany and the Ottoman Empire and its impact on the situations in the province of Tripoli during the First World War. The chapter reveals the German position toward the Libyan *Jihad* Movement discussing the motives, goals and gains. Then it refers to the German support to the Ottoman state through the German presence in Libya, where German politicians decided to provide military and financial aid to the Ottomans and the Libyan *Mujāhidīn*. The last part focuses on how the German and Ottomans managed to convince the leadership of the *Mujāhidīn* in Libya to develop their war from a war against the Italians in Libya into a war against the British in Egypt in 1915. Finally, the chapter presents the German politics towards the province of Tripoli at the end of the First World War in 1918, the negative impacts on the German presence in Libya and how it resulted in the defeat of Germany at the end of the First World War to end the German influence in Libya during this phase.

**The sixth chapter** concludes this research by summarizing its findings and drawing them together into broader conclusions.

## Chapter Two: Description of the Province of Tripoli and its Significance for German Interests (1870-1884)

### 2.0 Introduction:

This chapter highlights the geographical, strategic and economic significance of the province of Tripoli to Germany among other European powers and the internal political, economic and social affairs in the period between 1870 and 1884. Like many other parts of the Arab world the province of Tripoli was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire during this period. It had been subjected to Ottoman rule by Sinan Pasha<sup>143</sup> in 1551 within the context of Spanish expansion in the Mediterranean<sup>144</sup> and subsequently passed through various historical phases. The first phase is known as a 'direct Ottoman rule', and is associated with the period between 1551 and 1711<sup>145</sup>. Following this, power was seized by the Turkish dynasty of AlKaramanli<sup>146</sup> between 1711 and 1835. This period is referred to by the name of this ruling dynasty and it is seen as having been characterized by greater independence concerning the central power in Istanbul<sup>147</sup>. After that, the Ottomans succeeded in eliminating this dynasty and restored their direct power over the province (1835-1911). This period is known as 'the second Ottoman period'<sup>148</sup> and lasted till 1911 when the province was occupied by Italy. As stated in literature as the nineteenth century approached its last quarter, the rule in Libya were increasingly determined by world powers such as Britain, France and after 1871, Germany' and in response to that probably by

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<sup>143</sup> Pasha is a Turkish title given to honor some governors with military ranks in the Ottoman Empire and it was given to the governors of the Ottoman provinces, Şabān, Suhail, al-m'ajam al-mausu 'i li-l-mstalahat al-'ūthmāniyya al-tārīkhīyya, al-riyyad, 2000, p. 52.

<sup>144</sup> Ibn Ghalbūn al-Ṭarābulī, Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin Khalīl, *al-tadhkār fī man malak Ṭrāblus wa mā kān bihā min Akhbār*, ṣaḥḥaḥahu al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī, dār al-midār al-islāmī, Bayrūt, 2004, p. 160 ; See also Anne Brogini and Maria Ghazali, Un enjeu espagnol en Méditerranée: les présides de Tripoli et de LaGoulette au XVIème siècle, in *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 70-1, 2005, pp. 9-43 and for a larger discussion on the debate see also Salih Özbaran, The ottoman response to european expansion, Istanbul, Isis, 1994 ; Halil Inacik, Aneconomic and social History of the Ottoman Empire, Cambridge, CUP, 1994.

<sup>145</sup> See for example the work of Mütevelli, Ahmed Fuad El-Feth, al-Osmāni li el-Şam ve Mısır ve mukaddimat min vaka el-vasaik, dar el-nahda el-misriyya, Kahire, 1976. For the debate on the autonomy of ottoman provinces see Nora Lafi, Rattachement et autonomie locale : réflexions sur la ville ottomane, in Denise Turrel et al. (ed.) *Villes rattachées*, Tours: Presses universitaires François Rabelais, 2003, p.p. 99-112.

<sup>146</sup> The name comes from the Karman region in southern Anatolia. This was the origin of their grandfather and they belong to the class called *Alkuarglah*. Ibn Ghalbūn, *al-tadhkār fī man malak Ṭarābulis...*, p275. See also R. Micacchi, *La Tripolitania sotto il dominio dei Caramanli*, 1936.

<sup>147</sup> al-Kīb, Najm al-Dīn Ghālib, *madīnat Ṭarābulus 'abr al-tarīkh*, dār al-'arabiyya li-alkitāb, Ṭarābulus – Tūnis, 1978, p. 74.

<sup>148</sup> Bruce St John, Ronald "Libya: Continuity and Change", Routledge, 2011, p.11; Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī...*, p. 26.

changing relationships between Ottoman administration in Istanbul and the African provinces like the province of Tripoli<sup>149</sup>.

It is noteworthy that as stated in some of the literature, the significance of the province of Tripoli to the Europeans including Germany did not begin in the period under study (1870-1884), but could be seen as going back to the middle ages when North Africa was under the continuous threats of Islamic-Christian disputes and wars started in or were ended by Spain<sup>150</sup>. Other authors state that the importance of the province was linked to the establishment of the three cities on the coast, which are Oya (Tripoli), Sabratha and Leptis in the late 6th century BC and thus go back even further in time<sup>151</sup>. However, it is argued in this research that it was specifically the Industrial Revolution in Europe and the spread of colonialism and imperialism in North African regions that caused Tripoli to acquire a key relevance for the access that it offered to different parts of Africa.

The ideal location of Tripoli and its ports played a major role in the history of the province in enhancing trade both internally and externally, as it represented a secure and practical port for trade. Tripoli played also a significant role in the wars and conflicts that took place in the Mediterranean. The province of Tripoli was active in most of the political events that took place in the Mediterranean since the Sixteenth century<sup>152</sup>. This is mainly because Tripoli and its ports were located in the middle of the Mediterranean and any power seeking to dominate, the Eastern, Western, or internal parts of Africa would take Tripoli as starting point. Thus Tripoli's strategic importance lay in the fact that it offered access to different parts of Africa and connected these regions to the large European continent and to North America. Thus the province of Tripoli was important for the Ottoman administration and a crucial place to defend<sup>153</sup>.

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<sup>149</sup> Selim Deringil, 'They live in a State of nomadism and savagery': The late Ottoman Empire and the post-colonial debate, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 45-2, 2003, pp. 311-342; And his book 'The well protected domains. Ideology and the limitation of the power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909, London and Oxford, 1998.

<sup>150</sup> See for example: Orhan Koloğlu, *op. cit.*, 2007, pp. 11-15.

<sup>151</sup> al-Kīb, *madīnat Ṭarābulus 'abr al-tarīkh*, p. 14.

<sup>152</sup> Al-Jafāl, Su'ād, *al-ālāqāt al-lībīyya - al-tūnīsīyyakhilāl al-'ahd al-'uthmāni al-thānī (1835-1911)*, markaz jihād al-lībīyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārikhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2006, p. 10.

<sup>153</sup> Lafi, Nora, L'empire ottoman en Afrique, perspectives d'histoire critique, *Cahiers d'Histoire. Revue d'Histoire Critique*, 2015, n.128, pp.59-70.

In addition to that, the caravan trade routes that existed in the province of Tripoli attracted more and more the attention of many European powers as they competed with the Ottomans<sup>154</sup>. The Europeans viewed the whole region as important for enhancing its trade with Africa.

This chapter also discusses the local political situation under the first and second Ottoman rule as well as the political Ottoman reforms called *Tanzīmāt* which aimed to change the administrative structure of the late Tripolitanian Ottoman cities. The performance of the Ottoman governors and the local revolts against them will be examined. The economic situation, statistics on the natural resources which contributed significantly to the economy and local industries will also be analyzed as well as different types of Ottoman taxes in the frame of the tax systems as a whole. At the end of the chapter, the prevailing social situations, local social structure, tribalism, the population and factors presenting their homogeneity and heterogeneity, education and media of Tripoli are going to be illustrated. This chapter represents a general background to support the argument of the research that the province of Tripoli was considered significant for many European powers including Germany in their scramble for Africa.

## **2.1 Significance of the Province of Tripoli to Germany:**

### **2.1.1 A General Description:**

It should be noted that Tripoli was referred to by a number of names over the centuries. The Greeks had dubbed it "Libyas", a name which referred to the part on the western borders with Egypt<sup>155</sup>. This name appears to be derived from the word Lippo which was the name of the tribes living in the region. The Romans referred to it as Africa and this term was used for the region of North Africa as whole<sup>156</sup>. It began to be called Tripoli in the third century<sup>157</sup>. Then it started to be

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<sup>154</sup>On this previous trade see numerous studies like John Wright, *Sequins, slaves and senna: Tripoli's international trade in 1867*, in *La Libia nella storia del Mediterraneo*, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente/ Libyan Studies Center, *Africa*, 63-2, 2008, pp. 249-261; J.C. Zeltner, *Tripoli, carrefour de l'Europe et des pays du Tchad, 1500-1795*, L'Hamattan, Paris, 1992; H. J. Fisher, *Slavery and muslim society in Africa: The institution in Saharan and Sudanic Africa and the Trans-Saharan trade*, C. Hurstand Co. , London, 1970; and Daniel Panzac, *Le commerce maritime de Tripoli de Barbarie dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIème siècle*, *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine*, 69-70, 1993, pp. 141-167; and Daniel Panzac, *Une activité en trompe-l'oeil : la guerre de course à Tripoli de Barbarie dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIème siècle*, *ROMM*, 47-1 1988, pp. 126-141; and J.S. Hogendorn, *The Uncommon Market : Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave trade*, Academic Pres, New York, 1979.

<sup>155</sup> See K. Zimmermann, *Libyen das Land südlich des Mittelmeers im Weltbild der Griechen*.

<sup>156</sup>For a discussion on the roman period see M. Tahar Jerary, *Septimius Severus the Roman Emperor*, 193-211 AD, in *Libya nella Storia*, op.cit, p. 173.

<sup>157</sup>See for this point see the studies of Salvatore Bono, op.cit. And Fedirico Cresti, *La Libia tra Mediterraneo e mondo islamico*, Giuffrè, Milano, 2006.

known as Tripolitania, this name changed to Tribols. Under the Ottoman rule, this province was called first Eyālet Ṭrāblus al-Garb in 1835, and then changed to Wilāyat Ṭrāblus al-Garb in 1865 which means province of Tripoli<sup>158</sup>. The city of Tripoli became the capital of the province<sup>159</sup>. It is worth mentioning in this context that in the German documents it was known as Tripolitania. The name of Libya was first used after the Italian occupation in 1911. Accordingly in this research “province of Tripoli” is going to be used to describe the area when discussing the period under the Ottoman rule, and “Libya” will be used when discussing the period starting from the Italian occupation in 1911.

Herodotus mentions the names of some tribes who lived in Tripoli during the fifteenth century BC including the Nasamoin, Garamanti, Macae and Paylli<sup>160</sup>. Most of them were concentrated in coastal areas, which provided them with different livelihood options. They were also concentrated in the internal oases with wells and springs. The most important of these oases were Jalu and Al Kufra, Ghat and Awjilah that connected the Northern part of Libya and the African greatest Sahara. A third center of population concentration was the cities in the south of the province, which represented a north-south axis. These cities were marked as centers of trade and represented meeting points for the groups of traders in their route to Africa, or coming from Africa towards the city of Tripoli, the province of Tunisia or elsewhere.

Next in this chapter the significance of the province of Tripoli is going to be discussed focusing mainly on the geographical position, its strategic significance, and its economic importance.

### **2.1.2 Geographical Significance:**

As mentioned in the introduction, the province of Tripoli shared an eastern border with Egypt and a western border with Tunisia and Algeria<sup>161</sup> (See Appendix 5). The southern border, with sub-Saharan Africa (the region now known as Sudan-Chad-Niger) also made the province a good entry point into the rest of the continent.<sup>162</sup> In addition to its land borders, the coastal borders of Tripoli were also of strategic relevance. Its coastline, which stretches north along the

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<sup>158</sup>For this point see Günes Isiksel, *La diplomatie ottomane sous le règne de Selim II: paramètres et périmètres de l'Empire Ottoman dans le troisième quart du XVIème siècle*, Collection Turcica, 20, Peeters, Paris, 2016.

<sup>159</sup>*Rūsi, Lībiyā mundhu al-faṭḥ al-ʿarabī ḥatā sanat 1911*, taʿrīb wa taqḍīm Khalīfa Muḥammad al-Tillīsī, dār al-thaqāfā, Bayrūt, 1974, pp. 23-25.

<sup>160</sup>Fage, J. D. "The Libyans" *The Cambridge History of Africa: From c. 500 BC to AD 1050* volume II, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1978.

<sup>161</sup>al-Jauharī, Yusrī ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *shamāl Afrīqiyyā dirāsā fī al-jughrāfiyya al-Tārīkhiyya*, dār al-maʿārif al-Qāhira, 1978, p.15.

<sup>162</sup>al-Sāqizlī, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Sulaymān, *Lībiyā al-thaurā*, J1, dār mimfīs li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa al-nashr, al-Qāhira, 1398, p 9.

Mediterranean for over 1,900 km, attracted the attention of both the Ottomans and Europeans<sup>163</sup>. It was considered as the starting point towards different directions, namely east and west as well as north. In the south of the province the border with Africa is almost 2,000 km<sup>164</sup>.

Tripoli can thus be seen to occupy a large geographical area, containing varied geographical and climatic differences within this huge area<sup>165</sup>. However, Tripoli is dominated by a Mediterranean climate, with cool winters and hot summers<sup>166</sup>. Moreover, the province of Tripoli is divided into plain areas, mountainous areas and coastal areas, and other desert and semi desert areas<sup>167</sup>. There are no natural rivers but there are many valleys including Wadi Alshati and Al Sayal and a large number of oases.

Its geographical location led the province of Tripoli to play a major regional role in a number of different historical periods. The importance of Tripoli is evident since the establishment of the three cities of Oya (Tripoli), Sabratha and Leptis along the coast in the late 6th century BC<sup>168</sup>. The attention was focused initially on the city of Tripoli, which later became the capital of the province. However other cities were also significant, including the city of Benghazi, located in the eastern coastal region and Murzuq located in the south of the province<sup>169</sup>, while Sawkanh and Ghadames were located in the centers of the different directions were connected to each other (see map 1).

Throughout a long period of time, the province of Tripoli had attracted the attention of the Phoenicians and Romans, Spanish, Greek, Arab and Islamic cultures and the Ottoman Turks specifically, who selected Tripoli as their military base in North Africa when they ruled the region. As mentioned above, its geographical location also attracted the attention of the European powers for the access that it offered to many important areas and thus the province of Tripoli was incorporated in their strategic plans and actions<sup>170</sup>.

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<sup>163</sup> Tūllī, Rītshārd, 'ashar sanawāt fī bilāṭ Ṭarābulus, translated by 'Umar Al-dīrāwī Abū hijla, maktabat al-furjānī, Ṭarābulus, (D.T), p. 8.

<sup>164</sup> See for example K. Zimmermann, *Libyen das Land südlich des Mittelmeers im Weltbild der Griechen*, München, 1999. See as well Abūshārib, Muḥammad 'Alī, "tijārat al-qawāfil wa 'alāqatuhā bi-wāḥat Ujala", *Ujalābaina al-māḍī wa-l-ḥāḍir (1950-1951)*, a' māl al-nadwa al-'ilmiyya al-sābi'a allatī 'uqidāt bi-madīnat Ujala (17-20/9/2009) taḥrīr Muḥammad Bashīr Suwīsī, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhīyya, Ṭarābulus, 2007, p. 131.

<sup>165</sup> Nājī, Maḥmūd, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 13.

<sup>166</sup> Achille Dardano- Riccardo Riccardi, *Atlante D'Africa*, Ulrico Hoepli, Editore – Milano 1936. Xiv.

<sup>167</sup> Brūshīn, *tārīkh Lībiyā min nihāyāt al-qarn al-tasi* 'ashar..., pp. 25-26.

<sup>168</sup> al-Kīb, *madīnat Ṭarābulus 'abr al-tārīkh*, p. 14.

<sup>169</sup> Sharafī al-Din, In 'ām Muḥammad, *madkhal ila tārīkh Ṭarābulis al-ijtimā'ī wa- al-iqtisādī: dirāsā fī mu'assāt al-mādīnā al-tijārīyyā*, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhīyya, Ṭarābulis, 1998, p. 23.

<sup>170</sup> On this point see Orhan Lololu, *op.cit.*

From all what has been mentioned above, it is clear that Tripoli thus functioned as a bridge between the Mediterranean and sub-Saharan countries such as the western and the central Sudan and the rest of the African kingdoms, which increased the significance of the province geographically. This is due to its open frontiers with the desert. There were no natural obstacles that impeded the contact between these countries.

### 2.1.3 Strategic Significance:

During the rule of the Ottoman Empire period, Tripoli became one of the most important naval bases in the Mediterranean<sup>171</sup>, where it was used by the Ottoman naval service to attack Malta in 1565<sup>172</sup>, 1703, 1705 and 1709<sup>173</sup>. Tripoli also contributed to the restoration of the Tunisian territory that was under the Spanish. The war began with the Spanish in 1559<sup>174</sup> and continued until the end of their colony. In 1581 the Spanish signed an agreement<sup>175</sup> acknowledging Ottoman sovereignty over Tunisia. Moreover, it is not possible to ignore the role played by the Tripolitanian marine especially in the aftermath of the battle of Lepanto in 1571 when the Ottomans reasserted their sovereignty –after their defeat in the Lepanto battle- in the Eastern Mediterranean<sup>176</sup>. This was in 1667 when the Tripolitanian naval forces were under the direct authority of the Ottoman Pasha because they were part of the Turkish military forces in Tripoli.

It is noteworthy that the Europeans in general possessed relatively little information about the importance and the size of interior and central Africa in the first half of the eighteenth century compared with the extent of their information about the African coasts. Therefore they were eager to get information about these areas. Tripoli, in their view, was the appropriate port to explore the internal parts of Africa.

It seems also that the ease of communication between the ports of the south and the north of the Mediterranean, especially Sicily and the Italian ports with ports of the province of Tripoli such as

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<sup>171</sup>Daniel Panzac, *La marine ottomane, de l'apogée à la chute de l'Empire (1572-1923)*, CNRS Editions, Paris, 2009.

<sup>172</sup>Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 167.

<sup>173</sup>Rūsi, *Lībiyāmundhu al-faṭḥ al-'arabī ḥatā sanat 1911*; See also : Panzac, Daniel, *Commerce et navigation dans l'Empire ottoman au XVIIIe siècle*, Isis, Istanbul, 1996.

<sup>174</sup>al-Zāwī, al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad, *Wulāt Ṭarābulus al-gharb min al-faṭḥ al-'arabī ilā nihāyat al-'ahd al-turkī*, dār al-faṭḥ li-l-Ṭibā'a wa al-nashr, Bayrūt, wa al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ramāḥ Bashīna, Ṭarābulus, 1970, p. 265.

<sup>175</sup>Rāfiq 'Abd al-Karīm, *al-'arab wa al-'uthmāniyyūn 1516-1916*, Dimashq, 1974, p. 79.

<sup>176</sup>al-Tilisī, Khalīfa, *ḥikāyat madīnat Ṭarābulus ladā al-rahḥāla al-'arab wa al-'ajānib*, al-dār al-'arabiyya li-likitāb, Ṭarābulus, (D.T), p. 70.

the city of Tripoli, Zuwarah, Misurata and Benghazi had boosted the province's strategic importance<sup>177</sup>.

Moreover, it is obvious that the strategic importance of the province of Tripoli was one of the main reasons that prompted the Italians to seek control of the province, a goal that they attained in 1911. However, the realization of this goal took place after thorough political, economic and cultural preparation of the ground during of Ottoman rule<sup>178</sup>.

France also focused on the city of Tripoli and also began to work in the south of the province, specifically in the city of Ghadames which is located on the border with Algeria in 1826<sup>179</sup>. France convinced the Ottoman authority to establish a consular agency in Ghadames, after they already obtained a consular agency in the city of Tripoli. The French had begun essentially to negotiate with tribal leaders to convince them to sign an agreement. The agreement was actually between the French and the tribal leaders and the main terms of the agreement were about trade and taxes that should be paid by the caravan convoys that passed through Ghadames. The agreement was signed in the city of Ghadames in 1860<sup>180</sup>. This struggle of the French to find a foothold in the province of Tripoli was due to its geo-political and military importance and to the economic benefits that arose from this<sup>181</sup>. The French recognized the great services that could be provided by the city of Ghadames if it was under their authority. They saw Ghadames as a connection to their colonies in Tunisia and Algeria, using the trade routes on which the city was situated. They also realized its considerable economic significance which will be explained later in this chapter when discussing the role of cities in boosting trade in the province. France obtained official permission from the Ottoman Government in 1842 and 1843 to open the

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<sup>177</sup>See for example Ferdinand Hoeer, *Etats Tripolitains: régence de Tripoli, L'Univers*, 1856, see as well F. Coro translated in arabic : Kūrū, Frānshiskū, *Lībyā athnā' al-‘ahd al-‘ūthmānī al-thānī*, pp. 139, 59.

<sup>178</sup>Ruḥūmā, Muṣṭafā Ḥāmid, *al-muqāwama al-lībiyya al-turkiyya didd al-ghazū al-iṭālī Uktūbar 1911-Uktūbar 1912*, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn didd al-ghazū al-iṭālī, Ṭarābulus, 1988, p. 24.

<sup>179</sup>Lafi, Nora, *Ghadames cite-oasis entre empire ottoman et colonialisme in La Libia tra Mediterraneo e mondo islamico*, in Federico Cresti (Ed.) (2006), pp. 55-70.

<sup>180</sup> al-Ḥindīrī, Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, "taṭawwur tijārat al-qawāfil fi Wilāyat Ṭarābulus al-gharb (1835-1911)", *al-mujtama‘ al-lībī (1835-1950)*, a‘māl al-nadwa al-‘ilmiyya al-thāminā allatī ‘uqidat bi-l-markaz fi al-fatra min 26-27/9/2000, Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir al-Jarāri, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dīrāsāt al-tārīkhiyyā, Ṭarābulus, 2005, p. 969.

<sup>181</sup>For an overview of the economy and ottoman empire See for instance, H. İslamoğlu-İnan (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987 and see as well the seminal work of H. İnalcik and particularly H. İnalcik with D. Quataert (eds) *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300--1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994.

consulates in Murzuq and Ghadames<sup>182</sup>. These consulates were used to supervise directly the trade heading to or coming from sub-Saharan Africa<sup>183</sup>.

The candidate for the position of consul was Eugene Ricard, the French consul in Malta. What distinguished him from the other candidates was that he knew the customs and traditions of the place since he had lived in Benghazi previously, as well as the fact that he was fluent in Arabic<sup>184</sup>. Through this the French had significantly strengthened their position by 1894.

France was not the only country to establish a consulate in Ghadames, Other European countries such as Britain also maintained a representative office in this region. Furthermore, Tobruk represented an important city for the Germans because it could be used as a port to inner Africa and to reach the southern Nile bank. From there they could move freely between their colonies in west and East Africa, at the same time avoiding the direct contact with Britain which was already in Egypt, Sudan, and controlling the main ports, land and sea lanes there. Britain also had the strongest European fleet. The British from their side felt the increasing presence of German influence in the region since the Germans were persistently strengthening their relations with the Sultan of the Arab Maghreb, as well as augmenting their trade activities and projects. The German efforts then resulted in getting the privilege of building the port of Tangier in Morocco, and their economic activities extended to reach both Algeria and Tunisia despite the fact that these regions were under the control of France<sup>185</sup>.

A report compiled by Friedrich Gerhard Rohlfs (April 14, 1831 – June 2, 1896) highlighted the strategic importance of Tripoli<sup>186</sup>. The study provided evidence that who ever controlled Tripoli could also rule Sudan<sup>187</sup>. The same sentiments can be found in the discourse of European political actors around the same time, in addition to the reports of individual travellers.

Before being mentioned in reports, writings and studies conducted by the Germans, Tripoli was mentioned in different European accounts, such as the studies conducted by the French and the British. Separately, and in the context of international competition (given that the *Tanzīmāt*

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<sup>182</sup>The British consul was as well represented in Tripoli since the seventeenth century. See C.R. Pennel (ed.) *Piracy and Diplomatie in seventeenth century North Africa, the journal of Thomas Baker, English consul in Tripoli, 1677-1685*, Golden Cockerel Press, London, 1989.

<sup>183</sup>al-Ḥindīrī, "taṭawwur tijārat al-qawāfil fī Wilāyat Ṭarābulus al-gharb (1835-1911)", p. 969.

<sup>184</sup>Politischs Archiv ,Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche konsulat in Tripoli Bd1, R16111, von 1895 bis 1899 .

<sup>185</sup> Muḥāfaẓa, 'Alī, *mawāqif al-duwal al-kubra min al-wahdā al-'arabiyya(1) : mauqaf Faransā wa -'Almāniya wa Itālīya min al-wahdā al-'arabiyya 1919 - 1945*, markaz dirāsāt al-wahdā al-'arabiyya, Bayrūt, (D. T), pp. 23-24.

<sup>186</sup> On Rohlfs' occupation and work see the introduction to this study.

<sup>187</sup>Nāji, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 78.

reforms of the Ottoman Empire were largely introduced to respond to the challenges of European imperialism)<sup>188</sup>, they all emphasized the strategic importance of the province of Tripoli for their economic and colonial goals in the first place<sup>189</sup>.

In this context, there were also projects planned by some Europeans which reveal their interests in the region. For instance, the British envisaged integrating all the valleys in Tripoli and supplying them with water from the Mediterranean<sup>190</sup>. They hoped that this would create a new maritime route towards sub-Saharan Africa. The project was not implemented because it was very expensive and it was believed to be unrealistic. France had also offered to build a canal to link the city of Gabès in Tunisia with Tripoli, but they retreated from this proposal as well<sup>191</sup>. Nevertheless, France did not abandon its economic relations with Tripoli and continued to take advantage of the vital trade routes in Tripoli in the hope of connecting the south of the former Ottoman Algiers colonized by France and the region between Mali (today) and Chad (today) competing with the British in the South of the former ottoman provinces Sudan (today).

#### **2.1.4 Economic Significance:**

The natural climate of the province of Tripoli has had a decisive effect on its economic options and opportunities. Harsh natural conditions like severe draughts for example had an impact on limiting agricultural potential. In addition to that, the province depended mainly on the rainfall for the production of crops such as wheat and barley, as well as the cultivation of olive trees<sup>192</sup>. This had a major role in guiding the population towards internal and foreign trade as an alternative to agriculture. Moreover, local people were taking advantage of the cities that represented the focal points in this regard. The local people as well as Ottoman governors were fully aware of the importance of trade for developing the economy of the province, as well as the

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<sup>188</sup>For this *tanzīmāt* (reforms) there is a very important historiography, for an overview on the ottoman empire see for example C. V. Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989; and R. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856--1876*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, for an very interesting view on this period see also M. Fuhrmann, *Der Traum vom deutschen Orient: Zweideutsche Kolonien im Osmanischen Reich 1851-1918*, Campus, Frankfurt-New York, 2006 and M. Fuhrmann, *Den Orient deutsch machen: Imperiale Diskurse des Kaiserreiches über das Osmanische Reich*. For Tripoli see for example: the study of Nora Lafi, *Entre Ottomanité, Impérialité*, in Sabine Bastian and Franck Trouilloud (eds.) *Frankreich und Frankophonie: Kultur – Sprache – Medien*, Meidenbauer, München, 2009, pp. 143-162.

<sup>189</sup>Nāji, *tārīkh Ṭarābulis al-gharb*, p. 78.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Ḥamīda, 'Ali 'Abd al-Laṭīf, *al-mujtama' wa-l- daula wa al-isti'mār fī Lībiyā dirāsa fī al-uṣūl al-ijtimā'iyya wa al-iqtisādiyya wa al-thāqāfiyya li-ḥarakāt wa siyāsāt al-tawāṭu' wa muqāwamat al-isti'mār 1830-1932*, markaz dirāsāt al-waḥdaal-'arabiyya, Bayrūt, 1998, p. 78.

fact that its importance was increasing over time. This was apparent through the establishment of many trade centers and road network used by convoys with significant economic uses; the result was the boom in internal trade<sup>193</sup>. Cities like Tripoli, Benghazi, Sawkanh and Ghadames constituted the center of the economic activities are to be mentioned in this context and routes like Tripoli-Kano, Tripoli-Borno, Tripoli-Benghazi, the middle route to Sudan and others played a significant role in enhancing trade between Tripoli, east, west and central Africa. Consequently these routes enhanced the importance of the province to many internal and external powers including the Ottomans and the Europeans<sup>194</sup>. Modes of trade, cities and trade routes will be discussed later in this chapter.

## **2.2 General Situation in the Province of Tripoli (1870-1884):**

### **2.2.1 Political Situation and Administrative Structure:**

Since the restoration of direct Ottoman rule in 1835, prior to the period under study, the Ottoman Empire undertook a new approach in dealing with people of the province of Tripoli, within the context of the administrative reforms referred to as *Tanzīmāt*. This was manifested in the stricter control over Tripoli and more careful selection of its governors. The province came under the direct control of Istanbul, capital of the Ottoman Empire and power was increasingly centralized, despite the attempts of local notables from cities and those from hinterland to maintain control over their regions. In addition to this some local leaders chose to work with France or Great Britain to strengthen their own influence, thereby also supporting the interest of these European powers through unrests or rebellions against the Empire<sup>195</sup>. This context the city of Tripoli remained the latest Ottoman provincial capital in the North of Africa, the residence of the Ottoman governor and the center of its administration.

The administrative structure was changed by the Ottomans repeatedly during this time under the frame of the *Tanzīmāt* or reform period.

In 1835 Tripoli was called *Eyālet* (meaning large province)<sup>196</sup> and the governor received the title of Pasha. This *Eyālet* was divided later into administrative units called *Qa'im maqamiyya* or *sanjaqs*, each of which governed by *Qa'im Maqām* (a governor). In 1865 this system was

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<sup>193</sup>Hamīda, *al-mujtama' wa-l- daula wa al-isti'mār fī Lībiyā...*, p.78.

<sup>194</sup>See C.R. Pennel (ed.) *Piracy and Diplomacy in seventeenth century North Africa: the journal of Thomas Baker*, English consul in Tripoli, 1677-1685, Golden Cockerel Press, London, 1989.

<sup>195</sup>Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī...*, p. 18.

<sup>196</sup>Rūsi, *Lībiyā mundhu al-fath al-'arabī...*, p. 384.

changed and the divisions of the Ottoman Empire were called provinces (*Wilāyat*). The internal administration in the province of Tripoli was structured as follows:

The province was divided into four sanjaks (sometimes called *Liwā'* ), each of which contained a number of *Aqaḍīya* (singular *Qaḍā'*) with their own administrative center. A governor was selected for each sanjak<sup>197</sup>.

The *Qaḍā'* of Tripoli included the city of Tripoli and all the areas surrounding this, particularly in the west. The regions that it included were: Tajura, Zanzur, and Jifarah. Other examples of *Aqaḍīya* are Ujaylat, Zuwarah, Tarhuna, Warfalla, Gharyan, Al Aziziyahand al-Gosh<sup>198</sup>. *Qaḍā'* Al Khums included Sahel AlAhaamed, Taworgha, Meslata, Zlitan, Misurata and Sirte<sup>199</sup>. *Qaḍā'* Al Jabal included *Nawāḥi* like Al Houd, Mizdah, Al Zintan, Kikla, and *Qaḍā'* like Ghadames, Nalut and Fassato<sup>200</sup>. *Qaḍā'* Fezaan, which was in the south of the province included Murzuq, which was the capital of *Liwā'* Sebha, it included also Alwady Alshargee, Jufrah, Alshargya, Al Gatrun, Houn, Zillah, Sawkanh, al-Shati, Ghat Taborshadh, and Alghayra in Brdaee<sup>201</sup>. (See Map 2)

The status of the area of Barga was unstable. It remained a *Qa'im Maqāmiyya* under the control of the Ottoman government in the province of Tripoli, from the beginning of the Ottoman rule, mainly because it was far from the center and lay in the region bordering Egypt<sup>202</sup>. In 1836, Barqa was then transformed into a *Mutaṣarrافیyya* under direct control of the Ottoman capital in Istanbul; this lasted until 1871 when it was returned to the control of the province of Tripoli<sup>203</sup>. This only lasted for one year, when it became a *Mutaṣarrافیyya* again under the control of the Ottoman capital in Istanbul till 1888. Barag was then divided into three *Qa'im maqamiyya* Derna, Jalu and Al Marj and every Sanjaq was divided into *Nawaḥi* like the city of Tripoli.<sup>204</sup>

The structure of the society in the province of Tripoli was predominantly tribal. Each tribe was headed by a person called *Shaykh al-Maḥallah* in small villages or in cities<sup>205</sup>. This position was

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<sup>197</sup>Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*, p. 26.

<sup>198</sup>Rūsi, *Lībiyā mundhu al-faḥ al-'arabī...*, p. 385 ; Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p.85.

<sup>199</sup>Rūsi, *Lībiyā mundhu al-faḥ al-'arabī...*, p. 385.

<sup>200</sup> See in index the ottoman map ; and see Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 85.

<sup>201</sup>Rūsi, *Lībiyā mundhu al-faḥ al-'arabī...*, p. 385.

<sup>202</sup>Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*, pp.29-30.

<sup>203</sup>Ottoman Archives BOA Istanbul, *Ṭarābulis al-gharb fī al-wathā'iq al-'ūthmānī*, Iṣtānbūl, 2013, p. 253

<sup>204</sup>Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*, pp.29-30.

<sup>205</sup>For the question of Shaykh al-bilād in ottoman cities and specifically Tripoli see the publications of Nora Lafi, op.cit., and those of Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*, p. 48-53 ; In other context and specifically tribe societies the cheikha existed as well and even with a very interesting gender aspect : ' Si une femme est offensée par un homme qui lui aurait dit, par exemple qu'elle est laide, malpropre ou dévergondée, celle-ci se rend auprès de la cheikha du clan dont elle dépend, et porte une plainte contre qui a proféré ces offenses. La cheikha,

initiated in the time of the reforms in the province of Tripoli after the establishment of the new type of Ottoman municipality, *al-Baladiyya* in 1868 (the municipality of Tripoli)<sup>206</sup>. This position of *Shaykh al-Maḥallah* was initiated for the first time in 1871 according to the administrative system of the Ottoman and was regarded as the lowest level of the administrative structure. However, it was significant for the link that it represented between the population and the government in Tripoli. The person appointed in this position had to have suitable qualifications and his authority was limited to the specific area (*Maḥallah*) over which he was elected. This was a part of the city or the village, and should not be less than 50 houses. The main responsibilities of the *Shaykh al-Maḥallah* included informing the population about the orders, rules and laws issued by the government and the consequences that these held for them. He was also assigned to inform the government about events that took place in *al-Maḥallah*<sup>207</sup>. During the *Tanzīmāt* a new municipal system was established, and the position of mayor was instituted (*Ra'īs al-Baladiyya*), together with the formation of a municipal council (*Majlis al-Baladiyya*) following the institutionalization of the major cities of the Ottoman Empire<sup>208</sup>. Nonetheless, the Ottoman reform did not end the role of the *Shaykh al-Maḥallah*, which continued to exercise local control after several conflicts<sup>209</sup>. This was also the case in the central and southern part of the province.

Obviously not all the governors who were sent to the province of Tripoli were of the same caliber. In addition to the varying levels of efficiency and political competence some governors were also motivated by personal interests, which conflicted with those of the Empire<sup>210</sup>. This was

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après avoir consulté d'autres chiekhass de la tribu, détermine la peine à infliger à l'insultateur... Après la prononciation du verdict la chikha accompagnée de 30 à 40 femmes se rendent devant le portail de l'accusé et au cours de toute la journée, parfois même la nuit, tapent du tambour pour l'obliger à s'exécuter...' see the account of Pavel Chatev-(1882-1953), a Bulgarian exiled in the region as a prisoner after his participation of the bombardement of the building of the ottoman bank symbol of the european capitalism and the bombardement of the line of railway Salonika-Istanbul. This account was studied and published by Yordan Peev, Un exilé bulgare en- Libye au début du Xxème siècle, in La Libia nella storia del Mediterraneo, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente- Libyan Studies Center, Roma-Tripoli, pp. 283-295,

<sup>206</sup>On the institutionalisation of the new municipality in Tripoli see the work of Nora Lafi, Une ville du Maghreb entre ancien régime et réformes ottomanes: genèse des institutions municipales à Tripoli (1795-1911), l'Harmattan, Paris, 2002.

<sup>207</sup>*Baladīyyat Ṭarābulis fī mā'at 'ām 1286/1391H-1870/1970M*, pp. 164-165.

<sup>208</sup>On this point see Nora Lafi (ed), Municipalités méditerranéennes. Les réformes urbaines ottomanes au miroir d'une histoire comparée (Moyen-Orient, Maghreb, Europe méridionale, Klaus Schwarz, Berlin, 2005).

<sup>209</sup>Lafi, Nora, 'L'affaire 'Alī al-Qarqānī (Tripoli 1872)', in Abdelhamid Hénia and Ma'had al-Buhuth al-Maghribiyah al-Mu'asirah (ed.) Etre notable au Maghreb: Dynamique des configurations notabiliaires, Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2006, pp. 201-214.

<sup>210</sup>Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*, p. 26.

aggravated by the fact that governors were aware of the limited time for which they would hold their position, owing to the Ottoman policy of circumscribing the time period that any individual governor spent in a single place. In addition to this governors could also be removed or transferred at any point throughout their term in power<sup>211</sup>. Transfers could result from complaints about the governor made by residents or cases of civil unrest throughout his term. This became particularly clear in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

A few examples illustrate the local political situation, the local revolts and the relevance of the performance of the Ottomans governors to the length of time that they spent maintaining a particular position. One of these is that of Mehmed Halid Pasha (1870-1871). This period was important because it witnessed the revolt of the local people against the *Shaykh al-Balad*<sup>212</sup> the *Wilāyat* Alī al-Qarqānī in Tripoli<sup>213</sup>. Alī al-Qarqānī, who was assisted by two soldiers, was viewed as violator of the local traditions because he repeatedly issued sentences against the local people<sup>215</sup> Qarqānī-rnor against alThe residents of Tripoli made many complaints to the gove.<sup>214</sup> and the negative effects of his policies on them, especially because he was controlling everything in Tripoli including the industry. A revolt also broke out in the eastern part of the province<sup>216</sup>, which prompted civil unrest all over the province. The administrator equipped a military campaign to put the unrest down, although this was disbanded shortly after wards as the unrest decreased.

Mehmed Halid Pasha did not stay long in power. He was dismissed and replaced by Mohammed Rashid Pasha in 1871 in the context of growing European pressure in the region to control all Ottoman provinces. Mohammed Rashid Pasha implemented a moderate policy in Tripoli, balancing the demands of the Ottoman central government and a local Ottoman society in the face of European pressure. So they worked together to build good relations with many foreign consuls, including the consuls of Britain, France, America, Tuscany, Spain and others, which were competing for control over the Ottoman regions. Mohammed Rashid Pasha also introduced new reforms to the province in different sectors. However, this did not prevent the inhabitants of

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<sup>211</sup>Nora Lafi, 'L'affaire 'Alī al-Qarqānī (Tripoli 1872), pp. 201-214.

<sup>212</sup>Shaykh al-balad was a position given by the Ottomans to some people from the original residents of Tripoli and had the tasks of communicating directly with the local people.

<sup>213</sup>Lafi, Nora, *Une Ville De Maghreb Entre Ancien Régime Et Réformes Ottomanes* op.cit, 2002, p. 146 ;

<sup>214</sup>*Baladīyyat Ṭarābulis fī mā'at 'ām 1286/1391H - 1870/1970M*, p. 161. Lafi, Nora, 'L'affaire Ali al-Qarqani, Tripoli 1872', in Abdelhamid Hénia (ed.) *Villes et territoires au Maghreb: Itinéraires de recherche*, Tunis: IRMC, 2000, 227p.

<sup>215</sup>Nora Lafi, *Une Ville De Maghreb Entre Ancien Regime Et Reformes Ottmanes*, pp. 283-291.

<sup>216</sup>*Baladīyyat Ṭarābulis fī mā'at 'ām 1286/1391H - 1870/1970M*, p. 163.

Fezzan in the south of the province of Tripoli from revolting and rejecting the authority of the Ottoman Empire. Research on this period indicates that the unrest was instigated by the Tuareg population in the far south of the province in 1871. At the same time, the tribes of Awlād Sulaymān in the central region also declared their rejection of Ottoman rule and their participation in the Tuareg revolution.<sup>217</sup> The governor Mohamed Rashid Pasha tried to put down this revolt<sup>218</sup>, particularly because it started to adversely affect trade convoys destined for or coming from the south of the province.

It is noticeable that these disorders abated gradually with the outbreak of internal conflict between some Tuareg tribes, namely the al-Hāqar and Azqār tribes regarding the authority over the southern part of the province. The conflict ended with the defeat of Azqār tribe. This prompted Mohamed 'Akhnūkh, one leader of 'Azqār tribe in the southern part of Tripoli<sup>219</sup>, to contact the Ottoman Government in Tripoli to seek protection in return for his submission to the Ottoman government. Later on he asked the Ottoman government to train and recruit new soldiers from the local people to strengthen his power there.

In the city of Ghat located in the south of the province of Tripoli the situation had been unstable until Mustafa Asim Pasha was appointed as the governor of the province in 1874. He decided that Ghat should be given the administrative status of a Sanjaq. He was able to regain control as part of his efforts to extend the authority of the province towards the desert. He sent a number of soldiers armed with cannons to strengthen the Ottoman presence and make it a district under the control of Fezzan. As part of these efforts Taborshadh, which was located on the border with Chad, was also made a district of the province in 1881<sup>220</sup>. Mustafa Asim Pasha gained an advantage over the other Ottoman governors in the province of Tripoli through his practice of travelling to see the conditions of the people in person, and to try to address their problems before they become uncontrollable<sup>221</sup>.

Such outbreaks of civil unrest were frequently instrumentalized by British and French consuls and military interventions. The Berlin Conference in 1878 discussed and negotiated the

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<sup>217</sup>Fīru, Shāril (Féraud Charles), *al-hawaliyyāt al-lībiyya mundhu 'l-fath al-'arabī ḥattā al-ghazū al-iḥālī*, translated by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Karīm al-Wāfi, jāmi'āt Qāryūnis, Bīnghāzī, 1994, p. 504-507.

<sup>218</sup>- Govenor or in Arabic *Wāliis* an administrative title that was used during the Caliphate and Ottoman Empire to designate governors of administrative divisions. See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Brill.

<sup>219</sup>Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 212.

<sup>220</sup>Sāmiḥ, 'Azīz, *al-atrāk al-'uthmāniyyūn fī Ifrīqiyyā al-shamāliyya*, tarjamat 'Abd al-Sālām Adham, dār al-furjānī, al-Qāhira - Ṭarābulus - Lundun, 1991, pp. 211-212.

<sup>221</sup>al-Zāwī, *wulāt Ṭarābulus al-gharb...*, pp. 508, 523.

distribution of political influence among European countries in the Ottoman world, whether in the Balkans or lands belonging to the Ottoman Empire in other regions<sup>222</sup>.

It should be noted that the Ottoman Empire was aware of the European ambitions in Tripoli, especially when France colonized Algeria in 1830 and declared Tunisia a protectorate in 1882. The Ottoman Empire then considered the need to preserve its remaining Arab provinces. This was mainly done by preventing Tripoli from coming under the control of any European country. As a result Ahmed Izzet Pasha (1879-1881) was sent to Tripoli in 1879, where he attempted to introduce reforms to protect the province. His main work was to repair the forts and walls<sup>223</sup>. This work was completed after him by Mehmed Nazif Pasha (1880–1881) who focused also on the defensive aspect, by building many fortifications in the major centers around the city. They were equipped with cannons that were brought especially from the central government in Istanbul (Astana) for the purpose of defending the city in the case of any attack<sup>224</sup>.

These efforts were accompanied by the appointment of Ahmed Rasim Pasha as a governor of the province in 1881. This was a critical period because it coincided with France's declaration of Tunisia as a French protectorate and with British preparations to occupy Egypt<sup>225</sup>. Ahmed Rasim Pasha lived up to the expectations entrusted to him by the Ottoman Empire in this regard, as his political stance was characterized by a defiantly anti-colonialist stance.

Ahmed Rasim Pasha (1881-1898) attended first to the political stability of the province. He lifted the European protection from some Arab nationals and brought them back under the authority of the Ottoman Empire. During his rule the province was affected by a number of conflicts, particularly between tribes inhabiting the border region between Tripoli and Tunisia. Although Rasim Pasha succeeded in reducing the frequency of these disputes, he was not able to end them entirely<sup>226</sup>. He was then faced by a new problem, namely Italian ambitions over Tripoli, which led to some direct conflicts with the Italian Consul, particularly after the Italian Government

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<sup>222</sup> al-Jamal, Shauqī 'Aṭāallah wa 'Abdallāh Ibrāhīm wa Rabāb Salām, *tārīkh Aurūbbā al-hadīth wa al-mu'āširmin mu'tamar Fīyinna ḥatā al'ān*, al-juz' al-thānī, dār al-thaqāfa li-l-nashr wa al-tawzī', al-Qāhira, (D.T), p. 38 ; See also: Andrew Porter, *European imperialism, 1860-1914*, Macmillan, Houndmills, 1994.

<sup>223</sup> al-Zāwī, *wulāt Ṭarābulus al-gharb...*, p. 270.

<sup>224</sup> al-Tilīsī, *ḥikāyat madīnat...*, p. 170.

<sup>225</sup> See Jean Ganiage, *Les origines du Protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Maison Tunisienne de l'Édition 1961.

<sup>226</sup> al-Zāwī, *wulāt Ṭarābulus al-gharb...*, pp. 273-274.

began focusing its activities and economic interests in the province by encouraging immigration and other efforts to control Tripoli<sup>227</sup>.

As a result of these developments and the desire of Italy to control Tripoli, the local people began to feel the gravity of the situation and feared the advent of European colonization. This changed the whole situation in the province of Tripoli since it motivated the local people to support the governors. For instance, during Mehmed Nazif Pasha's rule in 1880<sup>228</sup> he succeeded in strengthening the fortifications of the center of Tripoli specifically in the northwest of the city such as the towers of al-Hamedia, Alfrarh, Sidi Mansour, and al-gargarsh. He also set up canons on the left and the right side of the city<sup>229</sup>. In all of this he was assisted by the local inhabitants. Their fear of European occupation led them to support him, despite their opposition in other instances and even to offer financial assistance for the construction of material defences. Mehmed Nazif Pasha focused also on the central and eastern regions and established a new political administration under the control of Sirte. His successor Ahmed Rasim Pasha remained in office for a long period that lasted until 1898, until he was replaced by Namik Pasha<sup>230</sup>.

## **2.2.2 Economic Situations:**

### **2.2.2.1 Natural Resources:**

To highlight the economic situation in the province of Tripoli in the context of revolt and European Imperialism between 1870 and 1884, the following tables offer detailed information on natural resources such as the different types of agricultural products and the quantity of produce with regard to most aspects of the economy in Tripoli. This is in order to understand how this economy was so important for local and external actors competing for control over the region. The figures have mainly been drawn from documents found in the German Archive.

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<sup>227</sup> al-Tilīsī, *ḥikāyat madīnat...*, p. 174.

<sup>228</sup> Rūsi, *Lībiyā mundhu al-faṭḥ al-'arabī ḥatā sanat 1911...*, p. 384.

<sup>229</sup> al-Zāwī, *wulāt Ṭarābulus al-gharb...*, p. 274.

<sup>230</sup> al-Zāwī, *wulāt Ṭarābulus al-gharb...*, p. 276.

TABLE (1): THE NUMBER OF FRUIT TREES IN THE PROVINCE OF TRIPOLI IN 1869<sup>231</sup>:

<b>Fruits</b>	Number of trees
<b>Palm</b>	2,687,740
<b>Olive</b>	3,447,040
<b>Orange</b>	450,000
<b>Lemon</b>	220,000
<b>Apple</b>	1,400
<b>Pomegranate</b>	12,580
<b>Apricot</b>	11,300
<b>Others</b>	15,245

Information in this table is found in a report in the Political Archive (Politisches Archiv) in Berlin; Germany dated back to the time period between July 1869 till October 1888, and included the number of trees in the province of Tripoli. The table shows that the number of olive and palm trees was higher than that of other trees, a point which reveals their significance to the economy of the province. Given the large numbers of olive trees in Tripoli, olive oil was also produced in large quantities, as stated in the report.

In the same report the quantities of crops and cereal in the same period is presented in table (2) below.

TABLE (2): QUANTITIES OF CROPS AND CEREAL PRODUCED IN 1869<sup>232</sup>:

<b>Crop</b>	Quantity/ Kilos
<b>Wheat</b>	22,500,000
<b>Barley</b>	50,000,000
<b>Sorghum</b>	300,000

<sup>231</sup> Politisches Archive, Das Auswärtige Amt Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche Konsulat in Tripoli, Bd.1, vom Juli 1869 bis Oktober 1888, R 901/52506.

<sup>232</sup> Politisches Archive, Auswärtige Amt Allgemeine ..., Bd. 1, vom Juli 1869 bis Oktober 1888, R 901/52506 .

<b>White Sorghum</b>	15,000
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The next table presents the production of fruits and vegetable in the province of Tripoli in the same period of time (1870-1884).

TABLE (3) PRODUCTION OF FRUITS AND VEGETABLES (1870-1884)<sup>233</sup>:

<b>Quality</b>	<b>Quantity/ Kilos</b>
<b>Truffles</b>	105,000
<b>Tobacco flowers</b>	3,300
<b>Onion</b>	240,000
<b>Yam</b>	13,5000
<b>Pumpkin and Watermelons</b>	1,000,000
<b>Quince</b>	5,000
<b>Dried Fig</b>	672,000
<b>Carob</b>	60,000
<b>Raisins</b>	27,000
<b>Dates</b>	28,500,000
<b>Pomegranates</b>	28,200
<b>Apple</b>	13,800
<b>Pears</b>	10,500
<b>Orange and Limon</b>	40,000,000
<b><i>Hinnah</i></b>	275,000
<b>Rubber</b>	1.200

Not only statistics on agricultural products were presented in the report but also the species and numbers of animals and livestock in the province of Tripoli which are illustrated in the table below.

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<sup>233</sup>Politisches Archiv,Auswärtige Amt Allgemeine ..., Bd. 1, vom Juli 1869 bis Oktober 1888, R 901/52506.

TABLE (4) SPECIES AND NUMBERS OF ANIMALS AND LIVESTOCK IN TRIPOLI<sup>234</sup>:

Species	Number
Ox	110,000
Cows	38,000
Horses	12,000
Ponies	14,000
Ram	587.000
Lamb	7,000,000
Young sheep	1,200,000
Rams	900
Mules	15,00
Capricorn	400,000
Goats	350,000
Camels	1,500,000
Birds (chickens and roosters)	110,000

As land constituted a significant issue of the economic life in Tripoli, the same report indicated the different types of soil and its uses including agricultural land and gardens, the land used by pastures for their animals, uncultivated land in the desert and the residential areas<sup>235</sup>.

#### 2.2.2.2 Local Industries:

The main industries in Tripoli were; metal and leather industries, textile, and straw mats.

Metal and leather industries had received the special encouragement of Samih Pasha<sup>236</sup> who ruled in the province of Tripoli in the time between 1874 and 1875<sup>237</sup>. It should be noted that these industries were represented in certain markets in various parts of the province, and each craft had its special market. The Markets included but were not limited to the industry of silk,

<sup>234</sup>Politisches Archive,Auswärtigen Amt Allgemeine ..., Bd. 1, vom Juli 1869 bis Oktober 1888, R 901/52506.

<sup>235</sup>Politisches Archive,Auswärtigen Amt Allgemeine ..., Bd. 1, vom Juli 1869 bis Oktober 1888, R 901/52506

<sup>236</sup>al-Zāwī,wulāt *Tarābulus al-gharb*..., p. 264.

<sup>237</sup> Ibrāhīm, ‘Abdullāh ‘Alī, "anmāt al-tijārā al-dakhīliyya fī wilāyat Tarābulus al-gharb, wa Barqa fī al-niṣf al-thānī min al-qarn al-tāsi ‘a ‘ashar", *majallat al-buḥūth al-tārīkhiyya*, al-sanna al-sādisa, al-‘adad al-thānī, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn ḍidd al-ghazū al-iṭālī, jāmi‘at al-fātiḥ, Ṭarābulus,1984, p.402.

gold, silver and jewelry, copper, which was known as *Sūq al-qāṣdarha*, and some manufacture of iron and other metals.

The inhabitants of Tripoli were interested in the textile industry. It represented one of the most important and largest industries in the province, because it relied on locally available materials such as wool produced from goats and camels. One feature that characterized this industry was that it was performed by men and women equally. Their production varied between silk gowns and robes made of wool and also carpets that were mainly produced in Misurata<sup>238</sup>. These products were sold in the local markets and locally consumed specifically because they were used to make the national dresses. Sometimes they were exported to Tunis.

*Ḥaṣīr* (or *Kalīm*) *Ḥaṣīr* are strawmats that were placed on the ground to sit on and its production was concentrated in two main areas: Taworgha and Tajura<sup>239</sup>. These mats were produced and used locally in huge quantities.

### 2.2.2.3 Taxes:

Like the other Ottoman provinces, the Arabic provinces ruled by the Ottoman Empire were organized under a very complex system of taxation. The Ottoman taxation system in Tripoli as well included such taxes as the Werko tax<sup>240</sup> or the oppressive property tax implemented during the reform since the 1858 Ottoman law. Other taxes included the tithe, taxes on inheritances and on commercial transactions, in addition to the real estate tax and taxes on precious metals. The Werko tax was a tribute annual tax known as *Miri*, which was imposed on the population of Tripoli. It was considered to be one of the most important taxes in the province because it was taken from every adult male and was used by the Ottomans to cover their administrative expenses<sup>241</sup>.

In addition to that there were taxes on livestock that varied depending on the type of livestock. For a camel, for example, the owner should pay 35 Ottoman qirsh<sup>242</sup>, whilst the sum for each cow was 17.5 Ottoman qirsh. Taxes were also imposed on trees and wells<sup>243</sup>.

A new tax was introduced in 1897 to pay for the exemption from military service. The tax was known as *al-Jihādiyya* and the main goal behind its imposition was to cover the expenses of the

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<sup>238</sup> Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī* ..., p.148; Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*..., p.65.

<sup>239</sup> Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*..., pp. 65- 67.

<sup>240</sup> Brūshīn, *tārīkh Lībiyā min nihāyāt al-qarn al-tasi' 'ashar*..., pp. 64-65.

<sup>241</sup> Brūshīn, *tārīkh Lībiyā min nihāyāt al-qarn al-tasi' 'ashar* ..., pp. 64-65.

<sup>242</sup> There is different currencies mentioned in this research as it was mentioned in the literature, I could not find any document that helps me to unify the different currencies

<sup>243</sup> Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*..., pp. 37, 38, 46.

Greek-Turkish war. It is noteworthy that the Government of Istanbul imposed this tax for only one year, but the governors who ruled in Tripoli made it permanent, and included it within the Werko tax<sup>244</sup>.

The tithe was paid on agricultural products. Farmers had to pay one tenth of their agriculture production such as wheat, barley and olives to the government. Because this tax was linked mainly with the quantity and quality of production; therefore, it differed from one year to another<sup>245</sup>. In addition to these, other taxes and revenues included the property tax, stamps tax, and taxes paid in ports which were imposed in 1886<sup>246</sup>.

It should be noted that the families of the aristocracy were exempted from these taxes<sup>247</sup>. Exempted groups included the *al-Kuwārighliyya*<sup>248</sup>, the *Ashrāf*, and the *Shyūkh* (Singular *Shaykh*). Despite these exemptions they could still be harassed to pay taxes. For example, the sons of *Shaykh* 'Abdul Sālam al-'Asmār in Zlitan were for some years harassed by the tax collectors and the judiciary who asked them to provide supplies including food for free. For this very reason they wrote to the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul to inform him about these harassments. They asked the Sultan to provide them with protection and to send an order to inform the local authorities that they were exempted from paying taxes. The Sultan then reacted positively and strengthened their situation<sup>249</sup>.

In addition, all the non-Muslims and particularly the Jews who lived in the province of Tripoli were exempted from the military services. For this exemption they had to pay 30 Penny/piaster<sup>250</sup>.

Customs were also paid in ports. These were equivalent to 1% on the exported goods and 8% on the imported goods, in addition to the required taxes on ports. In the case of taxes paid on ports

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<sup>244</sup>Kākiyā, Antūnī, *Lībiyā fī al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī 1835-1911*, translated by Yūsuf Afandī al-'Asālī, Ṭarābulus, 1946, p. 91, an Arabic translation of Cachia A. J., *Libya under the Second Ottoman Occupation (1835-1911)*, Tripoli, 1945.

<sup>245</sup>al-Wībā, Kāmil 'Ali, *al-idāraal-'ūthmāniyya fī Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p.135.

<sup>246</sup> al-Sūrī, Sallāh al-Dīn Ḥasan, " al-darā'ib al-'uthmāniyya fī Wilāyat Ṭarābulis al-gharb wa mutaṣarrافیyat Binghāzī fī al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī - mashākil al-ḍagħt wa al-tawattur, *majallat al-buḥūth al-tārīkhīyya*, al-sanna al-sādīsa, al-'adad al-thānī, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn ḍidd al-ghazū al-iṭālī, jāmi'at al-fāṭih, Ṭarābulus, 1984, p.394.

<sup>247</sup>al-Wībā, *al-Idāraal-'ūthmāniyya fī Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 150; Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī ...*, p.232.

<sup>248</sup>This is a Turkish name given to a group of people in the province of Tripoli. It is said that they are born to the Turkish soldiers who were married to women from the local population. The families tended to concentrate in the cities of Tripoli, al-Zawiya, Misurata and Zeltin and other cities in the coast, See also: Kamālī, Ismā'īl, *sukkān Ṭarābulis al-gharb*, Ta'arīb Ḥasan al-hādī bin Yūnis, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhīyya, Ṭarābulis, 1997, p. 60.

<sup>249</sup>Wathīqā 40|30, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-maḥfūzāt, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>250</sup>Kūrū, *Lībyāathnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī...*, p. 39; Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī ...*, p. 246.

the Ottomans only imposed taxes on the ships of the Arabs; the ships of other countries were exempted.

Furthermore there were also taxes on post and telegraph. The revenues from the taxes were sent to Istanbul<sup>251</sup>.

## 2.2.3 Trade:

### 2.2.3.1 Cites as Centers of Trade:

#### Map (1): Cites of the province of Tripoli<sup>252</sup>



<sup>251</sup>Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī...*, p. 246.

<sup>252</sup>Wathā'iq dār al-mahfūzāt al-tārikhiyya al-Sarāy al-Ḥamrā', Ṭarābulis.

### **Tripoli and Benghazi:**

Tripoli and Benghazi proved to be the most important Ottoman trade centers on the coast. The natural consequence of the development of trade at various levels was the success and the reputation the cities of Tripoli and Benghazi gained in North Africa. They became the most important commercial centers of the coastal region on the one hand and, on the other hand, they formed a link between the north and the south and the east and the west.

The city of Tripoli was considered to be the departure and the arrival point for commercial convoys between North and South of Sahara<sup>253</sup>. The port played a very important role in the revitalization of commercial maritime traffic. This increased markedly at the end of the nineteenth century, both in terms of the value of exports and imports, and in regard to the steady increase in the number of ships that frequently passed by Tripoli. There was a particularly marked increase in the number of Italian private vessels, as a result of the increasing interest of the Italian government that resulted in intensifying their economic activities in Tripoli and in turn contributed to boosting the maritime commercial traffic<sup>254</sup>.

This maritime activity reached a highpoint during the time period of 1872 – 1881<sup>255</sup>. The reason behind the development and recovery of the caravan trade was the progressing political situation in Tripoli and the keenness and commitment of some governors to develop this trade.

The elimination of the rebels who worked against the Ottoman authority was the first task which increased the sense of security and thus ensured the safety of the trade caravans. Moreover, the authorities reinforced their influence in the interior areas, especially in the province (*Liwā'*) of Fezzan and in the city of Ghadames, which were considered the main centers in the route of the caravan trade with the kingdoms of Sudan<sup>256</sup>.

In addition, the Ottoman authorities also rebuilt their relations with the kingdoms of the Sudan especially the kingdom of Kanem and Borno in the South in the second half of the nineteenth

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<sup>253</sup>For more information see the work of Martel, André, *Les confins Saharo-Tripolitains de la Tunisie, 1881-1911*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1965 and Lafi, Nora, *Tripoli port de Mer port du désert*, in Christiane Villain-Gandossi, Louis Durteste and Salvino Bussutil (eds.) *Méditerranée, mer ouverte*, Tome 2, XIXe et XXe siècles, Malta: International Foundation, 1997, pp. 657-666.

<sup>254</sup>Hūwīdī, Mustafā 'Alī, " al-zurūf al-iqtisādīyya fi Wilāyat Ṭarābulis al-gharb qubayl al-ghazū al-iṭālī, *al-dawr al-iqtisādī li-madīnat Ṭarābulis ka-ḥalaqat wasil baina Aurūbbā wa Ifrīqiyā (1835-1950)*, *A'māl al-nadwā al-'ilmīyya -al-thālitha allatī 'uqidat bi- al-markaz fī 3/10/ 1998*, taḥrīr Khalīfat Muḥammad al-Duwaybī, markaz jihād al-ībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhīyya, Ṭarābulis, 2008, p.204.

<sup>255</sup>Anderson, Lisa, The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, in *The Arab Journal of International Studies*, 1-2 1988, p. 105.

<sup>256</sup>Lafi, Nora, *Ghadamès, cité oasis entre empire ottoman et colonialisme*, in Federico Cresti, *Libya tra Mediterraneo e mondo islamico*, A. Giuffrè, Milano, 2006, pp. 55-70.

century. These relations had earlier deteriorated when the dynasty of the Karamanli was ruling. Furthermore, the Ottomans tried to restore their relations with the Kingdom of Wadai and maintain this region in their Empire<sup>257</sup>. The Ottoman authorities had also taken other measures including allowing the English government to open two branches for their consulate in Tripoli in each of Murzuq and Ghadames and permitting the French to open a branch of their consulate in Ghadames as mentioned before. All of these efforts contributed to a stimulation of the caravan trade with the Sudanese kingdoms and this had finally a significant positive impact. The number of caravans from the province of Tripoli increased<sup>258</sup>.

At this time, Benghazi was as important as Tripoli because of the number of trade conveys which were passing through. The port of Benghazi received goods from Ouaddai, Borno (in Chad), and Timbuktu (in Mali). To give just one example, in the second half of the nineteenth century large quantities of ostrich feathers were imported from Wadai by caravan to Benghazi, where they were exchanged for cotton textiles from Europe. The historical literature indicates that the number of convoys from Benghazi to sub-Saharan Africa was relatively large in 1893, employing a total of 1,111 camels to transport the goods of the convoys. The number of camels carrying the goods was also increased to 1,232 and reached 2,238 by 1899<sup>259</sup>.

This clearly demonstrates active trade between the north and the south. It also demonstrates how the authorities of Sudan's sub-Saharan kingdoms were keen to continue this trade that enriched the local markets, and it was considered at the same time a connection with the north. The Sultans of the Sudanese kingdoms were collecting the tithe (or *Öşür* meaning "tenth" in English) imposed on goods transported to and from Tripoli, as well as different amounts of money to facilitate the passage of the slave trade that was conducted across the land<sup>260</sup>. This played an important role in enriching the market in these kingdoms<sup>261</sup>.

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<sup>257</sup>Concerning the Ottoman Empire and Sahara: see the report of the international workshop titled "Libyan History and Historiography at a Time of Historical Transition" held at the Zentrum Moderner Orient in Berlin (2012), convener Mustafa Minaoui, EUME fellow 2012.

<sup>258</sup>See for example: the thesis of al-Ḥindīrī, Sa'īd, Université De Provence, Aix, Marseille, 1992, and other publications like al-Ḥindīrī, "taṭawwur tijārat al-qawāfil fī Wilāyat Ṭarābulus al-gharb....", p. 696.

<sup>259</sup>al-Ma'lūl, Sālim Muḥammad, "dūr Ujalā fī tawthīq al-'alāqāt ma' mamālik bilād al-Sūdān mindhu al-qarn al-'āshir ḥatā maṭla' al-qarn al-'aishrīn", *Ujalā baina al-māḍi wa al-ḥāḍir (1950-1951)*, a' māl al-nadwā al-'ilmīyyā al-sābi'ā allatī 'uqidāt bī- madīnat Ujalā ( 17-20 /9/2009), Ṭaḥrīr Muḥammad Bashīr Suwīsī, markaz jihād al-lībīyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhīyyā, Ṭarābulis, 2007, pp.103-104.

<sup>260</sup>Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānīal-thānī*, p. 121.

<sup>261</sup> See the work of Panzac Daniel, *Les corsaires barbaresques. La fin d'une épopée, 1800-1820*, CNRS Editions, Paris, 1999 and the english translation *Barbary Corsairs. The End of a Legend 1800-1820*, Brill, London-Boston, 2005, p.353.

### **Sawkanh:**

The city is located in the southeast of the province of Tripoli and was considered as a center of trade toward inland with cities and regions of south-central Africa. The city gained its significance from its geographical location as it is situated in a strategic position, located on the route that runs between Tripoli and Borno in (Nigeria) and on the pilgrimage route between the east and the west<sup>262</sup>. It is located on a plane extending towards the east. Sawkanh was also considered the south gate to the oases in the Jofra region that are located in the province (*Liwā'*) of Fezzan. Its climate is famous for its hot summers and cold winters.

Sawkanh was mentioned by the German traveller Gustav Nachtigal<sup>263</sup>. He estimated its population to be about 3000<sup>264</sup> inhabitants in 1869.

The city had been active in transit trade and it was referred to by many other German travellers as it represented the link between the north and the south. The merchants of the city were able to amass considerable wealth. Sawkanh's merchants were considered as business agents (*Wūkala'*) in the north and the south, mainly because they had established linkages with the Sultans of Borno and the Hijaz and the city of Istanbul. Sawkanh is also a resting station for trade convoys that headed toward both north and south. The city provided the trade convoys with food like dates, meat, bread and so forth. Another factor that boosted the importance of the city was that the local people were renting their camels for trade and some of the inhabitants volunteered to serve as escorts to those convoys<sup>265</sup>.

### **Ghadames:**

Ghadames had a special significance as was mentioned before. It is an ancient city with a privileged geographic location. It is located to the northwest of the city of Tripoli in a mountain known as al-Ḥamada al-Ḥamra'. It is located 640 km away from the center of the province of Tripoli. Its importance stems from its location; Ghadames is located on the borders with Tunisia

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<sup>262</sup> al-'Afif, Mukhtār 'Ūthmān, " namādhij min al-ṣilāt al-tijāriyya baina sukana wa Ṭarābulus khilāl al-'ahid al-'ūthmānī al-thānī 1835-1911", *majallat al-buḥūth al-tārīkhiyya*, al-sanna al-ḥādiyya wa al-'ishrūn, al-'adad al-thānī, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulus, 1999, pp. 123,125.

<sup>263</sup> See Nachtigal, Gustav, *Sahara und Suda*; On his biography, see also : Claus Priesner Claus, *Nachtigal Gustav in Neu Deutsche Biographi*, vol. 18, Duncker & Humblot, Berlin, 1997, pp.682–684.

<sup>264</sup> Nachtigal, *Sahara Und Sudan*, p.148; Ghānim, 'Imā al-Dīn, "al-mujtama' al-lībī ladā al-raḥḥāla al-aurūbiyyīn" *al-mujtama' al-lībī 1835-1950*, a' māl al-nadwa al-'ilmiyya al-thāmina allatī 'uqīdat bi-al-markaz fī al-fatra min 26-27/9/2000, Taḥrīr Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir al-Jarāī, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulus, 2005, p.330 ; See also : Panzac, Daniel, *La population de l'Empire ottoman. Cinquante ans (1941-1990) de publications et de recherches*, CNRS-IREMAM, Aix-en-Provence, 1993.

<sup>265</sup> al-'Afif, " namādhij min al-ṣilāt al-tijāriyya baina Sukana wa Ṭarābulus ..", p.125.

and Algeria. These borders were at important because in 1880 Algeria was under the French occupation at the same time the French were trying to extend their influence to Tunisia. Ghadames was an important trade center between Algeria and Tunisia. France then tried to take control over parts of Ghadames and to change the trade routes to pass through Tunisia. Also the city centre is only 9 km from the Algerian border, whilst the city of Ghat is about 800 km away<sup>266</sup>.

Another feature that increased Ghadames' importance is the existence of many water sources or springs called 'Uyūn (singular 'ayn); the most famous one is called 'ayn al-Faras<sup>267</sup>. Most of the residents of the area draw almost all of the water for watering their animals and irrigating their farms from 'ayn al-Faras<sup>268</sup>.

The city was of great importance for the trade convoys. It represented the main place where they exchanged their tired camels for rested animals in order to continue their journey to Ghat, where the camels were replaced again. This was the established pattern of all convoys from Tripoli to Kanem in 1897<sup>269</sup>.

Economically, the city was a centre of trade and a meeting place for convoys (See Picture 1: Example of a Convoy in Ghadames in 1884<sup>270</sup>), which contributed to its status as an important commercial city. It also was in its own right a large oasis in the desert which was rich in palm trees, gardens, and wells.

### **Picture (1): Example of a Convoy in Ghadames in 1884<sup>271</sup>**

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<sup>266</sup> al-Ma'lūl, Fātma Muḥammad, *madinat Ghadāmis dirāsa fī jughrāfiyat al-mudun*, al-Qāhira, 2006, p. 12.

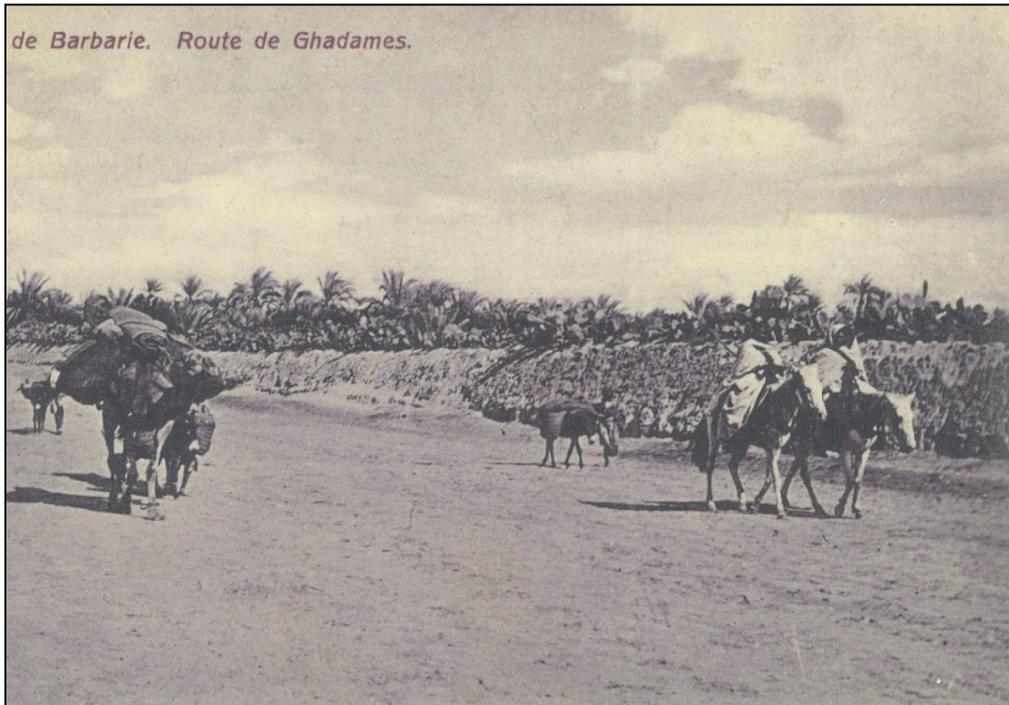
<sup>267</sup> al-'Aḥwal, Khalīfā Muḥammad, "al-jāliyyāt al-ajnabiyya fī Lībiyā (1835-1950)", *al-mujtama' al-lībī (1835-1950)*, a'māl al-nadwa al-'ilmiyya al-thāmina allatī 'uqīdat bi- al-markaz fī al-fatra min 26-27/9/2000, taḥrīr Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir al-Jarārī, markaz jihād al-lībiyyin li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulus, 2005, p.456.

<sup>268</sup> Abū Shārib, "tijārat al-qawāfil..", p. 135.

<sup>269</sup> Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 63.

<sup>270</sup> Wathā'iq dār al-maḥfūzāt al-tārīkhiyya al-Sarāy al-Ḥamrā, Ṭarābulus

<sup>271</sup> Wathā'iq dār al-maḥfūzāt al-tārīkhiyya al-Sarāy al-Ḥamrā, Ṭarābulus.



Ghadames' traders were able to assume a privileged position not only in the province but also outside the Ottoman province of Tripoli. They had permanent trade agents in different places, like Tunis<sup>272</sup>, and in Timbuktu and many cities of the region of Sudan and Sokoto (in Nigeria), Kanem and Wadai, (in Chad) and it is noted that these agents were from the same city and often the sons of the merchants themselves<sup>273</sup>.

In addition to providing an important caravan station in the trade route between northern and central Africa, Ghadames also represented an important point of cultural interchange, between the Islamic culture and society that dominated in the north and the less islamically oriented culture of the sub-Saharan regions.<sup>274</sup>

The trade that was taking place between north and the south Sahara revealed the fact that the two parts of Africa are complementing each other economically<sup>275</sup>.

<sup>272</sup>Yūsha', Bashīr Qāsim, Wathīqā 142, bi-tārīkh 1884, *Wathā'iq Ghadāmis wathā'iq tijāriyyatārīkhiyya ijtimā'iyya 949H/1542M - 1343H/1924M*, markaz jihād al-libiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 1995.

<sup>273</sup> Martel, *Les Confins Saharaeo Tripolitains de la Tunisie (1881-1911)*, p. 93 ; See also: al-Ṭawīl, Imḥimmad Sa'īd, al-Ṣirā' al-duwalī 'ala madīnat Ghadāmis khilāl al-niṣf al-thānī min al-qarn al-tāsi'a 'ashar wa in'ikāsātuhu 'alā tijāratihā, *a'māl al-nadwa al-'ilamiyyaal-tārīkhiyyaḥaula tārīkh Ghadāmis min khilāl kitābāt al-raḥḥālā wa al-mū'arrīkhīn*, taqdīm Nūr al-Dīn al-Thinī, markaz jihād al-libiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2003, p.199.

<sup>274</sup>See L'afrique de Marmol, p.58. In Luis del Marmol, P. d'Ablancourt 1667.

<sup>275</sup>al-Sāqizlī, 'Abd al-Laṭīf Sulaymān, *Lībiyā al-thaurā*, J1, dār mimfīs li-al-Ṭibā'a wa al-nashr, al-Qahera, 1398 ; Sālim al-Ma'lūl, "dūr Ujalā fī tawthīq al-'alāqāt ma' mamālik bilād al-Sūdān mindhu al-qarn al-'āshir ḥatā maṭla' al-qarn al-'āshirīn", p. 93.

### **2.2.3.2 Network of Caravan Trade Routes:**

The other factor contributing to the economic importance of the province of Tripoli was the network of routes used by convoys to travel back and forth. These routes had two characteristics (See Map 4).

Firstly they had been in use for a long time and were therefore well known to all who were involved in trade in Africa. Secondly they constituted a network that extended outward to connect different parts of Africa to the rest of the Ottoman provinces.

The most important routes were;

**First:** Tripoli-Kano (Nigeria) route: This passed through a series of small towns and villages and some tribal groupings until it reached south to Chad, and went to the southwest passing areas like Al Aairr and Zander to Kano<sup>276</sup>. This route passed through Ghadames.

**Second:** Tripoli-Borno (Nigeria)<sup>277</sup> route: That route ended at Coca on the shores of Chad Lake. It was the most direct route towards the Central Republic of Africa. The duration of a round-trip of a convoy was six months<sup>278</sup>.

**Third:** Tripoli-Benghazi route: This was used by convoys from Tripoli traveling to Benghazi and became a rallying point for many convoys. In Benghazi there were representatives who were responsible for monitoring the convoys which belong to Tripoli until they leave. On the way to Tripoli they passed through such places like Wadai, Al Kufra, Tebsti, Anwaja and Enski.

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<sup>276</sup> Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, pp. 161-162.

<sup>277</sup> 'Amir, Maḥmūd 'Alī, *tārīkh al-maghrb al-'arabī al-ḥadīth, Lībyā*, jāmi' at Dimashq, Dimashq, 1987, p. 157.

<sup>278</sup> Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī...*, pp. 86-87.

### Map (3) Ottomans African Provinces<sup>279</sup>



**Fourth:** The middle route to Sudan: This was a longer but safer route starting from the city of Tripoli, passing through Ghadames and reaching Kano (Chad). It is noticeable that most of the users and the supervisors of this route were traders from Ghadames. The advantage of this route was that it used to generate large profits for the province<sup>280</sup>. In addition, the traders from Ghadames were known by their intelligence and they were very active. This was because they were grown up in trading families and they were always surrounded by traders coming to their city, besides their good knowledge of several African languages and dialects in addition to Arabic. This helped them in turn to extend their trade outside their city and some of them were very famous in Kano, Nubi and Zander in Africa and some cities in Tunis. The estimated total

<sup>279</sup>See the ottoman map of the Ottoman Sahara from the BOA achive in Istanbul HRT.h..Number 18, 1217H.Z.29.

<sup>280</sup>Kürü, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*..., p. 84-85.

number of merchants who were coming from Ghadames estimated to be 129 merchants during the second half of the nineteenth century<sup>281</sup>.

**Fifth:** The desert route: This route linked Tripoli with the oases through Sawkanh, Zawilah, Awjilah, AlJaghub to Siwa, Kradash in the west of Cairo. This route also linked Tripoli to the Tunisian and Algerian commercial centers<sup>282</sup>. Trade with Tunisia was more than with the other two provinces. These exchanges were supervised by the Tunisian agents in Tripoli, and the same in Tunisia. The exchange of goods included both domestic as well as goods coming from Europe and Africa<sup>283</sup>. Trade with Algeria was limited to al-Tronh and *Hinnah*.

**Sixth:** The coastal route: This route was divided into two main routes: one heading towards the east, starting from Tripoli and passing through the major coastal cities and continuing through the borders with Egypt until it reached both Alexandria and Cairo. Trade with Egypt included trade in rice and sugar and imported livestock ,Hinnah, mats, and other manufactured goods. These were transported by convoys or ships of the Italian and Maltese companies<sup>284</sup>. The second route headed west towards the Tunisian cities such as Sfax, Kairouan and Tunis which were involved in trade and economic exchange. The main difference between these routes with regard to trading was the fact that the transport of goods was more expensive in the coastal route trade than the land routes.

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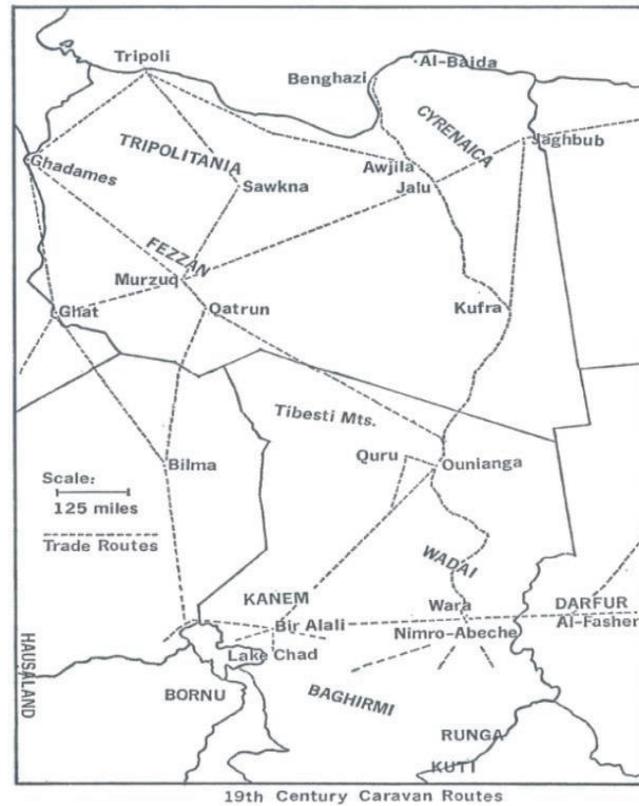
<sup>281</sup>al-Ṭawīl, "al-ṣirā' al-duwalī' ala madīnat Ghadāmis...", p.64.

<sup>282</sup>Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī...*, p.64.

<sup>283</sup> al-Jafāl, *al-'alāqāt al-lībiyya - al-tūnīsiyya...*, p.144.

<sup>284</sup>Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī...*, p.77-78

**Map (4): Caravan Trade Routes in the province of Tripoli in the nineteenth century<sup>285</sup>**



These routes facilitated the trade between all these regions, and were used by traders to transport different goods such as grains of all kinds (barley, wheat, corn), gold and silver jewelry, glass, dates, spices, horse saddles, livestock and carpets<sup>286</sup>, in addition to goods coming from Europe, including silk imported from Lyon in France, cotton fabrics from Britain, and handicrafts tissues that were made in India, perfumes of various kinds, weapons and other goods<sup>287</sup>. These routes also helped transport African products and goods such as ostriches, gold, ivory and slaves. Some convoys also carried goat skins and leather goods<sup>288</sup>.

<sup>285</sup> Dennis D. Cordell, *Eastern Libya, Wadai and the Sanūsīya: A Ṭarīqa and a Trade Route* Author(s)

<sup>286</sup> *Āmir, tārīkh al-maghrib al-‘arabi ...*, p.158.

<sup>287</sup> al-Ḥindīrī, "taṭawwur tijārat al-qawāfil fi Wilāyat Ṭarābulus...", p. 703.

<sup>288</sup> Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā’ al-‘ahd al-‘ūthmānī al-thānī...* pp. 88-89; al-Ḥindīrī, "taṭawwur tijārat al-qawāfil fi Wilāyat Ṭarābulus ...", p.703.

To sum up, the previous overview has presented the geographic, strategic and economic importance of Tripoli and has indicated why the province was so important to control. The following section will present situation in the province of Tripoli because it is assumed that the changing situation played a major role in shaping the relationship between Tripoli and the other Ottoman provinces as well as with the European powers.

### ***2.2.3.3 Internal and Foreign Trade:***

The trade in the province of Tripoli was directly supervised by the Ottoman governors and main families of the region. Some of the Ottoman governors of Tripoli were known for their work in developing the economic sector in general and trade in particular. They focused their efforts on developing the trade sector that they viewed as important for developing the province's economy. Examples of such governors were Ali Reza Pasha<sup>289</sup> (first term 1867-1870, second term 1872-1873), Mustafa Pasha (acting as governor 1870, second term 1874-1875), and Ahmed Rasim Pasha (1881-1896). However, sometimes trade was disturbed when conflicts arose or groups rebelled against the ruling political authority.

Both local and international trade was significant for the economy of the province of Tripoli's economy; both modes are going to be investigated next. This includes the slave trade which was taking place at that time in both internal and foreign modes.

The economic history of Tripoli experienced positive and negative changes over time as a result of different political developments and events in the province. Suffice it to note here that the province enjoyed great economic importance at the time of the dynasty of al-Kāramanlī (1711-1835). The economic importance of Tripoli at that time was mainly due to the large activity of trade convoys, which enjoyed the support of the ruling power, which in turn provided full protection to convoys coming or departing the state.

Toward the end of the dynasty of al-Kāramanlī' rule, trade declined due to the political situation in the region. During this time the province was politically unstable and witnessed a number of revolts by the local population. In addition, internal conflicts broke out among al-Kāramanlī dynasty members about who was eligible for ruling the province. The family was divided into two groups: a group led by Mehmed Pasha, and the other led by Ali Pasha the legitimate heir of

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<sup>289</sup>Concerning the implementation of the reforms with this governor see the study of Nora Lafi, *Une ville d'ancien régime*, op.cit.

the family<sup>290</sup>. The Ottoman Empire resolved this conflict by sending a naval fleet to Tripoli. The fleet consisted of 32 ships and was led by Najib Pasha who announced that he was coming to calm the situation, and try to restore security in the province. Within a few days of his arrival he managed to restore the direct Ottoman rule and ended the rule of *al-Kāramanlī* dynasty<sup>291</sup>, and everything went back as it was before, including trade<sup>292</sup>. Najib Pasha was appointed then as the governor; this was in 1835.

Another period of time that witnessed a decrease in trade was that after 1881. This time the deterioration of trade was because of the decrease in the demand for some material goods that were brought from Africa. For instance Britain had been able to raise ostriches to produce feather, which lowered the demand for the feathers imported from Africa and directly contributed to the marked decline in the prices<sup>293</sup>.

### **Internal Trade:**

This mode of trade focused on the local products as well as the imported products at other times. The province's wealth of livestock and agriculture production was the main source of livelihood for the local residents; the transactions were taking place in markets, which were held daily or weekly. There were permanent markets in the city of Tripoli like Alrubaa old market that was established by Osman Pasha al-Saqzle who ruled between 1649 and 1672. It was distinctive to other markets in that it was completely covered by a ceiling<sup>294</sup>. There were also weekly markets in most regions, such as the Friday market <sup>295</sup>(See Picture 2 (1))<sup>296</sup>, and the Sunday market for selling the Sparto plant or the *ħalfa* plant (*Cortaderia Selloana*) as it was called<sup>297</sup>. These markets also existed in other coastal cities such as Zuwarah, Misurata and Benghazi, as well as southern cities like Murzuq, Ghadames and Ghat.

<sup>290</sup>Rūsi, *Lībiyā mundhu al-fath al-‘arabī...*, p. 570.

<sup>291</sup>Ziyāda, Niqūlā, *Lībiyā fī al-‘uṣūr al-ħadīthā*, ma‘had al-buħūth wa al-dirāsāt al-‘arabiyya, Jami‘at al-duwal al-‘Arabiyya, al-Qahera, 1966, p. 52.

<sup>292</sup>Nājī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 189.

<sup>293</sup>Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā‘ al-‘ahd al-‘ūthmānī al-thānī*, p. 84; Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 68.

<sup>294</sup>*al-‘aswāq bī- al-madīnāh al-qadīmāh Ṭarābulisdirāsā tarīkhīyyā iqtīṣādīyyā*, mashrū‘ tanzīm wa idārat al-madīnah al-qadīmāh Ṭarābulis, Ṭarābulis, 2001, p. 53.

<sup>295</sup>Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā‘ al-‘ahd al-‘ūthmānī al-thānī...*, p. 78.

<sup>296</sup>Wathā‘ iqdār al-mahfūzāt al-tārīkhīyya al-Sarāy al-Ĥamrā’, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>297</sup>Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama‘ al-‘arabī al-lībī ...*, p. 193.

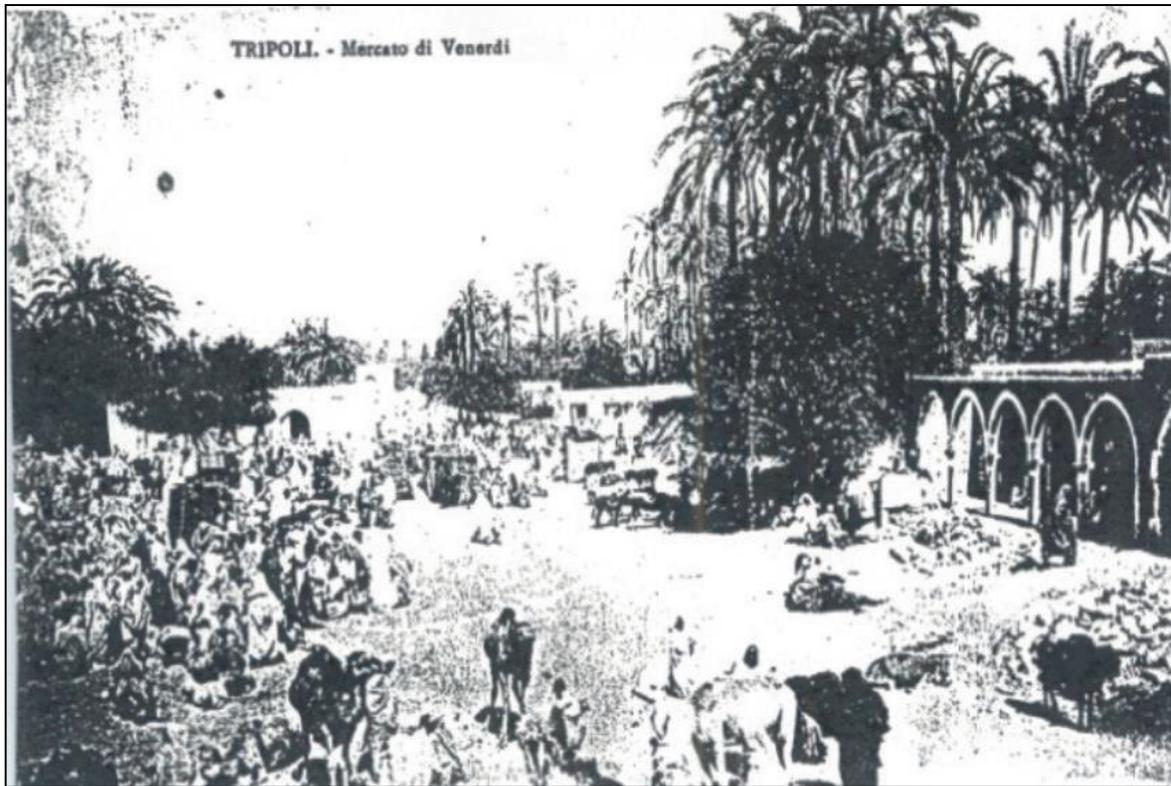
**Picture (2): Friday Market in Tripoli city in 1900 (1)<sup>298</sup>**



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<sup>298</sup>Wathā'iqdār al-mahfūzāt al-tārīkhiyya al-Sarāy al-Ḥamrā', Ṭarābulis.

**Picture (3): Friday Market in Tripoli city in 1900 (2)<sup>299</sup>**



The goods sold were mainly food and the daily necessities, as well as agricultural products such as cereals like wheat, as well as the Sparto or the *ħalfa* plant, dates, olive oil, fruits and other products. There was also a trade in livestock such as sheep, cattle, goats, camels and horses<sup>300</sup>. The most important livestock markets in the city of Tripoli were *al-ħalfa* and *al-Khubuz*. Both were weekly markets held on Mondays. The most important livestock markets other than in the city of Tripoli were in the western part of the province, which were dedicated to buying and selling of cattle.

To give an example of markets existing in different parts of the province of Tripoli, for instance in the western part of the province, the market in the city of Gradates was located in the city center in an open area. There were 33 shops for selling different types of goods as well as other service shops. In the nineteenth century this market had developed and became a big market which included smaller specialized markets such as the livestock market, the artisan market and

<sup>299</sup>Wathā' iqdār al-mahfūzāt al-tārīkhiyya al-Sarāy al-ħamrā', Ṭarābulis.

<sup>300</sup>Alī 'Abd Allah, "anmāt al-tijārā al-dakhīliyya fī wilāyat Ṭarābulus al-gharb...", pp.401-402.

the market of the goldsmiths and other goods<sup>301</sup>. In addition, famous markets were also held in Al Zawiya and Zuwarah in the western part of the province. In the central area of the province of Tripoli, markets were held in Ghadames, Ghat, Nalut and Murzuq in the south. Specifically in Murzuq, there was a larger market<sup>302</sup>. In the eastern part of the province, Benghazi was able to take a privileged position after it became the capital of Cyrenaica *Mutaşarrıfyya*, and it became the center of trade. In Benghazi, markets were divided into two types. In the first type, shops had ceilings and traded in goods like grain, food, silk and cotton clothes, along with weapons and several other minor commodities. The second type of markets was open and consisted of standing stalls. The livestock trade took place on a daily basis, and was described as the most important trade in the state<sup>303</sup>. The best known livestock markets were found in Ajdabiyah, Suluq, AlMarj and others<sup>304</sup>.

### **Foreign Trade:**

Foreign trade was significant for the economy of the province. This trade derived its wealth from two main sources: Caravan trade with sub-Saharan Africa and Arab and Ottoman provinces on one hand, and trade with European countries on the other hand.

The province of Tripoli represented the link between east and west, north and south of Africa using the cities and network of routes mentioned before. A reference should be made to the economic relations with the Ottoman government in Istanbul. The Ottoman Empire had a high share in these exchanges as it imported tobacco, household tools, alcohol, rice, flour, textiles, mates, *Hinnah*, ghee, oil, dates, and sponge<sup>305</sup>.

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<sup>301</sup> Fātma al-Ma'lūl, *madinat Ghadāmis...*, pp. 41,60.

<sup>302</sup> al-Hashā'ishī, Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān, *riḥlat Al-ḥashā'ishī ilā Lībyā 1895 (Jalā' al-Karab 'an Ṭarābulus - al-gharb)*, taqdīm wa taḥqīq 'Alī Muṣṭafa Al-miṣrātī, dār Lubnān li-l-Ṭibā'a wa al-nashr, Bayrūt, 1965, pp. 85,112.

<sup>303</sup> Kākiyā, *Lībiyā fī al-'ahid al-'ūthmāni al-thānī...*, p. 125.

<sup>304</sup> Kūrū, *Lībiyāfī al-'ahid al-'ūthmāni al-thānī...*, pp. 79-80; Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-Lībī...*, p. 171.

<sup>305</sup> Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 59; Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmāni al-thānī...*, p. 77; Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī ...*p. 12.

### Map (5): Port city of Tripoli (1)<sup>306</sup>



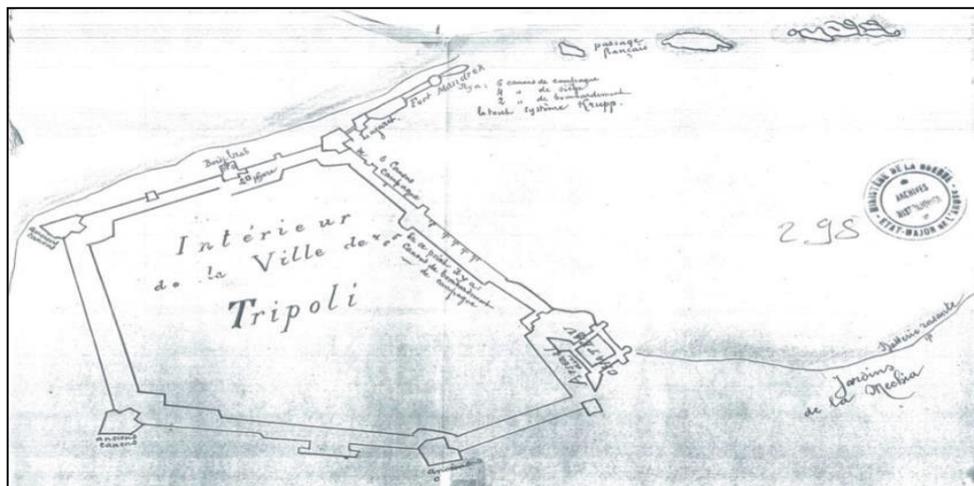
Many governors of the province of Tripoli focused on trading with countries located in the Mediterranean Sea, according to the diversity of goods and financial return generated. It should be noted here that all the exchanges or transactions, especially with the European countries, that took place in Tripoli had to be approved by the Ottoman government. To facilitate these exchanges, the Ottoman government in the province of Tripoli opened transportation lines which were subjected to specific laws and regulations benefitting Ottoman trade and economy. In addition to that there was a maritime commercial activity between Tripoli and some European countries. An example was the German line (Deutsche Levante Linie), which was one of the most important shipping companies. The main task of this company was the transportation of materials and

<sup>306</sup>On this issue the Libyan archive center is full of documentation see the *Wathā'iq dār al-mahfūzāt al-tārīkhiyya al-Sarāy al-Ḥamrā'*, Ṭarābulis.

products coming or going to both Germany and Belgium<sup>307</sup>. Goods were transferred from the ports of Tripoli to some other ports such as Beirut and those in Egypt. This was in addition to the Italian public navigation lines that were supervised by the Bank of Rome, which had taken the port of Genoa as center of operations. This choice was mainly because Genoa was one of the main Italian ports and the one with the best connections to Tripoli and Benghazi. Its importance is also reflected by the fact that Genoa was the main port used for transit trade specifically for those goods coming from Spain and Switzerland and sometimes from Germany. Also the Maltese ships contributed to this trade, the main operations took place between Marseille and the ports of Tripoli, as well as trade links with the ports of Tunisia were established<sup>308</sup>.

As for Britain, the state benefited from the services of the Italian ships, as well as using their own ships. At the same time Great Britain sought to get the concession of the state's authorities to facilitate its trade with Tripoli, and succeeded in doing so in the eighteenth century. As a result they signed an agreement to ensure their export against paying a specific amount of money paid annually to the government in Tripoli. They were followed in this by Venice, while Russia failed to achieve the same end<sup>309</sup>.

### Map (6): Port city of Tripoli (2)<sup>310</sup>



<sup>307</sup>See for example the archive of the Chambre de Commerce Marseille and see also the seminal work of André Martel, *Les confins Saharo-Tripolitains de la Tunisie*, op. Cit; and see also: Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*, p.76.

<sup>308</sup> Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*, pp.74-75, 78.

<sup>309</sup>Qadūrā, *Zāhiyyā, tārikh al-'arab al-ḥadīth*, dār al-naḥḍa al-'arabiyya, Bayrūt, 1985, p.417.

<sup>310</sup>Wathā' iqdār al-mahfuzāt al-tārikhiyya al-Sarāy al-Ḥamrā', Ṭarābulis.

France had sought to take advantage of this important convoy trade, actively working to extend its control over the most vital routes, especially in the border region between Tripoli and Tunisia<sup>311</sup> and used these routes to serve their interests. They tried to change the routes of the routes to pass through Tunisia and Algeria instead of the province of Tripoli. In addition to that they offered some privileges for traders to attract their attention and entice them to take these new trade lines as alternative transportation. Their actions affected the business in Tripoli, and resulted in the clear decline of operations with the end of the nineteenth century<sup>312</sup>.

The attempt of France in 1880 to control the border area between Tripoli and Tunisia is also relevant to this discussion<sup>313</sup>. The French ambitions were based on the strategic importance of this area and their own concerns to take advantage of the caravan routes there. Thus some French officers and experts were sent to this region secretly<sup>314</sup>.

The Tuareg tribes in the southern part of the province of Tripoli and in the context of conflict with other tribes like the Hagar in 1898 were suspicious about all these movements in the border area. Their suspicion led them to oppose the judge (the document does not mention his name) of Tataouine city (in the province of Tunis) which was located near the western border with Tripoli. The judge was almost killed by the Tuareg when he arrived in Ghadames in 1898, as part of a publicity campaign to support the French at the expense of the Ottomans<sup>315</sup>. But the mayor of Ghadames was able to stop them and informed them about the serious consequences of such act on the relationship between Tripoli and France. When this news reached the governor of Tripoli, Namik Pasha ordered the release of the judge and sent ten guards to protect the judge until he arrived at Tataouine<sup>316</sup>.

Moreover, historical information reveals that in 1898 a small group of French soldiers crossed the provisional Libyan-Tunisian border that had been established by the colonial powers and travelled 20 miles into Libyan territory. In addition to that the unit established a military camp within the colonial borders of the province in the context of French imperialism in Africa<sup>317</sup>. The

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<sup>311</sup> Martel, *Les confins Saharo-Tripolitains de la Tunisie ...*, p.180.

<sup>312</sup>Hamīda, *al-mujtama' wa al-daula wa al-Isti'mār fī Lībiyā...*,p.93.

<sup>313</sup>See for example Pervinquière Léon, *Tripolitaine interdite*, Nabu Press, 2011, p. 336

<sup>314</sup>Martel,*Les confins Saharo-Tripolitains de la Tunisie...*, p. 180.

<sup>315</sup>Politischs Archive, *Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine...*, Bd 6-Bd 7, R 16111, von 1 Mai bis 31 Januar 1899.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid.

<sup>317</sup>On this issue see the colonial borders of the region (See the Map in the annex).

Ottoman state did not accept this and demanded the appointment of a committee to determine the zones of influence and to mark the borders accurately<sup>318</sup>.

Actually the province of Tripoli had benefited greatly from the Sparto (*halfa* plant) trade, which was one of the main sources of revenue for the province especially in the nineteenth century. It boomed in 1896<sup>319</sup> and the largest importer was Britain. , The price per quintal amounted to seven pounds.

The Sparto was cultivated in different areas in the province of Tripoli such as Jifarah, Tarhuna, the mountain area, Alreiat, Warshefana, Meslata and Alamamra and others<sup>320</sup>. The province's authorities was concerned with this production; and exportation Machines for compressing the Sparto in the mid of nineteenth century was in form of bundles or bales to be ready for storage or transportation in the center of the province and in cities like Al Khums<sup>321</sup> and Benghazi. Later the cities producing this product increased to be located between Al Aziziyah and Al Khums<sup>322</sup>. The supervisors of the machines used to compress the plant were under the direct control of the government and they were seriously observing any manipulation in the production process. For instance a historical manuscript referred to an act of embezzlement in Al Khums. In this manuscript it was mentioned that an accountant and a director were involved. This forced the administrator to write to the governor immediately<sup>323</sup>.

Even the processes of collecting the plant from the fields and transporting it to the city of Tripoli was controlled and supervised by the Tripolitan authorities. Nevertheless, the accumulation of the crop in front of stores resulted in an obstruction of the traffic in some streets, prompting the city council to address the ruling authorities about three crucial issues: the blocking of the traffic, the threat of fire that might lead to serious consequences, and the camels which used to bring the crop and stay there for some times, which had its own disadvantages. The main request of the city council was to hold the transactions of selling and buying the crop outside Tripoli<sup>324</sup>.

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<sup>318</sup> Politischs Archiv, Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine..., Bd 1, R16111, von 1895 bis 1899, Nr. A12804.

<sup>319</sup> Ughlī, Khalīl Sāhlī, " al-maṣādir al-muta'aliqa bi Lībiyā fī maktabat jami'at uṣṭanbūl", *majalat al-buḥūth al-tārīkhīyya*, al-sana al-thāniyya, al-'adad al-thānī, markaz jihād al-libīyyīn li-l-dīrāsāt al-tārīkhīyyā, Ṭarābulis, 1980, p. 250.

<sup>320</sup> Mangano, Dott.G,L'Alfa in Tripolitania, Firenze-Milano, pp. 5-6.

<sup>321</sup> Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb...*, p. 32.

<sup>322</sup> Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb...*, p. 73; Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī...*, p. 70.

<sup>323</sup> Wathīqā 4/2/1052, bi-tārīkh 1896, malaf buḥūth wa maqālāt (nabāt alḥalfa), al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-maḥfūzāt, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>324</sup> Wathīqā 105/2/4 bi-tārīkh Māyū 1871, malaf Buḥūth wa maqālāt (nabāt alḥalfa), al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-maḥfūzāt, Ṭarābulis.

There were many companies involved in exporting the Sparto, for example Arbeeb, the Bank of Rome, Perry Puri, H. B Nahum, and M. J Hassan. Each of these companies had compressing laboratories and storage facilities especially, Arbeeb and Nahum in the cities of Tripoli and Khums, Altabya and Zlitan. Puri and Hassan were storing the plant only in Tripoli and Al Khums. The main crop markets were in the cities of Tripoli, Al Khums and Zlitan<sup>325</sup>.

The revenues from exporting the Sparto varied from one year to another. For instance it was 4000 Francs in 1870, but it increased in the subsequent years to reach 3,750,000 Francs<sup>326</sup>. The Ottoman documents show that the amounts exported in 1895 were equivalent to 53,855 Ottoman qirsh and in the next year the value was only 49,318 Ottoman qirsh in 1896<sup>327</sup>. The authorities in Tripoli started to focus their efforts on increasing production and they decided to form a committee composed of the mayor of Tripoli, engineers, the head of the port, the head of the sailors and some traders. The main mission of this committee was to select the suitable place for establishing a new port dedicated specifically to the export of this plant<sup>328</sup>. This was an important step taken by the Ottoman government and indicated the economic significance of this plant for the province of Tripoli.

Sponge was the second main export of the province of Tripoli due to the demand for this product in the European countries. Greek sailors were the main traders of this product. There were some Greeks living in Tripoli and some of them were traders. The sponge that was found in the coast of Cyrenaica was one of the best qualities<sup>329</sup>.

Ostrich feathers and ivory were imported from south the Sahra in Africa and were also very significant exports which played an important role in the economy of the province of Tripoli. These products also attracted the attention of the European traders, which led them to travel to the province to bring goods that had high local demand, which they would then exchange for the domestic goods and other goods coming from Africa<sup>330</sup>. The province used several ports to export and import ostrich including the port of Tripoli, which was where most of the trade with

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<sup>325</sup> Dott.G.Mangano, L, *Alafa in Tripolitania*, p. 38,7.

<sup>326</sup> Nāji, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb...*, p.33.

<sup>327</sup> Wathīqā 1051/2/4, bi-tarīkh 1318, malaf buḥūth wa maqālāt (nabāt alḥalfa), al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-maḥfūzāt, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>328</sup> Wathīqā 2011, bi-tarīkh 1875, malaf buḥūth wa maqālāt (nabāt alḥalfa), al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-maḥfūzāt, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>329</sup> Kūrū, *Lībyāathnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī...*, p. 71-72 ; 'Āmir, *tārīkhal-maghrīb al-'arabī ...*, p.156.

<sup>330</sup> 'Āmir, *tārīkhal-maghrīb al-'arabī ...*, p.157.

Europe took place. This was in addition to the other five ports of Al Khums, Zlitan, and Misurata, Derna and Tobruk and other smaller anchors.

Trade with Germany was carried out by the German shipping line, the Deutsche Levant Line. Various categories of goods were imported from Germany which included: haberdashery, blankets, tea, sugar, iron, glass, perfumes, chemicals and medical materials, textile yarns, ropes, cotton, wool textiles, porcelain, gold and silver ornaments, and alcohol<sup>331</sup>. Exports to Germany focused on leather, ivory, ostrich feathers, barley, salt and dates. Goods imported from Germany tended to be transported to Malta first and then to Tripoli and Benghazi by the Italian shipping lines<sup>332</sup>.

The reports of the English consul contain important information about the volume of trade exchange between the province of Tripoli and different European countries focusing on Germany. For instance, one report states that the year 1884 could be considered as the actual beginning and organization of the commercial traffic from Germany. In terms of trade, Germany was ranked the sixth in the list of countries both for the exportation and importation from the province of Tripoli. This rank increased or decreased depending on the quantity and the quality of the exported or imported products. In 1888 and 1889, for example, Germany was ranked in the seventh place and in 1893 in the eighth place when the German imports from Tripoli were estimated to constitute a value of £ 7,000. In 1894 German imports were evaluated more modestly at £ 4,000. In the same period the German exports from Tripoli amounted to £ 16,000 in 1893 and increased to £ 27,500 in 1894<sup>333</sup>. The amount was the same in 1895 despite the decrease in the quantity of the imported goods. In 1895 the quantity of the imported goods was £ 4,000 while the exported goods reached a value of £ 29,000<sup>334</sup>.

Generally, in these reports Britain was at the top of the list of the European countries involved in trade with the province of Tripoli. The most important product exported to Britain was the Sparto (*ħalfa* plant). The earnings from export of this plant reached 2.5 million French Francs, in addition to the earnings from exporting ostrich feathers and ivory<sup>335</sup>. On the other hand, merchants brought from Britain tea, aromatic and medicinal chemicals and paints, ropes, cotton

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<sup>331</sup> Bundesarchiv, die Handels- und Schiffahrts-Verhältnisse mit Tripolis, Band 1, vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904, R 901/11936 ; Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānīal-thānī...*, p. 77; Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>332</sup> Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī...*, p. 77; Ughlī, *al-maṣādir al-muta'aliqa bi Lībiyā...*, p. 254.

<sup>333</sup> Politisches Archiv, Das Auswärtigen Amtes, Bd1, vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904, R901/11936, Nr. II 11590.

<sup>334</sup> Politisches Archiv, Das Auswärtigen Amtes, Bd1, vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904, R901/11936, Nr. 27611/96.

<sup>335</sup> Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb...*, pp. 59-72.

textiles, woolens, iron, and some minerals and other miscellaneous goods<sup>336</sup>. France and Italy came next in rank, with almost the same goods. The differences are in those goods imported from the European countries<sup>337</sup>. There was also significant trade with other countries like Malta, Greece, Spain, the United States and Austria.<sup>338</sup>

**Picture (4): The goods in the port city of Tripoli and Customs<sup>339</sup>**



**2.3.3.4 Slave Trade:**

The slave trade reached its peak during the second half of the nineteenth century. The slaves were used locally as domestic workers and in farms where *halfa* plant was planted and cultivated. In addition to that slaves were also moved from Borno to Fezzan and from there to Tripoli, and from there they were sent abroad, particularly towards Anatolia<sup>340</sup>. As for the trade line, it was as follows: Tripoli-Benghazi, Alexandria, then to the Ottoman cities like Romelia, Anatolia,

<sup>336</sup> Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb...*, pp.53-54.

<sup>337</sup> Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī...*, p. 75.

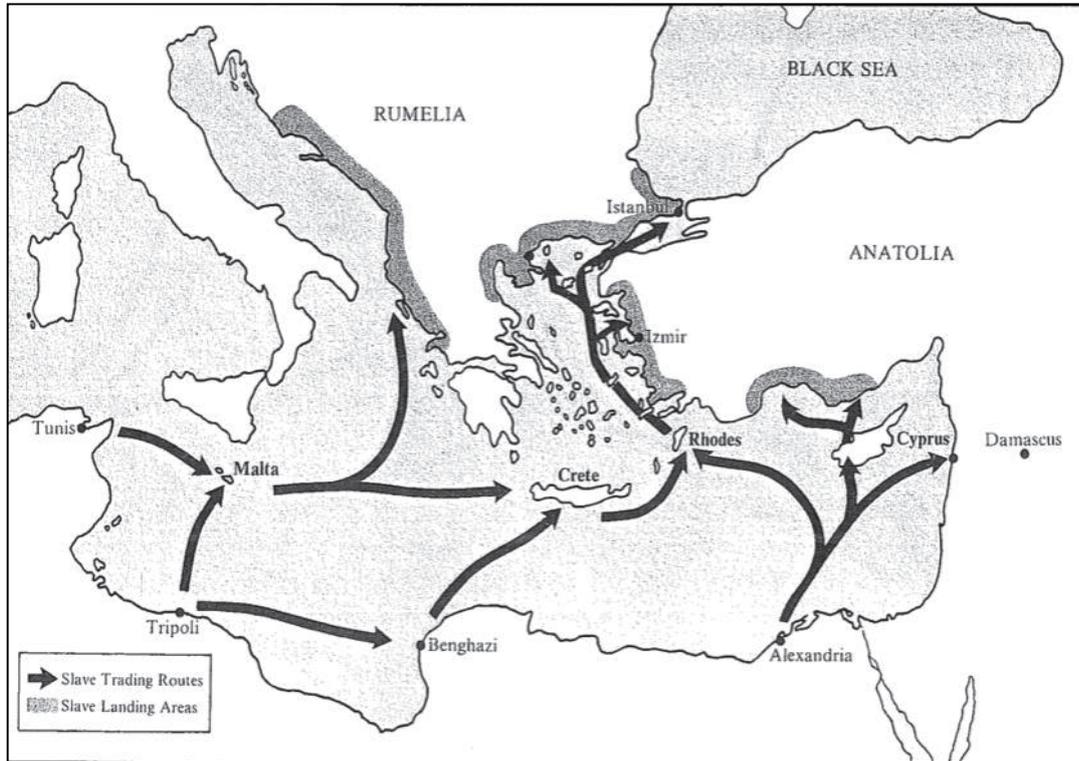
<sup>338</sup> Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb...*, p. 59; Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī*, p. 191; The trade with Germany will be discussed in more details in chapter 3 of this study.

<sup>339</sup> Wathā' iqdār al-mahfūzāt al-tārīkhiyya al-Sarāy al-Ḥamrā', Ṭarābulis.

<sup>340</sup> Rāfiq, *al-'arab wa al-'ūthmāniyyūn 1516-1916*, p. 161; Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb...*, p. 67 .

Istanbul and Salonik and others places<sup>341</sup>. This was before the decision to ban the slave trade. (See Map: 7 Slave Trade Lines and Routes in 1850)

**Map (7): Slave Trade Lines and Routes in 1850 (1)**<sup>342</sup>



Ghadames was also a place for buying slaves coming from West Africa. Some Ottoman slave traders would travel directly to Ghadames to sell their slaves there. Meanwhile the traders in Benghazi tended to go to Murzuq to buy slaves. These traders were also going to the center of Tripoli. (See Map: 8 Slave Trade Lines and Routes in 1850)

<sup>341</sup>Toledano, Ehud R, *the Ottoman slave trade and its suppression: 1840-1890*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1982, pp. 41, 47.

<sup>342</sup>Toledano, *the Ottoman slave trade...*, p.23.

## Map (8): Slave Trade Lines and Routes in 1850 (2)<sup>343</sup>



Recalled here is the role of the province of Tripoli in the slave trade that made a huge economic boom.

However, Europe started fighting the slave trade after the second half of the century and therefore held several conferences to intensify their efforts to stop such trade. Britain was leading the efforts to stop the slave trade completely especially in the provinces controlled by the Ottoman Empire in North Africa and other regions. It succeeded in convincing the Ottoman Empire to declare the permanent cessation of the slave trade in 1857<sup>344</sup>. The Ottoman Empire then sent orders to the province of Tripoli, stating the need to stop the slave trade. These orders were circulated among traders especially those who used to trade between Tripoli and the city of Kano (in Chad), where slave trade was affected directly by these orders. Severe penalties were issued for violating those orders, and historical documents refer to the punishment of seven years' imprisonment for the sale of slaves and fourteen years for their purchase<sup>345</sup>.

Slave trade was among the important trade activities in the North African states; this means that this policy and the British efforts to stop slave trade more widely caused significant damage to the structure of the economy, and led to the decline in annual revenues and a clear lack of

<sup>343</sup>Toledano, *the Ottoman slave trade*....,p. 22

<sup>344</sup> On this trade see the work of Toledano, *the Ottoman slave trade and its suppression: 1840-1890*.

<sup>345</sup>Yūsha', *Wathāiq Ghadāmis*..., Wathīqā 12 risālā min Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr bin Muḥammad al-Ṭhinī ilā Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr Ḥidāh fī Kānū, bi-tārīkh 1856.

financial resources. However, Britain was aware that the prohibition of slave trade allowed British authorities to impose restrictions on the leaders of the African tribes and the governors of the provinces there<sup>346</sup>.

Despite all these efforts slave trade did not stop at once, but it continued for some time. This is revealed in some European correspondence on this subject<sup>347</sup>, for instance the messages sent by the German explorer F. Gerhard Rohlfs who was in Murzuq in 1865<sup>348</sup> and the Italian agents working for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Italian ambassador in Constantinople to inform him that the slave trade continued in the port of Benghazi, and was under the protection of senior Turkish officials there<sup>349</sup>. It is argued in the literature that the slave traders circumvented the authorities in order to continue their trade<sup>350</sup>. They would work in secret, anchoring their ships a short distance outside Istanbul to avoid discovery and bring the slaves into the city during the night. The transactions were carried out quickly and sometimes the traders would sell the slaves on board for fear of being discovered<sup>351</sup>. To distract the attention of authorities they would also move in small groups. From Istanbul the slaves were sent to Egypt and Malta.

A conference was held in Brussels, Belgium, in 1890 to eliminate this trade and a committee was commissioned to stop slavery in 1891. It worked with a group of people in secret to detect and prevent traders from continuing the slave trade<sup>352</sup>. The committee assigned CarlodaBorgo a Giovi to guard the coast of Tripoli to control the passage of any ships carrying slaves even as gifts sent to the Ottoman Sultan in Constantinople<sup>353</sup>. In the same context, stricter control measurements were also discussed at the conference.

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<sup>346</sup>al-‘Abīdī, Jāsīm Muḥammad Shaṭab,"alnufūdh al- birīṭānī wa tijārat al-ragīg fī al-khalīj al-‘arabi fīal-qarn al-tāsi ‘ashar"*majalat al-buḥūth al-tārīkhiyya*, al-sana al-sādīsa wa- al-a ‘ishrūn, al-‘adad al-thānī, markaz jihād al-libīyyīn dīd al-ghazū al-iṭālī, jāmi‘at al-fātiḥ, Ṭarābulus,2004.

<sup>347</sup>Bubaker Sadok, « Considérations sur le rachat des « esclaves » de la course à Tunis à l’époque moderne », in. Corsari, schiavi, riscatti tra Liguria e Nord Africa nei secoli XVI e XVII, 2005; Ceriale, pp.159-167.

<sup>348</sup> Rohlfs, *Rihla ilā al-Kufrā*, p. 204 .

<sup>349</sup>Wathīqā 879, mursala min wizārat al-shu‘ūn al-khārijīyya ilā safīr Iṭālī bi-l-Qusṭanṭīniyya, bi-tārīkh 18 Uktūbar 1907, malaff tijārat al-raqīq, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-maḥfūzāt, Ṭarābulus.

<sup>350</sup>Rūsi, *Lībiyā mundhu al-fatḥ al ‘arabī...*, p. 379.

<sup>351</sup>Ibid.

<sup>352</sup>Rūsi, *Lībiyā mundhu al-fatḥ al ‘arabī...*, p. 381.

<sup>353</sup> Wathīqā 36, mursala min mas’ūl murāqabat murūr al-‘abīd bi al-sawāḥil ilā wazīr al-shu‘ūn al-khārijīyya bi Rūmā bi-tārīkh 19 Māyū 1907, malaf tijārat al-ragīg, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-maḥfūzāt, Ṭarābuli ; See also : Bubaker Sadok, « Réseaux et techniques de rachat des captifs de la course à Tunis au XVII e siècle », in Le commerce des captifs. Les intermédiaires dans l’échange et le rachat des prisonniers enMéditerranée,XVe-XVIIIe siècle, Etudes réunies par Wolfgang Kaiser, Ecole Française de Rome, 2008, pp. 25-46.

A report from Carloda Borgo, who was then living in Tripoli, was presented to the committee. This report put forward two lists to show the number of convoys carrying slaves during the period of June 1907 and until June 1908<sup>354</sup>. According to the statistics, the number of slaves who entered the province reached about 550. One convoy carried 80 slaves; this convoy arrived in Tripoli on 18 March 1908<sup>355</sup>. As a result of this report the activities to liberate slaves were intensified and manumitted slaves were hosted in certain places, until they were able to manage their own lives<sup>356</sup>. Examples of these activities were conducted by the English consul in Benghazi and the Italian consul in the city of Tripoli, especially towards the end of 1878, when help was offered to liberate slaves and to improve their situation. It is stated that from 1878 to 1879 12 slaves were liberated by the Italian consulate<sup>357</sup>.

#### 2.2.4 Social Situation:

The inhabitants of the province of Tripoli can be divided according to the geography of the province into an urban population, a rural population, and the population living in the desert as nomads.

Ettore Rossi indicates that the first identification of the population of Tripoli was in the tenth century BC<sup>358</sup>. Reference should be given to the origin of the province of Tripoli; historians disagree about the place from which the Tripolitanian population originated. Some indicate that they are descended from the Upper Nile region and belong to the Hamitic group, while others point out that they arrived from the southern Arabian Peninsula and thus are Semites<sup>359</sup>. A small group of historians attribute their origins to the Mediterranean region<sup>360</sup>. There are some references made to groups referred to as Libyan tribes living in the region during this period. Still there is no consensus about where these tribes came from.

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<sup>354</sup> Bubaker Sadok, « Réseaux et techniques de rachat des captifs de la course à Tunis au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle », in *Le commerce des captifs. Les intermédiaires dans l'échange et le rachat des prisonniers en Méditerranée, XVe-XVIIIe siècle*, Etudes réunies par Wolfgang Kaiser, Ecole Française de Rome, 2008, pp. 25- 46. Op. cit.

<sup>355</sup> Wathīqa 8, mursala ilā al-mu'tamar al-diblūmāsī fī Brūksil bi-tārīkh 1908, malaf tijārat al-ragīg (al-istirqāq fī Ṭarābulis al-gharb wa Barqa 1907-1908), al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-mahfūzāt, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>356</sup> Wathīqa 39, bi-tārīkh 26 Dīsambir, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-wathāiq wa-lmakhtūṭāt, Ṭarābulis, 2004.

<sup>357</sup> Aḥmed, Khalifa Ibrahim, *tijaratal-ragīg fī wilāyat Ṭarābulis al-gharb khilal al-qarn al-tasi 'ashar*, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-mahfūzāt, 2014, p. 184.

<sup>358</sup> Rossi, Ettore, *Storia di Tripoli e della Tripolitania dalla conquista araba al 1911*, Roma, Istituto per l'Oriente, 1968, p. 25.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid.

It is revealed in literature that the city of Tripoli and the rural areas of Tripoli maintained their social structure throughout the long rule of the Ottomans and were not significantly influenced by the so called Turkish customs or with their social practices<sup>361</sup>. These were considered by many people as ‘alien’ to the society<sup>362</sup>. Another factor that contributed to the continuance of local social norms was that the Ottoman rulers tended to focus their interest on aspects relating to political power and submitting the region to their administration. They did not intervene to change the local social and cultural structure. Thus, the society preserved its structure particularly in the rural and nomadic areas<sup>363</sup>.

Any discussion of the society in the province of Tripoli must take account of the fact that social structure was described by some historians<sup>364</sup> as homogeneous with regard to three factors. The first of these was its characterization as tribal land the importance of tribal relations in preserving social bonds. Second, the society was predominantly Muslim and the majority of the population followed the Maliki School, with the exception of the population of the western mountain and Zuwarah, who belonged to the Ibadi School and third: Arabic, was the principle language<sup>365</sup>.

However, beyond these three shared characteristics the population was also very diverse and the result of centuries of mixings. One factor was the existence of different ethnic groups, including indigenous inhabitants based mostly in the mountains, the central part of the province, and the coast. After centuries, mixed situations were most common. A part of the population arrived in the province from Andalusia at the time of the reconquista and the expulsions that followed. Among them there both were Muslims and Jews. There were also Jewish populations prior to the influx from Andalusia and later more Jews came from other regions in the Ottoman Empire and the Mediterranean. The Berber population included both Muslims and Jews, although Muslims predominated. Many Jews of Tripoli lived in a specific part of the city which was referred to as *Hāra al-Yahūd* (the quarter where the Jews lived)<sup>366</sup>. In addition to separate quarters there were also mixed quarters where Jews and Muslims lived together. Statistics indicate that during the

<sup>361</sup> Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama‘ al-‘arabī al-lībī fī al-‘ahd al-‘ūthmānī*, p. 25.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

<sup>363</sup> Rūsi, *Lībiyā mundhu al-fath al-‘arabī*...p.388.

<sup>364</sup> al-Shīkh, Ra‘fat Ghunīmī, "al-ḥayāt al-ijtimā‘iyya fī Wilāyat Ṭarābulis al-gharb al-‘uthmāniyya fī al-‘aṣr al-‘ūthmānī al-akhīr (1835-1911)", *al-ḥayāt al-ijtimā‘iyya fī al-Wilāyat al-‘arabiyya athnā‘ al-‘ahid al-‘uthmānī*, al-juz’ ān al-awal wa al- thānī , taqdīm ‘Abdul-jalīl al-Timīmī, markazal-dirāsāt wa al-buḥūthal-‘uthmāniyya wa-l-mūrīsikiyya wa al-tawthīq wa al-ma‘lūmāt, Zaghwān, p.411.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid.

<sup>366</sup> De Felice, Renzo, *Jews in an Arab Land Libya, 1835-1970*, University of Texas Pres, Austin, p. 406.

Ottoman period II (1835-1911) the number of Jews reached 14, 142 persons in the province of Tripoli, mainly living in the coastal cities<sup>367</sup>.

Some populations were the result of intermarriage between local women and men from outside the region, as in the Kwārghliyya. These are the sons of Ottoman officers of diverse origins who married women from Tripoli, they were known by this name<sup>368</sup>. There were also populations originating from the South, like the Toubou tribes<sup>369</sup>. Diverse Saharan and sub-Saharan populations were also present. Diverse representatives and officers of the Ottoman Empire were part of the ruling stratum in Tripoli together with local notables<sup>370</sup>. They had very diverse origins: Turkish, Greek, Arab, Caucasian, Albanian, Serb, Circasian, Tatar or Kurd. In the harbour, there were also populations of converts (Sards, Sicilians, Maltese...). There were also foreign merchants, prisoners and navy operatives. A group of Italian Jews from Livorno (Granata) was part of the most active merchants<sup>371</sup>. Jewish merchants often travelled with merchant caravans<sup>372</sup>, and owned manufacturing jewelry workshops from gold and silver<sup>373</sup>.

In addition to all these groups, the presence of the Italians in Tripoli was a long-standing one. Some historians argue that the Italian presence in Tripoli goes back to the Roman Empire, when they came as traders and craftsmen<sup>374</sup>. After the Italian unity in 1870, the number of Italians in Tripoli increased. They started entering the province as immigrants and emigration reached its highest levels between 1885 and 1890<sup>375</sup>. The migration of the Italians continued, and they managed to establish large-scale economic projects, especially after the opening of the Banco di Roma in 1905, and obviously their influence increased after the Italian occupation of the province.

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<sup>367</sup> « Zorzi Tavanelli, a Venitian captain, was taken at sea by Tripoli pirates, sold to Jewish and Muslim merchants with his companions, and then ransomed through the intercession of the consuls of France and Sweden. He states that in 1749 Tripoli had sixteen to seventeen thousand inhabitants, almost half of them Jewish. This estimate is certainly too high. Another Venitian, the merchant Mariano Doxera, was probably closer to the mark in 1783... when he spoke of a population of about fourteen thousand, including about three thousand Jews 'who, as in the other cities of Africa, are employed in trade and wear distinctive dress', De Felice, Renzo, *Jews in an Arab Land Libya*, op. cit, p. 7.

<sup>368</sup> *Baladīyyat Ṭarābulis fī mā'at 'ām 1286/1391H - 1870/1970M*, p. 412.

<sup>369</sup> Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī...*, p.17.

<sup>370</sup> al-Shīkh, "al-ḥayāt al-ijtimā'iyya fī Wilāyat Ṭarābulis al-gharb...", p. 416.

<sup>371</sup> al-'Aḥwal, "al-jāliyyāt al-ajnabiyya fī Lībiyā...", p. 29.

<sup>372</sup> Stein, Sarah Abrevaya, "Falling into Feathers: Jews and the Trans-Atlantic Ostrich Feather Trade", *Journal of Modern History*, 79-4, 2007, pp .772-812 .

<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> al-'Aḥwal, "al-jāliyyāt al-ajnabiyya fī Lībiyā (1835-1950)...", pp.160-161.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid.

In addition to the Italian presence there was also a significant number of Maltese. Their sizeable presence can be attributed to the proximity between the countries and the ease of travel between them<sup>376</sup>. The Maltese started to move to the province of Tripoli, where they built their own neighborhood, known as the Maltese quarter, in the city of Tripoli. In 1882 their number was set at about 2000 persons and this rose in the following years to over 3,000. They were also successful traders and benefited by being under the protection of the English consulate<sup>377</sup>.

Alongside the Maltese and the Italians there were other smaller communities such as the Jewish-Austrian community, whose numbers have been set at 105 people<sup>378</sup>. The French community consisted of approximately 564 people in Tripoli and 100 people in Benghazi. Approximately 100 Dutch are registered, some of them Jews. The Spanish community numbered 100 people in Tripoli and 50 people in Benghazi. The Greek community had 236 people<sup>379</sup> whereas only 11 Germans are numbered. Most of these communities gained a consul or representative for their interests in the province of Tripoli as it increased in size and significance.<sup>380</sup>.

Another factor reflecting the heterogeneity of the society in the province of Tripoli is the significant disparity between the living standards of the citizens of Tripoli. The social structure reflected this stratification. At the top of the social pyramid were the rich or the politically powerful, alongside the most important religious scholars, the leaders of the school of Sufism (*ṭarīqah Sufīya* that were a common phenomenon throughout the region at the nineteenth century) as well as the judges. This stratum was followed by the small traders and then the craftsmen, which were in turn above the foreign communities. The lowest social stratum was made up by the servants and slaves<sup>381</sup>.

It was recalled that the basic unit of society was the family. This usually consisted of a father, a mother and their children living in one house, which was often composed of two floors. This

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<sup>376</sup>Lafi, Nora, 'Les relations entre Malte et Tripoli de Barbarie au XIXe siècle', in *R.E.M.M.M.*, 71, 1994, pp. 127-142; Fīru, *al-ḥawalīyyāt al-lībiyya*, p.350.

<sup>377</sup>al- 'Aḥwal, "al-jāliyyāt al-ajnabiyya fī Lībiyā (1835-1950)...", p.173.

<sup>378</sup>*Baladīyyat Ṭarābulis fī mā'at 'ām 1286/1391H - 1870/1970M*, p.422.

<sup>379</sup>Ibid.

<sup>380</sup>Kūrū, *Lībiyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*...., pp.23-24.

<sup>381</sup>See: William Carr and Harry Hearder, *The War of German Unification*, London, Routledge, 2014, 254p; See also Nuwār, 'Abdul-'Azīz wa 'Abdul-Majīd Na'na'ī, *aurūbbā min al-thaurā al-firinsiyyailā Alḥarab Al-'Aālāmīyya Al-Thānīyya*, dāral-nāḥaḍā al-'arabiyya li-l-Ṭiba'ā wa al-nashir, Bayrūt, (D.T), p. 272.

house would be surrounded by other houses of the same size, which were occupied by members of the same extended family or tribe<sup>382</sup>.

With regard to holidays and celebrations, people in the province of Tripoli celebrated the Muslim festivals of *Īd al-Fiṭr* and *Īd al-Aḍḥa* just as in other Muslim countries. The birth of the Prophet was also an important celebration. These events were celebrated at both the official and the local levels. The people in the province of Tripoli cared also about social events such as marriage and others.<sup>383</sup>

The level of education in the province of Tripoli was relatively limited. Local people relied on the simple quranic education provided in mosques and quranic schools for children, which focused on the memorization of the Quran and *Sunna* as well as the main principles of reading and writing<sup>384</sup>. This model of education continued until the Ottoman government issued a number of decrees with regard to education, including two resolutions which were issued and adopted in 1869 and 1871. Some governors, such as Ahmed Ezzat (second term 1879-1880), set up schools that followed modern methods of education. Following this the modern form of schools spread more widely and by 1877 it covered the province as far as Murzuq.

This was part of a policy pursued by the Ottoman Empire in the various provinces under their control. The policy was made in accordance with proposals which were submitted to the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1869, which included the need to develop and organize the education at various levels and to build schools that corresponded to the European model. In 1881 work on the practical implementation of the proposals was begun seriously. The work started by focusing on the elementary schools. The Ottoman government had developed a fund in 1884 for construction and financing of the schools<sup>385</sup>. Thus the number of schools was on the rise in all the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, including Tripoli<sup>386</sup>. After this beginning, the provincial government in Tripoli began to establish one industrial school in 1895. The project was supervised by the administrative government in Tripoli and the governor Namik Pasha. In 1889, during the term of

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<sup>382</sup>al-Sanīnī, Miftāḥ Khalīl, *al-umarā' min ahil Barqah wa al-ṣaḥarā'*, dār al-qimmah wa dār al-imān, al-Qāhira, 2011, p.217.

<sup>383</sup>Ibn Mūsā, *al-mujtama' al-'arabī al-lībī fī al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī*, p. 25.

<sup>384</sup> Balḥāj, Muḥammad al-Kūnī, *al-ta'līm fī madīnat Ṭarābulus fī al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī 1835-1911 wa atharahu 'alā mujtama' al-wilāya*, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulus, 2006, pp. 39,43 .

<sup>385</sup>Evered, O.Emine, *Empire and Education under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform and Resistance from the Tanzimat to the Young Turks*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2012, pp. 114, 116, 118.

<sup>386</sup>Evered, *Empire and Education under the Ottomans...*, p. 124.

the governor Muhammad Hafiz Pasha the Hamidieh Industrial School was built<sup>387</sup>. The teachers were Turkish<sup>388</sup>. The main teaching languages were Arabic and Turkish; Turkish having been introduced to the education system in 1890<sup>389</sup>. The Ottomans also concerned with agricultural education, and in 1909 the council of the province issued a decree for the establishment of an agricultural school, together with the appointment of specialized teachers for its pupils<sup>390</sup>.

There were also a number of developments in terms of the media; newspapers were introduced for the first time, and the first newspaper was issued in the second half of the nineteenth century with the title West Tripoli. Historical sources give differing information regarding the date of its issuance. According to some, it was issued for the first time in 1866<sup>391</sup>, whilst others said that it was issued in 1871<sup>392</sup>. It was an official weekly newspaper in Arabic and Turkish, made of four pages and was printed in the province. It was issued after the publication order of Sultan Abdulaziz. This first newspaper was issued mainly to publish the Sultan's orders, directives and declarations and continued until the entry of the Italian colonialists in 1911, when the printing press was destroyed by bombs. Other newspapers were also issued which had a significant role in spreading culture and information to increase awareness among the population. One example of these newspapers were *al-Tarqī* issued in 1897 by Moḥamed al-Buṣayrī. These newspapers existed before the Young Turks achieved power in the Ottoman Empire. The most well-known newspapers that emerged during the rule of this group were: *al-‘Asr al-Jādīd* newspaper, which was issued in 1909, *al-Merṣād*, *Abugasha* and *al-Raqyyīb*, all of which were issued in 1910, and the *al-Dārdānīl* in 1911<sup>393</sup>. In addition, an annual volume was released by the Ottomans. Entitled

<sup>387</sup> *Baladiyyat Ṭarābulis fī mā‘at ‘ām 1286/1391H - 1870/1970M*, p. 87.

<sup>388</sup> Al-‘āqil, Aḥmad Muḥammad, "al-ta‘līm al-ḥadīth fī Lībiyā khilāl al-fatra (1835-1950)", *al-mujtama‘ al-lībī (1835-1950)*, a‘māl al-nadwa al-‘ilmiyya al-thāmina allatī ‘uqīdat bi-l-markaz fī al-fatra min 26-27/9/2000, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dīrāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulus, 2005, pp .523,525 .

<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>390</sup> al-Ṭawīr, Muḥammad Aḥmad, "al-zirā‘a fī wilāyat Ṭarābulis al-gharb athnā‘ al-ḥukum al-‘uthmānī al-thānī al-mubāshir lahā 1835-1911", *al-ḥayāt al-sīyāsiyya li-l-wilāyāt al-‘arabiyya wa maṣādir wathā‘iqhā fī al-‘ahd al-‘ūthmānī al-juzū‘ān al-awwal wa-l-thānī*, taqḍīm ‘Abd al-jalīl al-Timīmī, markaz al-dīrāsāt wa al-buhūth ‘an al-wilāyat al-‘arabiyya fī al-aahd al-‘ūthmānī, Zaghwān, 1986, p. 521 .

<sup>391</sup> Āarībī, Muhammad al-Ṭāhir, *Wathā‘iq al-Sarāy al-Ḥamrā‘*, al-dār al-‘arabiyya li-l-kitāb, Ṭarābulus, 1977, p. 47.

<sup>392</sup> Tarāzī, Fīlīb Dī, *tārīkh al-tarāfaal-‘arabiyya*, al-juzaān al-thānī wa al-rabī‘, al- maṭaba‘a al-adabiyya, Bayrūt , 1967, pp. 206, 314, 240 ; *Baladiyyat Ṭarābulis fī mā‘at ‘ām 1286/1391H - 1870/1970M*, p.416 .

<sup>393</sup> Tarāzī, *tārīkh al-tarāfa al-‘arabiyya...*, pp. 206, 314, 240; *Baladiyyat Ṭarābulis fī mā‘at ‘ām 1286/1391H - 1870/1970M*, p. 416.

the Salname, this contained the most important information about the province including its history and geography<sup>394</sup>.

To sum up, what has been mentioned so far is intended to explain the main situation in the Ottoman province of Tripoli between 1870 and 1884 in relation to political, economic and social conditions? The chapter gave an overview of the province, its resources and raw materials available, which made the province a goal for the colonizing forces. At the same time it is important to highlight the social structure and the cumulative cultural heritage which helped in resisting colonial and foreign invasion of the European countries.

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<sup>394</sup>Arībī, *Wathā'iq al-Sarāy al-Ḥamrā*, p. 47.

## **Chapter Three:**

### **The Province of Tripoli's relations with Germany during the Scramble for Africa (1882-1909)**

#### **3.0 Introduction:**

Following unification Germany identified its policy and goals in relation to the other European powers and then turned its attention to other regions. At that time, Germany had no clear political interest to colonize any parts of North Africa or Asia. However, it was involved in North Africa through political and diplomatic influence, in addition to economic engagement. This was unusual, given the focus on African and Asian territories reflected in the policies of most other European countries. This differing focus is regarded as the main reason why Germany's intervention was tolerated in the regions where it had a strategic or an economic interest.

This chapter will discuss the relationships between the Ottoman province of Tripoli in North Africa and Germany during the period of 1882 and 1909. During this time, the province of Tripoli began to play a greater role in German writings and in its *Weltpolitik*. From 1884 Germany began to colonize some territories in Africa. The entrance of Germany into the scramble for Africa and the overlapping interests of the European powers and their colonial ambition in Africa resulted in heightened conflict between these countries in Europe, in Africa and in the world. These conflicts were the main reason for Otto von Bismarck, the German Chancellor, to organize the second Berlin conference in 1884. Bismarck's motivation for the conference was mainly to settle the conflicts between European countries and to enable an opening of the African continent through giving access to major river basins and African resources. The access to Africa and the drawing of new colonial borders was limited to the countries that already had colonial territories and who participated at this Berlin conference. With this conference on the 15<sup>th</sup> November 1884 Berlin aimed to put itself at the center of the European colonial enterprise. In the letter of invitation sent to 14 countries it was written that the main goals of this conference included a treaty for new colonial occupations<sup>395</sup>. The decisions and agreements signed during this conference had a significant impact on the whole region of North Africa and it has been portrayed as the beginning of the European colonization of parts of

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<sup>395</sup>See for example Matthew Craven, between law and history, The Berlin conference of 184-1885 and the logic of free trade, *London Review of International Law*, 3-1, pp. 31-59.

Africa<sup>396</sup>. Some European powers at this time viewed Africa as a single region to be colonized. Others thought of Africa as being composed only of tribes and ignored the territorial divisions<sup>397</sup>. This is reflected in the fact that when the European powers came to divide Africa into different regions, they did not respect 'ethnic' or 'tribal' divisions which in some cases led to areas occupied by a single tribe being subjected to two different European powers<sup>398</sup>.

This chapter also portrays the journeys of main Europeans and German travellers to the province of Tripoli since the end of the eighteenth century. This portrayal focuses on the role those travellers played in providing significant information about the province of Tripoli. It is argued that some of them were driven by their interest in the geography of the region. For instance the mystery of the desert constituted a great attraction to the Europeans, and they were keen to decipher its symbols, particularly those of the province of Tripoli. Other travellers were more driven by political interests of their counties and governments. It is argued in the case of the German travellers that the information provided by travellers highlighted the importance of the province of Tripoli and led to the inclusion of the province in the political decisions of Germany, when politicians were able to estimate its real economic and political value.

In the last part of the chapter the researcher addresses the developments of the political relations between the province of Tripoli and Germany in terms of the German diplomatic representation in the province Tripoli and presents the main events such as the opening of the German consulate in the province of Tripoli.

### **3.1 The German's Interest in the Province of Tripoli from 1882:**

The importance of the province of Tripoli was illustrated in a note written by C. F Blaser and presented to the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. This note was published in a book in 1882. C. F Blaser was a German writer who studied law and political economy. The book title was „Deutschlands Interesse an der Erwerbung und Colonisation der nordafrikanischen Küsten Tunis und Tripolis, Berlin, 1882“<sup>399</sup>. This book is viewed in historical literature as important in

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<sup>396</sup>Conrad, *German Colonialism...*, op.cit.

<sup>397</sup>Stoecker, *German Imperialism in Africa*, op. Cit., p.38.

<sup>398</sup>Ibid..

<sup>399</sup>C. F. Blaser, *Deutschlands Interesse an der Erwerbung und Colonisation der nordafrikanischen Küsten Tunis und Tripolis in seine grossen Bedeutung zumal hinsichtlich der handelspolitischen und gewerblichen Beziehungen*, Boh, Berlin, 1882, 74p.

the development of relations between Germany and the province of Tripoli. It demonstrated explicitly the extreme strategic and economic importance of the province of Tripoli. The book elaborated the benefits that could be gained if Germany managed to control the province of Tripoli<sup>400</sup>.

In addition to Blaser, Georg Schweinfurt (1826-1925), the famous German natural scientist and traveller, presented a comprehensive study about the province of Tripoli, especially the city of Tobruk. His study appeared in 1882. It contained important strategic and geographical information<sup>401</sup> and provided an accurate description of the port of Tobruk in terms of depth and ease of movement of vessels for both commercial and military reasons. Tobruk was viewed as an important port for Germany because it could be used as a starting point from which to travel to into further African regions and to reach the southern Nile bank. From there they could move freely between the central regions of Africa.

In addition to that there was a study conducted by Gerhard Rohlfs (1831-1896) a German scientific traveller who published many accounts his African journeys<sup>402</sup>. After his participation in the French expedition in Kabilia where massacres occurred, G. Rohlfs focused on the strategic importance of the province Tripoli<sup>403</sup>. The study argued that German control of the city of Tripoli and its province would make it easier for Germany to control Sudan<sup>404</sup>.

German politicians in the nineteenth century concentrated their attention on two aspects with regard to the province of Tripoli. The first was the study of the province and its economic and strategic importance,. The second aspect focused on studying the social life including the African population, the language, the local customs and traditions in addition to an interest in the Roman

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-The title can be translated as "Germany's interests in the acquisition and colonization of North Africans coasts". For more information on this book See Ghānim, 'Imād al-dīn, "al-maṣāliḥ al-'almāniyya fī Lībiya khilāl al-'aqd al-'awal min al-qarn al-'aishrīn kamā tuṣawiruhā Wathāiq al-'arshif al-siyāsī al-'almānī", *majalat al-buḥūth al-tārīkhiyya*, al-sana al-khamisa, al-'adad al-'awal, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīndīd al-ghazu al-iṭālī, Ṭarābulis, p. 38.

<sup>400</sup>Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḥ al-'almāniyya fī Lībiya"....p.38.

<sup>401</sup>Mūrī, 'Atīlyū, *al-rahḥāla wa al-kashif al-jughrāfī fī Lībiyā midhu maṭala' al-qarn al-tasi' 'ashar ḥata al-iḥtilāl al-iṭālī*, Ta'rib Khalīfa al-Tilīsī, dār al-furjānī, Ṭarābulis, 1971, p. 100.

<sup>402</sup>Gerhard Rohlfs' book (1881) was translated into the Italian language in 1882; Imād al-Dīn Ghānim, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2006, p .55.

<sup>403</sup>Rohlfs, *reise durch Marokko, übersteigung des großen Atlas, Exploration der Oasen von Tafilet, Tuat und Tidikelt und Reise durch die große Wüste über Rhadames nach Tripoli, Bremen: J. Kühtmann, 1868* . Rulfis, Ghīrhārd, *riḥla ilā al-kufrā: taqarīr al-rahḥāla al-'almāni Ghīrhārd Rulfis ilā Ṭarābulis 'abr Bani-Walid wa Sūknā wa Hūn wa Waddān wa Zallā wa Ujlā wa Jālū wa Binghāzī*, dirāsā wa tarjamā 'Imād al-dīn Ghānim, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2006, p. 55.

<sup>404</sup>Rulfis, *Riḥla ilā al-kufrā*...., p. 55.

and Greek monuments<sup>405</sup>. The main reason behind the German interest in the province was thought to be that the province of Tripoli had the potential to be a bridgehead towards Africa; this information was stated in the writings of the travellers who visited the province of Tripoli in the beginning and the middle of the nineteenth century.

The importance of North Africa and the province of Tripoli was repeatedly discussed in German political and economic circles, especially when some traders, travellers and writer started to highlight the economic and strategic importance of the Ottoman province in addition to its importance as a gate to the interior parts of Africa<sup>406</sup>.

### **3.2 The German Scramble for Africa within the Imperial Context:**

The European scramble for Africa began in the first half of the nineteenth century (approximately in 1860) and intensified in the seventh decade of the same century, to reach its highest time between 1840 and 1870. The Industrial Revolution in Europe might be considered the actual beginning of the European competition in their scramble for Africa, because of the progress and developments in industries took place at that time. New industries had emerged and there was a significant increase in production that resulted in an urgent need to search for external markets for those products. At the same time the competition was to get access to raw materials, whether agricultural or metal to support their industries<sup>407</sup>.

In their scramble for Africa, the competition of the European powers increased. Britain occupied the region of East Africa in addition to the Niger River, while France had been active in North Africa, particularly in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco as well as Central Africa. France tried to extend its influence across the desert until its property in western Congo region and West Africa. Meanwhile, Italy occupied Ethiopia and Abyssinia and the province of Tripoli.

From 1884 Germany began to occupy parts of Africa in a political sense. It established colonies in West Africa, Cameroon and Togo (1884) and in South West Africa parts of Namibia (1884) and East Africa, what are now Burundi, Ruanda and Tanzania (1885). Togo and Cameroon were German Colonies, since a small group as investors and traders before 1884. In this year they wanted to get protection from the African tribal leaders, and they asked their government to work to achieve this. At the same time they informed the government that the tribal leaders themselves

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<sup>405</sup>Ghānim wa Shlūtīr " al-Qunṣuliyya al-'almāniyya fī Ṭarābulis...", p. 4.

<sup>406</sup>Ziyāda, *Lībiyā fī al-'uṣūr al-ḥadīthā*, p. 59.

<sup>407</sup>Conrad, *German Colonialism...*, p. 17.

want to contract agreements with the German government. This prompted the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck to send a delegation headed by Gustav Nachtigal (German doctor and traveller) and succeeded in signing an agreement with them in 1884 to ensure the rights and security of the Germans traders in their trade and economic activities and to provide security to them<sup>408</sup>.

Britain benefitted from its large military force, which enabled it to stabilize its colonial territory since the eighteenth century.<sup>409</sup> British power dominated East Africa including the ports, land and sea lanes there. It had controlled Egypt since 1882, where they also had the strongest European fleet. Britain at that time had already colonized all Egypt, Sudan, Kenya and Cape of Good Hope and other parts of Africa including Nigeria, Seralion and Ghana<sup>410</sup>. The British recognized the challenge represented by the increasing presence of Germany in the region, since Germany was persistently strengthening its relations in the region starting with Sultan of Morocco. They had also augmented their trade activities and economic projects. For instance Germany got the privilege of building the port of Tangier, and their trade activities extended to reach both Algeria and Tunisia despite the fact that they were under the control of France<sup>411</sup>.

The decision of Otto von Bismarck to enter the imperial competition in their scramble to Africa in 1884 led to conflicts with European countries and Britain in particular<sup>412</sup>. The competition was intensified when the Belgian King Leopold started to be active in the Congo Basin and invited some representatives of European powers mainly Britain, France, Italy and Russia, in addition to hold an informal Conference in Brussels. King Leopold aimed at obtaining the required approval for exploration and exploitation of African regions and succeeded in establishing and gaining presidency of the African International Association which was based in Brussels. All of these developments pushed the European powers to react and they decided to hold an international conference to prevent any conflicts that may occur as a result of this competition in the scramble to Africa<sup>413</sup>.

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<sup>408</sup> Hofmann, Michael, *Deutsche Kolonialarchitektur und Siedlungen in Afrika, petrsberg*, 2013, pp. 9,33.

<sup>409</sup> Nūwār wa akhar, *al-tārīkh alurūbbī al-ḥadīth...*, p. 381.

<sup>410</sup> Abu jābir, *al-tārīkh al-siyāsī al-ḥadīth...*, p. 137; al-Magrahi, *tārīkh aūrūbbā al-ḥadīth wa al-mu'āšir...*, p. 232.

<sup>411</sup> Muḥāfaẓa 'Ali, *mawāqif al-duwal al-kubra min al-waḥdā al-'arabiyya (1) : mauqaf Faransā wa -'Almāniya wa Itāliya min al-waḥdā al-'arabiyya 1919 – 1945*, markaz dirāsāt al-waḥdā al-'arabiyya, Bayrūt, (D. T), pp. 23-24.

<sup>412</sup> Friedrich Scherer, Adler und Halbmond, *Bismarck und der Orient 1878-1890*, Schöning, 2001, 571p; Abdullah Ibrāhīm, *almuslimūn wa al-iistiamār alurūbbī li Afrīgia...*, pp. 15,17,18.

<sup>413</sup> Altahir, Hamdi, *Africa from colonialism to independence*, Humanities Library ,Cairo, 1998, p. 5; Riad, Zaher, *the European colonization of Africa in the modern era*, universities Office for publication, Egypt,1960, pp. 15.19, 20-22.

To support this association King Leopold established a company that worked in the same field and it succeeded in signing many agreements with the chiefs of the tribes in the Congo and thus the Belgians were able to control the Congo Basin<sup>414</sup>. France did not accept this progress mainly because France had already arrived at the Congo River since 1875, but did not succeed in signing any agreement there until 1883, when it sought to create a road linking French colonies in North and Central Africa<sup>415</sup>.

With regard to the province of Tripoli, Germany enhanced their activities in the province because it was not under the control of any European powers. The province of Tripoli was under the authority of the Ottoman Empire which had strong relations with Germany. It should be noted that Germany was the only European country which did not capture any parts of the territory of the Ottoman Empire. Additionally, Germany did not initially have colonial aspirations, making it easier for them to be accepted and welcomed by the local population in North Africa. Germany then used this to strengthen the relations with most of the Ottoman provinces in North Africa. Moreover, the German military force at that time had also expanded rapidly.<sup>416</sup> The combination of these factors led to Britain's opposition to the variety of German projects in Tripoli. For instance they were behind the failure of the German efforts to get control over the important port of Tobruk and to build a railway to link the city of Tripoli to their colonies in the eastern Africa<sup>417</sup>.

The Ottoman Empire was in a weak position during this period. It was going through a complex political process, especially in the mid-nineteenth century, having lost many territories to European power such as Britain and Russia. Hence, the Ottomans tried to deal cautiously with all the events and developments so as not to lose the new lands or to be involved in agreement that include their loss of territories.

Meanwhile, Germany tried to intensify its activities in the province of Tripoli until when the Ottoman Ali Rida Pasha came to rule in 1876, he was reluctant to deal with the Germans. The German traveller Heinrich von Maltzan indicated that Ali Rida Pasha had treated the Germans

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<sup>414</sup> Abu jābir, *al-tārīkh al-siyāsī al-hadīth...*, p.138; al-'Anī, *tārīkh aurūbbā al-hadīth wa al-mu'āshir...*, p. 155.

<sup>415</sup>Ranūfān, Bīyūr, *tārīkh al-'alāqāt al-dawalīyya (al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar) 1815-1914*, ta'arīb Jalāl Yaḥya, dār al-ma'ārif, al-Qāhirā, 1980, p. 109.

<sup>416</sup>Ghānim, 'Imād al-Dīn, *'amalīyyat al-ghūwaṣāt al-'almāniyya fī al-miyāh al-lībiyyā wa ḥarakat al-jihād 1915-1918, dirāsa fī tārīkh al-'alāqāt al-lībbīyya al-'almāniyya*, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2003, p. 18.

<sup>417</sup> Ghānim, "al-maṣālīh al-'almāniyya fī Lībiya..." p. 42.

with hostility and there was no apparent reason<sup>418</sup>. It seems that the competition among the European consuls, specifically the British and the French, in the province of Tripoli and their attempts to improve relations with this Pasha, was the reason. This situation did not last long. Ali Rida Pasha was dismissed and a new governor came to rule. This was appreciated by the German officials, since they were more welcomed by the other governors after Ali Rida Pasha<sup>419</sup>. As a result of this political change, the German began to be more influential like the French and the British and other Europeans nationalities.

The German citizens who lived in the province of Tripoli were described to be a small community but their number was not mentioned. However it is stated that their situations were improved as a result of changing the governor. Meanwhile Germany began to be more influential in Europe and this was reflected on how the Germans were treated in the province of Tripoli, this in fact encouraged some Germans to migrate to the province of Tripoli specifically to the eastern parts. Some literature indicated that their numbers had exceeded 10,000 families, settled in the area of the Green Mountain in Cyrenaica with fresh air and fertile land among other advantages<sup>420</sup>. Moreover, in 1888, Germany considering their strong relations with the Ottoman Empire; they tried even to settle a number of German citizens in the same area. This was mentioned in the correspondences between Germany and the Ottoman Empire that Germany offered through its consulate in Istanbul to send some German inhabitants to Cyrenaica. The Ottomans had agreed and addressed their governor in Cyrenaica to identify the suitable areas. However, this project was not been implemented because of two reasons.<sup>421</sup> The first was the unwillingness of the local population and the second related to the cautious policy of the Ottoman Empire itself, since these settlements would have a burden on the province, despite the close relations with the German, but in fact they feared generally the presence of the Europeans in their territories.<sup>422</sup> The English newspaper "The Standard" wrote in 1898 that the German Kaiser, during his visit to Istanbul that

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<sup>418</sup> Gustav, Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan: Ergebnisse Sechsjähriger Reisen in Afrika*, Ersten Band, Graz, Austria, 1967, p. 28; Māltisān, Hīnrīsh Fūn, *fī rihāb Ṭarābulis wa Tūnis*, dirāsā wa tarjamā 'Imād al-dīn Ghānim, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2008, p. 42.

<sup>419</sup> Māltisān, *fī rihāb Ṭarābulis wa Tūnis*, pp. 52, 200. On Ali Rida Pasha, the son of an Algerian qadi who fled the French colonisation and its role in Tripoli during the Ottoman reform (tanẓīmāt) and the European competition see also Nora Lafi, *Une ville du Maghreb*, op.cit, p. 221.

<sup>420</sup> al-'Azam, Šādiq Mu'ayyad, *rihlah fī al-ṣahrā' al-kubra bi-Afrīqiya*, translated by 'Abdul-karīm Abu-Shuwārib, rāja 'ahu Šallah Iddīn Ḥasān al-Sūri, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 1998, p. 50.

<sup>421</sup> Ghānim, 'Imād al-Dīn, "mashrū'āt al-'istītān al-aurūbbīyya fī Lībiyāhata sanat 1900" ('araḍ wadirāsa), *majalat al-shahīd*, al-'adad al-thāni, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn ḍid al-ghazū al-Itālī, Ṭarābulis, 1981, p. 17.

<sup>422</sup> al-'Azam, *rihlah fī al-ṣahrā' al-kubra...*, p. 50.

year, had again suggested the establishment of a German settlement in the province of Tripoli. However, another document in the same Archive denies the veracity of this information, arguing that the Kaiser never made such suggestion<sup>423</sup>.

### 3.3 The Second Congress of Berlin in 1884:

The conference was held mainly to discuss the conflicts that emerged as a result of the competition of the leading countries in their scramble for Africa<sup>424</sup> and in particular the problem over competing claims to the Congo basin which was one important source of water in the region<sup>425</sup>. The Congo in particular was a conflicting point between Belgium, France, Britain and Germany<sup>426</sup>.

The conference was held in Berlin and Germany was the organizer and the supervisor. It was led by Otto von Bismarck<sup>427</sup>. This reflects the distinguished position of Germany among the other European countries and also highlights the German role in conflict mediation and resolution in Europe at that time<sup>428</sup>. Von Bismarck was also planning to serve the German interests by holding the conference in Germany. This was supposed to strengthen the position of Germany and its policy. The conference was also supposed to institute the German policy at the international level and to highlight the principles of the open economic investment adopted by Germany to become available to all participants<sup>429</sup>, and thus benefit all European countries and end the conflict<sup>430</sup>. Thus the conference was held from November 1884 to February 1885, in the presence of representatives of a number of European countries, the Ottoman Empire and the United States<sup>431</sup>. Historians stressed the complete absence of the African countries. Generally, the conference was the launch of the European colonial policy and course of actions in Africa, even though they used

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<sup>423</sup> Politische Archiv, Auswärtigen Amts, Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche Konsulat in Tripoli, Bd 1, 1895–1899, R16111, Nr. A12804, 4/11/1898; Nr. A12804, 8/12/1898.

<sup>424</sup> Qāsmiyya, Khīrīyya, *tārīkh aurūbbā al-ḥadīth wa al-mu'āšir*; (*tārīkh aurūbbā al-mu'āšir*), Jami'āt Dimashq, Dimashq, 1981/1982, p. 143.

<sup>425</sup> Stoecker, Helmuth, *German Imperialism in Africa...*, p. 37; Minawi, Mostafa, *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz*, Stanford University Press, Stanford California, 2016 p.8.

<sup>426</sup> al-'Anī, *tārīkh aurūbbā al-ḥadīth wa al-mu'āšir...*, p. 155.

<sup>427</sup> Ibrāhīm, 'Abdullah 'Abdul-rāzāg, *mausū'at al-tārīkhwa al-siyāsa fī Afrīqiya*, al-maktab al-mašrī litawzī' al-maṭbu'āt, al-Qāhirā, 1997, p. 5.

<sup>428</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism...*, p. 36.

<sup>429</sup> al-Magrahī, *tārīkh aurūbbā al-ḥadīth wa al-mu'āšir...*, p. 233.

<sup>430</sup> Nuwār wa Na'na'ī, *aurūbbā min al-thaurā al-firinsīyya...*, p. 316.

<sup>431</sup> 'Abdullah Ibrāhīm, *mausū'at al-tārīkhwa al-siyāsa...*, p.5.

explicit goals like fighting slave trade and disseminating the European civilization in these territories<sup>432</sup>.

It seems that this step by von Bismarck came in response to the British arrangements to keep everyone away from the Congo Basin and put it under the Portuguese influence which could be easily controlled by them. The German Chancellor also was trying to spare the considerable risks that may eventually lead to the outbreak of war in Europe with cooperation with Belgium<sup>433</sup>.

It is important to note that the efforts of Otto von Bismarck and the rest of the leaders of Europe succeeded in realizing their goal and draw the map of Africa according to their political and economic interests<sup>434</sup>. After three and a half months of meetings and discussion they signed an agreement strengthening the neutrality of the Congo basin and ensuring freedom of trade and navigation for the countries that had participated in the conference<sup>435</sup>. They also made a decision to establish the State of Congo<sup>436</sup>, and set it under the control of the Association of Congo that was an international institution concerned with trade. This was to come under the control of the King of Belgium. Moreover, Britain agreed to share Guinea with Germany<sup>437</sup>.

The province of Tripoli was of course mentioned in the second Congress of Berlin<sup>438</sup>, when it functioned as a bargaining chip and was offered by Bismarck to Italy to avoid the outbreak of any military conflict. This happened without the knowledge of the Ottoman Empire, after the latter had lost their claim to Tunisian protectorship to France with the French declaration of protection in 1881<sup>439</sup>. The French were supported by both Germany and Britain. Thus to satisfy Italy, the province of Tripoli and the northern Somalia and Abyssinia were put under the Italian control in 1911<sup>440</sup>. Recalled, the discussion of the offer of granting Italy the control over the province of Tripoli in the second Congress of Berlin was a continuation of the same discussion initiated in the first conference of Berlin in 1878. The offer was that Italy could exercise

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<sup>432</sup>Stoecker, *German Imperialism in Africa*, p. 37.

<sup>433</sup>al-Magrahi, *tārīkh aūrūbbā al-ḥadīth wa al-mu'āshir...*, p. 233.

<sup>434</sup>Stoecker, *German Imperialism in Africa*, p. 37.

<sup>435</sup>Manfred Nussbaum, kolonialenthousiasmus zur Kolonialpolitik der Monopole: zur deutschen Kolonialpolitik unter Bismarck, Caprivi, Hohenlohe, Akad, Berlin, 1962, 165p. Drīfūs, Franswā Jūrīj wa Rūlānd Mārkus wa Rīmūn Būwādūfān, *mausū'at tārīkhaurūbbā al-'am: mīn 'am 1789 ḥatta ayyamunā*, translated by Ḥusayīn Ḥaydar, 'ūwaydāt, Bayrūt- Bārīs, 1995, p. 327.

<sup>436</sup>Wisīling, *taqṣīm Afrīqīyā 1880- 1914...*, p. 202.

<sup>437</sup>Conrad, *German Colonialism*, p. 36; Stoecker, *German Imperialism in Africa*, p. 37.

<sup>438</sup>Stoecker, *German Imperialism in Africa*, p. 37.

<sup>439</sup>Abu jābir, *al-tārīkh al-siyāsī al-ḥadīth...*,p. 139.

<sup>440</sup>Nuwār, wā Na'na'ī, *aūrūbbā min al-thaurā al-firinsīyya...*,p. 320

influence on the province of Tripoli and France was granted the full control over Tunisia. By agreeing to the general Act of Berlin 1884 the Ottoman Empire recognized the right of other participants to the Mediterranean coast of the province of Tripoli<sup>441</sup>.

Another major result of the second congress of Berlin was the explicit agreement that obliged any European country wishing to extend its influence in Africa in whatever form to inform and consult the rest of the European powers. Moreover, any country aiming to “protect” any part of Africa had to physically occupy the place, and these conditions were for everyone to respect and comply with<sup>442</sup>.

It could be said that the second congress of Berlin had profound impacts on the international community in general and on the region of North Africa in particular. This was because in this region the most important waterways such as the Suez Canal and the Strait of Gibraltar as well as the Mediterranean Sea are located. This prompted many of the European countries to try to find a foothold in the Africa, thus they tried to determine their area of political influence because they realized the benefits that could be gained there. Thus the region entered a new stage politically and economically in accordance with the European policy.

### **3.4 The Main European and the German Travellers in the Province of Tripoli:**

Many travellers came to or passed by the province of Tripoli between the seventeenth century and the nineteenth century. This part of the chapter will present the European travellers and at the end the German travellers. It will thus shed light on German interest in the province of Tripoli at this period of time and give an idea of a certain German imaginary of Africa in late the nineteenth century and at the turn of the Twentieth century.

The historical literature of the European travellers who visited the province of Tripoli could be divided into two categories: The first one comprises the travelers who came to the province of Tripoli to explore and research the historical and geographical aspects in addition to the monuments, such as Baron von Maltzan and Gottlob Adolf Krause (1850-1938). The second group includes those who tried to study the province focusing on the political, economic and

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<sup>441</sup> Minawi, Mostafa, *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz*, Stanford University Press, Stanford California, 2016 p. 9.

<sup>442</sup> Nawar, wāNa‘na‘ī, *aūrūbbā min al-thaurā al-firinsīyya...*, p. 318; al-Magrahi, *tārīkh aūrūbbā alḥadīth wa al-mu‘āšir...*, p. 224.

social aspects, intending to collect as much information as possible. This group had been used to serve the colonial objectives at first such as Gerhard Rohlfs (1831-1896) and Gustav Nachtigal (1834-1885).

The researcher is going to discuss the most important European travellers according to the chronological order in which they arrived to the province of Tripoli.

### 3.4.1 The European Travellers:

Since the 18th century, the European travellers and later on the German travellers' attention was centered on the journey and the geographical features of Africa<sup>443</sup>. The desert represented a particularly strong attraction and was frequently described in the travellers' reports. They also focused on the geographic and strategic advantages of the province of Tripoli. In addition, the province of Tripoli was viewed by many travellers in their writings as the northern gateway to Africa and the shortest road leading deep into the continent as mentioned before<sup>444</sup>.

In 1788 the Association for Promoting the Discovery of Interior Parts of Africa, also known as the African Association, was established in London<sup>445</sup>. It played a central role in Britain's exploration and dominance of this region until it was replaced by the founding of the Royal Geographical Society in 1830<sup>446</sup>. Britain had become the superior power in the exploration of Africa during the 17th and the 18th centuries and the establishment of the Association reflected this dominance. This Association was initially founded for study of the history of the region. Later the Association became more colonial in its nature, focusing on finding new markets and sources of raw materials for the industry in Britain. The aim then evolved to include preaching the Christian faith which became a clear goal later on<sup>447</sup>. The association's activities were focused on providing the information needed to introduce Africa to the European colonization, in addition to providing an accurate description of the region that was not previously known.

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<sup>443</sup>For an analyse of the Orient in the german litterature, see Mohamed Khalifa, *Der Orient, Fiktion oder Realität*, a critical analyses of 19<sup>th</sup> century German travel reports, Gerlach-Press, Berlin, 2015, 194p. For an overview on the european travelers in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century see the work from a doctorat at La Sorbonne of the diplomate Muftah Missouri, *La Libye des voyageurs 1812-1912*, Lausanne, Favre, 2000.

<sup>444</sup>Bundesarchiv, die Handels \_ und Schifffahrts Verhältnisse mit Tripolis, Bd .1, vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904, R 901/11936 , Nr. II 22970/02.1901.

<sup>445</sup>Mūrī, *al-rahḥāla wa al-kashif al-Juḥrāfi fī Lībiyā...*, p. 8.

<sup>446</sup>Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience, 598. See also Robin Hallet, *Records of the African Association, 1788- 1831*(Nelson, 1964) for more information about the Association's activities.

<sup>447</sup>Mūrī, *al-rahḥāla wa al-kashif al-ughrāfi fī Lībiyā...*, p. 8

The association was provided with all the necessary resources for achieving the objectives noted above. It was able to invite and support whoever who had the ability and willingness to take risks and who was aware of and agreed with the organization's objectives. Consequently, they encouraged various European nationalities to be engaged in their services.

The historical literature considers the year 1778 as the starting point for the long and organized journeys of Europeans heading to the province of Tripoli<sup>448</sup>. The British William Lucas was one of the first travelers who came to the province in that year<sup>449</sup>. He started from the city of Tripoli and ended in Misurata. Lucas intended to go further until Fezzan, but the prevailing conditions, particularly the way the indigenous people perceived the Europeans forced him to stop and go back. However, he succeeded to pave the way for the rest of the explorers through the information he provided<sup>450</sup>.

It is to be recalled that this journey was part of the first mission organized by the British Association because of the failure of a previous attempt to reach central Africa and the Nile<sup>451</sup>. The association then realized that to achieve the greatest achievements in this area it was better to start from the province of Tripoli<sup>452</sup>.

It was not long until another man become known for carrying the aspirations of discovery and research. This was the German Friedrich Hornemann (1772-1801)<sup>453</sup>. Born in 1772 in Hildesheim; a city in Lower Saxony, southeast of Hannover, Hornemann worked for the Association for Promoting the Discovery of Interior Parts of Africa in London. The association envisaged visiting the province of Tripoli according to a specific scientific research plan. Hornemann was appointed head of the mission and provided with all the necessary resources to ensure the success of his mission. The mission had the primary objective of conducting scientific research. Hornemann met different people who facilitated his journey; one of them was a Turkish trader who had several connections in the province of Tripoli and Tunisia. He provided Hornemann with valuable advice, including the sentence attributed to him that "Cities of Tripoli

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<sup>448</sup>Kūrū, *Lībiyā athnā' al-'ahid al'ūthmānī al-thāni...*, p. 114.

<sup>449</sup>For more details see Sara ElGaddari, His Majesty's Agents: The British Consul at Tripoli 1795-1832, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 43-5, 2015, pp. 770-986.

<sup>450</sup> His account was published in 'Reports' the *Journal of the African Association*; See also: Kūrū, *Lībiyā athnā' al-'ahid al'ūthmānī al-thāni...*, p. 114.

<sup>451</sup>Mūrī, *al-rahḥāla wa al-kashif al-jughrāfi fī Lībiyā...*, p. 9.

<sup>452</sup>Ibid

<sup>453</sup>More information about Hornemann is given in David Robinson and Douglas Smith, *Sources of the African Past. Case Studies of Five Nineteenth African Societies*, New York, 1979, p. 126.

and Fezzan was the easiest and most guaranteed road to reach central Africa”<sup>454</sup>. Instead, of heeding this advice, Hornemann had started his journey from Cairo in 1798, passing Siwah Oasis to cross the desert of the province of Tripoli and succeeded in reaching both Ojla and Murzuq, the capital of Fezzan in the south of the province <sup>455</sup>. Thus, Hornemann achieved a major success which was not preceded by any other European before. He was the first European to step in this area<sup>456</sup>; most importantly he could provide an accurate description and observations that considered as very valuable to the association he worked for<sup>457</sup>.

It can be said that his achievement highlighted the many opportunities which existed for the Europeans and encouraged other travellers to visit the province of Tripoli in the 19th century. Among those travellers were the Italian doctor Paolo Della Cella (1792-)<sup>458</sup>, a member of the Italian Scientific Academy who arrived in the city of Tripoli in 1817<sup>459</sup>, and the British George Francis Lyon (1795-1833) fellow of the Royal Society, and Joseph Ritchie in 1818<sup>460</sup>, on their first journey together to the city of Tripoli<sup>461</sup>. They were more concerned with the central and southern parts of the province. Lyon wrote about the strategic and commercial importance of Ghadames<sup>462</sup>. Their second journey was in the period of 1821-1822<sup>463</sup>.

At that time, in the first half of the nineteenth century, most travellers were interested to explore the region geographically to study the surroundings of the capital Tripoli and the southern part of the province. Others went to the eastern part such as the British brothers Henry William Beechey and Fredrick William Beechey who visited Cyrenaica and the central parts of the province in 1818. They were followed by R. Pacho who arrived to Cyrenaica from Egypt.

In 1835 the British traveller Major Alexander Gordon Laing (1794-1835) was in Ghadames and remained there for almost two months. From there he headed out to the city of Ghat, with the aim

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<sup>454</sup>Mūrī, *al-rahḥāla wa al-kashif al-jughrāfi fī Lībiyā...*, p. 13.

<sup>455</sup>His account was published like, Friederich Hornemann *Frederick Horneman travel's , from Cairo to Morzouk*, Bulber, London, 1802.

<sup>456</sup>Liyūn, Jūn Frānsīs, *min Ṭarābulis ilā Fazzān mudhakarāt al-rahḥāla al-injīlīzi Jūn Frānsīs Līyūn 1818*, naqalahu ilā al-‘arabiyya Mustafa Jūda, al-dār al-‘arabiyya li-l-kitāb, Lībiyā-Tunis, 1976, p. 179.

<sup>457</sup>Mūrī, *al-rahḥāla wa al-kashif al-jughrāfi fī Lībiyā...*, p. 13.

<sup>458</sup>For more details on this author see Daniela Silvestri, Della Cella Paolo, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 36, 1988 (It was translated into german and english in 1822 and 1823 into french).

<sup>459</sup>Among Paolo Della Cella publications see Della Cella, *Viaggio da Tripoli di Barberia alle frontiere occidentali dell'Egito*, Genova, 1819.

<sup>460</sup>See: Tim Fulford, Debee Lee and Peter Kitson, *Litterature, Science and Exploration in a Romantic Era. Bodies of knowledge*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univesity Press, 2004, 119p.

<sup>461</sup>See: George Francis Lyon, *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa in the Years 1818, 19 and 20*, London, 1821, for Lyon’s own account of these travels.

<sup>462</sup>Liyūn, *min Ṭarābulis ilā Fazzān...*pp. 127, 129.

<sup>463</sup>Mūrī, *al-rahḥāla wa al-kashif al-jughrāfi fī Lībiyā...*, p. 13.

of reaching central Africa. He travelled as far as Timbuktu (in Mali), but was killed on his return journey.

These semi travelers/explorers and semi spies with their achievements motivated the German officials and politicians to explore more and more the province of Tripoli. This also prompted the Scientific Academy in Berlin in 1820 to assign the Baron Heinrich Menu von Minutoli (d. 1846) to lead a mission to Egypt. From there he decided to travel to the eastern part of the province of Tripoli. The mission was well equipped and included a number of scientists, artists, archaeologists and others. The mission reached the outskirts of Cyrenaica, but the bad security conditions did not allow them to complete their journey and they had to return<sup>464</sup>.

The major exploratory journeys to the province of Tripoli took place in the first half of the 19th century. With the beginning of the second half there was a steady increase in the number of missions heading to the province. However most of them ended in the same catastrophic way when the travellers were either killed by the local people as what happened to German traveller Moritz Von Beurmann, who visited Sudan and decided to travel to Benghazi, then to Wadai to discover the area. He was killed in Kanem in 1863<sup>465</sup>. Other travellers fell sick with transmissible diseases as in the case of the German Leopold von Csillagh when he got dysentery and died<sup>466</sup>. Other travellers were killed by local people for their money and possessions or because the local people did not want them to enter into their places, such as the traveller Alexander Tina who was killed by the Tuareg tribe who showed hate towards foreigners. Other travellers were killed in some African kingdoms like Wadai, among them Eduard Vogel. The traveller Gerhard Rolfs was attacked several times by the local people during his journey to Al Kufra<sup>467</sup>.

This had a negative effect on the flow of the European travellers who wanted to visit the province of Tripoli and led to the stop of these missions for a period of time but resumed on the second half of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>464</sup>Mūrī, *al-rahḥāla wa al-kashif al-jughrāfi fī Lībiyā*..., p. 32.

<sup>465</sup>Nākhṭijāl, Jūstāf, *al-ṣaḥrā' wa bilād al-sūdān, al-mujallad al-awwal, al-kitāb al-awwal: Ṭarābulis wa Fazzān, al-kitāb al-thāni: tībīst utū*, transl. from German into English by 'Alin J.B. Fīshr, transl. with an introduction by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Miḥīshī, raja'ahu 'an al-aṣil al-'almāni 'Imād al-Dīn Ghānim, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2007, p. 79.

<sup>466</sup>Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulis al-gharb*..., p. 144.

<sup>467</sup>Rohlf, *riḥla ilā al-Kufrā*..., p. 458.

### 3.4.2 The German Travellers:

With regard to the German travellers the way they started was fairly simple in the first half of the nineteenth century, because at the beginning they could not keep up with the rest of the European travellers for several reasons, including the limited physical inclination, lack of contacts with political and economic influence to adopt their projects. This was the case until they started to be supported by Otto von Bismarck and the King of Prussia, such as in the case of Friedrich Gerhard Rohlfs and Gustav Nachtigal. Nachtigal was granted financial support from the Association for Promoting the Discovery of Interior Parts of Africa in London as well as from Berlin Geographical Association. Moreover, the German government tried to get a Firman<sup>468</sup> from the Ottoman Sultan Abdulaziz in 1878 for the benefit of the traveller Gerhard Rofls. This Firman included orders to provide everything Rofls needed such food, drinks, livestock and protection by providing a number of militants to escorts him on his journey across the desert<sup>469</sup>. Rohlfs was called Mustafa Bey<sup>470</sup> by some Ottoman officials<sup>471</sup>.

In addition to that, the Ottoman governors also provided support to the travellers, for instance when Nachtigal arrived to the city of Tripoli he received a recommendation to the *Mutaşaraftıyy* of the other cities in the province and when he arrived to Murzuq he received help from the Mutaşaraf of Fezzan according to the recommendation he got from the Qāim māqām of the province of Tripoli<sup>472</sup>.

Quoting from Gerhard Rohlfs's words in his book "a Trip to Al Kufra"<sup>473</sup> that "[...] *One of the missions of the African Association*<sup>474</sup> *was to reach the interiors parts of Africa starting from North Africa [...] the association accepted my proposal to study the northern parts of the Congo Basin and the surrounding areas [...] the mission should start from Tripoli and passed through Al kufra which are the best point to cross to these areas*".

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<sup>468</sup>A royal decree issued by a sovereign in a certain historical Islamic states especially by the Sultan of Turkey (<http://www.seslisozluk.net/?word=firman>)

<sup>469</sup>Rohlfs, *rihla ilā al-Kufrā*..., p.42.

<sup>470</sup> Bey is a Turkish title given to some governors in the Ottoman Empire, Şabān, Suhail, al-m'ajam al-mausu' i li-l-mşalahat al- ūthmānīa al-tārīkhīyya, p.6 3.

<sup>471</sup> Rohlfs, *rihla ilā al-kufrā*..., pp. 91, 93, 95, 97, 99.

<sup>472</sup> risālā min wakīl Mutaşrif Fazzān ila Qāim maqām Wilāyat Tarābulus al-gharab bi-tārīkh 24 Sibtambar 1885, Wathā' iqdār al-mahfūzāt al-tārīkhīyya al-Sarāy al-Hamrā', Tarābulis.

<sup>473</sup>Rohlfs, *Rihla ilā al-kufrā*..., p. 165; Rohlfs, Gerhard, *Kufra: Reise Von Tripolis nach der Oase Kufra, ausgeführt im auftrage der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1881.

<sup>474</sup>He meant the Association for Promoting the Discovery of Interior Parts of Africa, also known as the African Association.

The main advantages of starting from the North of Africa were also mentioned by Rohlfs<sup>475</sup> that: *”reaching the interior parts of Africa from the Mediterranean had so many advantages that cannot be ignored, it could keep the communication with the head quarter of the African Association and the motherland. If the negligence of the Ottoman was not there one could keep communications between Tripoli and Berlin so easily using the Telegraph [...] With regards to that Tripoli has the easier and quicker possibility to keep communication with Europe more than Loango Angola”*. Rohlfs went further and describe Tripoli to be the German own old place: *“It could not be denied that the province of Tripoli could be considered our old place where Hornemann started his journey as well as Barth<sup>476</sup> who started and ended up his journeys in the province of Tripoli, [...] in addition to Vogel, von Maltzan<sup>477</sup> and Nachtigal<sup>478</sup> who started from the province of Tripoli his journey to Borgo and Wadai [...]”*. *“one of the main advantages of starting from North Africa is that there is good means of transportation not like in the other parts [...]in the north shore where livestock specifically camels are used and not the human being.”<sup>479</sup>*

#### **3.4.2.1 Heinrich Barth:**

Heinrich Barth was born in Hamburg in 1821. He visited the province of Tripoli several times between 1849 and 1855, started from the coast and had various tours in the province during which he succeeded to reach Gharyan, Murzuq, and Ghat and he crossed the geographical borders and arrived in Chad and Congo. Barth was the first European who visited Adamawa in 1851, starting his journey from the city of Tripoli. The area he visited was between Tripoli in the north to Adamawa and Cameroon in the south and from Lake Chad and Bagirmi in the east to Timbuktu (in Mali) in the west.<sup>480</sup> Barth provided information about the geography of the province and the most important routs and routes that leads to central Africa among other sorts of information.

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<sup>475</sup>Rohlfs, *Rihla ilā al-kufrā...*, p. 166.

<sup>476</sup>Barth, Heinrich, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, London, 1857.

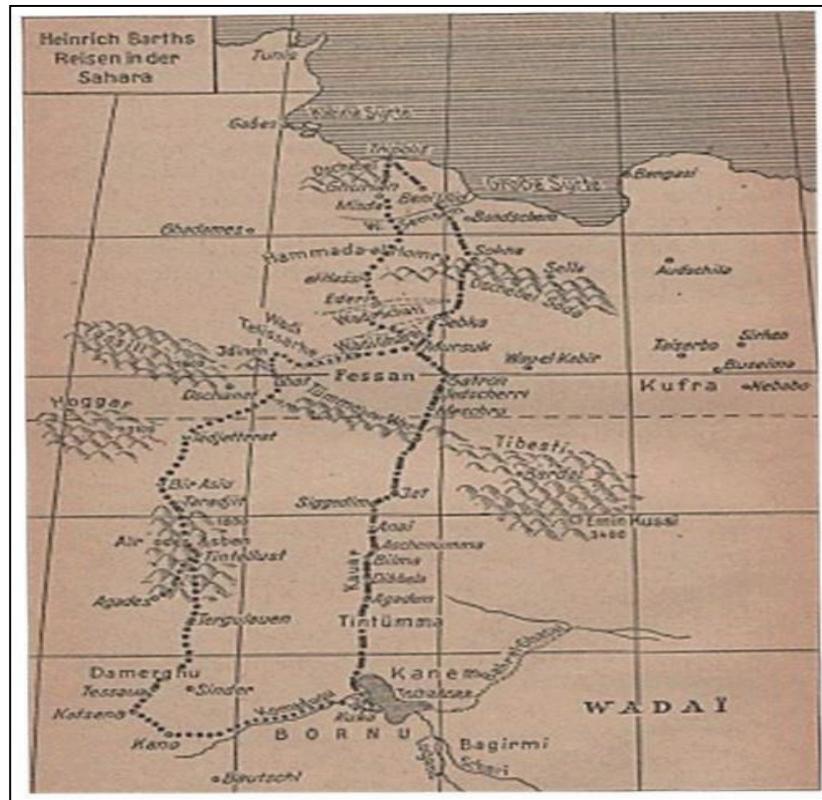
<sup>477</sup>Maltzan, Heinrich, *Reise in den Regenschäften Tunis und Tripolis 1826-1874*, Dyk, Leipzig, 1870.

<sup>478</sup>Nachtigal, Gustav, *Sahara and Sudan: Tripoli and Fezzan, Tibesti*, translated from German into English by A. Fisher, Vol.1, Hurst, London, 1974.

<sup>479</sup>Rohlfs, *rihla ilā al-kufrā...*, p. 169.

<sup>480</sup>Kūrū, *Lībiyā athnā' al- ahid al`uthmānī al-thāni...*, pp. 142-143.

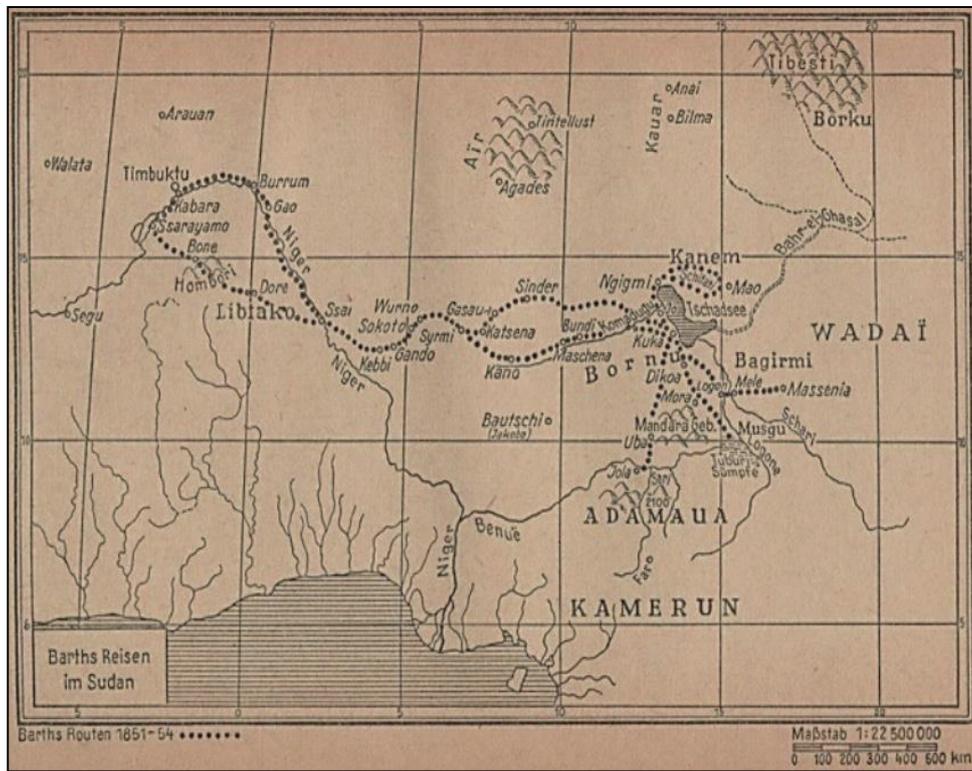
**Map (11): Barth's Journey to the province of Tripoli (1)<sup>481</sup>:**



Christian Bunsen, the Prussian ambassador to Westminster suggested the appointment of Heinrich Barth and Adolf Overweg, and James Richardson to head a scientific mission of the English Association for Promoting the Discovery of Interior Parts of Africa to Central Africa to North Africa in order to build up commercial relations with the states in central Africa in 1849. They arrived in the city of Tripoli in 1849 and left the city in 1850. This journey was called the “3-man expedition”. However, the deaths of Richardson (March 1851) and Overweg (September 1852), who died of mysterious diseases, left Barth to carry on the scientific mission alone. Later on Eduard Vogel was sent by the British government to accompany Barth in his journey.

<sup>481</sup>Müller, Martin, *Kreuz und Quer durch Sahara und Sudan Barth, Heinrich Deutschlands grösster Afrikaforscher*, Leipzig, 1955, p.196.

**Map (12): Barth's Journey to the province of Tripoli (2)<sup>482</sup>.**



**3.4.2.2 Adolf Overweg:**

Explorations in many ways were European endeavour national interests and Adolf Overweg a German explorer he was part of this national interests. Born in Hamburg in 1822 and he was a member of the mission sent by the English Association for Promoting the Discovery of Interior Parts of Africa to Central Africa the “3-man expedition”. Overweg got a mysterious disease and died in 1852 in Maduari, Chad. He wrote valuable information on the nature of the region and the routs they used and its importance he wrote also information about the vegetation in the area Kuka inBorno (now Nigeria)<sup>483</sup>.

**3.4.2.3 Eduard Vogel:**

Eduard Vogel was born in Krefeld in 1829 and was one of the best-known German travellers who came to the province of Tripoli; he worked for the British government. He had great knowledge in the fields of botany and astronomy, which helped him to find new information

<sup>482</sup>Müller, *kreuz und quer durch sahara und Sudan...*, p. 197.

<sup>483</sup>Nachtigal, Gustav, *Sahara und Sudan: Ergebnisse Sechsjähriger Reisen In Afrika*, Erster Theil, Berlin,1879, p. 7.

about the geography of the region. In 1853, Vogel left Tripoli with a caravan to provide supplies to Barth expedition. Vogel used the Trans-Saharan trade route to arrive to Kuka in Borno in 1854. He visited many places in the province of Tripoli like ‘Ayn Zara, Tarhuna, Bani Walid, Sawkanh Murzuq and others. His reports contributed directly in identifying the geographical nature of the province<sup>484</sup>.

#### **3.4.2.4 Gerhard Rohlfs:**

Gerhard Rohlfs was born in Vegesack, now part of Bremen in 1831; he studied medicine but did not finish his studies and preferred to travel around Europe. He also traveled to Algeria where he worked as a field doctor<sup>485</sup>. This was his first connection to North Africa. His first journey was limited to Morocco and Algeria but he attracted the attention of August Peterman, a German geographer. One of the most famous geographers and cartographers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century founded one of the most important geographical journals and who was interested in collecting geographical information and maps of Africa. He encouraged Rohlfs to continue in this field. Rohlfs was the second European traveller who visited the region of the Draa River in the south of Morocco. Their efforts later on were supported by the Berlin Geographical Society, the British Royal Geographical Society and the Senate of Bremen, which provided them with financial support and equipped the mission with all the necessary resources. For his work and the information that he provided, he was awarded the Patron's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London in 1868.

Rohlfs began his journey from Oran toward Tangier and then took the route towards the interior region of the country. He crossed the Atlas Mountains to reach ‘Ayn Salih. From there he took the road between Ghadames and the western mountain to reach the city of Tripoli. He was the first European to cross Africa from Tripoli passing through the Sahara desert to the Lake of Chad and along the Niger River in 1865-1867 (now Lagos on the Gulf of Guinea). Rohlfs' trips to the city of Tripoli were very productive, mainly because he used new routes and he provided valuable information about the region. This granted him the confidence and support of those who were interested in his activities and that is why he returned again to Tripoli in 1865. Moreover,

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<sup>484</sup>Fīru, *al-ḥawalīyyāt al-lībiyya...*, p. 489 ; Mūrī, *al-rahḥāla wa al-kashif al-jughrāfī fī Lībiyā...*, pp. 57, 59.

<sup>485</sup>Rulfis, *Rihla ilā al-kufrā*, pp. 21, 26.

Rohlf's was widely welcomed in different communities in the province Tripoli as he created contacts with different merchants, consuls, government officials<sup>486</sup>.

It can be said that Rohlf's journey heralded the beginning of the German interest in discovering the city of Tripoli because Germany then started to focus on the importance of the province of Tripoli to the German interests. Although his first journey focused on collecting geographical information he also became interested in the politics of the region and collected information on this aspect as well. It is worth mentioning that Rohlf's was in direct contact with the King of Prussia and obtained his consent to start his exploratory activities.

Rohlf's second journey started from the city of Tripoli, from which he headed first to Ghadames and then went on to Mizdah and Fezzan. He traveled along the road of Wadi Alshati and reach Murzuq where he met Moḥammed al-Kaṭronī, the guide who had accompanied the traveller Heinrich Barth in his journey. Al-Kaṭronī provided great help and support to many German travellers such as Barth, Rohlf's and Nachtigal as they mentioned this in their writings<sup>487</sup>. Al-Kaṭronī was an expert who knew the routes and his experience helped them to great extent. In addition, his knowledge and contact with the local people helped them to avoid many problems that faced the former travellers.

Rohlf's remained in Murzuq which was an important trade center and the capital of the Mutaṣarafiyya Fezzan<sup>488</sup> until 1866. Then he continued his journey towards central Africa and reached Mandara in Cameroon. He was accompanied by Moḥammed al-Kaṭronī but when Rohlf's decided to travel to the Gulf of Guinea, Moḥammed al-Kaṭronī decided to return to Fezzan. Rohlf's then reached the English colony Lokogh in Niger where he was welcomed by the Englishmen who wanted to take advantage of his presence among them by involving him in some transactions with the leaders of the African tribes, due to his experience in dealing with them. He actually succeeded in completing the tasks assigned to him. He then continued to Lagos and took from there an English ship to Liverpool, ending a journey that lasted for two years<sup>489</sup>.

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<sup>486</sup>Rulfis, *Rihla ilā al-kufrā*, p. 39.

<sup>487</sup>Rohlf's, Gerhard, *Kufra: Reise von Tripolis nach der oase Kufra*, ausgeführt im auftrage der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland, Leipzig, 1881, p. 129.

<sup>488</sup>Nākhtjāl, *al-ṣaḥrā' wa bilād al-sūdān...*, p. 52.

<sup>489</sup>Rulfis, Gerhard, *Rihla 'abar Afrīqiya mushāhadāt al-rahḥāla al-'almāni Rulfis fī Lībiyā wa Burnu wa Khalīj Ghīnīya 1865-1867*, dirāsa wa tarjama 'Imād al-dīn Ghānim, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 1996, pp. 46, 48; Rohlf's, Gerhard, *Quer Durch Afrika: reise vom Mittelmeer nach dem Tschad-See und zum golf von Guinea*, Leipzig, 1874-1875.

Rohlf's returned to the province of Tripoli in 1867, 1868, and 1869 but this time he was commissioned directly by the Prussian King Wilhelm II and the Chancellor Bismarck. They requested him to deliver gifts from the King of Prussia to the Sultan Omar al-Kanmī in Borno, as mentioned in the first chapter of this study. Rohlf's journeys to Tripoli did not stop here. In 1873 - 1874 he returned to the region, this time selecting the desert for his explorations. He managed to attract a number of German scientists who were interested in this area to travel with him, and was accompanied by both Karl Alfred Ritter von Zittel a German paleontologist, and the botanist Paul Friedrich August Ascherson. Rohlf's also brought a photographer for documenting the stages of his journey the photographer was called Remele<sup>490</sup>.

The last of Rohlf's journeys to the province of Tripoli was in 1878-1879, when he visited Al Kufra and many other places in the central parts of the province of Tripoli. He left lengthy accounts summarizing the geography, nature and agriculture in these regions<sup>491</sup>. He wrote also important notes regarding customs and traditions, health, and trade in Tripoli in general<sup>492</sup>. Rohlf's had the capacity and skills that enabled him to achieve great successes in collecting information about the province, which made it easier for him to write many documents, and books that were used by the King and the Chancellor who used them in making decisions and convincing the politicians.<sup>493</sup> The findings that he brought from his journeys were significant for the development of German policy towards the province of Tripoli, especially given his good relations with the Prussian King and the Chancellor. His proximity to decision-makers gave his opinion more weight than otherwise and, qualified him to carry out many political tasks at different stages of time. For example Rohlf's submitted a request to the King to send a German consul to the province of Tripoli. He also had a certain vision concerning the eastern part of the province and he proposed it as a convenient place for settling European immigrants. Finally, the information that he supplied and his own views about the province of Tripoli were formative in awarding this province a particular status in the development of the German policy in Africa was set. He mentioned that Tripoli is "Key to Africa". He died in Germany in June 1896<sup>494</sup>.

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<sup>490</sup>Rulfis, *Rihla 'abar Afrīqiya mushāhadāt al-rahḥāla al-'almāni Rulfis fī Lībiyā...*, p. 60.

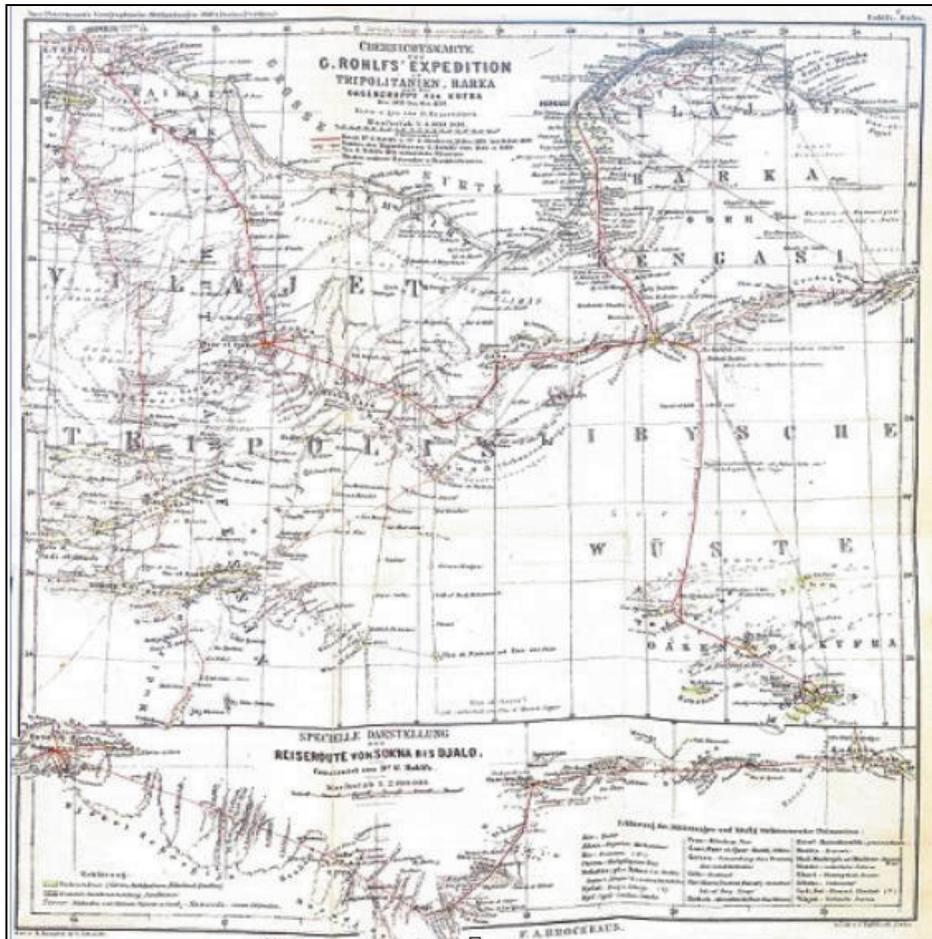
<sup>491</sup>Rohlf's, *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien ...*, pp. 63,78.

<sup>492</sup>Rulfis, *Rihla 'abar Afrīqiya mushāhadāt al-rahḥāla al-'almāni Rulfis fī Lībiyā*, pp. 265, 321.

<sup>493</sup>Rulfis, *Rihla ilā al-kufrā...*, p. 164-165.

<sup>494</sup>Rulfis, *Rihla 'abar Afrīqiya mushāhadāt al-rahḥāla al-'almāni Rulfis fī Lībiyā*, p. 29.

**Map (13): Rohlfs' Journey to Al Kufra in the province of Tripoli<sup>495</sup>**



**3.4.2.5 Heinrich von Maltzan:**

Heinrich von Maltzan was born in 1826 in Dresden. He was interested in the geographical features of North Africa and was also known as an orientalist scholar, writer and poet. He was interested in North Africa before he could visit the region. His first journey to the region was to Morocco in 1852-1853 but this was only an exploratory journey. His second journey was to Tunisia from where he decided to travel to the province of Tripoli in 1869 and to conduct a scientific research this time. He contacted the Austrian consul Luigi Rossi, who was responsible for the German residents in the province of Tripoli and he asked him to provide the needed

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<sup>495</sup>Rohlfs, *Kufra : Reise Von Tripolis Nach der oase Kufra.*

security conveniences to his journey and to facilitate his mission, which was actually materialized<sup>496</sup>.

The most important aspects of von Maltzan's journeys to the province of Tripoli can be seen as his interest in the social life of people, including traditions and norms using a scientific methodological research. He wrote also about the German inhabitants in the province of Tripoli and the poor treatment that they received at the hands of the Ottoman government there. He did not have any political orientations or colonial aspirations, as he came independently and not supported by the German Geographical Association or any other association.

### **Map (14): Heinrich von Maltzan's Journey to the province of Tripoli in 1869<sup>497</sup>**



<sup>496</sup>Māltisān, fī riḥāb Ṭarābulis wa Tūnis..., pp.13, 34; Maltzan , Heinrich, *Reise in den Regentschaften Tunis und Tripolis 1826-1874*, Dyk, Leipzig, 1870.

<sup>497</sup>Maltzan , Heinrich, *Reise in den Regentschaften Tunis und Tripolis 1826-1874*.

#### 3.4.2.6 *Gustav Nachtigal:*

Gustav Nachtigal was born in 1834 in Eichstedt, in the Prussian province of Saxony-Anhalt. He was a German doctor who had completed his medical studies in Halle University and his job was the reason behind his presence in the North African region, which he first visited in 1862 to recover from a lung infection. In 1863 he worked as a doctor in Tunisia and later on he started his exploratory activities.<sup>498</sup> He was then selected by von Maltzan and Gerhard Rohlfs to deliver the gifts from the Prussian to the Sultan of Borno.<sup>499</sup> He spent more than five years in a journey started from the city of Tripoli which led him to the middle and interior parts of the Sahara and eventually to Borno<sup>500</sup>. It is worth mentioning that Nachtigal obtained the help of the Ottoman authorities in the province of Tripoli to facilitate his journey towards Borno. This is indicated in an Ottoman document sent by the Mutaşarafıyya of Fezzan to the governor of the province of Tripoli. The Mutaşaraf informed the governor that he provided Nachtigal with the needed assistance when he arrived at Murzuq. Orders were given from the government of the province to provide all the assistance needed to facilitate this journey.<sup>501</sup>

It is noteworthy that he reached some areas which had not been visited previously by any other European travellers. These included the Tibesti Mountains<sup>502</sup> and this achievement was recorded under his name. He wrote about the health conditions, diseases and how the local people deal with them in the southern areas of the province of Tripoli.

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<sup>498</sup>Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, p. 1.

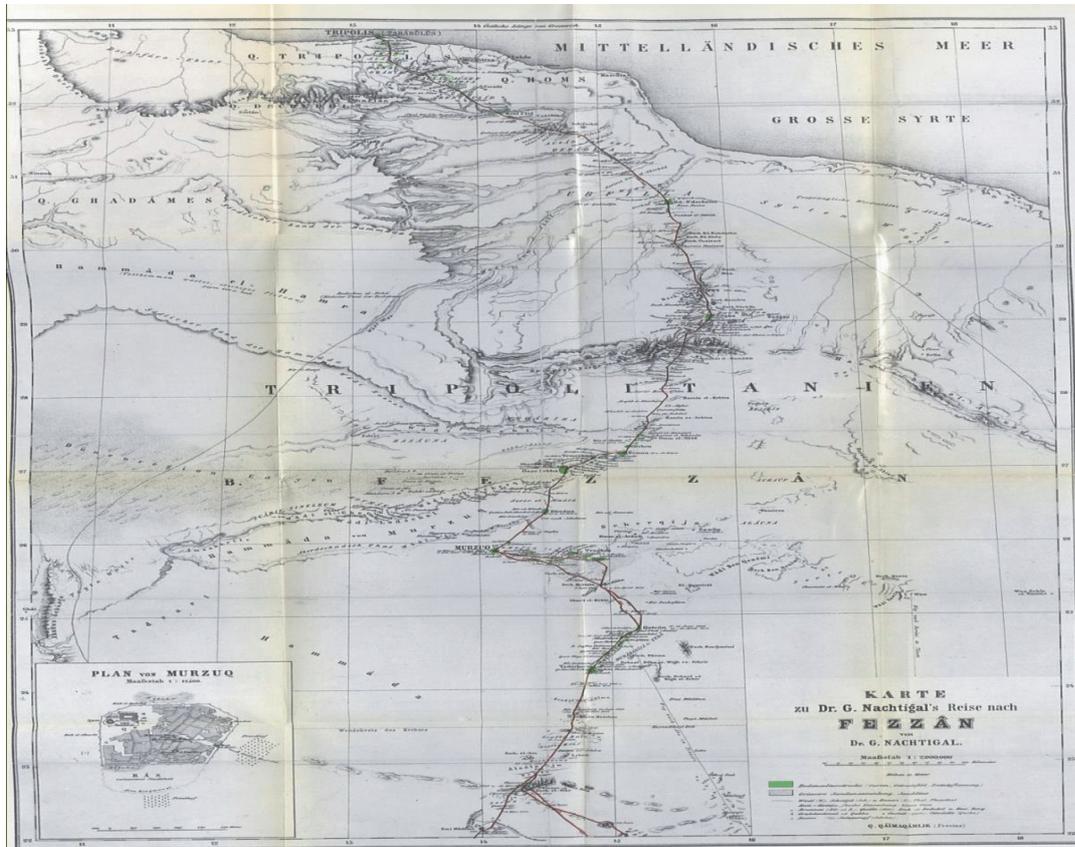
<sup>499</sup>Ibid.

<sup>500</sup>Rūsi, *Lībiyā mundhu al-faṭḥ al-'arabī ḥatā sanat 1911*, p. 396.

<sup>501</sup>Wathīqā 4189, Wathā'iqdār al-maḥfūzāt al-tārīkhiyya al-Sarāy al-Ḥamrā, Ṭarābulus.

<sup>502</sup>Nachtigal, *Sahara Und Sudan...*, pp. 34-35.

### Map (15): Gustav Nachtigal's Journey in the province of Tripoli<sup>503</sup>:



#### 3.4.2.7 Gottlob Adolf Krause:

Gottlob Adolf Krause was born in 1850 in Ockrilla near Meissen. His journey, which started in 1868, was distinctive from those of other travellers because it took place in the context of broader European efforts to colonize many parts of Africa. German colonies had already been established in the center of the continent such as Togo and Cameroon and other countries. In addition to that he spent relatively long period of time in the region compared with the other travellers who visited North Africa<sup>504</sup>.

He visited first West Africa, and then the province of Tripoli in the period between 1868 and 1869, when he was 18 years old. He met Gustav Nachtigal there. He succeeded to reach Murzuq and returned to the city of Tripoli, and he returned to Germany. He decided to continue his studies, focusing on geographical discovery.

<sup>503</sup> Nachtigal, *Sahara Und Sudan*.

<sup>504</sup> Ghānim, 'Imād al-Dīn, *tāqārīr Ghūtlūb Adūlf Krawzā al-ṣahāfiyya ḥawla al-ghazū al-iṭālī li- libiyā*, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 1993, p.34

It is worth mentioning that Gustav Nachtigal was interested in his work and that is why he asked the German Geographical Association to support him and they actually provided him with financial support in his second journey to the province of Tripoli in 1872, he stayed there until 1882. After that he visited West Africa<sup>505</sup>. His last journey to the province of Tripoli was between 1907 and 1912. He witnessed the Italian invasion to the province of Tripoli and he was writing reports to a German magazine about what is happening and what were the Italians doing there<sup>506</sup>. A competent linguist, Krause developed his Arabic language until he was able to study a manuscript about the history of the Mutaṣarafiyya of Fezzan. This was considered a significant academic achievement. He was also interested in the Hausa language, which drew the attention of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin and awarded him financially for his scientific efforts which were not equaled by any other German traveller<sup>507</sup>.

#### **3.4.2.8 Ewald Banse:**

Ewald Banse was born in 1883 in Braunschweig and was chiefly known as a geographer.<sup>508</sup> He started his journeys when he was very young, he visited the province of Tripoli for the first time in 1906-1907. Actually Gustav Nachtigal advised him to go back to Germany and finish his education first. He followed this advice, staying a further two years in Germany before returning to the province of Tripoli in May 1909, where he stayed until the end of the year. His third journey was in 1911, when he experienced the Italian occupation in the province<sup>509</sup>.

The geographer Banse learned Arabic and resided in the province to understand its nature and understand how to deal with the local people. He also drew many maps the city of Tripoli and took photographs of many areas. He drew a plan of the old city and included the recently constructed streets and modern buildings. He was the first traveller who used cars and trains during his last journey in 1914<sup>510</sup>.

<sup>505</sup>Ghānim , *tāqārīr Ghūtlūb Adūfl...*, pp. 29, 33,52.

<sup>506</sup>Sebald, Peter, *malam Musa G.A. Krause 1850 – 1938*, Forscher Wissenschaftler Humanist, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1972, p. 37.

<sup>507</sup>Sebald , *malam Musa G .A . Krause 1850 – 1938...* , p. 37.

<sup>508</sup>- Richard Uhden: *Ewald Banse*. In: *Westermanns Monatshefte*. Band 138, 1925, p. 73–76. See also Uwe Lammers, *Sieben Leben*, (Braunschweig : Seminar für Philosophie, 2015 Elektronisch veröffentlicht: 23.01.2015)link address?

<sup>509</sup>Banzā, Ifāld, *Ṭarābulis maṭla` al-qarn al-`aishrīn fī waṣīf al-jughrāfī al-`almāni Ifāld Banzā*, dirāsa wa tarjama `Imād al-Dīn Ghānim, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 1998, pp. 21, 27, 28.

<sup>510</sup>Banzā, *Ṭarābulis maṭla` al-qarn al-`aishrīn...* , p. 25.

It is worth emphasizing the role played by some indigenous people who helped and supported many German travellers such as Moḥammed al-Kaṭronī and his son Ali who accompanied Barth, Rohlf and Nachtigal. In addition to Mohamedal-Kaṭronī, another man, Ṣalah Ibn Abdalalh al-Fazanī, accompanied Ewald Banse in his journeys.

In short, these travellers had a major role in drawing the attention of the German political leadership towards the province of Tripoli and highlighting its economic, political and strategic importance. Through their writings and explorative researches the province of Tripoli was viewed as an important center of trade and a bridgehead to cross towards central Africa.

### **3.5 Trade between Germany and the Province of Tripoli (1884-1895)**

Trade was one of the most important pillars of the relationship between the province of Tripoli and Europe. It constituted a linking point between the North and the South. This chapter will focus on the trade between the province of Tripoli and Germany in the period between 1884 and 1909.

The real development of trade between the two sides reached a significant volume in 1884 when the German exports to Tripoli amounted to a total of £ 15,000. This level was the same in 1885. This information is stated in a document in the German Federal Archives (Bundesarchive) amongst the reports written by the British consul to Tripoli<sup>511</sup>. In terms of total exports of the province of Tripoli to Germany, in 1886 exports were estimated at £ 4,000. Although this value was not enormous in comparison with other European countries it gives a clear signal about the trading traffic at that time<sup>512</sup>.

It also supports the argument mentioned in chapter (2) that the Industrial Revolution in Europe led the European powers to seek new markets for their products. In the same years 1884, 1885 details were given on types and amounts of specific products. For instance, sponge to the value of 192,000 lira was exported<sup>513</sup>. It should be noted that these statistics are limited to the business operations in the port of the city of Tripoli.

The report of the British consul in the province of Tripoli included significant data about the volume of trade exchange between the province of Tripoli and Germany shows that the volume

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<sup>511</sup>Bundesarchiv, die Handels- und Schifffahrts Verhältnisse mit Tripolis, Bd .1, vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904, R 901/11936 , Nr. II 22970/02.1901.

<sup>512</sup>Ibid.

<sup>513</sup>Politisches Archive, Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche konsulat in Tripoli, R901/52458..

of trade fluctuated. As stated in the report that Germany was ranked the sixth in the list of countries exporting to and importing from the province of Tripoli. However the trade volume declined and another time increased. To give an example in the years 1888 and 1889 the trade volume fell to the seventh place, as the report from the British consul indicated. As well as in 1893 and 1894, the trade volume declined, Germany then was ranked the eighth in the list when the trade volume reached £ 7,000 and £ 4,000 respectively. In return the amount of Germany's exports to the province of Tripoli was larger than its imports. In 1893 export value was estimated at £ 16,000, then showed a remarkable increase in 1894 when it reached £ 27,500<sup>514</sup> and reached £29,000 in 1895<sup>515</sup>.

Germany imported also some goods from the province of Tripoli, for instance the amount of imports in 1895 amounted to only £ 4,000 which was too small compared to the amount of German exports in the same year mentioned above.

To highlight the volume of trade from 1895 to 1901 the table below summaries the value of German exports to the province of Tripoli during the period 1884-1909 in sterling.

**TABLE (5): VALUE OF GERMAN IMPORT FROM TRIPOLI (1884-1909)<sup>516</sup>**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Value in Sterling</b>
<b>1895</b>	4,000
<b>1896</b>	3,000
<b>1897</b>	3,500
<b>1898</b>	2,500
<b>1899</b>	3,000
<b>1900</b>	2,500
<b>1901</b>	1,500

<sup>514</sup>Bundesarchiv,Bd1 , vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904,R901/11936, Nr. II 11590.

<sup>515</sup>Bundesarchiv,Bd1 , vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904,R901/11936 , Nr.27611/96 .

<sup>516</sup>Bundesarchiv, die Handels \_ und Schifffahrts Verhältnisse mit Tripolis, Bd .1,vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904, R 901/11936 , Nr II 22970/02.1901.

On the other hand, the value of exports of Germany to the province of Tripoli amounted to 50,000 golden francs in 1902, then in 1903 increased to reach 720,000 golden francs (currency as stated in the document). This encouraged the German consul in Malta to submit a proposal to his government indicating the need to create a direct line with the province of Tripoli starting from Hamburg. At the same time he explained how this could increase German trade with the province<sup>517</sup>.

Moreover, it is stated in a document written by the British consul in the German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv) that the city of Benghazi had received in its harbor two German steamships in 1902. The weight of their goods was 1,878 tons. This line was always used by the German transport ships<sup>518</sup>. During the year of 1903 fifteen German steamships docked at the port of Tripoli. Their cargo was estimated at 16,026 tons. However in the following year 1904 the volume of trade declined to reach only 12 steamships carried what is estimated to be 13,140 tons<sup>519</sup>. The continuous decline in the number of German steamships coming to the port of Tripoli during this point in time was found in the same document. In 1905<sup>520</sup> Tripoli received only 5 steamships carrying what estimated to be 4,936 tons only which included various commercial goods the province of Tripoli imported from Germany.

The following table illustrated the amount of German exports during the period 1903 and 1906 to the province Tripoli with a note that the value was estimated in Lira:

**TABLE (6) AMOUNT OF GERMAN EXPORTS TO THE PROVINCE OF TRIPOLI (1903- 1906) IN KILOS<sup>521</sup>:**

Type	1903	1904	1905	1906
<b>Tee</b>	3,280	3,840	5,320	210,000
<b>Iron</b>	2,200	-	3,000	12,000
<b>Wool</b>	1,840	NAD	960	-
<b>Silk</b>	1,000	740	920	-

<sup>517</sup>Wathīqā 353, taqrīr al-qunṣul al-'almāni fī Mālta bi- tāriḫ 31/12/1905 'Imād al-Dīn Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḫ al-'almāniyya fī Lībiya...., p. 46.

<sup>518</sup> Bundesarchiv, R 901/4411, Bd 2, vom 16 Oktober 1904 bis Dezember 1909, Nr II 3021/8 .

<sup>519</sup> Bundesarchiv, R 901/4411, Bd 2, vom 16 Oktober 1904 bis Dezember 1909, Nr II 22579/05, pp. 5-6.

<sup>520</sup> Bundesarchiv, R 901/4411, Bd 2, vom 16 Oktober 1904 bis Dezember 1909, Nr. II w 5828/07.

<sup>521</sup>Ibid.

<b>Leather</b>	240	NAD <sup>522</sup>	800	12,000
<b>Gold and silver</b>	1,900	-	400	4,000
<b>Chemicals and medicines</b>	640	-	480	30,000
<b>Glass and China earthenware</b>	200	-	880	7,000
<b>Alcohol</b>	120	-	-	-
<b>Sugar</b>	-	1,600	-	-
<b>Merchandises (Khardowat)</b>	-	600	320	87,000
<b>Ropes for ships</b>	-	640	640	-
<b>Soap</b>	-	-	80	-
<b>Paper</b>	-	-	320	-
<b>Machines</b>	-	-	440	-
<b>Colors</b>	-	-	1,120	-
<b>Cotton textiles</b>	-	-	-	60,000
<b>Others</b>	-	-	880 <sup>523</sup>	20,000 <sup>524</sup>

NAD= No Available Data

Starting from 1907 to 1909 it is noticed in another report from the Bundes archive written by the French consul in the province of Tripoli that there had been an increase in the number of ships coming into the province of Tripoli. In 1907 there were 7 ships heading towards the port of Benghazi, with a cargo estimated at about 8,617 tons. The number increased to 10 ships, with an estimated cargo of 14,237 tons in 1908<sup>525</sup>. This contributed directly to the strengthening of the status of the Germans trade among other countries involved in trade relations with the province.

<sup>522</sup> Bundesarchive, R 901/4411, Bd 2, vom 16 Oktober 1904 bis Dezember 1909, Nr. II 22579/05, pp. 5-6.

<sup>523</sup> Bundesarchive, R 901/4411, Bd 2, vom 16 Oktober 1904 bis Dezember 1909, Nr. II w 5828/07.

<sup>524</sup> Ibid.

<sup>525</sup> Bundesarchive, R901/4411, Bd 2 ..., Nr. II o 3449/09 .

Germany then ranked in the fourth place in list. The diversified types of imports from the province of Tripoli were behind this development. The imports were focused on two key types of goods: first the livestock which included cows, goats, sheep, foxes and rabbits in addition to poultry, pigeons and others. In addition to these there was also the leather, the second important type of goods was the sponge<sup>526</sup>.

The growing trade between Germany and the province of Tripoli prompted some German trade institutions to report to the Chancellor on their activities. One of these institutions was the German Chamber of Commerce (Zentralstelle Für Vorbereitung von Handelsverträgen). The German Chamber of Commerce in their reports to the government confirmed the importance of the German trade with the province of Tripoli, and alerted the government that the volume of trade was not sizeable like the other countries trying to encourage the government to develop this field. The reports as well emphasized the need to take the advantage of the business transactions and sea routes existed already there. This was especially after the Ottoman Empire applied a unified customs system like all European countries<sup>527</sup>.

The German Chamber of Commerce was not isolated from the ongoing political events in Europe, and was well aware of the Italian efforts to control the province of Tripoli; they also noticed the colonial development of the French presence. Therefore the German Chamber of Commerce warned the German Chancellor that if positive and practical efforts to strengthen German trade with the province of Tripoli were not undertaken, the situation would be difficult especially under any new political changes in the region. The report presented Tunisia as an example of the deterioration of the German trade that had occurred since France had taken control over the markets there<sup>528</sup>. The report mentioned above referred to a very important point regarding the connection between politics and economy, stressing that the success of the German trade related primarily to its policies. The report further requested the government to take a firm position on this subject, and explained that if Germany agreed on the occupation of France or Italy of the province of Tripoli they should enforce strict conditions to ensure their rights and to trade with the province to protect their interests<sup>529</sup>.

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<sup>526</sup> Bundesarchiv, R901/4411, Bd2..., Nr II o 4196/09 .

<sup>527</sup> Politisch archiv, Auswärtigen Amtes Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche konsulat in Tripoli, Bd.1, vom Juli 1869 bis Oktober 1888, A.Z.14524/99, Juni 1899, Centralstelle Für Vorbereitung Von Handelsverträgen, R901/52508

<sup>528</sup> Bundesarchiv, Bd 1, R 901/11936, Nr 16857, 17 Juni 1899 .

<sup>529</sup> Ibid.

Among the measures demanded by the German consul in Valetta, Tushar<sup>530</sup> was the establishment of a German bank in the city of Tripoli. This was supposed to be a step forward in developing the economic relations between the two sides. Moreover, because of the importance of this step the consul insisted repeatedly on his government to open the bank<sup>531</sup>. The government responded to these calls effectively and had established a German bank in the city of Tripoli in 1905<sup>532</sup>, known as the Hans Bank<sup>533</sup>. However, there is no much information found about the activities or what happened to the bank.

### **3.6 The Establishment of the German Consulate in the Province of Tripoli:**

Many international political powers were represented in Tripoli, especially those powers with which the province of Tripoli had strong economic relations. Accordingly in the province of Tripoli there were representatives from different European states and cities as well as representatives from Arabic and other Ottoman provinces that had political or economic interests in the province of Tripoli such as Tunis<sup>534</sup>. The consuls were considered observers of the situations in the country or province to which they were sent because they were close to both the situation within the country and the political administration.

Most of the European countries had opened consulates in the Ottoman Empire's provinces including Tripoli. For instance Austria had a consulate since the seventeenth century to take care of the Austrians and the Germans in the province of Tripoli prior to the opening of the German consulate<sup>535</sup>. The German diplomatic representation in the province of Tripoli was established late compared to other European countries because of the internal political situations in Germany at that time. Before the German consulate was established Austrian consul was assigned to protect the citizens of what was called the Union of North Germany supervised by Prussia.

<sup>530</sup>Politscharchive, Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche konsulat in Tripoli, Bd 10, vom 16 August 1906 bis 31 Dezember 1908, 12 February 1907, R16115.

<sup>531</sup> Wathīqā 25, mursala min al-qunṣul al-'almāni fī Fālītā ilā al- khārijīyya al-'almāniyya, bi- tārikh 23/5/1905, Wathāiq al-'arshif al-siyāsī, al-'almāni bi-al-markaz al-waṭanī Li-l-māḥafūzāt wa al-dirāsāt al-tārikiyya, Ṭarābulis; Wathīqā 86, mursala min al-qunṣul al-'almāni fī Fālītā ilā al-kharjāyya al-'almāniyya, bi- Tārikh 31/12/1905, Wathāiq al-'arshif al-siyāsī, al-'almāni.

<sup>532</sup> Kūrū, , *Lībiyā athnā' al-'ahid al-'ūthmānī al-thāni*, p. 80.

<sup>533</sup> Kākiyā, *Lībiyā fī al-'ahid al-'ūthmānī al-thāni 1835-1911* , p. 114.

<sup>534</sup> Abīd, Munīr, " al-in' ikāsāt al-mādiyya li-nashāt al-tujjār al-tūniyyīn bi-Binghāzī min khilāl ba' d al-tarikāt wa-'alā ḍaū' rasā'il wukalā' al- īyālā al-tūniyyā bihā", *a 'māl al-mu'tamar al-awwal li-l-wathā'iq wa-l-makhtūṭāt fī Lībiya wāqi'uhā wa afāq al-'amal ḥaulahā*, markaz jihād al-libiyyin li-l-dirāsāt al-tārikiyya wa- kulīyyāt al-'adab Zilītin, 1992, pp. 1242-1243.

<sup>535</sup>Ghānim, Imād al-Dīn, *al-bi'thā al-'almāniyya ilā Lībiyā 1912 wa mashafāhā fī Ghiryān*, markaz jihād al-libiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārikiyya, Ṭarābulis. 2001, p. 13.

However, there were signs that some German citizens in the province of Tripoli<sup>536</sup> were under the protection of the British consulate as well and sometimes the Italian, but this was only temporary. This was revealed when some German travellers arrived seeking protection or requiring letters of recommendations. They would contact different consuls depending on the benefits that they could gain from this. For instance, when Gustav Nachtigal was in the province of Tripoli he contacted the Austrian consulate<sup>537</sup>, while Rohlf sought protection from the Italian consulate in Tripoli<sup>538</sup>. Some Germans decided to be under some European consulates according to their personal and economic interests.

The Austrian consular was supposed to provide protection to the German citizens in the province of Tripoli; this was stated in the agreement between the two parties signed in 6 December 1891. This agreement included many aspects among them the commercial and political interests of both parties. Thus the Austrian consulate carried out the necessary transactions for the German citizens in the provinces where there was no German consulate and vice versa. All consuls were obliged to realize this agreement<sup>539</sup>.

The consulate of France in the province of Tripoli was founded in 1630, at the first stage of the Ottoman rule to the province. The English consulate was established in Algeria in 1585 and was supervising both the English and the Maltese communities because Malta then was subjected to the English Crown. This was after they signed an agreement cornering trade and the diplomatic representation, which provided them an opportunity to be in Morocco.

Britain established a consulate also in the province of Tripoli in 1658 after they signed an agreement with the ruling government in the province of Tripoli in July 1658<sup>540</sup> and Samuel Toker was appointed as the first British consul. The English consul Warrington was responsible for number of citizens of different European countries including Austria in 1814 till 1826, as well as Hannover, Portugal, Sardinia, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden and others<sup>541</sup>.

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<sup>536</sup>Māltisān, *fi riḥāb Ṭarābulis wa Tūnis ...*, p. 34.

<sup>537</sup>Ghānim wa Shlūtir " al-Qunṣuliyya al-'almāniyya fi Ṭarābulis", p. 5.

<sup>538</sup>Rulfis, *riḥla 'abar Afrīqiya mushāhadāt al-rahḥāla al-'almāni Rulfis...*, p. 65.

<sup>539</sup>Politscharchiv, Des Auswärtigen Amts, Allgemein Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Vol 1, vom Juni 1881 bis 22 Februar 1883, Nr. Ic 8548/11, 31 Mai 1910, R16106.

<sup>540</sup>Fīru, *al-ḥawalīyyāt al-lībiyyā mindhu al-fataḥ al-'arabī...*, pp. 157, 537.

<sup>541</sup>'Ughlī, "al-maṣādir al-muta' aliqa bi Lībiyā...", p. 57.

With regard to Spain, they signed an agreement with the province of Tripoli in 10 September 1784 and identified the foundations of cooperation concerning the political relationship and trade, accordingly the first Spanish consul was appointed in the province of Tripoli<sup>542</sup>.

Italy had also opened a consulate in the province of Tripoli in 1861<sup>543</sup>. The Netherlands, the United States and Tuscany also opened their consulates. Tuscany signed also an agreement between the Pasha in the province of Tripoli and the Lord Aksmot when he visited the province of Tripoli in 1816. It was agreed to open a consulate that supposed to be managed by the British consul Warrington and this lasted until 1822 when the Tuscan consul took over the consular functions<sup>544</sup>.

The German diplomatic representation in the province of Tripoli was not like the other European countries, since it had passed through two main stages the first at the time of the establishment when there was a consular agency but not a full consulate, and then when the diplomatic representation was developed into a consulate.

### **3.6.1 Stage I: The German Consular Agency in Tripoli in 1884:**

Many questions from German travellers, traders and politicians were arised that questioning Germany's presence in the province of Tripoli. These include the question of opening a consulate in Tripoli? What is the fate of German merchants there? How to ensure protection for them and their businesses?

Gerhard Rohlfs had addressed his government in 1865 officially about the need for political representation in Tripoli and he expressly referred to the strong presence of other Europeans through their consuls. He mentioned that he personally asked some of them to ensure the protection of his journey and he thought this should be performed by his country. He also made a proposal to be the consul there<sup>545</sup>. He repeated his request several times supported by many factors one of them his realization of the importance of the province and its characteristics he well knew in addition to his strong relations with the Prussian King Wilhelm who was informed personally about his journeys<sup>546</sup>.

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<sup>542</sup>Rüsi, *Lībiyā mindhu al-fataḥ al-'arabī...*, p. 306.

<sup>543</sup>al-Abyaḍ, Rajab, *Ṭarābulis al-gharb fī kitābāt al-rahḥāla khilāl al-qarn al-tāsi` 'ashar al-mīlādī*, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-maḥfūzāt wa al-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2009, p. 267.

<sup>544</sup>Ḥasan, Al-faqīh Ḥasan, *al-yawamiyyāt al-lībiyyā, al-juzu` al-awwal 1551-1832*, taḥqīq Muḥammad al-UṣṬa wa 'Amār Jihīdir, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2001, p. 298.

<sup>545</sup>Ghānim wa Shlūtīr " al-Qunṣuliyya al-'almāniyya fī Ṭarābulis...", p. 5.

<sup>546</sup>Rulfis, *riḥla 'abar Afrīqiya...*, p. 50.

But what was the government's attitude towards these views?

There was a clear discrepancy between the government's position and the individual demands to establish the consulate. The government considered that the time was not yet suitable, and that the number of merchants in the province of Tripoli was not sufficient to justify opening a consulate. The arguments of the opposing party emphasized the historical evidence including the growth of commercial exchange between Germany and the province of Tripoli, which required diplomatic representative of the two sides. At that time Germany was ranked fourth after England, France and Austria in terms of their exports to the province of Tripoli. Before 1884 Gustav Nachtigal mentioned that the hanseatic towns and other German states were represented by Rossi, the official representation of the British consul<sup>547</sup>. The province of Tripoli was viewed by Germany as a gate for the transport of German goods to central Africa where Germany had established a political presence by the end of the nineteenth century<sup>548</sup>.

As part of Bismarck's more outward looking policies around the year of 1884, the government agreed to open a consular agency in Tripoli in 1884<sup>549</sup>. Rather than a German, the person selected as deputy consul was Aghido Rossi, the son of Luigi Rossi, who was also Austria's consul in Tripoli. Rossi actually received his position informally, from the German Kaiser on the 13<sup>th</sup> of January 1884 and he began his work from this date<sup>550</sup>. However, the consular agency was not opened until February of this year and it was not until 15<sup>th</sup> January 1885 that he took the oath of the office and the responsibilities assigned to him<sup>551</sup>. Aghido Rossi owned a company in the province of Tripoli which was working in trade. He was seeking to be different, and he asked a German factory to produce special flag for his company<sup>552</sup>. The consulate agency building was located in the old city, but its location has not been identified exactly. The German traveller Krause referred to it as being close to but outside the city wall; probably in the new constructed quarter, like the consulate of the United States of America and the Austrian-Hungarian consulate.

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<sup>547</sup>Nachtigal, Gustav, *Sahara and Sudan: Tripoli and Fezzan, Tibesti*, translated from German into English by A. Fisher, Vol.1, Hurst, London, 1974, p. 18.

<sup>548</sup>Nāji, *tārīkh Ṭarābulis al-gharb*, p. 57.

<sup>549</sup> Politscharchiv , Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis ..., Nr. 3687.

<sup>550</sup> Politscharchiv, Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis..., Nr. II 3687.

<sup>551</sup> Politscharchiv ,Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis..., 15 Januar 1885.

<sup>552</sup> Ibid.

In other words, it was located in the area of Bab Albahar near to the Drghot mosque<sup>553</sup>, and other information indicated that it is located in the Rabad, in the western part of the city of Tripoli<sup>554</sup>.

Aghido Rossi continued as the German deputy consul till 1897 when he was removed from the office due to complaints about lack of transparency and accusations of corruption. The complaint was presented by a certain Haller who resided in Stettin (which belonged to the Germany territories at that time) and owned a factory that produced flags. He submitted his complaints to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stating that Aghido Rossi did not pay the debts that should be paid at that time. This included payment for the flag they had produced to his company<sup>555</sup>.

Ernst Labi was assigned in 24 December 1897 as a deputy consul in the province of Tripoli<sup>556</sup>. He was also not German but belonged to a Jewish family from the province of Tripoli which was well known as they were politicians and merchants. The German Kaiser Wilhelm appointed Ernst Labi as the deputy consul in the province of Tripoli because of his good reputation and qualifications required for the position. Moreover, there was no deputy consul at this period of time<sup>557</sup>. In the following year the inaugural confirmation was made by the Ottoman Empire for approving him as the German deputy consul in the province of Tripoli on 12 April 1898<sup>558</sup>. In the same year he took the oaths to exercise his new functions<sup>559</sup>. Besides he was also the consular agent for Belgium in the province of Tripoli<sup>560</sup>.

Ernst Labi embodied the new way to be a consul in the new context for the latest Ottoman provinces of North Africa between the British and the French consuls in competition for having more and more control over the Ottoman land from the East (Egypt) the West (Tunis) and the South (Sudan, Chad, Mali, and Algeria). This is why E. Labi prioritized the documentation of political information and the events as well as the other European consuls did. This was revealed in his reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Germany. All the information he documented contained both the commercial and the political events. It was noticed that he was writing all correspondences in French as it was used in the foreign policy since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which was

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<sup>553</sup> Ghānim, wa Shlūtir " al-Qunṣuliyya al-'almāniyya fi Ṭarābulis...", p. 12.

<sup>554</sup> al-Zawī, *jihād al-abṭāl*, p. 82.

<sup>555</sup> al-Zawī, *jihād al-abṭāl*, p. 82.

<sup>556</sup> Politsch archive, Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis..., Nr 2962.6, R901/52508.

<sup>557</sup> Politsch archive, R901/29626°□II.

<sup>558</sup> Politsch archive, R901, Nr. 9245.

<sup>559</sup> Politsch archive, R901, Nr. 9245.

<sup>560</sup> Ghānim, *'amalīyyat al-ghūwaṣāt al-'almāniyya...*, p. 19.

a source of some tension in late 19<sup>th</sup> century with other German politicians, who argued that he should write in German<sup>561</sup>.

Other complaints by Hans Banks and German citizens residing in the province of Tripoli include the accusation that he was neglecting them and he was not taking care of the German interests as he did for the Italians, and not doing the required tasks properly<sup>562</sup>. These complaints were submitted from Hans Banks who ran the German shipping company in Tripoli. The German documents indicated that the complaint from Banks contained information about the negligence of the deputy consul and that their situations were getting worse day by day. It was stated also in the archive that they believed that the German government was indifferent to their needs and they stressed that this was not the first time these concerns were raised. Banks added that the German consulate in Tunisia was also neglecting them and provided information to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Labi had opened a new branch of an Italian company called the Navigazione Generale Italiana<sup>563</sup>. This new company enabled the Italian ships on the coast of the province of Tripoli to sale on the coast.

Banks believed that this might cause serious damage to the German trade. He also explained that E. Labi was also supervising the Italian consulate in the province of Tripoli and he argued that was why he did not encourage and protect the German trade and activities honestly. Furthermore, he did not meet the German citizens personally and listen to their problems or demands but left it to the employees who work for the consulate agency<sup>564</sup>. Despite these complaints Labi continued in his position until 1908. However, the complaints mentioned above had strengthened the demands of the people who were insisting on appointing a German citizen in this position. It is to be noted that Padel, the general German consul in Beirut, stressed that these demands were completely false and lacking facts and evidence. However, as the result of these complaints Labi

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<sup>561</sup> Politsch archive, Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche konsulat in Tripoli, Bd 10, vom 16 August 1906 bis 31 Dezember 1908, R 16115, Nr.A19653<sup>01</sup>, 1907.

<sup>562</sup>Wathīqā 16032, Wathīq al-'arshīf al-'almāni, bi- tārikh 14.12. 1907, mawajūda bi-shu'bat al- Wathāiq al-aj nabīyya, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-māḥafūḍāt wa al-dirāsāt al-tārikhiyya, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>563</sup>See in the index the advertisements of this compagny who advertised the link between the new cokonial French Tunisian cities with the Algerian one and the city of Tripoli in the late the nineteenth century.

<sup>564</sup> Politscharchiv, Aus wärtigen Amts , Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche Deutsche Vizekonsulat in Tripolis,, Bd 10, vom 16 August bis 31 September 1908 ,R16115 ,Nr. A19653<sup>01</sup>.

requested to be removed from the position. Thus von Bari was of the General German Consul in the province of Tripoli), had to transfer Labi's responsibilities to Albert Altmann<sup>565</sup>.

Albert Altmann who hold the military rank of captain was appointed on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 1908 as the consul, during a period when the Ottomans were trying to resist European expansion through increasing modernization in the region.<sup>566</sup> The documents of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated in accordance with a letter sent from Altmann personally that he had accepted the position and he was assuming his responsibilities in the same date mentioned above, however, he did not receive the approval of the Ottoman government. Altmann was the deputy consul of the Reich<sup>567</sup> and the first report he sent to the deputy of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs dating back to 26 May 1908<sup>568</sup> until September 1908 he received the approval of the Ottoman Empire<sup>569</sup>.

Besides, Albert Altmann was a businessman who had business interests in the province of Tripoli, where he was living. He was also one of the people who complained about E. Labi. It had been observed that he performed the consulate tasks in an effective way and he wrote all reports in the German language. He provided in his reports rich information about the major projects in the province<sup>570</sup> and emphasized the importance of the province of Tripoli for the German trade. He also suggested establishing a direct shipping line between Germany and Tripoli in order to oppose the French and the British and the Italian monopoly in the Mediterranean Sea.

However there were also many complaints against him. There was a report in the archive of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued from the Ministry in Berlin at that time stated that the Germans in the province of Tripoli were not satisfied when he was the consul and they were suggesting to the government to send an representative to visit them and explore their situations

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<sup>565</sup> Politscharchiv, Das Kaiserliche deutsche Konsulat in Tripolis, seite November 1909 Konsulat, Bd 6 , vom Mai 1909 – Dezember 1909 strange reference, R141611.

<sup>566</sup> For more details on this period and on the discussion of modernisation see Nora Lafi, Ville arabe et modernité administrative municipale: Tripoli (Libye actuelle) 1795-1911, *Histoire Urbaine*, 1-3 2011, pp.149-176 and see also the Review written by Ali A. Ahmida on Lisa Anderson, *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya*, pp.110-115.

<sup>567</sup> Politsch archive, Kaiserliche deutsche Konsulat in Tripolis, seite November 1909 Konsulat, Bd 6..., Nr. 1<sup>c</sup> 6491/09.

<sup>568</sup> Politsch archive, Aus wärtigen Amts , Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Bd 10, vom August 1906 – bis Dezember 1908, R16115.

<sup>569</sup> Politsch archive, Das Kaiserliche deutsche Konsulat in Tripolis ..., Bd, 6 Mai 1909 Dezember 1909, Nr. I c 6848.

<sup>570</sup> Wathīqā 88, Wathīq al-arshīf al-'almāni, risāla min na'ib al-qunṣul al-'almāni 'ultman ilā wizārat al-khārijīyya al-'almāniyya bi-tārīkh 4.5.1909, al-wathāiq al-maujudā bi al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-māḥafūḍāt wa al-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis.

and to appoint someone else instead of him<sup>571</sup>. Altman himself did not hide his dissatisfaction. In one of his correspondences he indicated that the officials in the province of Tripoli did not want to deal with him on the pretext that he was assigned in the position only temporarily<sup>572</sup>.

Altman continued in these responsibilities only 14 months. Then the task was entrusted to another German called Paddle but he did not take it up. He sent a letter to the Chancellor that he will go to the province of Tripoli to explore the situations first<sup>573</sup>. He actually arrived on 17 June 1909 and sent to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs that he was personally supervising the situation and that somebody called Gerenz (the name as stated in the document) took over the responsibility of the consular agency from Altman<sup>574</sup>.

In the time after Altmann, the Italian consulate was supervising the German consular agency through its Consul General Julius Pestalozza for six months<sup>575</sup>. It was obvious from the German documents that the consul Altmann had performed the duty in a very good way and he deserved to be honored by the government for his efforts. This was the opinion of the Germany government despite complaints against him<sup>576</sup>.

### **3.6.2 Stage II: The German Consulate in Tripoli in 1909:**

Voices were raised repeatedly during the time of the consular agency demanding the government to establish an independent consulate in the province of Tripoli. This came from the German Colonial Association. They supported Rohlf's views and others who were advocating the need to speed up the implementation of this request. They expressed their demand clearly and in public, when the government submitted the request to the German Chancellor in 1899, that there should be an independent German consulate in the province of Tripoli and the person in charge should be a German<sup>577</sup>.

The same demand was raised by other influential persons such as the German Consul in Valletta (Malta), an island very close to Tripoli but ruled by the British. He submitted a report to the

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<sup>571</sup>Politsch archive, Das Kaiserliche Deutsche Vizekonsulat in Tripolis, Seit November 1909 Konsulat, Bd 6, Mai 1909- Dezember 1909, R 141611, Nr. zc 472, 1 June 1909.

<sup>572</sup>Politsch archive, Das Kaiserliche deutsche Konsulat in Tripolis..., Bd 6, Mai 1909 – Dezember 1909, R 141611, Nr. Ic 6766, 4 Mai 1909.

<sup>573</sup>Politsch archive, Das Kaiserliche ..., 1/ 6/ 1909, Nr. Ic 8141.

<sup>574</sup>Politsch archive, Das Kaiserliche..., Nr.Ic 8764/09.

<sup>575</sup>Politsch archive, Das Kaiserliche..., Nr. Ic 8861, a letter from the German consulate in Rom to the German Chancellor.

<sup>576</sup> Politscharchiv, Das Kaiserliche..., Bd 7, vom Januar 1910 bis Dezember 1912, R 141612, Nr. | c 446.

<sup>577</sup> Ghānim, *'amalīyyat al-ghūwaṣāt al-'almāniyya*...p. 19.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs explaining the general conditions in the province and stressing the need to open a German consulate to keep up with current events<sup>578</sup>. Another report issued by the German Foreign Ministry indicated the need to send a senior representative to assess the situations directly and confirm the importance of the province of Tripoli for Germany<sup>579</sup>. Altman had supported that view in a letter to the Chancellor, indicating that many of the powerful and not powerful countries had consulates in Tripoli and encouraged Germany to do the same<sup>580</sup>.

Accordingly, the establishment of a German consulate in the province of Tripoli became increasingly viewed as a necessity, and this led to a transformation of the consular agency into an independent consulate managed by the Germans. The consulate was opened in 16 November 1909 and Alfred Tilger was assigned as the consul. He was a doctor who was born in the German city of Aachen. Tilger studied medicine in Würzburg and received his degree in medicine. He worked as a doctor in Germany then moved to Milan, Italy and worked there also as a doctor especially for the Germans who were living there. He also worked in the German consulate there sometimes. He traveled to the province of Tripoli when he was assigned to the position, and continued until 1914, when the First World War began, when he returned to Germany and continued to work as a doctor<sup>581</sup>. The Ottoman Government was addressed in Istanbul by the German authorities to inform them on the appointment of Tilger and requesting their approval<sup>582</sup>. The information contained in the archives of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicated that the consulate was officially opened in 9 December, 1909<sup>583</sup>.

The information that was received by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the character of Tilger was encouraging and it seemed that he was the suitable person to represent the German Reich in the province of Tripoli because of his experience in this area. So he was appointed as the first German consul in the province as of 16 November 1909. Tilger performed the task in a very good way, and he could make many changes at the local and the international levels despite the current circumstances as Ali A. Ahmida depicted.<sup>584</sup> At the international level, there was a

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<sup>578</sup>Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḥ al-almānīyya...", p. 45.

<sup>579</sup>Politsch archive, Das Kaiserliche Deutsche Vizekonsulat in Tripolis , Seit November 1909 Konsulat, Bd 6..., Nr. Zc 472.

<sup>580</sup>Politsch archive, Das Kaiserliche Deutsche Vizekonsulat in Tripolis , Seit November 1909 Konsulat, Bd 6..., Nr. I c 6766.

<sup>581</sup>Ghānim, *taqārīr Ghūtlūb Adūlf Krawzā al- Ṣaḥāfīyya*, p. 279.

<sup>582</sup>Politsch archive, Das Kaiserliche deutsche Konsulat in Tripolis ..., Bd 6, R 141611, Nr. Ic / 5426.

<sup>583</sup>Politsch archive, Das Kaiserliche deutsche Konsulat in Tripolis ..., Bd 6, R 141611, Nr. Ic 16416.

<sup>584</sup> The compradore merchant class benefited from the enhancement of Ottoman state authority and the transition to a more capitalistic economy that meant greater communication and trading between cities and the hinterland.

trend to form alliances and to expand the political and economic influence. At the local level the Ottoman Empire started to change its policy towards the province of Tripoli which has become the scene of the hidden conflict between the Ottomans and Italy. Italy was conducting many projects in the province of Tripoli which were more economic in nature but with more and more ambiguous political intentions<sup>585</sup>.

Tilger was distinguished from the other consuls since he had a broader vision and he was assisted by his career as a doctor as he was helping the local people in many times in addition to his strong personality. This prompted the Ottoman governor to trust him<sup>586</sup>. His relationships were not limited to the government or the other consuls but included many of the local people which enabled him to be close to the local events.

He established his own library inside the consulate building that contained many documents about the history of the province of Tripoli, maps, newspapers and some manuscripts<sup>587</sup>. He was also interested in collecting the Italian newspapers and searching for understanding better what Italy was intending to do in Tripoli. He was translating all this information into German, and offered his own analysis<sup>588</sup>. He also analyzed situations and send varied reports to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His reports were rich with important information about the significant events at this important period of increased change in this Ottoman province. They contained at many times economic information but also political. For example his report in 1912 contained information on new customs procedures which were implemented by the new authorities in Libya. He wrote about the current economic activities in the Libyan ports such as Al Khums, Misurata and Zuwarah. He stated that all these ports implemented the new customs

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Composed mostly of Libyan Jews or Europeans (in large part Maltese, French and Italian) and dominant in local and import-export trading, this group had its own courts, some tax exemptions, and state protection. A number of these merchants, including Libyan Jews, held European citizenship, and they defended European interests before and during the colonialism. In 1910, these non-Muslim traders and artisans numbered 18.093; these included 2,600 Maltese merchants who were British nationals, and 930 Libyan Jewish merchants who were Italian nationals. In the city of Tripoli alone, 8,609 Jewish Libyan artisans and traders had Ottoman nationality, and 500 others held French citizenship' Ali A. Ahmida, From Tribe to class: the origins and the politics of resistance in colonial Libya, in *La Libia nella storia del Mediterraneo*, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Roma and Libyan Studies Center, Tripoli, *Africa*, 13-2, 2008 pp.299-300.

<sup>585</sup>Marx, Christoph, *Geschichte Afrikas Von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart*, Paderborn, Deutschland, 2004, p. 150.

<sup>586</sup> Politscharchiv, Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Bd 11, vom 1 Januar 1909 bis 31 März 1911, R16116.

<sup>587</sup>Ghānim, wa Shlūtīr," al-Qunṣulīyya al-'almāniyya fī Ṭarābulis..."

<sup>588</sup> Politsch archive, Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche konsulat in Tripoli, Bd13, vom April1912 bis April 1913, R16118.

system with reference to the continued flow of the Libyan exports to Germany<sup>589</sup>. This report contained mainly economic information. However, in 1913 his report contained varied information, along with the economic news he talked for instance about the war in Benghazi.

Tilger reported about the battles between the Libyans and the Italians started since 1911 until December 1913. He offered some details about the battle of al-Kuyfiya that took place on 28 November 1911 and the losses to the Italians who lost 70 soldiers killed or injured. He emphasized that the battles did not stop between the two parties, and that in 16 January 1913 there was a big battle known as the battle of Sīdi Krāyīm al-Qārba' and Italian losses were heavy, 79 were killed and 279 were injured and the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* captured 25 soldiers<sup>590</sup>.

The war was in the whole Ottoman region of Fezzan, Cyrenaica and Tripoli. In this context, the whole diplomacy changed with regards to the Ottoman Empire. Italy started to re-organize the province of Tripoli in the context of resistance from population. Ottoman Empire lost the war in Tripoli. Italy had to find a way to implement new rule and demand new relationships with the local population. In early colonial Tripoli 1911-1912 local elites had to follow Italian town-planning procedures for rebuilding the city and the infrastructure of the whole province<sup>591</sup>. In this context, Italy needed to stabilize her relationship with former consulates and this may be why Italy had not made any comments on the presence of the German consul and had accepted Tilger as the German consul in Libya<sup>592</sup>. However, Tilger preferred to be dismissed from the position despite his good relations with the Italians. According to a letter to the Chancellor from the German consul in Constantinople that Tilger wanted to leave the job for personal reasons in addition to that he could not perform his tasks under the current circumstances of the Italian occupation to the province. This was not a formal request but was mentioned in a personal correspondence between him and the consul in Constantinople. Considering that the consulate in the province of Tripoli was officially under the direct supervision of the Ambassador in

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<sup>589</sup>Bundes archive, die Jahres-Handelsberichte des Ksl. Vize-Konsulats in Tripolis (Tripolitanien), R901/4443, vom August 1907 bis Juni 1916, Nr. II°1526.

<sup>590</sup>Bundesarchiv, die Jahres-Handelsberichte des Ksl, Vize-Konsulats in Tripolis (Tripolitanien), R901/4443, vom August 1907 bis Juni 1916, Nr. II°222/14.

<sup>591</sup>For more details see Denis Bocquet and Nora Lafi, Local elites and Italian town-planning procedures in early colonial Tripoli 1911-1912, in *Libyan Studies Journal*, 3-1, 2002, pp. 59-68.

<sup>592</sup>Politsch archive, Das Kaiserliche deutsche Konsulat in Tripolis, Bd 7, vom Januar 1910 bis Dezember, R141612, Nr. 15508.

Constantinople who felt the need to inform the Chancellor, but Tilger remained in the office and did not leave<sup>593</sup>.

In 1914 when World War I broke out, Tilger was in Europe, where he had been called by the officer responsible for collecting information about the east. This was Captain Rudolf Nadolny. Tilger informed Nadolny about the new German strategy toward Tripoli to be applied on the ground. The new strategy directed towards working against the British in Egypt and the French in Algeria and Tunisia. At the beginning Tilger not convinced regarding the tasks assigned to him, arguing that these tasks were not of the terms of reference of the consul, but he returned back to Tripoli and worked to serve his country. Specifically he was supposed to be performing tasks such as:

-To support the military operations of the German force according to the available methods and constituents.

-To strengthen the German policy in Tripoli focusing on the Italian side, and persuade them that the German presence did not intend to compete Italy and their interests were not opposing the Italian interests.

-To support al-Sanūsiyya movement that could be used by the Germans against the British in Egypt in raising the spirit of *Jihad* against the French who were the main enemies of Germany.

These were the main new tasks of Tilger in Libya and he worked hard to realize them.

At the same time there was a German called Otto Mannesmann who was working with Tilger to realize these goals. Mannesmann started working in the consulate in October 1914. It can be said that he worked as a communication officer between German and the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* in the eastern part of the country with Sayyid Aḥmad al-Sharīf; he will be introduced in detail in the fifth chapter of this research.

As a result of international developments and particularly after the formal alliance of Italy with the main powers Britain, France, Russia who was fighting against Germany the German consulate in Libya was closed on the 28<sup>th</sup> April 1915. The consulate properties had been confiscated by the Italians, and the consulate was not open again until 16<sup>th</sup> of October 1939, and the assigned consul at this time was Lepique with a new building in the modern city of Tripoli<sup>594</sup>.

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<sup>593</sup>Politsch archive, Das Kaiserliche deutsche Konsulat in Tripolis, Bd 7..., Nr. Ic 1830.

<sup>594</sup>Ghānim, wa Shlūtīr, " al-Qunṣuliyya al-‘almāniyya fi Ṭarābulis..."

It is also worth mentioning that the Germans also tried to open a consular agency in Benghazi in 1911 but this project was not accomplished as the document show.<sup>595</sup>

To conclude this chapter it seemed that Germany tried to gain economic returns through strengthening the relations with the province of Tripoli. This was thought to ensure the access to the center of Africa and communicate with the African Sultans of the kingdoms as well as the easy access to the German colonies in east and central Africa Tripoli constituted the shortest road that lead to those areas.

This chapter shows the significance of German travellers in the Ottoman province Tripoli and the relevance of the province for Germany. The travelers also contributed to collecting and providing to their government information not only on the nature of the province but also on economical and political situations in a time of a huge change. Moreover, as a consequence of the political developments Germany had opened a consulate agency in Tripoli in 1884 which had been transferred into a consulate in 1909 that played vital roles and worked to develop of relations between the two sides, especially on the political and economic relation, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

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<sup>595</sup>Politisch Archiv, Das Auswärtigen Amts, Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Bd 17, R 16122, Nr.1c 12071 ea,4/10/1911.

## Chapter Four

### German Economic Activities in the Province of Tripoli (1910) and the main Political Developments and Agreements

#### 4.0 Introduction:

This chapter starts by presenting the intersection of German-Italian economic interests in the Province of Tripoli and focus on all the German activities like enhancing the communication with the province of Tripoli and Italian activities that revealed the ambitions of the Italian government in the province. It also illustrates the reaction of the Italian government towards the privileges provided to some Germans in the province of Tripoli mainly from the Ottoman government.

Next in the chapter the German economic activities from 1910 will be discussed on the basis of some German documents and some statistics on trade activity between the province of Tripoli and Germany. In addition to that, this chapter will examine the statistics of the volume of trade exchange and the different stages of its development. This developing trade between Germany and the province of Tripoli was the main consequence of the establishment of a direct shipping line in 1889<sup>596</sup> conducted by Banks the director of the company in 1906<sup>597</sup>. Tables are going to be presented in order to illustrate the amount of exports from the German port of Hamburg to the port of Tripoli, with a focus on transport by cargo ships, names of ships as well as the types of products transported.

German-Ottoman relations in the time researched (1884-1918) before World War I were characterized by different phases of the relations depending on the rule of different Ottoman Sultans and the German Emperor. It is argued in this research that the year 1880 was the starting point of the official German-Ottomans relations after German unification and continued even during the fall and deterioration of the Ottoman Empire. During this time, German was supporting the Ottoman Empire and the relations were strengthened till the moment of a new

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<sup>596</sup> Muḥāfaẓa, *mawāqif al-duwal al-kubra min al-waḥdā al-'arabiyya...*, p. 22.

<sup>597</sup> Politischsarchiv, Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche konsulat in Tripoli, Bd 10, vom 16 August 1906 bis 31 Dezember 1908, R 16115, Nr.A 19653<sup>91</sup>.

relationship with Italy announcing the question of German neutrality during the Italian invasion of the province of Tripoli. This important change will be discussed in this chapter.

The African continent was the center of negotiations and competition between the European powers before World War I that led to many agreements between the main European powers. Agreements involved Italy, Germany and the Ottoman Empire will be the focus as well in this chapter with other agreements in order to understand how the Italian occupation of the province of Tripoli happened. The time frame of the chapter is 1909-1914. Of course many events and agreements took place outside this time frame. But what is important to stress these events has impacts to the society of the province and how it affected the relationships with Germany.

The Italian invasion of the province of Tripoli, its context and stages as well as the Italian efforts during this time of expanding the activities and the geographical control of the Bank of Rome in the province of Tripoli will be examined. The Italian occupation of the province began in 1911. The reaction of the Ottomans backed by Germans was the declaration of a huge resistance *Jihad*. The local people supported of Tripoli with the help of Ottoman officers and Germany will be another very important issue discussed in this chapter examining at the end of the chapter the visit of the German doctor into the province of Tripoli and their efforts with the German health mission sent from Germany in 1912 in order to help the *Mujāhidīn* (local resistant) in their war against the Italians.

#### **4.1 German-Italian Economic Interests in the Province of Tripoli:**

Italian politicians considered the province of Tripoli to be part of their territories<sup>598</sup> and they did not allow any other party to seek economic or political influence over the province. This was obvious since 1907 when for example the privileges were given to a certain German named Wachs<sup>599</sup>. Italy was not happy with such decision An Italian ambassador was sent in the province of Tripoli in order to persuade the Ottoman government of their own viewpoint and to limit such privileges just to the Italians.<sup>600</sup> This subject was the focus of correspondence between the German consul in Tunis and the Italian ministers in 1908<sup>601</sup>. The correspondences also contained discussion on what had been circulated lately in Italy about the German interests in the province

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<sup>598</sup>For a very interesting interpretation on this issue see Gian Paolo Calchi Novati, *L'Africa d'Italia. Una storia coloniale et postcoloniale*, Carocci editore, Roma, 2011, 442p.

<sup>599</sup>No more names were given in the document and no description of who this person was.

<sup>600</sup>Wathīqā A13216, mursala min al-safir al-'almāni bi- Istanbūl ilā al-khārijīyya al-'almāniyya, bi-tārīkh 20/8/1907, 'Imād al-Dīn Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḥ al-'almāniyya fi Lībiya...", p. 47.

<sup>601</sup>No names were given in the document.

of Tripoli<sup>602</sup>. Italy was following closely all the events taking place in Tripoli and they claimed that there were German weapon smuggling operations to the province of Tripoli.<sup>603</sup> Italy showed also suspicion when the Germans were acquiring properties such as land in the province of Tripoli and trying to establish settlements<sup>604</sup>. This could also be used to show the increasing German interests in the province of Tripoli, in addition to the development of the establishment of the new direct navigation German line passing by Valetta<sup>605</sup>. It is important to be noted here that the German Hans Banks was behind the establishment of the maritime navigation line<sup>606</sup> and this helped Germany to great extent to increase the volume of their trade with the province. This was more obvious in 1907 when their trade volume was six times higher than in 1906<sup>607</sup>. Credit was given to the new shipping line and the German maritime agency Deutsche Levanter Linie shipping company Hamburg 1889-1970 which was managed by two Germans Hans Banks and Altman with their ambitious to expand their economic activity in Tripoli.<sup>608</sup> German maritime agency with their good services offered their good reputation to many traders for transporting their goods to Tripoli and to handle their business with this province<sup>609</sup>. In addition to that the German maritime company named Bremer Dampferlinie Atlas was operating in the province of Tripoli in 1907 participated in the increasing of the volume of trade within the province of Tripoli<sup>610</sup>.

Italian government established their own maritime line that linked the port of Tripoli and Misurata with Italy<sup>611</sup>. The project of a new line with Alexandria was supervised by Ernesto Labi agent for the Italian maritime and later became the consul of the German consular agency in

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<sup>602</sup> Wathīqā 19, mursala min al-qunṣil al-'almāni fī Tūnis ilā wizārat al-khārijīyya al-'almāniyya, bi-tārīkh 12/4/1908, Wathāiq al-'arshif al-siyāsī al-'almāni.

<sup>603</sup> Wathīqā 324, mursala min al-qāhira ilā wizārat al-khārijīyya al-'almāniyya, bi-tārīkh 12/2/1907, Wathāiq al-'arshif al-siyāsī al-'almāni.

<sup>604</sup> Rāfiq, *al-'arab wa al-'ūthmāniyyūn...*, p. 463.

<sup>605</sup> Wathīqā A13216, mursala min al-safir al-'almāni bī Ištānbūl ilā wizārat al-khārijīyya al-'almāniyya, bi-tārīkh 20/8/1907, Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḥ al-'almāniyya fī Lībiya...", p. 48.

<sup>606</sup> Wathīqā 242, mursala min Ištānbūl ilā wizārat al-khārijīyya al-'almāniyya, bi-tārīkh 27/12/1907, Wathāiq al-'arshif al-siyāsī al-'almāni.

<sup>607</sup> Wathīqā A12274, mursala min Hāns Bānkis (Hans Banks) ilā wizārat al-khārijīyya al-'almāniyya qisim al-shu'ūn al-qunṣuliyya, bi-tārīkh 14/ 12/ 1907, Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḥ al-'almāniyya fī Lībiya...", p. 48.

<sup>608</sup> Wathīqā A19731, mursala min al-safir al-'almāni bī Ištānbūl ilā wizārat al-khārijīyya al-'almāniyya, bi-tārīkh 27/12/1907, Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḥ al-'almāniyya fī Lībiya...", p. 52.

<sup>609</sup> Wathīqā A10621, taqrīr wakīl al-qunṣuliyya al-'almāniyya, bi- Tarābulus Altumān ḥawala al-auḍā' fī Lībiyā bi-tārīkh 19/6/1908, Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḥ al-'almāniyya fī Lībiya...", p. 60.

<sup>610</sup> Politischsarchiv, Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche konsulat in Tripoli, Bd10, Vom 16 August 1906 bis 31 September 1908.

<sup>611</sup> Wathīqā 359, mursala min al-qāhira ilā wizārat al-khārijīyya al-'almāniyya, bi-tārīkh 12/5/1907, Wathāiq al-'arshif al-siyāsī al-'almāni.

1909. Labi was responsible for the Italian trade activities at this agency starting from 12/08/1907<sup>612</sup> and he was the manager of the Italian company named Navigazione Generale Italiana since 3.12.1907, the company working in the city of Tripoli<sup>613</sup>. Italy had also succeeded in opening bank named Bank of Rome<sup>614</sup>.

However, Italy assumed that these projects alone were not enough to establish strong economic influence that could compete with the German presence in the province of Tripoli. Thus the Italian ambassador in Istanbul met the German ambassador there and informed him that they didnot accept what had been executed by the German traders in the province of Tripoli in 1907 and asked him explicitly to limit these trade activities<sup>615</sup>. On the other hand, the Italians were alarmed by the position of the Ottoman governor in the province of Tripoli with regard to Germany, especially during the rule of the governor Reçeb Pasha (1904–1908) in 1908. Reçeb Pasha refused to give to the Italian any privileges and stood against their policy in the province.<sup>616</sup>

Italians started to campaign against such governors and against the German economic interests specifically. This Italian opposition to the German activities in the province of Tripoli reached its peak when the Italian press published some investigations that warned the government against condoning these activities, and described the presence of the Germans as "a German colony in Tripoli". This was because a former German officer named Hans von Lochow<sup>617</sup> had bought a piece of land in the province for investment<sup>618</sup> following the Ottoman land code on properties.

The government's reaction was fast. The Italian foreign minister summoned the German ambassador asking him to provide a full explanation on this issue. The Italian fear escalated to the degree that Hans von Lochow was accused to be a spy<sup>619</sup>. In fact, Hans von Lochow came from Germany to settle permanently in the province of Tripoli and begin to practice his life as a citizen of the province. He started business and trade in Tripoli. He bought a store in the city of

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<sup>612</sup> Wathīqā 359, mursala min al-qāhirā ilā wizārat al-khārijīyya al-'almānīyya, bi-tārīkh 12/5/1907, Wathāiq al-'arshif al-siyāsī al-'almānī.

<sup>613</sup> Politischsarchiv, Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis..., Bd10, Vom 16 August 1906 bis 31 September 1908, R 16115, Nr. A19653<sup>91</sup>.

<sup>614</sup> Wathīqā A12274, Wathāiq al-'arshif al-siyāsī al-'almānī ;For a history of this bank see Luigi De Rosa, Storia del Banco di Roma, avril 1989.

<sup>615</sup> Wathīqā A19731, Wathāiq al-'arshif al-siyāsī al-'almānī.

<sup>616</sup> al-Zāwī, *Wulāt Tarābulis al-gharb...*, pp. 281,284.

<sup>617</sup> Kidston, William, *Italy in North Africa, An Account of the Tripoli Enterprise*, p. 40.

<sup>618</sup> Wathīqā A9389, risālā mūwajahā min al-safir al-'almānī fi Rūmā ilā wizārat al-khārijīyya, bi-tārīkh 12/6/1911, Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḥ al-'almānīyya fi Lībiya ...", pp. 67- 68.

<sup>619</sup>- Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḥ al-'almānīyya fi Lībiya...", p. 68.

Tripoli. In 1908 he extended his activity to the field of agriculture with a rent of a piece of land near to the center of the city of Tripoli from a British owner named Albert Lak. Later on, in 1911 he managed to buy another piece of land, which contained 2,500 olive trees and 18 wells. He sent a request to the German government to get a number of agricultural machinery and some supplies to extract water and build a network to irrigate the land<sup>620</sup>. He announced that he was trying to convince other Germans specifically from the city of Schwerin to come to his farm and settle there.<sup>621</sup> However, Germany showed limited interests with regard to agriculture in the province of Tripoli<sup>622</sup>.

In 01.06.1902 an incident happened with the German doctor Louay Brovsky, who was living in *Sūq al-Turk* (market in the city of Tripoli) and harassment by some hired Jews. They were hired by some Italians to distribute some advertisements that insulted him which led him to sue them in the court and as the result the Italians Lentu and Techichio<sup>623</sup> were accused with incitement to crime motivated by political reasons<sup>624</sup>. Their reasons were to keep the province of Tripoli from the political ambitions of the other European countries and to enable Italy to control the province<sup>625</sup>.

Italy was not satisfied with the results of their efforts to fight against the German economic presence in the province of Tripoli. These efforts did not stop any of the German activities. Italy then tried to involve other parties in this regard. A dialogue between the Italian and the English government was established. As a result, Marquis di San Giuliano, the Italian prime minister expressed resentment from this situation. Di San Giuliano stressed at the same time that the Ottoman authorities represented by governors in Tripoli stood against any Italian economic activity while allowing the Germans to carry out many projects there. He used the example when the Ottoman's government thought about granting the privileges of building the port of Tripoli to

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<sup>620</sup> Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḥ al-'almānīyya fi Lībiya...", p. 68 ; Bundesarchive, Bd 3, vom Januar 1910 bis Mai 1912, Deutsche Tageszeitung, R901/4412, 12.6.1911

<sup>621</sup> Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḥ al-'almānīyya fi Lībiya...", pp. 68-69.

<sup>622</sup> Bundesarchive, Deutsche Tageszeitung, 12/6/1911; Bundesarchive, R 901/4412 , Bd 3 , Nr Ilo 855 .

<sup>623</sup> No more names were provided in the document.

<sup>624</sup> It is not stated in the document if these Italians were official government representatives.

<sup>625</sup> Wathīqā 12, malaf al-wathāiq al-ijtimā'iyya, bi-tārīkh 1/6/1902, shu'bat al-wathāiq wa-l-makhtūṭāt, al-markaz al-waṭani li-l-māḥafūzāt wa al-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis.

the Germans while denying the Italian to implement the same project. In addition, the Germans were allowed to buy land in the province while the Italians were not allowed<sup>626</sup>.

Although the German presence remained significant as they enjoyed the special treatment by the ruling class and public alike. Moreover, the German goods continued to flow to the province even during the period of Italian occupation specifically the first year of the invasion. Despite the presence of this change in political atmosphere, the country continues to import materials manufactured in Germany, such as the Iron goods and some sewing machines and other products<sup>627</sup>.

#### **4.2 The German Economic Interests in Tripoli from 1904-1910:**

The evolution of German political relations with the province of Tripoli left positive impact on the economic sector in the province and contributed to the development of commercial traffic between the two parties. As economy was closely connected to politics, any political progress was reflected positively on the various other sectors. In Germany the rapid economic growth during the industrial revolution period necessitated creating a new horizon for the disposal of production<sup>628</sup>. This was accompanied with efforts to support their economic institutions by providing the raw materials that was needed from outside. The economic development resulted in increasing the wealth in Germany, which estimated to be 11,000 million pounds in 1894 and in fifteen years it reached 17,500 million pounds in 1910<sup>629</sup>. This was proof of the economic growth that was generated from the mechanized industry. Machines were also exported abroad. The economic progress continued to move forward to strengthen the economic sector, which enabled Germany to assume a rank ahead of the United States of America and Britain in 1913<sup>630</sup>.

The German trade activities with the province of Tripoli began to grow gradually in the last quarter of nineteenth century. The actual German trade with Tripoli began with the initial stages of opening the German consulate agency in the province of Tripoli in 1884 and the consulate in 1909. As it is mentioned in the previous chapter that the lack of a German consulate at the beginning was one of the problems faced by the German traders as they needed more security

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<sup>626</sup>Wathīqā 119, mursala min al-sīr 'Adward ilā al-sīr 'Ad. Rūd, maktab khārijiyya bi-tārīkh 28/7/1911, Wathāiq al-'arshif al-siyāsī al-inkilīzī, Wathāiq ghīr muṣanafā, shu'bat al-wathāiq wa al-makhtūṭāt, al-markaz al-waṭānī li-l-māhafūzāt wa aldirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>627</sup>Ghānim, " taqrīr qunṣil al-rāyakh al-'almāni bi-Ṭarābulis..." p. 286.

<sup>628</sup>Stoecker, *German Imperialism In Africa...*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>629</sup>*majalat al-muqtataf*, majalat 'ilmiyya, ṣinā'iyya zirā'iyya, al-mujalad al-sādis wa thalāthūn, al-juzu' al-rābi', al-Qāhirā, 1910, p. 413.

<sup>630</sup>Brown, *al-madaniyyaal-aūrūbbiyya fī al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar 1815- 1914*, p. 151.

and protection (even if they were under the protection of other consulates). The protection in the province was not really permanent and these consulates served first their citizens.

The arrival of German goods coming from the areas of Saxony, Nurnberg and Hagen and other German cities to the port of Tripoli in 1904 was an evidence of the commercial traffic between the two<sup>631</sup>. Other evidences could be <sup>632</sup> found in the German documents and statistics about the economic life in general in the province of Tripoli and illustrated the greater interest of the German officials on the province. It is noticeable that these statistics reflected different aspects related to the economy and wealth in the province of Tripoli. For example, a German report mentions the number of livestock that were owned by the local people in the province and include horses, sheep, cows, camels, goats and birds<sup>633</sup>. Some other statistical data is found in the German Federal Archive in Berlin stating that a ship started from Hamburg heading to the port of Tripoli on 18.3.1910. The ship called Aegina; it is stated in the report that the cargo load composed of 200 kg wool, 700 kg buckshot, 300 kg Chinese ceramics, 300 kg Chinese ceramics, 3000 kg Iron products, 2000 kg enamel, 24,000 kg flour, 7000 kg tar, 300 kg leather and 700 kg cream for shoes<sup>634</sup>. After this ship was offloaded in the port of Tripoli it was reloaded with new goods from the province of Tripoli. These goods were transported to Egypt and Syria. The goods which were offloaded in Egypt included: 21,000 kg pigments, 200 kg wool, 1000 kg butter, 1050 kg mates. Then ship headed to Syria carrying 1000 kg wool, 1000 kg goat hair and 950 kg olive oil<sup>635</sup>.

In March of the same year the ship Anatolia departed from the port of Hamburg in 24.03.1910, carrying 3,000 kg of tea, it was heading to the port of Tripoli, then docked in the port of Belgium from which the ship loaded the following goods: glass for windows (1000 km), sugar (55.000 kilo), sulfur (11,000 kilo), wool (500 kilo), wax (600 kilo), and after the ship arrived to the port

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<sup>631</sup>Politsch archive, R16114, Nr. A533, 31December1905.

<sup>632</sup>For an overview of the economy in the wilaya on the second half of the 19th.c.see Robert Mantran *La Libye des origines à 1912*, Aix-en Provence, CNRS.

<sup>633</sup>Bundesarchive, Bd1, vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904, R901/11936, Nr. II 11590.

<sup>634</sup>Bundesarchive, R901/4443, die Jahres Handelsberichte des Ksl.Vizekonsulats in Tripolis (Tripolitanien), von August 1907 bis Juni 1916, Tripolis, Nr. II °559<sup>11</sup> .

<sup>635</sup> Bundesarchive, Die Kaiserlichen Konsularbehörden in Tripolis, vom Dezember 1912 bis Februar 1914, R901/3608, Bd1, Nr. II °559<sup>11</sup> .

of Tripoli and was offloaded, it was reloaded with goods from the province and set off to Egypt<sup>636</sup>.

The exporting of the German goods to the province of Tripoli had continued during the year 1911 according to reports by Alfred Tilger the German consul in the province of Tripoli and included exchange of products like tea, beer, flour, steel products, machinery, and enamel. The value of exports of Germany to the province of Tripoli reached 56,828 Italian Lira<sup>637</sup>.

Next some tables are going to be presented to illustrate the amount of exports from the German port of Hamburg to the port of Tripoli, and were transported by cargo ships (See Appendix 1):

**TABLE (7): GOODS TRANSPORTED FROM THE PORT OF HAMBURG TO THE PORT OF TRIPOLI BY CARGO SHIP KHYTHNOS IN 19.05.1910<sup>638</sup>:**

<b>Types of Goods</b>	<b>Quantity in Kilos<sup>639</sup></b>
<b>Sewing needles</b>	400
<b>Iron products</b>	1900
<b>Copper</b>	500
<b>Sugar</b>	4500
<b>Sulfur</b>	4000
<b>Body creams</b>	400

<sup>636</sup>Bundesarchive, Die Kaiserlichen Konsularbehörden in Tripolis, vom Dezember 1912 bis Februar 1914, R901/3608, Bd1, Nr. II °559<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>637</sup> Bundesarchive, Die Kaiserlichen Konsularbehörden in Tripolis..., Bd1, Nr. II °580<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>638</sup>Bundesarchive, Die Kaiserlichen Konsularbehörden in Tripolis..., Nr. II °559

<sup>639</sup>It is to be noted that all quantities were given in the report in Kilos.

<b>Glass products</b>	500
<b>Furnishings</b>	300
<b>Iron products<sup>640</sup></b>	3200

TABLE (8): GOODS TRANSPORTED FROM THE PORT OF HAMBURG TO THE PORT OF TRIPOLI BY CARGO SHIP ANATOLIA IN 12.06.1910<sup>641</sup>:

<b>Types of Goods</b>	<b>Quantity in Kilos</b>
<b>Paper</b>	1200
<b>(Ammunition) lead</b>	75
<b>Iron products</b>	310
<b>Iron products</b>	900
<b>Essences</b>	150
<b>Beer</b>	2000
<b>Rivet</b>	1050

<sup>640</sup>It is to be noted that some goods were repeated with different quantities and not justification is provided.

<sup>641</sup>Bundesarchive, Der Kaiserlichen Konsularbehörden in Tripolis., Nr. II °559

<b>Shoes cream</b>	510
<b>Furnishings</b>	300
<b>Lamps</b>	250
<b>Manufactured leather</b>	300
<b>Manufactured leather</b>	350

TABLE (9): GOODS TRANSPORTED FROM THE PORT OF HAMBURG TO THE PORT OF TRIPOLI BY CARGO SHIP LIPSOS IN 19.07.1910<sup>642</sup>:

<b>Types of Goods</b>	<b>Quantity in Kilos</b>
<b>Iron products</b>	600
<b>Wool material</b>	200
<b>Sewing machines</b>	200
<b>Eisenbach</b>	600
<b>Spiritus</b>	1000
<b>Tar</b>	

<sup>642</sup>Bundesarchive, Der Kaiserlichen Konsularbehörden in Tripolis ..., Nr. II °559.

<b>Colors</b>	700
<b>Manufactured leather</b>	1000
<b>Lamps</b>	500
<b>Beer</b>	1700
<b>Sugar</b>	59.000

TABLE (10): GOODS TRANSPORTED FROM THE PORT OF HAMBURG TO THE PORT OF TRIPOLI BY CARGO SHIP GALATA IN 13.08.1910<sup>643</sup>:

<b>Types of Goods</b>	<b>Quantity in Kilos</b>
<b>Iron products</b>	400
<b>Glass products</b>	1400
<b>Ceramic</b>	400
<b>Paper</b>	350
<b>Sewing machines</b>	250
<b>Manufactured leather</b>	350

<sup>643</sup>Bundesarchive, Die Kaiserlichen Konsularbehörden in Tripolis ..., Nr. II °559.

<b>Beer</b>	2600
<b>Sugar</b>	118.000
<b>Tea</b>	900
<b>Colors</b>	1150
<b>Tar</b>	2500

A report written by the German consul Alfred Tilger in the province of Tripoli illustrated the trade from Germany to the city of Benghazi in the province of Tripoli between November 1911 and 1913 included products like Beer, Tea, Floor, Iron products, Emil machines. The German consul estimated the quantities in Italian Lira in his report as follows:

- From October 20 to April 1912 the value of goods estimated to be 56.828 Italian Lire.
- From May 1912 to October 1912 the value of goods estimated to be 128.176 Italian Lire.
- From November 1912 to April 1913 the value of goods estimated to be 110.573 Italian Lire.<sup>644</sup>

These tables and statistics referred to the evolution of trade index between the province of Tripoli and Germany. These tables show that trade was more organized in the first decade of the twentieth when the largest and most industrial products were exported to the province of Tripoli through the port city Hamburg in Germany<sup>645</sup>.

The German companies had a significant share in trade between the two parties; one of these companies was “Die Firma C. Sonnenkalb” which was a private company that founded in Leipzig and focused on exporting tea to the province of Tripoli<sup>646</sup>. Moreover most private companies focused their operation on the mining industries. They paid considerable efforts to

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<sup>644</sup>Bundesarchive, Die Kaiserlichen Konsularbehörden in Tripolis Nr. II°580<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>645</sup>Bundesarchive, Die Jahres Handelsberichte des Ksl. Vizekonsulats in Tripolis (Tripolitaniien), August 1907 – Juni 1916, Tripolis, R 901/4443, Nr.II°559.

<sup>646</sup> Bundesarchive, Die Handels und Schifffahrts- Verhältnisse mit Tripolis, Bd 2, vom 16 Oktober 1904 bis Dezember 1909, R901/4411Nr. II 3021/8.

obtain the approval of the authorities of the province of Tripoli and the central government in Constantinople to pursue their activities in the province. The German private companies were then competing with the French companies, which were mainly interested in the Nitrates which was very valuable. To give an example of these companies, the company Aktien-Gesellschaft für Bergbau und Hüttenindustrie in Frankfurt, A. M. submitted a request to the German government to obtain the approval of the Ottoman authorities that allowed them to search for the Nitrates in the province of Tripoli 1911 (See Appendix 2). Moreover, after similar discoveries of the Nitrates in Tunisia the company submitted proposals to cooperate with the Ottoman authorities in this aspect in Tunisia<sup>647</sup>. They were already in Tunis and asked to be allowed to work in Tripoli.

Other German companies worked in the province of Tripoli included a company called Abel und Schellenberg which started in 1905 and faced strong opposition from the Italian and the French<sup>648</sup>. In addition to that there was a company named Deutscher Lloyd, Transport-Versicherungs Gesellschaft, Berlin and was working in the shipping sector. The company complained several times to the German government about the difficult circumstances in the port of Benghazi such as not being able to accommodate the large ships and in 1910 the company asked the German government for insurance against any risks or losses there<sup>649</sup>.

Other companies were working Benghazi like a company named H. Weickert und Enke and was managed by the German Karl Sparig who arrived in Benghazi in 1900 to open the first branch of the company.

Names of other German companies which worked in the province of Tripoli were given to include: Hein und Co. Leipzig, Kästner und Toebelmann, Erfurt, Anton Robinson, Hamburg and Schneider und Rothacker, Alexandrien<sup>650</sup>.

The commercial activities were not only pursued through these companies but included even the interested individual investors who exercised different types of economic activities abroad.

This was also accompanied with the arrival of a considerable number of German travellers and explorers as mentioned in chapter (3) who in turn submitted reports and proposals to the German government highlighting clearly and at the same time stressing the importance of the province

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<sup>647</sup>Bundesarchive, Die Handels- und Schiffahrts- Verhältnisse mit Tripolis, R 901/4412, Bad 3 ,Vom Januar 1910 bis Mai 1912, Tripolis, Nr. 11 o 855 .

<sup>648</sup> Politischs archive, Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Bd 9, R16114.

<sup>649</sup>Politsch archive, Bd 6, Das Kaiserliche deutsche Konsulat in Tripolis, vom Mai 1909 bis September, R141611, Nr. Ic 2783.

<sup>650</sup>Politsch archive, 141595, Nr. 489, Leipzig, 20 October 1909.

Tripoli for the German trade. Furthermore they stressed the need to take positive steps by the German government in order to control the market of the province of Tripoli which supposed to help in accessing the market in sub-Saharan Africa. This prompted the German government to give its permission to the industrial and commercial sectors to initiate trade and business operations in the region, despite the small volume of exports of the province of Tripoli to Germany. The exports of the province of Tripoli to Germany included goods like leader<sup>651</sup>, ivory, goats' hair<sup>652</sup>, poultry and Nitrite and barley<sup>653</sup> and in 1914 it is stated in a report in the federal archive that orange peel were exported from the province of Tripoli to Germany<sup>654</sup>.

#### **4.3 The Historical Development of the Ottoman-German Relations:**

The Ottoman Empire began different reforms starting from the efforts of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) who began series of reforms (named *Tanzīmāt*). Reforms that took place on the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century were extensive and included many sectors such as economic, education, military and agricultural<sup>655</sup>. Sultan Mahmud II had focused initially on the conversion of the state institutions from the traditional institutions system to the modern bureaucratic institutions. Reforms were announced in *Hatt-i Sharif* proclamation in 1839 and *Hatt-i Hümayun* proclamation in 1856. The *Hatt-i Sharif* proclamation which was known as the *Gülhane* established a new tax system to replace the old one.<sup>656</sup> These reforms followed by the announcement of the constitution also at the time of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1876<sup>657</sup>.

The Ottoman Sultans tried to rely on European aid for the success of these reforms, particularly Britain, which actually supported them at the beginning. It seems that the Ottoman Empire adopted clearly some European experiences, so that the Empire could cope with the

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<sup>651</sup> Bundesarchive, Band 6, R 801, vom Mai 1914 bis April 1915, Nr. II02225.

<sup>652</sup> Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 48.

<sup>653</sup> Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*, pp. 75,77.

<sup>654</sup> Bundesarchive, Bd 3, vom Januar 1910 bis Mai 1912, R901/4412, Nr. II0 411.

<sup>655</sup> Minawī, Mostafa, *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz*, Stanford University Press, Stanford California, 2016p. 6-7.

<sup>656</sup> Is the compulsory enlistment of people in a national service, most often a military service, Zürcher, *Turkey A Modern History*, London, p. 53.

<sup>657</sup> See the seminal work of Stanford Schaw and Ezel Kural Schaw, *History of Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Vol 2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, 518p; See also: an overview by the- al-mausū ā al-'arabiyya al-'alamiyya, J6, p. 245.

developments in Europe and face the dangers surrounding them<sup>658</sup>. The European aid was delivered through the English ambassador in Istanbul, who had enjoyed close relations with the Ottoman officials who were responsible to implement the reforms. Moreover, the Ottomans brought trained Germans to train the military forces Istanbul <sup>659</sup> meanwhile the Ottomans sent their missions to study and to be trained in Europe, mainly to Germany.

The Europeans from their side had tried in particular the English to put pressures on the Ottomans substantial reforms to benefit the Europeans who were living in the Ottoman Empire and, in particular, to be treated equally like the Muslims and they succeeded in that to great extent. They focused their efforts on some Christian denominations to improve their status such as the Catholics and the followers of the Eastern Church who were under the authority of the Pope. Those Christians who benefited from the Ottoman reforms were belonging to different European countries such as France, Austria, Russia and the protestant England<sup>660</sup>.

The beginning of the relations went back to before the German unity and was either political or religious relations. Prussia had signed a trade agreement with the Ottoman Empire in 1761 it was in fact a treaty of friendship and trade and, was renewed in 1790 and again in 1803<sup>661</sup>. Prussia also played an important role in mediating between the Ottoman Empire and Russia to end the war between them through signing the Adrianople agreement in 1829<sup>662</sup>. The second war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire (known as The Crimean War) in the Balkans, the Caucasus had been started in the year 1877 when Greece declared war on the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria. Russian had endorsed this movement and entered the war. Russia wanted to regain territory lost

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<sup>658</sup> al-Bustānī, Sulaymān, *al-dawlā al-‘ūthmānīyyā qabla al-distūr wa ba‘dah*, taḥqīq wa dirāsa Khālid Zīyāda, dār al-ṭali‘a li-l-ṭiba‘ā wa al-nashir, Bayrūt, 1978, p. 25,41; Rāfiq, *al-‘arab wa al-‘ūthmānīyyūn...*, p. 380; al-Jamīl, *al-‘arab wa al-atrāk...*, p. 55.

<sup>659</sup> Alhusarī, *al-biladal-‘arabia wa al-dawlā al-‘ūthmānīyyā...*, p.60.

<sup>660</sup>On the issue of the influence of Europe in Ottoman Empire some scholars relativised the paradigme of imported and exported, see for example for the province of Egypt Nora Lafi, *Al hadatha wal-idāra al hadāriyya fī Misr al-‘Uthamāniyya. As‘ila wa tafisīrāt* (Modernity and Administration in Ottoman Egypt: Questions and Research Perspectives) in Nelly Hanna, Nasser Ahmed Ibrahim (eds.) *Jadal al-mawḍū‘iyah wa-al-dhātīyah fī kitābat tārīkh Miṣr : dirāsāt muhdāh ilā al-mu‘arrikhah al-kabīrah Nillī Ḥannā* (Objectivity and Subjectivity in the Historiography of Egypt: In Honor of Nelly Hanna), Cairo: al-hay‘ah al-miṣrīyah al-‘āmmah lil-kitāb, 2012, 179p., pp. 263-273 and for the province of Tripoli : Nora Lafi, *Mediterranean Connections; The Circulation of Municipal knowledge and Practices during the Ottoman Reforms, c. 1830-1910*, in Pierre-Yves Saunier and Shane Ewen (eds.) *Another Global -City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment, 1850-2000*, New-York-Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 35-50.

<sup>661</sup>Sanū, ‘Abdul-ra‘ūf, *‘almāniya wa al-islām fī al-qarnayn al-tāsi‘a ‘ashar wa al-‘ashrīn*, al-furāt li-l-nashir wa al-tawzi‘, Bayrūt, 2007, pp. 33-34.

<sup>662</sup> Ibid.

during the Crimean War and to end the Ottoman rule in the Balkans and the Caucasus. The Ottoman Empire lost part of its territories in these areas in 1878<sup>663</sup>.

The Ottoman-German relations had also cultural and religious aspects; for instance a number of Germans Christian clergy arrived to the territory of the Empire within the framework of missionary activities with the end of the first half of the nineteenth century and specifically to Palestine<sup>664</sup>. These missionary activities continued in different parts of the Ottomans provinces.

The relations evolved over time even during the stage of the declaration of the unified Germany and the rule of the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck as a strong politician. Bismarck tried not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire and what known as the Eastern issue<sup>665</sup>. However the political developments dictated him to take a position in the current events. Then he called upon to hold Berlin Conference in 1878 to settle this conflict as mentioned before. Bismarck position was clear in the Balkan war (1877-1878) he supported the Ottoman Empire. This was driven only from the political and economic interests of Germany.

Reading in the literature on the Ottoman-German relations revealed that the relations between the two sides had gone through two phases before the First World War. The first was in the time of Sultan Abdul Hamid II and lasted until 1908, when the second phase began with the arrival of the Committee of Union and Progress to the power in 1908 after ending the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in the same year<sup>666</sup>. These two phases are going to be discusses next.

#### **4.3.1 Ottoman-German Relations Phase I:**

The year 1880 was the starting point of the official German-Ottomans relations after German unification. As noted above the Sultans hired the German experts in their reform process. The first German arrived was the officer Helmuth von Moltke the Elder (born 1800 in Parchim in Germany) he was asked by the Sultan Mahmud II in 1838 to assist in modernizing the Ottoman Empire army<sup>667</sup>. Von Moltke was the commander of the German armies that defeated the French in the time of von Bismarck. He performed great tasks to the Ottoman state

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<sup>663</sup>Gökpınar, *Deutsch-Türkische...*, p. 96; Menning, Bruce W, *Bayonets Before Bullets: The Imperial Russian Army 1861-1914*, Indiana University Press, 1992, pp .52-57.

<sup>664</sup> Sanū, *'almāniya wa al-islām...*, p. 31.

<sup>665</sup> Sanū, *'almāniya wa al-islām...*, pp. 31.36.

<sup>666</sup>Brū, *al-'arab wa al-turuk...*, pp. 338-339.

<sup>667</sup> Bucholz , *Arden Moltke and the German wars, 1864 - 1871* , Palgrave, 2001

such as training the military forces, and when he returned to his country he monitored the training from there<sup>668</sup>.

The German officer von Dergultich played an important role in the education and training of the Ottoman army. He was a teacher at the School of Military Staff of the Ottoman. His task was to train the army in accordance with the methods of modern German advanced system to be able to catch up with the developed countries in this regard<sup>669</sup>. There were other German officers for example von Hofes and Camp Hofes<sup>670</sup>; in addition to the German army commander Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz who arrived in Istanbul in 1882-1883 as head of the German military mission. The main task of the mission was to train the Ottoman army forces in accordance with the German modern methods<sup>671</sup>.

To support these efforts it had been agreed to provide the Ottoman army with German-made weapons and guns and the cannon called Krupp. This was in the time of Mahmud Şevket Pasha (ruled 1910-1912), an Ottoman general and statesman and grand vizier of the Ottoman Empire<sup>672</sup>.

On the other hand, a large number of the Ottoman students were sent to study in Germany. Some of them joined the military schools in Prussia, while others were enrolled in other institutions in order to benefit from German expertise<sup>673</sup>.

A significant event that revealed the depth of the German-Ottoman relations at that time was the visit of the German Emperor Wilhelm II and his wife to the Sultan Abdul Hamid II in Istanbul. The German Emperor and his wife arrived in Istanbul on the board of the German yacht Hohenzollern in 1889<sup>674</sup>. They were received by the Sultan Abdul Hamid II at a time when most European countries were competing for the favor of the Ottoman Empire. The visit of the German Emperor at that time was important to strengthen the relationship between the two parties as viewed by the Ottoman Sultan<sup>675</sup>.

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<sup>668</sup>Gökpınar, *Deutsch-Türkisch* ..., p.37.

<sup>669</sup> Alhusari, *al-biladal- 'arabia waal-dawlā al- 'ūthmānīyyā* , p.70.

<sup>670</sup>Brükilmān, Kāril, *tārīkh al-shu 'ūb al-islāmīyya*, Naqalahu ilā al- 'arabīyya Nabīh ' Amīn wa Munīr al-Ba 'alabakī, dār al- 'ilim li-l-malāyīn, Bayrūt, 1974, p. 593; Waḥīd, *al-qawl al-mufīd fī ḥukum al-sulṭān 'Abdul-ḥamīd*, p. 343.

<sup>671</sup> Rāfiq, *al- 'arab wa al- 'ūthmānīyyūn*..., p. 427; Sanū , *'almāniya wa al-islām*..., p. 37.

<sup>672</sup>Brū, *al- 'arab wa al-turuk*..., p. 348.

<sup>673</sup> For an overview on this issue see Matthias Römer, *Die deutsche und englische Militärehilfe für das Osmanische Reich 1908-1914*, Frankfurt am Main, Lang, 2007, 406p; See also: Waḥīd, *al-qawl al-mufīd fī ḥukum al-sulṭān 'Abdul-ḥamīd*, p. 343.

<sup>674</sup>Gökpınar, *Deutsch-Türkisch* ..., p. 49.

<sup>675</sup> al-Bustānī, *al-dawlā al- 'ūthmānīyyā*..., p. 42.

It is obvious that this visit came within the framework of the consolidation of the German policy towards the Ottoman Empire, and it was a milestone in the distinctive political approach to strengthen the relations with them. The German Emperor tried to take advantages of the international situations by highlighting the role of Germany as a non- colonial power. He visited the Ottoman Empire again in 1898. In this visit he gave a speech in Damascus confirming the strength and resilience of the relationship between the two sides, and pointed out clearly that he would remain faithful to the good relations with the Ottoman Turks and the Muslims in general<sup>676</sup>.

This visit can be described as a working visit where bilateral agreements were signed to implement a series of economic projects in the territory of the Ottoman Empire; one of these projects was the Ottoman railway. The construction of the Ottoman railway started in the 1860s and 1870s with the aid of the British. For instance England had obtained a concession to create railway line linking the cities of Izmir and Aydin in Turkey. The railway was opened in 1867. The French also implemented some parts of the railway but only in the area of Levant (Bilād al-Shām)<sup>677</sup>.

Later on, in 1888, a company was established with the help of the Deutsche Bank called Société du Chemin de Fer Ottoman d'Anatolie. This company was created by the Deutsche Bank to operate the Ottoman railway and completely took over the construction of the Ottoman railway. This move came in the context of the competition between Germany and England to implement projects related to the infrastructure of the Ottoman state<sup>678</sup>. In addition to that during the visit of the German Emperor in 1898 the Société du Chemin de Fer Ottoman d'Anatolie was granted the privilege of rebuilding Istanbul Haydarpaşa Railway Terminal which took its classical structure and construction in 1909<sup>679</sup>. In addition to this a contract was signed, assigning the Société du Chemin de Fer Ottoman d'Anatolie and the Deutsche Bank the task of extending the railway line from Izmit until Ankara in Turkey. The work started in 1892<sup>680</sup>. In 1894 the company granted a project to extend the railway as far as Konya in Turkey <sup>681</sup> and between 1900 and 1908 the

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<sup>676</sup>Rāfiq, *al- 'arab wa al- 'ūthmāniyyūn*, p. 428 ; Gökpinar, *Deutsch-Türkisch ...*, p. 48.

<sup>677</sup> al-Jamīl, *al- 'arab wa al-atrāk...*, p. 92 ; Sanū, *'almāniya wa al-islām...*, p. 4,9.

<sup>678</sup> See for example V. Necla Geyikdagi, *French direct investments in the Ottoman Empire before World War I*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011.

<sup>679</sup>Jaschinski, Klaus and Julius Waldschmidt, *das Kaisers reise in den orient 1898*, Band 27, wolfgang weist, Berlin, 2002, p. 65.

<sup>680</sup> Brūkilmān, *tārīkh al-shu 'ūb al-islāmīyya*, p. 593.

<sup>681</sup>al-Jamīl, *al- 'arab wa al-atrāk...*, p. 92.

company was given the task of extending the railway line between Damascus and Medina<sup>682</sup>. It was a part of the Ottoman Hejaz railway network that was supposed to extend the line from the Haydarpaşa Terminal in Istanbul beyond Damascus to the holy city of Mecca. A public subscription was opened throughout the Islamic world to fund construction. The railway was to be a *waqf*.<sup>683</sup>, An inalienable religious endowment or charitable trust<sup>684</sup>.

Moreover, they succeeded in obtaining a privilege permitting them to exploit the mineral resources discovered on both sides of the railway, specifically in Iraq at a distance of 20 meters<sup>685</sup>. The German realized through their explorer and travellers that Iraq was oil and minerals-rich country.

This was followed by the flow of German capital to Turkey, for example, the signing of a huge contract to build the railway line between Berlin and Baghdad which was signed by the Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1903<sup>686</sup>. Britain did not accept this contract and they resisted the project in a violent way. The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 was a direct reason to stop the completion of this project<sup>687</sup>.

Other projects included the project of developing the ports of Basra and Alexandria, the establishment of the German Bank of Palestine in 1899, the project for cultivating cotton in Adana in 1905, and the restoration of the ships in Marmara Sea in 1899 among other projects<sup>688</sup>. Generally, Germany managed to acquire 67% of the total European investments in the Ottoman Empire by 1895<sup>689</sup>.

It should be noted that the rapprochement between the Ottomans and the German included also the cultural aspect. Germany opened a number of schools in the Ottoman provinces and some states under their rule such as Palestine in order to disseminate the German culture and language

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<sup>682</sup>Rāfiq, *al- 'arab wa al- 'ūthmānīyyūn...*, p. 428.

<sup>683</sup> "Waqf (endowment) The word Waqf is used in Islam with the meaning of holding certain property and preserving it for the confined benefit of certain philanthropic use and prohibiting any use or disposition of it outside that specific objective" Extracted from <http://journal.mufad.org/attachments/article/452/7>, pdf. (March 2016)

<sup>684</sup>Nicholson, James. *The Hejaz Railway*. Stacey International Publishers

<sup>685</sup>*majalat al-manār*, al-mujalad al-thāmin 'ashir, al-juzu' al-sādis, majalat shahrīyya tabḥath fī falsafat al-din wa shu'ūn al-ijtimā' wa al-'umrān, maṭaba'at al- manār, al-Qāhira, 1333H / 1915, p. 472.

<sup>686</sup>Hagen, *Die Türkei im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Peter Lang, Germany, 1990, p. 15 ; Yāghī, Ismā'īl Aḥmad, *al-dawlā al- 'ūthmānīyyā fī al-tarīkh al-islāmī*, maktabat al-'abikān, 1998, p. 205; Barrū , *al- 'arab wa al-turuk...*, p. 38.

<sup>687</sup>Jaschinski, and Julius Waldschmidt, *das Kaisers reise in den orient...*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>688</sup>Sanū, *'almāniya wa al-islām...*pp. 51,59.

<sup>689</sup>Muḥāfaẓa , *mawāqif al-duwal al-kubra min al-waḥdā al- 'arabiyya...*, p. 22.

among the people of the Sultanate<sup>690</sup>. Germany had also established a number of schools along a line parallel to the railway lines that they built. It was noted that the German were more involved in building schools in the Ottoman Empire than the French and the British<sup>691</sup>. The Germans tried to spread their educational system and culture.

At the time when the German-Ottoman relation was improving rapidly Italy invaded Libya in 1911. Germany decided then to support the Ottoman Empire and tried to bridge the gap in viewpoints between Italy and the Ottoman Empire in Libya<sup>692</sup>. The situation developed significantly in 1915 when Germany and Turkey agreed to attack England in Egypt starting from the Libyan territory, a point which will be discussed in chapter (5).

Germany also supported the power and authority of the Ottoman Empire in their territories in Asia, where France, Britain and Russia were trying to put pressures on the Ottoman government in order to comply with their demands, whether in Syria where France was involved or in Armenia which was within the circle of interest of Russia, or the issue of railway line Berlin Baghdad by England, an issue which directly affected German interests<sup>693</sup>.

At that time the German ambassador in London, Prince Karl Lichnowsky, announced that the goal of these countries was not to serve the interests of the peoples of the region, but to divide the areas and subject them to their influence without taking into account the authority of the Ottoman Empire<sup>694</sup>. Germany also tried to support Russia in their proposal to the Ottoman government to reform the Armenian states in their borders. The German position supported the rights of the Ottomans in the region while Russia wanted to combine all the categories under one flag and to be ruled by European or Christian Ottoman leaders. Germany then insisted on holding a conference in which they adopted different local reforms that were primarily conceived to serve the interests of the residents<sup>695</sup>.

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<sup>690</sup>Brū, *al-‘arab wa al-turuk...*, p. 339.

<sup>691</sup> Hagen, *Die Türkei im Ersten ...*, p. 15.

<sup>692</sup>Mikhā‘īl, *al-‘alāqāt al-injīlīziyya al-lībbīyya...*, p. 29.

<sup>693</sup>On these issues many articles were published. See for example the research of **Ahmed Ibrahim Abu Shouk**: The Hijaz railway : motives, results and impacts.

<sup>694</sup>Brū, *al-‘arab wa al-turuk...*, pp. 567-568.

<sup>695</sup>Ibid.

#### 4.3.2 Ottoman-German Relations Phase II:

The situations in the Ottoman Empire were rapidly changing especially when the group of Union and Progress ended the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1908. They declared that he was deposed by a decision issued by the Senate with the approval of *Shaykh al-Islām* Muḥammed Dīia'al-Dīn in Istanbul<sup>696</sup>. This coup received wide acceptance from most of the European countries, in particular France and England, and here began the second phase of the German relations with the Ottoman Empire. Germany then began to apply the cautious policy of their ambassador in Istanbul Adolf Marschall von Bieberstein.

At this stage Germany realized that it required a more active policy to protect its special relationship with the Ottoman Empire, regardless of who was in political power there. Thus they announced their reservations against this change because of the special relations they had with the Sultan Abdul Hamid II. However they were watching very carefully the rapprochement between the new government and the British and the French. Germany then tried to follow a policy of positive neutrality and reservation coping with the course of the current events.

The new government of the Union and Progress group attempted to introduce new reforms and measures to serve the interests of the Ottomans first, and passed a resolution that included the abolition of the foreign concessions; this did not satisfy the European countries. The situations developed further when the Grand Vizier<sup>697</sup> Mehmed Kâmil Pasha who was supporting the Europeans was isolated.

Then emerged the conflict of the demarcation of borders between the province of Tripoli and Tunisia in 1910. The latter was at that time under the French protectorate. The conflict was between the Ottomans and France about the eligibility of the province of Tripoli. Germany then offered their mediation to resolve the crisis peacefully, without resorting to the military option. Germany actually succeeded in resolving the conflict and in forming a Turkish-French committee which took over the task of demarking the borders<sup>698</sup>. Despite the fact that France was able to control some of the territory of the province of Tripoli but that the issue was settled

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<sup>696</sup> al-Shinnāwi, *al-dawlā al-ūthmāniyyā*..., p. 117 ; Waḥīd, *al-qawl al-mufīd fī ḥukum al-sultān 'abdul-ḥamīd*, p. 257.

<sup>697</sup> The Grand Vizier was the prime minister of the Ottoman sultan, with absolute power of attorney and, in principle, dismissible only by the sultan himself (Witteck, Paul, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1938)

<sup>698</sup> On this issue see the thesis of Fatma Ben Sliman and the papers published

withsigning of the convention on the final demarcation of the border between the two sides in 1910<sup>699</sup>.

The German-Ottoman relation remained close until the First World War, by which time Turkey had become very dependent on their ally. One example of this dependence is the commander of the Ottoman fleet in the Black Sea, who was the German general Otto Liman von Sanders, appointed in 1913. He was not new to this position, having supervised the training and development of the Ottoman army in the past. Von Sanders achieved positive results in reorganizing and rebuilding the Ottoman army and sent a report to his government presenting his achievements of the task assigned to him<sup>700</sup>. He was accompanied by a number of other German navy officers who occupied important positions in the Ottoman fleet. The Ottoman authorities appointed the task of supervising the castles and fortifications in the Dardanelles to the German officers<sup>701</sup>. At the outbreak of the First World War Turkey then declared neutrality, but this position was short-lived, and Germany quickly convinced them to stand on their side after becoming its ally since September 1914. This was preceded by the signing of a treaty between the two sides at the end of the month of July of the same year<sup>702</sup>. The agreement necessitated the commitment of both sides to neutrality toward the conflict between Austria and Serbia, and they were not supposed to intervene unless Russia entered the war in a way that threatened Germany and in turn Turkey<sup>703</sup>.

Despite the serious political situations the good relations continued between the two parties through enhancing the cultural aspect in particular the establishment of the German-Turkish Association (Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung) even after the outbreak of the war the German projects continued within the territory of the Ottoman Empire. The Eastern News Agency was established in Berlin in 1915 and was directed by Max von Oppenheim. The news agency had a major role in supporting the Ottoman Empire and the propaganda of the idea of Islamic *Jihad* launched by Oppenheim. The main task of the Eastern News Agency was launching propaganda in the Ottoman Empire against the triple alliance and the Agency had undertaken a significant role in spreading news as well as spreading the German culture within the Ottoman Empire. One

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<sup>699</sup> Shukrī, Muḥammad fū'ād, *mīlād dawlat Lībiyā al-ḥadītha wathāiq taḥrīrahā wa istiqlālīhā, al-juzu' al-awwal (1945-1947)*, al-mujalad al-thānī, maṭaba'at al-i'timād, al-Qāhira, 1957, p. 430.

<sup>700</sup> Sanū, *'almāniya wa al-islām...*, pp. 69,87.

<sup>701</sup> Yāghī, *al-dawlā al-ūthmāniyyā...*, p. 220.

<sup>702</sup> Shukrī, *mīlād dawlat Lībiyā al-ḥadītha...*, p.459.

<sup>703</sup> Brū, *al-'arab wa al-turuk...*, p. 612.

of the outcomes of the efforts of the Eastern New Agency was the establishment of the German-Turkish Friendship House called Haus der Deutsch-Türkischen Freundschaft in 1917 in Istanbul<sup>704</sup>.

The question that arises here is whether Germany was genuinely interested in the completion of these large-scale projects in the framework of bilateral relations and the development of the Ottomans' economic or military institutions or whether the projects functioned as a means for a non-military incursion of the region and undermining of English dominance. The answer to this question lies in the fact that Germany had prospered economically and militarily. Germany had controlled some areas in Africa but they remained a minor force in the region. That was why they looked to the Ottoman Empire as a partner first and second because the latter extended its control over Asia. Asia was considered by the Germans as one of the vital areas for investment and exploitation of the mineral wealth there as well as a strong market for their products and industries. Therefore the strategic importance of the Ottoman Empire for Germany was valuable. Cooperation with the Ottoman ruling powers would enable Germany to communicate with these areas without requiring the permission of British which controlled the majority of the sea ports at that time.

On the other hand the Ottoman Empire itself was in need of an ally of the powerful countries to rely on considering the ongoing political developments, that had negative impacts on the Empire ultimately resulted in losing control over large parts of their territories in favor of the European countries.

Depending on what has been mentioned so far it could be noted that the political positions of the German government towards the issues related to the Ottoman state in particular and the region of the Mediterranean were generally different from the other European countries and this was the same in the case of the issue of the province of Tripoli.

#### **4.4 Political Developments and International Agreements:**

The competition of interests between the main European powers made it necessary to engage in negotiations and then agreements. It is interested to shed lights on the main and competing interests of the main European powers before discussing the individual agreements.

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<sup>704</sup> Sanū, *'almāniya wa al-islām...*, pp. 83,91,96.

It was obvious that the African continent was the center of negotiations that led to many agreements between the main European powers. This was the starting point in signing agreements between the different parties concerned with colonialism and economic expansion in Africa. It should be noted here that the struggle over dividing Africa was conducted in a line parallel with the process of dividing the properties of the Ottoman Empire in the north of the continent itself. The province of Tripoli was a center of conflict between England and France, specifically when both obtained contiguous colonies in Africa<sup>705</sup>. Britain began to feel the danger of Germany as a powerful new state, especially after its victory over France. It subsequently developed a new policy to maintain its strength within Europe and thereby protect its colonies abroad and in particular its strategic interests in the Mediterranean, Egypt, and India<sup>706</sup>.

In addition to that both countries sent a number of travellers under the guise of geographical exploration and the study of some natural phenomena, or to study the monuments and the archeology as well as the history of the region. The reports presented by those travellers make clear that the attention of England was directed primarily toward the eastern part of the province of Tripoli, specifically Cyrenaica. The French focused their attention on the south, especially the city of Ghadames and its environs. This was due to the location of Ghadames on the border with the Algerian territory which was under French occupation since 1830. In addition to that Ghadames was close to the Tunisian territory, which had been subjected to French protectorate since 1882. From these two regions they tried to extend their influence to Ghadames<sup>707</sup>. Soon Italy entered the conflict. The Italian politicians realized the seriousness and effectiveness of their expansion policy and correspondingly tried to take advantage of the situations in order to achieve their goals.

At the beginning Italy was interested in the eastern part of Africa, in an attempt to realize the Italian ambition to establish a major Italian empire starting from the east coast of Africa. Thus from this standpoint Italy struggled politically to get control over the province of Tripoli, especially since Germany did not have any clear colonial ambitions in the region<sup>708</sup>. It could be

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<sup>705</sup> al-Dijānī, Aḥmad Sidqī, *Lībiyā qabīl al-iḥtilāl al-iṭālī au Ṭarābulis al-gharb fī 'ākhīr al-'ahid al-'uthmānī al-thānī (1882-1911)*, al-maṭaba 'a al-faniyya al-ḥadītha, ' al-aṣḥab bi-l-zaitūn, al-Qāhira, 1971, p. 312.

<sup>706</sup> Mommsen, W.J. (ed.), *Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus*, Frankfurt, 1969, p. 72.

<sup>707</sup> al-Ḥarīrī, 'Abdul-mula Ṣāliḥ, "al-tamhīd li-l-ghazu al-iṭālī wa mauqif al-lībiyyīn minhu", *buhūth wa dirāsāt fī al-tārīkh al-lībī 1911-1943*, al-juzu' al-thānī, majmū'a min al-'asātidha wa-l- bāḥithīn, ishrāf Sālāḥ al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Sūrī wa Ḥabīb Wadā'a al-Ḥisnāwī, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn ḍid al-ghazū al-iṭālī, Ṭarābulis, 1984, p. 21.

<sup>708</sup> Zürcher, *Turkey A Modern History...*, p. 110.

said that the preparation phase started with the beginning of the nineteenth century, Italy then focused its efforts to have strong political acceptance of the major countries.

As for Austria they were seeking to establish an alliance with Germany because they did not have the power enabling them to engage in any new conflicts and thus ensure access to new gains through their alliances with Germany or other European countries. Russia's position was different because of strategic interests as they were in opposite position to the Ottoman Empire. They supported France and tried to prevent its collapse, to keep the balance of power in Europe. At the same time their strategic interests required them to enter into agreements even with enemies<sup>709</sup>.

Germany's concern to strengthen its position in Europe led it to enter into a number of agreements and treaties which enabled the state to play an important political mediatory role. Externally Germany tried to secure its strategic objectives in Africa in particular<sup>710</sup>. These are the goals that led von Bismarck to follow the policy of rapprochement with France to limit the power superiority of the English and at the same time to be an obstacle to any attempt of a French attack on Germany<sup>711</sup>.

As mentioned above these conflicting interests urged the European powers to engage in agreements to ease the relations between them. Amongst these agreements, those which helped Italy to occupy the province of Tripoli will be discussed next. The political role and agreements signed by Germany are also viewed as significant. One example of these is the German Italian agreement in 1887 that helped the Italians to occupy the province of Tripoli.

It is argued here that all the conventions and treaties which are going to be discussed in the next part of the chapter were only a step in order to avoid the opposition of European powers that might prevent Italy from occupying the province of Tripoli. Italy also benefited from other agreements that were signed by other European powers such as the Anglo-French Agreement in 1899 that will be discussed in the next part of the research.

#### **4.4.1 The Triple Alliance (Germany, Italy, Austria / Hungary) in 1882:**

The starting point was in the first Berlin conference which was considered the start of the political agreements between the European countries concerning their colonies in Africa and

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<sup>709</sup> 'Umar 'Abdul-'Azīz 'Umar, *tārīkh aurūbbā al-ḥadīth wa al-mu'āṣir 1815-1919*, dār al-ma'ārif al-jamī'iya, al-Qāhira, 2000, pp. 196-197.

<sup>710</sup> Mommsen, *Das Zeitalter...*, p. 72.

<sup>711</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism...*, p. 21.

other regions. Since then, Italy tried to work with Germany, Austria / Hungary to get colonies in Africa. This agreement was known as the Triple Alliance and in 1882<sup>712</sup>. It was focused mainly on the issue of the common defense policy<sup>713</sup>. Italy considered this agreement as a foundation to realize its ambitions and turn them into reality. The same agreement was used by Italy as defense mechanism against France, to stop France from expanding in the province of Tripoli as it did in Tunisia before<sup>714</sup>.

It is worth mentioning that this alliance was restored several times. The first time was in 1887, when Italy obtained a guarantee of military support from Germany if France tried to change the situations in the province of Tripoli to their advantage or tried to expend its control over Morocco<sup>715</sup>. The alliance was next renewed in 1891, as well as in 1902 and again in 1912<sup>716</sup>. The three parties worked to emphasize the issue of retaining the situations in North Africa. Italy was able to obtain a promise from Austria that the latter would restrain its ambitions in the province of Tripoli. This gave them the opportunity to extend their control there. The alliance continued to be the focus of European relations until the First World War in 1914<sup>717</sup>.

#### 4.4.2 The Anglo-Italian Agreement in 1887:

Italy did not limit its contact to Germany and Austria / Hungary. Following negotiations with England an agreement of mutual support was published in 1887. It was initially a secret agreement as it was initially in 1883<sup>718</sup> based mainly on the support of each other and to maintain the situations as they were<sup>719</sup>. At the same time England and Italy agreed on limiting the French influence in the Mediterranean. The main agreement specified that Italy would support England in Egypt, and England would support Italy in North Africa region and specifically in the province

<sup>712</sup> See for example Ivan Scott, The making of the Triple Alliance in 1882, *East European Quarterly*, 12-4, 1978, p. 399; See also: Al-dijānī, , *Lībiyā qabīl al-iḥtilāl al-iṭālī...*, p. 329; Shukrī, Muḥammad fu'ād, *al-Sanūsiyya dīn wa daula*, dār al-fikr al-'arabī, al-Qāhira, 1984, p. 109 ; Kutzner, *Weltgeschichte der Neuzeit ...*, p. 125.

<sup>713</sup> *al-mausū' ā al-'arabiyya al-'alamiyya*, J9, p. 199.

<sup>714</sup> Muḥāfaza, *mawāqif al-duwal al-kubra min al-waḥdā al-'arabiyya...*, p. 26.

<sup>715</sup> Tishāijī, 'Abdul-rahmān, *al-mas'ālā al-tūnisīyya wa-l-siyāsā al-ūthmāniyyā 1881-1913*, naqalahu 'an al-faransiyya 'Abdul-jalīl al-Timīmī, dār al-kutub al-sharqiyya, Tūnis, 1973, p. 192 ; Maḥrūs, Ismā'īl Ḥilmi, *tārīkh-Afriqiyyā al-ḥadīth wa al-mu'āshir minal-kushūfāt al-jughrāfiyya ila qiyām munāzamat al-waḥda al-afriqiyya*, al-juzu' al-awal, mu'ssasat shabāb al-jami'a al-Iskandarīyya, 2004, p. 263.

<sup>716</sup> *al-mausū' ā al-'arabiyya al-'alamiyya*, J9, p. 500.

<sup>717</sup> *al-mausū' ā al-'arabiyya al-'alamiyya*, J9, p. 500.

<sup>718</sup> al-Ḥarīrī, "al-tamhīd li-l-ghazu al-iṭālī...", p. 27.

<sup>719</sup> Mikhā'īl, *al-'alāqāt al-injīlīziyya al-lībbīyya...*, pp. 16-17 ; Muḥāfaza, *mawāqif al-duwal al-kubra min al-waḥdā al-'arabiyya...*, p. 26 ; al-Kīyālī, 'Abdul-wahāb wa 'akharūn, *mausū'at al-tārīkh al-siyāsa*, al-juzu' al-khāmis, al-mū'asasā al-'arabiyya li-l-dirāsāt wa al-nashir, Bayrūt, 1979, p. 554.

of Tripoli<sup>720</sup>. Thus Italy had the British support to their political ambitions in the province of Tripoli.

#### **4.4.3 The German-Italian Agreement in 1887:**

The Chancellor Otto von Bismarck signed a bilateral agreement with Italy; by this agreement Germany stated the eligibility of Italy to occupy the province of Tripoli<sup>721</sup>. The position of Germany was clearly against France. It is obvious that most of the European powers tried to isolate France or form coalitions against it. That was the reason behind the German position of being in favor of limiting the influence of France in the province of Tripoli and Morocco. Germany was prepared to provide military support to Italy when needed.

By signing these agreements Bismarck intended to defend Germany's rights, to confirm its neutrality and to keep its position as a major power in Europe. This was in spite of the German earlier position which was somewhat moderate towards the Ottoman Empire.

The German Italian agreement enabled both parties to work in accordance with their own interests. On the one hand Germany guaranteed to keep Italy within the alliance, and on the other hand the agreement ensured that an influential power depended on it, which paved the way for it to be involved in negotiations with other European countries sharing the same interests in the Mediterranean, such as Britain, France and others. Italy intended to enter into agreements with them to ensure their rights in the region. Article (3) of the treaty mentioned that in the case of France had to extend control over areas in North Africa, Italy would do the same to maintain its position in the Mediterranean and Italy granted the right to take military action in the French territories in Europe in consultation with its ally Germany in accordance to this treaty<sup>722</sup>.

It is worth mentioning that the same year witnessed the bilateral negotiations between Italy and Austria / Hungary, and on the other hand with Spain. The negotiations discussed the political activity of the Italian which signed agreements with all the countries that were considered as obstacles in its way to occupy the province of Tripoli and thus had succeeded to sign different agreements with them<sup>723</sup>.

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<sup>720</sup>al-Dijānī, *Lībiyā qabīl al-iḥtilāl al-iṭālī*...., pp. 330,332.

<sup>721</sup>Mahrūs, *tārīkh Afrīqiyyā al-ḥadīth*...., p. 263.

<sup>722</sup>Umar, *tārīkh aurūbbā al-ḥadīth wa al-mu 'āšir 1815-1919*, p. 223.

<sup>723</sup> al-Kiyālī, *wa' akharūn, mausū'at al-tārīkh al-siyāsa*, j5, p. 554.

#### 4.4.4 The Anglo-French-Italian Agreement in 1890:

Italy succeeded through this agreement to get the explicit support of France and England to control the province of Tripoli. This agreement came shortly after the end of the second Berlin conference and was signed because the conference did not refer explicitly to the right claimed by Italy in the province of Tripoli. Thus Italy engaged in individual negotiations with the major powers and had been successful and resulted in the signing of an agreement guaranteeing them what they want to achieve in the North African coast stretching between Egypt and Tunisia on October 30, 1890<sup>724</sup>.

#### 4.4.5 The Anglo-French Agreement in 1899:

England and France were considered the largest European colonial powers, which resulted in the occurrence of many intersections of interests between them that led to clashes several times. In order to avoid any negative developments both sides agreed to enter into negotiations and reached a fair agreement for both sides in 1889. In this agreement zones of influence for both parties were identified, both in relation to the continent of Africa and to some other regions<sup>725</sup>. This agreement was viewed with suspicion by Italy, which considered this agreement as an obstacle to their presence in North Africa, specifically in the province of Tripoli. Italy's opposition was mainly based on England's recognition of the French presence in Sahara Africa and the southern region of the province of Tripoli that was formalized in the agreement<sup>726</sup>. Here began to emerge the efforts of France that sought to get control over Morocco by initiating many activities in the southern regions of the province of Tripoli and the west on the border with Tunisia, which was of course a French protectorate at the time.

The Italians then started to express their concerns and opposition against the French political activities, prompting the French Foreign Minister to declare in 1899 that his country did not have any colonial ambitions in the province of Tripoli. This paved the way to the signing of several agreements between the two later<sup>727</sup>.

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<sup>724</sup> Manā', Muḥammad 'Abdul-razāq, *judhūr al-niḍāl al-'arabī fi Lībiyā*, dār maktabat al-fikr, Ṭarābulis, 1972, p. 15.

<sup>725</sup> Mikhā'īl, *al-'alāqāt al-injīlīziyya al-lībbīyya...*, p. 18.

<sup>726</sup> al-Dijānī, *Lībiyā qabīl al-iḥtilāl al-iṭālī...*, p. 334.

<sup>727</sup> Yaḥya, Jalāl, *al-maghrib al-kabīr al-'uṣūr al-ḥadīthā wā hūjūm al-isti'mār*, al-juzu' al-thālith, al-dār al-qaumīyya li-l-ṭibā'a wa al-nashr, al-Iskandarīyya, 1966, pp. 706-707.

#### 4.4.6 The Italian-French Agreement in 1900:

This treaty was a result of the agreement mentioned above when Italy sought to work on several major directions to be able to mobilize the European powers on its side. Italy thus realized that there is nothing inappropriate when former enemies become allies of the day. This was accomplished with France despite the previous disappointments, but that did not hinder the Italian rapprochement attempts to keep the France away from the province of Tripoli and thus Italy started to work effectively in this direction. The first step in this policy was to involve Germany as the strongest ally in the issue of mitigation of the conflict with France. The real beginning can be attributed to 1885<sup>728</sup>, and again in 1898<sup>729</sup> when Italy took an important step and stopped the obstacles facing customs and taxes against France. This paved the way for the creation of a calm situation that accelerated the understanding between the two sides and ultimately led to the convening of a secret agreement in 1900<sup>730</sup>. This was followed by another agreement in 1901 which focused mainly on the Mediterranean politics<sup>731</sup>. Through these agreements Italy managed to get the assurances of the French that they would not involve themselves in any kind of competition in the province of Tripoli<sup>732</sup>. The deal included the adoption of a dividing line between the areas of influence in the region. In return, Italy accepted the right of France in the occupation of Morocco<sup>733</sup>. Thus the rapprochement between the two countries led to a division of influence in the two remaining regions Morocco and the province of Tripoli in the north of Africa<sup>734</sup>.

#### 4.4.7 The Franco-British Entente Cordiale in 1904:

The Entente Cordiale was a significant part of the above series of treaties which the European governments consistently signed during this vital stage of history. These two major powers tried to overcome their conflicts mainly what was called the first Morocco crisis and to sign an agreement in 1904. The first Morocco crisis occurred when Germany was concerned about the

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<sup>728</sup> Qāsim, Jamāl Zakarīya, " mauqif Maṣr min al-ḥarib al-ṭarābulisiyya 1911-194", *al-majala al-tārīkhiyya al-maṣriyya li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya*, al-Qāhira, 1967, p. 308.

<sup>729</sup> al-Dijānī, *Lībiyā qabīl al-iḥtilāl al-iṭālī*..., p. 332.

<sup>730</sup> Lewis, Mary Dewhurst, *Divided Rule : Sovereignty and Empire in French Tunisia 1881-1938*..., p.222.

<sup>731</sup> Tishāijī, *al-mas'alā al-tūnisīyya*..., p. 234; Qāsim, " mauqif Maṣr min al-ḥarib al-ṭarābulisiyya..." , p.3 08; Kāmil, Maḥmūd, *al-dawala al-'arabiyya al-kubra*, dār al-ma'ārif, al-Qāhira, (D.T), p. 332.

<sup>732</sup> Tishāijī, *al-Mas'alā al-tūnisīyya*..., p. 234.

<sup>733</sup> al-Kīyālī, ' wa 'akharūn, *mausū'at al-tārīkh al-siyāsa* , J5, p. 554; Tishāijī, *al-mas'alā al-tūnisīyya*..., p. 334.

<sup>734</sup> Ziyada, *Lībiyā fī al-'uṣūr al-ḥadīthā*, p. 59.

relationship between France and Britain after signing the entente Cordiale in 1904<sup>735</sup> that ended the long conflicts between the two and declared Morocco as a French sphere of influence. The entente made it possible to allow the French control of Morocco without undermining the internal balance of power in Europe. Thus it gave the right to France to land their troops in Morocco and England was given absolute control over Egypt<sup>736</sup>.

Germany then tried to highlight the weaknesses of the entente and the new relationship between France and Britain. According to Jones<sup>737</sup> Germany made a dramatic movement to use the threat of war to stress to the European powers the significance of consulting Germany on imperial matters. Jones wrote that the German Kaiser Wilhelm II arrived in the city of Tangier in northern Morocco in 1906 and met the Sultan of Morocco, Moulay Abdulaziz Ibn Al-Hasan. The German Kaiser then declared Germany's support for the Sultan's independence and the integrity of his Kingdom that made Morocco an international crisis<sup>738</sup>. France tried to offer a compensatory accord with Germany like the ones it had managed with other countries concerned with Morocco. However, Germany refused the offer and insisted on using the system of 'diplomatic imperialism' to humiliate France and called for an international conference to decide on the future of Morocco.<sup>739</sup> The Algeciras conference was held in 1906 to solve the first Moroccan crisis. Twelve countries, including Morocco, Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal participated, as well as the American president Theodore Roosevelt<sup>740</sup>. Germany's aim in the conference was to acquire political and economic gains in Morocco through managing the 'imperialism diplomacy'. However they failed to get the required gains due to many factors mentioned by Jones<sup>741</sup>. One of them was the basic judgment errors and diplomacy failure that overestimated the help that could be gained from Russia and Spain. The conference Act included

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<sup>735</sup> For more details on the question see Samuel Richard Williamson, *The politic of the grand strategy Britain and France prepare for war in 1904-1914*, Ashfield Press, London, 1990; Embry, Kristi N, "The Entente cordiale between England and France, 8 April 1904" extracted from [http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps\\_articles=kristi-n-embry-the-entente-cordiale-between-england-and-france-8-april-1904](http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=kristi-n-embry-the-entente-cordiale-between-england-and-france-8-april-1904) (07.03.2016).

<sup>736</sup> Hagen, *Die Türkei im Ersten Weltkrieg*, p. 205.

<sup>737</sup> Jones, *Algeciras Revisited...*, p. 5.

<sup>738</sup> Jones, *Algeciras Revisited...*, p. 5.

<sup>739</sup> Jones, *Algeciras Revisited...*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>740</sup> See: Richard H. Collin, Theodore Roosevelt, *culture, diplomatie and expansion: a new view of American imperialism*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, London, 1985, 286p.

<sup>741</sup> Jones, "Algeciras Revisited: European...", p. 8.

decisions to build policing Spanish and French troops to protect the Moroccan ports that were seen as important for the French colonization of Morocco<sup>742</sup>.

Despite these setbacks Germany tried to find another area in the Mediterranean region. Meanwhile they worked on enhancing their relationships with other allies such as the Austria-Hungary Empire and the Ottoman Empire. Consequently the province of Tripoli was considered in the political and military German strategy and before the First World War. Despite the fact that the province of Tripoli was not mentioned explicitly in this agreement it was a cornerstone in the agreements that were signed after this date. This agreement was a significant turning point in the path that led the major countries to agree on controlling the region on the coast of the Mediterranean. This agreement was the authentic beginning of the division of Europe into two main encampments which took their final form in the First World War.

#### **4.4.8 The Anglo-French-Italian Agreement in 1906:**

Italy did not spare any efforts to get the full consensus and support of Europe. In this regard, Italy entered into a tripartite agreement with Britain and France in 1906. This agreement identified explicitly the areas of influence of each party in the North and East Africa and the Red Sea regions<sup>743</sup>.

#### **4.4.9 The Italian-Russian Agreement in 1907:**

The Italian prime minister had tried to sign an agreement with the Kaiser of Russia, Nicholas II. The agreement assured Russian support to Italy in the province of Tripoli. In turn Italy promised to support Russia in the area of the straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles<sup>744</sup> and to hinder the expansion pursued by Austria in the Balkans. At that time it was well known that Austria and Italy were allies. However, Italy was threatened by the expansion of Austria in the nearby areas, which motivated it to support Russia more strongly. This agreement was a significant diplomatic support to Italy.

In spite of the existence of several agreements that emphasized the need to maintain the territories of the Ottoman Empire by the major European powers, no real action towards this end took place on the ground<sup>745</sup>. This was mainly because of the emerging ambition of the European

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<sup>742</sup>Jones, "Algerias Revisited: European...", p. 8.

<sup>743</sup>Muḥāfaẓa, *mawāqif al-duwal al-kubra min al-waḥdā al-‘arabiyya...*, p. 27.

<sup>744</sup>al-Dijānī, *Lībiyā qabīl al-iḥtilāl al-iṭālī...*, p. 336; al-Kiyālī, *‘wa’ akharūn, mausū‘at al-tārīkh al-siyāsa*, j 5, p. 554.

<sup>745</sup>Sanū, *‘almāniya wa al-islām...*, pp. 61-62.

countries which made each country to seek to strengthen its presence abroad. Moreover each country tried to add new territories to provide the raw materials needed for the development of their economies. For instance England did not respect their agreements with the Ottoman Empire when they obtained control over Cyprus in 1878 which was under the Ottoman rule from 1571. However, when the Italian government expressed their desire to colonize the province of Tripoli they were supported by the English Foreign Minister Benjamin Disraeli without reservation<sup>746</sup>.

Thus, Italy was able to sign a number of political agreements considered as a political victory. It was able to take advantage of the conflicting interests of the European countries and successfully exploited these conflicting interests to occupy the province of Tripoli.

Considering all these events Italy started its preparations to colonize the province of Tripoli. The preparation efforts were divided into two groups of activities. The first was performed externally and included signing of agreements mentioned above and the second was internal activities concerning the Italian state itself. Internally the Italian government tried to convince the parliament and the political parties with the idea of invasion.

## **4.5 The Italian Occupation of the Province of Tripoli:**

### **4.5.1 The Context of the Italian Occupation:**

Italy started its colonization activities relatively late, due to the fact that Italy was only united in 1870, and lacked the military capabilities needed for this. However, Italy had changed its policies in line with the rest of the European countries<sup>747</sup>. One of the Italian objectives behind the establishment of colonies was the political gains that expanding its political and economic influence would bring. They sought economic gains to support their economy through finding new markets for their products and thus creating new sources of revenues for the state<sup>748</sup>.

Italy began to obtain territories on the African continent. They began first in eastern Africa in Ethiopia in 1882, but suffered a bitter defeat in the battle of Adwa in 1896<sup>749</sup>. Italy then directed its attention into the north region of Africa specifically toward Tunisia at first, but they lost it to

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<sup>746</sup>Manā', *judhūr al-niḍāl al-'arabī...*, p. 15.

<sup>747</sup>Shukrī, *al-Sanūsiyya dīn wa daula*, p. 103.

<sup>748</sup>al-Ḥarīrī, "al-tamhīd li-l-ghazu al-iṭālī wa mauqif al-lībiyyīn minhu...", p. 29.

<sup>749</sup>Qāsim, " mauqif Maṣr min al-ḥarib al-ṭarābulisiyya...", p. 308; Ismā'īl, Ḥilmi Maḥrūs, *tārīkh al-'arab al-ḥadīth min al-ghazū al'uthmānīlā nihāyat alḥarab al-'aālāmiyyā al-'ūlā*, al-juzu' al-awal, mu'ssasat shabāb al-jami'a, al-Iskandarīyya, 1977, p. 262.

France leaving no alternative but the province of Tripoli. Italy then proceeded to take the necessary measures to carry out a military operation in the province of Tripoli. The government intended to prepare the ground in the province of Tripoli economically, politically and culturally before the declaration of war on the Ottoman Empire there.

The Italian politicians were aware of the seriousness and accuracy of the stage that they were preparing for, because the political situations in the province of Tripoli that was different from the rest of its neighbors in North Africa. Tripoli was under the direct authority of the Ottoman Empire, which was one of the obstacles that Italy faced. The other obstacle was the local population of the province. The Italian policy-makers had to be careful about their steps to pursue their colonial goals and they started to work internally to prepare the Italian public opinion to accept the idea of sending troops to the war in the coast of Africa north. This was considered a challenge after their defeat in East Africa. This was intensified when the left-wing came to rule and assured people to improve their standard of living, and to alleviate all the economic and social problems. Moreover they launched the idea of migrating to towards new lands that will be later Italian colonies<sup>750</sup>. As the Ottoman Empire and specifically in North Africa has regarded as disintegrating by the French and the British governments, Italy launched a huge economic investment in Tripoli and through schools for Jewish population infiltrated a division between Jews from Europe and Jews from Tripoli<sup>751</sup>.

The Italians were much focused on all the internal and external affairs of the province of Tripoli, and the Italian government became very sensitive to everything that would oppose their activities there, especially the efforts of any other European country. One of these activities of the Europeans was the issue of identifying the borders of territories of Turkey and British in the border area between the province of Tripoli and Egypt in 1904<sup>752</sup>. When the Italian government was informed about this agreement in 1904 they contacted immediately the British government requesting explanations about the agreement. England then replied that this issue was not existent. The same happened with France which repeatedly tried to get territories at the expense

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<sup>750</sup>Manā', *judhūr al-niḍāl al-'Arabī...*, p. 14; Shukrī, *al-Sanūsiyya dīn wa daula*, p. 106.

<sup>751</sup> See the work of Rachel Simon, The Relations of the Jewish Community of Libya with Europe in the Late Ottoman Period and Jewish-Muslim Relations in Libya in the 19th-20th Centuries in "The Socio-economic Role of the Tripolitanian Jews in the Late Ottoman Period" In 'The Jews of Sijilmasa and the Saharan trade', in M. Abitbol (ed.), *Communautés juives des marges sahariennes du Maghreb*. Jerusalem: The Ben-Zvi Institute 1982, p.253-63.

<sup>752</sup>Egypt was occupied by Britain since 1882.

of the Ottoman Empire in the border region between the province of Tripoli and the former Ottoman province of Tunis colonized by France since 1881<sup>753</sup>. This prompted Italy to propose that the consuls of Italy and England, as well as one employer of the Ottoman state had to solve the problem of the borders on the East and on the West mainly. The Ottomans refused this proposal, and considered the issue as an internal affair of the Sultan. Their refusal did not deter the Italian government from repeating the attempt insisting to have an active role and a major role in the conflict, but all their efforts failed.

In the same issue the Italian ambassador in the Ottoman Empire announced in 1891 that Italy would not accept any activities that might change the balance of power in the Mediterranean region, especially by the French. Italy was aware of the attempt of France to strengthen its presence in the province of Tripoli through varied cultural activities, as they tried to open French schools in the province; their trial included also many pressures that were put on the Ottoman Empire. For instance the French government also made several requests to the Ottoman government to facilitate the work of its ambassador in the province of Tripoli. In this instance France succeeded in getting the permission of Mutaşarafıyya Al Khums to build a church and a residence for the priests in the city in 1903<sup>754</sup>.

The question that arises here is what were the motives of France in implementing all these activities inside the province of Tripoli and at this particular time and considering the agreements they already signed as mentioned before? The answer to this question was that at this stage France did not intend to gain benefits from the province of Tripoli but intended to use this to exercise pressures on the Italian government to compromise and reach a satisfactory settlement to both parties in the region of North Africa<sup>755</sup>.

The press played also a major role as the Italian newspapers had been writing about the activities of France in the disputed areas with the Ottoman Empire. They worked to highlight the attacks of French on the borders of the province of Tripoli<sup>756</sup>. They did not ignore the news that the French were trying to obtain the privilege of building the port of Tripoli in 1905<sup>757</sup>. The Italian government started then to investigate about this information supported by the press. This

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<sup>753</sup>Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 186.

<sup>754</sup>Jhān, 'Ali Muḥammad, *al-ḥayāt al-thaqāfiyya bi Mişrāta athnā' al-ḥukum al'uthmānī al-thāni 1835-1911*, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2007, p. 77.

<sup>755</sup>Muḥāfaẓa, *mawāqif al-duwal al-kubra min al-waḥdā al-'arabiyya...*, p. 27.

<sup>756</sup>Tishājjī, *al-mas'alā al-tūnisīyya...*, pp. 193,206-207.

<sup>757</sup> A plan of the harbour of Tripoli was drawn a bit before see Plan du port de Tripoli de Barbaris levé en 1816 et 1821, Dépot général de la Marine, 1823.

prompted France to announce immediately that this was only rumors and tried to reassure the Italian government<sup>758</sup>. The Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Tatony<sup>759</sup> explained this issue in the Italian Senate. The Italian then assigned to their ambassador to the Ottoman Empire to clarify the issue with the Ottoman Sultan about the intentions of the Italian politics. He argued that they were only intended to maintain the situations in the region and that their goals were purely peaceful. The main argument used by the Italian to explain the situation was that if the Sultan granted any privileges in the province of Tripoli to other countries this would affect negatively their economic interests and therefore will inevitably lead to force the government to change its policy towards the Ottomans<sup>760</sup>.

Germany was also attacked by the Italian press because Italy thought to strengthen their interference in the internal affairs of the province of Tripoli. The newspapers then doubted the German intentions stressing that their activities were not only economic in nature but they sought to control the province politically<sup>761</sup>. The newspapers indicated openly and directly that Germany was seeking to take control of the important port of Tobruk by leasing it from the Turkish government, but went even further when stressed that there were negotiations taking place between the Ottomans and the Germans<sup>762</sup>.

It is worth mentioning in this regard that Germany was also subjected to propaganda from the French and the English newspapers. As they tried to depict Germany as suspicious and mistrusted considering their activities in North Africa in general and in the province of Tripoli, specifically. That was after Germany had tried to mediate between the Turkish and the French on the issue of the borders between the province of Tripoli and Tunisia. The French press wrote then that Germany was seeking to internationalize the issue, especially with regard to the oasis of Janet<sup>763</sup>, located near the confluence of influence between the province of Tripoli and Algeria, and Germany was accused to be defending the Ottoman Empire<sup>764</sup>.

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<sup>758</sup>Yahya, *al-maghrīb al-kabīr*..., pp. 716-717.

<sup>759</sup>As the name mentioned in the reference.

<sup>760</sup>Yahya, *al-maghrīb al-kabīr*..., p. 717.

<sup>761</sup>Politisches Archiv, Das Auswärtigen Amtes Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Das Kaiserliche konsulat in Tripoli, Bd11, Vom 1 Januar 1909 bis 31 März 1911, R16116, "Die Deutsche Flagge in Tripolis" La Grande Italia, Nr.2.vom 8. Januar 1911.

<sup>762</sup>Ismā'īl, *tārīkh al-'arab al-ḥadīth*..., p. 266.

<sup>763</sup>For more details on this issue see René Poitier, *La Tripolitaine vue par un Français, dar al Fergani, Tripoli*, s.d.

<sup>764</sup>Politisches Archiv, Des Auswärtigen Amtes, Allgemein Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Vol 1, vom Juni 1881 bis 22 Februar 1883, R16106, Berlin Tagblatt, Nr. A13737, 8.8.1906.

Generally, Italy was backed up by the flexibility shown by the European countries who estimated the political situations according to their economic strategic interests and they all agreed that the Italians should focus all their efforts on their goal of occupying the province of Tripoli. By this they intended to keep Italy away from other regions like the Balkans, for example, and thus found Italy all the support of the Europeans.

The year 1889 could be considered as the actual beginning of the penetration of the Italian inside the province of Tripoli especially with regard to the cultural aspects like schools, language and mass media and extending the work of Bank of Rome<sup>765</sup>.

#### 4.5.2 Expanding Bank of Rome in the Province of Tripoli:

The Bank of Rome was expanding inside the province of Tripoli<sup>766</sup>, as the bank opened branches in Benghazi<sup>767</sup>, in Darana<sup>768</sup>, and in Gharyan in 1907<sup>769</sup> in addition to the branch in the city of Tripoli. The bank initially exercised the normal banking activities then started to buy agricultural land from the local population and paid very high prices<sup>770</sup> prompting many of the local people to sell their land. Moreover the bank started to grant the local population loans. A guarantor was needed to repay the loan later if the one received the loan was unable to repay it. A debtor who was unable to pay his debt had his land confiscated<sup>771</sup>. This helped the Italians to establish a huge economic base in the province of the Tripoli.

Moreover, the Bank of Rome had established some businesses companies that became administered directly by the bank officials and succeeded in attracting a number of Libyan citizens to work for these companies<sup>772</sup>. Information indicated that the number of these workers ranged between 200 and 300 workers. At the same time the activities of the bank varied to great extent. All were done under the guise of investments in the province and the introduction of some modern industries. These industries included an ice factory and another was an olive oil

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<sup>765</sup> Abdu-l-qādir, 'Iṣmat, *dūr al-nuwāb al-'arab fī majlis al-mab'ūthān al'ūthmānī 1908-1914*, al- dār al-'arabiyya li-l-mausū'āt, Bayrūt, 2006, p. 245.

<sup>766</sup> Qāsim, " mauqif Maṣr min al-ḥarib al-ṭarābulisiyya...", p. 307.

<sup>767</sup> Mirt, Azjān, "nashāt maṣraf Rūmā min khilāl al-Wathāiq al-'ūthmāniyyā", Tarjamat 'Abdul-karīm abu-shuwīrib, *majalat al-wathāiq wa al-makḥṭūṭāt*, al-'adad an al-tāsi'a 'ashar wa al-'ishurūn, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2003-2004, p. 178.

<sup>768</sup> Sebald, *Libyens die Artikel des deutschen Afrika Jorschers Gottlob Krause...*, ..., pp. 21-22.

<sup>769</sup> Ghānim, 'Imād al-Dīn (translator), *taqārīr bi'that al-ṣalīb al-aḥmar al-almānī fī al-ḥarb al-lībiyyā al-iṭāliyya 1911-1912*, murāja'a wa taqḍīm Ḥasan 'Ali Fahmī Khishīm, maṭāba' al-thaurā al-'arabiyya, Ṭarābulis, 1987, p. 43.

<sup>770</sup> Maḥmūd, Ḥasan Sulāimān, *Lībiyā baina al-māḍi wa al- ḥāḍir*, mu'asasat sijil al-'arab, al-Qāhira, 1962, p. 220; Manā', *judhūr al-niḍāl al-'arabī...*, p. 15.

<sup>771</sup> al-'Aqād, *Lībiyā al-mu'āṣira*, p. 12.

<sup>772</sup> Sebald, *Libyens die Artikel des deutschen Afrika Forschers Gottlob Krause...*, p. 21.

factory and varied other projects. All these projects were aiming towards the introduction of the Italian influence in the province. As a result of these projects Italy managed to acquire 22% of the total foreign trade with the province of Tripoli in 1911<sup>773</sup>.

It is noteworthy that the staff of the bank was involved in collecting as much information as possible about the province and at the same time trying to win the trust of the local people and prepare them to accept the Italian presence on their land<sup>774</sup>.

#### **4.5.3 Italian Education and Scientific Missions to the Province of Tripoli:**

The Italian government started to establish a number of Italian schools within the province of Tripoli<sup>775</sup> in addition to the Italian schools which were already opened in 1876 during the Reforms (*Tanzīmāt*) and in 1878<sup>776</sup> (both were located at the center of the city of Tripoli). Later on, the Italian government opened eight more schools, in some other coastal cities such as Benghazi in which they opened five schools. In Derna there were two schools and three schools in Alkhums were opened in 1911<sup>777</sup>.

Italian sources estimated the number of students enrolled in these schools at about 3,000 pupils in 1911, a figure reflecting a widespread interest in learning the Italian culture. The project was supported by the Italian government which dedicated 46 thousand Italian lire per year in order to ensure its success.<sup>778</sup> It is worth mentioning that some of those school, taught in both Italian and Arabic, side by side as a way to attract a large number of Arabs who wish to teach their children the Arabic language and refuse to let them into schools that teach only Italian. It is noticeable that the education in these schools was free<sup>779</sup>.

Italy also sent a number of scientific and medical missions to identify some of the natural phenomena, the geography of the area, and to study some medicinal plants and herbs, al-Ḥarīrī mentioned that it is some times connected to colonial aspirations and not just scientific mission

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<sup>773</sup> Sebald, *Libyens die Artikel des deutschen Afrika Forschers Gottlob Krause...*, p. 21.

<sup>774</sup> al-Ḥarīrī, "al-tamhīd li-l-ghazu al-iṭālī wa mauqif al-lībiyyīn minhu...", p. 32.

<sup>775</sup> al-Ḥasan, Ḥasan, *al-anẓima al-sīyāsiyya wa al-distūriyya fī Lubnān wa sa'ir al-buldān al-'arabiyya*, Bayrūt, 1967, p. 389.

<sup>776</sup> Ḥasanī, 'Ali al-Ṣādiq, "al-madāris al-iṭālīyya wa taṭawuraha fī Lībiyā 1835-1950", *a 'amāl al-nadwā al-'ilmīyya al-thāminā allatī 'uqidat bi-al-markaz fī al-fatara min 26-27/9/2000*, taḥrīr Muḥammad al-Ṭahir al-Jarāri, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dīrāsāt al-tārīkhīyyā, Ṭarābulis, 2005, pp. 431-432.

<sup>777</sup> Sebald, *Libyens die Artikel des deutschen Afrika...*, p. 21.

<sup>778</sup> Ismā'īl, *tārīkh al-'arab al-ḥadīth...*, p. 265.

<sup>779</sup> al-Zawī, *jihād al-abṭāl*, pp. 39,47.

<sup>780</sup>. They succeeded to collect accurate information about the geography of the province<sup>781</sup>. The Italian government sent a group of specialists to study the nature of the coast of the province of Tripoli. These specialists reached the city of Tripoli as sponge hunters and actually worked in this field in the coast of Tripoli, which allowed them to carry out comprehensive surveys of the coast and make a thorough study presented to the Italian authorities and the Ottoman Empire<sup>782</sup>. Among the most important of those missions was the mission of Count Sforza that arrived to the province of Tripoli in 1910. Sforza who was the head of the mission claimed that they came to search for minerals, and specifically detect the phosphate. However the real motive behind their activities was revealed later they were on a military mission to draw strategic military maps<sup>783</sup>. The Ottomans then arrested the member of the mission and some of them were put in jail the O'Shea Lausanne treaty (between the Italians and the Ottomans) released them in 1912<sup>784</sup>. The Italian government had also encouraged the Italian citizens to migrate to the west of the province of Tripoli<sup>785</sup>, and by 1911 they were 620 Italian citizens there<sup>786</sup>.

#### **4.5.4 The Ottomans' Reaction to the Italian Invasion:**

Some Ottoman governors played a major role in hindering the Italian mission in the province of Tripoli; these include the governor Reçeb Pasha (1904–1908). Reçeb Pasha was aware of the seriousness of the situation; this was revealed in his many efforts to introduce many reforms and to develop the military forces in the province of Tripoli. In addition to that, he established schools as an effort to raise the level of education and awareness of the local population, to be at the level of the events and possess the ability to confront Italy, as he was aware of the Italian attempt to occupy the country<sup>787</sup>.

It is worth mentioning that Reçeb Pasha was not the only governor who stood up to the Italian project. The governor Ibrahim Pasha (1910–1911) was also highly aware of the extent of Italian colonial project and influence over the country. He began very soon to fight against this project

<sup>780</sup> al-Ḥarīrī, "al-taḥarukāt al-siyāsiyya al-iṭāliyya wa al-tamhīd li-iḥtilāl Lībiyā", *majalat al-buḥūth al-tārīkhīyyā*, al-sanā al-āshirah, al-ʿadad al-thānī, 1987, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dīrāsāt al-tārīkhīyyā, Ṭarābulis, p. 14.

<sup>781</sup> Shukrī, *al-Sanūsiyya dīn wa dawla*, p. 12; Ḥasan, Sulāimān Maḥmūd, *Lībiyā baina al-māḍi wa al-ḥādir*, p. 219; al-ʿAqād, *Lībiyā al-muʿāshira*, p. 12.

<sup>782</sup> Lūtiskī, *tārīkh al-aqtār al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadīth*, p. 368.

<sup>783</sup> Ismāʿīl, *tārīkh al-ʿarab al-ḥadīth...*, p. 265.

<sup>784</sup> Shukrī, *mīlād dawlat Lībiyā al-ḥadīth...*, p. 428.

<sup>785</sup> Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulis al-gharb*, p. 131.

<sup>786</sup> Sebald, *Libyens die Artikel des deutschen Afrika...*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>787</sup> al-Zāwī, *wulāt Ṭarābulis al-gharb...*, pp. 281-282.

by organising the conscription as well as the training of volunteers from the local population. Ibrahim Pasha worked also hard to obstruct the activities of bank of Rome, and contacted the government in Istanbul provide the latest the Italian colonial intentions, but he did not receive any response to those reports<sup>788</sup>. Instead the Ottoman Empire issued an order immediately to open a branch of the Ottoman Bank in the province of Tripoli in 1906<sup>789</sup>, to work together with their Agricultural Bank, which was established before. Moreover, the government decided then to reduce the profits margins from 6% to 4% in response to the Bank of Rome activities in order to get access to land. They issued also a decree to facilitate all the procedures for the citizens and not to impose tough conditions. Moreover they emphasized to the bank's administration that in cases of losses they should resort to the Ministry of Finance to compensate those losses and not to impose taxes on the people of the province of Tripoli, but the government was cautious in implementing these procedures which were discussed secretly. The governer asked the governor to be cautious in implementing these procedures not to attract the attention of the Italians in particular or other European countries.

The government of Ibrahim Hakki Pasha (1910-1911) in the Ottoman capital was not in a position to fulfill the serious responsibilities entrusted to them (it was in difficult situations due to the onset of decline within the Empire at the same time) which is why they disregarded these warnings when alerted to the danger imminent in the province of Tripoli<sup>790</sup>. The government then took a very dangerous act to response to the pressures of the Italian and isolated the governor Ibrahim Pasha in September 1911 and did not send someone to undertake his responsibilities. This allowed the Italians to reveal their true intentions<sup>791</sup>, and took the initiative to send parts of their fleet to the Mediterranean, particularly off the coast of Tripoli. They demonstrated their force as a prelude to the beginning of the invasion. This was in the time when the country was suffering poor conditions due to the negligence of government of Ibrahim Hakki Pasha which

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<sup>788</sup>al-Zāwi, *wulāt Ṭarābulis al-gharb...*, p.284.

<sup>789</sup>The Branch of Benghasi was opened in 1911 and closed in 1912 like in Tripoli. -The London-Galata-Istanbul Izmir opened in 1856 and Djeddah in 1912 and closed in 1916-. For a more detailed history see Autheman, André, *La Banque impériale ottomane*, Paris, Comité pour l'Histoire Economique, 1996 and see also Billiotti, Adrien, *La Banque impériale ottomane*, Paris, 1909.

<sup>790</sup>al-Wāfi, Mohamed Abdal-kārim, *al-ṭarīg ilā luḏān*, dār al-furjanī, Ṭarābulus, 1977, p. 69.

<sup>791</sup>Qāsim, " mauqif Maṣr min al-ḥarib al-ṭarābulisiyya... ", p.310.

withdrew a large number of soldiers sent to Yemen for the necessities of the security. The government did not replace the soldiers<sup>792</sup>.

The internal political situations in the province of Tripoli was the best help for Italy to succeed in most of these activities, the province was then neglected from the government in Istanbul due to the difficult political situation in the Empire (distance between the province and the center of government). Not enough reforms have been conducted in the province especially the reforms required at this crucial stage except of the efforts of individual the governors in the province of Tripoli.

In September 27 1911, England and France confirmed an alliance against the Italian and against the Ottoman. A economic and strategic competition, pushed Italy to engage more in the direction of a military occupation in the region.<sup>793</sup>.

The Ottomans did not estimate the Italian motives in the way it deserved; they thought if they provide all the necessary measures and procedures that would deal with the situation.

#### **4.5.5 The Italo-Turkish War in 1911:**

Italy was determined and declared war on the Ottoman Empire on September 29, 1911. The Italian military fleet was composed of 23 ships carrying 40 thousand troops. They attacked the center of the city of Tripoli. Another military fleet was directed towards the east, in some historical documents it is stated that the fleet consisted of 36 thousand troops, in others sources 32 thousand troops<sup>794</sup> arrived on 19 maritime ships. They were under the command of General Ottavio Bricola and their destination was the city of Benghazi<sup>795</sup>. Thus the Italian navy attacked sequentially the coastal cities of Tripoli and Khums, Benghazi, Darna and Tobruk in the first days of October<sup>796</sup>. They first concentrated their attack on the port of Tripoli, and succeeded in sinking number of ships anchored there. They were also able to destroy the maritime telecommunication line that connected Tripoli to Istanbul on October 3, 1911<sup>797</sup>. This was the

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<sup>792</sup>Prätor, Sabine: *Der arabische Faktor in der jungtürkischen Politik: eine Studie zum osmanischen Parlament der II. Konstitution (1908-19)*. Berlin, 1993

<sup>793</sup> al-'Aqād, *Lībiyā al-mu'āšira*, p. 13; Brū, *al-'arab wa al-turuk ...*, p. 328.

<sup>794</sup> Hūwīdī, Mustafa 'Ali, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā khilāl al-ḥarab al-'aālamiyyā al-'ūlā*, muraja'at Sālāh al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Sūrī, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn dīd al-ghazu al-iṭālī, Ṭarābulis, 1988, p. 27.

<sup>795</sup> Manā', *judhūr al-niḍāl al-'arabī fī Lībiyā*, p. 19; Kāmil, *al-dawala al-'arabiyya al-kubra*, p. 332.

<sup>796</sup> See Tripoli, *guerre italo-turque (Italo-Turkish War)* [camp de l'armée italienne au pied de remparts] : [photographie de presse] / [Agence Rol], Documents iconographiques, 1911, Tripoli, and see also *Guerre italo-turque [militaires italiens dans une maison de Tripoli]* : [photographie de presse] / [Agence Rol], Documents iconographiques, Consultable in Gallica; Maḥmūd, *Lībiyā baina al-māḍi wa al-hāḍir*, pp. 221-222.

<sup>797</sup>W.K.McClure, *Italy In North Africa An Account of the Tripoli Enterprise*, darf, London, 1986, p. 41.

first day of the Italo-Turkish war in Libya. The Italians were able to reach the city of Tripoli, specifically on October 5<sup>798</sup>. The German Ministry of Foreign Affairs had received the news of the attack through a telegraph sent from Alfred Tilgerthe German<sup>799</sup>.

Faced with this violent attack there was no option in front of the local population and the local government other than resisting by using the available weapons, which were few and some were very old<sup>800</sup>. Despite the lack of weapons and the lack of sufficient forces, they resisted and they were accompanied with some of the Turkish officers. Nashat Pasha the governor of the province of Tripoli in 1911 was in charge. He was based in the western region, and had taken the area of Al Aziziyahas a military base<sup>801</sup>. The Ottoman Empire then entered into direct negotiations with the Italians in order to settle the war in Libya<sup>802</sup>. The negotiations were held in Lausanne in Switzerland and resulted in the signing of an agreement between the two sides, known as the Treaty of Lausanne on October 18, 1912<sup>803</sup>. The Ottomans then withdrew from the province of Tripoli, which was then named Libya. The Ottomans announced that Libya was being granted independence even if Libya was then occupied by Italy. The Ottomans left Libya to face its destiny in front of Italy<sup>804</sup>. However the Ottomans retained some of their concessions in Libya, such as the appointment of staff for religious affairs in 1912<sup>805</sup>, and allowing the people to pray for the Ottoman Sultan in mosques.

The residents of Libya were exposed to harsh policy by the Italians during the occupation<sup>806</sup>. The Italian restricted the movement of people and placed a blockade to the whole country to prevent the arrival of any aid or weapons to the country. They also put strict control over the borders and

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<sup>798</sup> Tishanz, Frāntis wa Frītis Shitīyyāt wa Salwā al-Khamāsh, *tārīkh al-‘ālam al-‘arabi*, dār šādir, Bayrūt, 1975, p. 234; al-Tilīsī, Khalīfa Muḥammad, *ma‘arik al-jihād al-lībī min khilāl al-khiṭaṭ al-ḥarbīyya al-īṭālīyya*, al-munsha‘a al-‘āmmā li-l-nashir wa al-tawzi‘ wa al-i‘lān, Ṭarābulis, 1982, p. 19; al-Zawī, *jihād al-abṭāl*, p. 80.

<sup>799</sup> Bundesarchiv, die Handels und Schifffahrts- Verhältnisse mit Tripolis, Bd 5, vom März 1913 bis April 1914, R 901/4414, Nr. II °3798 .

<sup>800</sup> Sebald, *Libyens die Artikel des deutschen Afrika...*, pp. 28-29 .

<sup>801</sup> al-Zawī, *jihād al-abṭāl*, p. 93.

<sup>802</sup> Since 1911 Welaya Tripoli was named Libya; See Mahmoud-hamdane Larfaoui, *L'occupation italienne de la Libye: les préliminaires, 1882-1911*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2010.

<sup>803</sup> Bundesarchiv, Nr. A5735; Vandewalle, Dirk, *A History of Modern Libya*, Combridge University Press, 2006, p. 25; Wright, John, *Libya: A Modern History*, Croom Helm, London and Canberra, (No date), p. 28.

<sup>804</sup> Tishanz wa Shitīyyāt wa al-Khamāsh, *tārīkh al-‘ālam al-‘arabi*, p. 234.

<sup>805</sup> Brūkilmān, *tārīkh al-shu‘ūb al-islāmīyya*, p. 601.

<sup>806</sup> See on this issue the picture: Guerre italo-turque (Italo-Turkish War) [militaires italiens derrière une barricade dans une rue de Tripoli] [Image fixe] : [photographie de presse] / [Agence Rol], Gallica, BNF Paris. November 1911. Reference 17067. And see also 10-10-11, Tripoli [groupe de militaires marchant dans une rue] [Image fixe] : [photographie de presse] / [Agence Rol] Gallica, BNF Paris. Reference Number 16590. Publication : 10 Octobre 1911

this led to a severe shortfall in food and other consumer goods that were used to be imported. This blockade had very negative impacts on the prices of the available goods, which became much more expensive. The drought that hit the country in 1911 made the situation worse<sup>807</sup>.

According to a document<sup>808</sup> in the German political archives which is a report on the general situations in Tripoli in 1911, the agricultural harvest of this year was very poor and poverty was widespread among the population of the city of Tripoli. It also stated that the number of beggars on the streets had greatly increased. The report mentioned that this situation was not unique to this city and that the same phenomenon could be witnessed in other parts of the country. Moreover, the report stated that prices of buying or renting land or houses were increased significantly<sup>809</sup>.

The report illustrated that the many battles which took place had left negative impacts on agriculture fields in rural areas which were deteriorated during these battles. Consequently there was severe reduction in the production of oranges, olives, palm trees and others<sup>810</sup>.

#### **4.6 *Jihad* in Libya and the German Position towards it:**

The Libyan fighters were called *Mujāhidīn* and the whole war against the Italians declared as *Jihad*. The term Libyan *Mujāhidīn* is also used in this research to describe the *Mujāhidīn* in Libya and it does not mean that it was a nationalism movement<sup>811</sup>. Many of the *Mujāhidīn* leaders refused to recognize the treaty of Lausanne and decided to proceed with the process of *Jihad*. They regarded the treaty of Lausanne as having surrendered the country to the enemies. Thus the Islamic *Jihad* and the Libyan *Jihad* was officially announced as a response to Italy's declaration of war against the Ottoman Empire in September 1911. Even if *Jihad* in Libya at that time was not a nationalism movement, however *Jihad's* movement composed of many local movements. The majority of the local movements were coordinated by tribal leaders. Using the weapons that were available to them, they launched attacks on Italian encampments cities or centers of occupation. It is worth noting that the majority of fighters in the various independence local movements were not trained soldiers, but took part in the battles as part of an ideological battle

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<sup>807</sup> Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Tripolis, Bd 7, vom Januar 1910 bis Dezember, R141612. Nr. 691, May 1912.

<sup>808</sup> Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Tripolis, Bd 7, vom Januar 1910 bis Dezember, R141612. Nr. 691, May 1912.

<sup>809</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>810</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>811</sup> See Rachel Simon, *Libya between Ottomanism and nationalism: the Ottoman involvement in Libya during the war with Italy, 1911-1919*, K. Schwarz, Berlin, 1987, 398p.

against Italian occupation. Neither did they come from any particular social class, but represented all sections of Libyan society. In addition to *Mujāhidīn* they were also referred to as volunteers. These fighters were joined by troops from the Ottoman forces, who had a greater degree of military training.

Among the *Mujāhidīn* was Sulaymān al-Bārūnī who was one of the *Mujāhidīn* leaders in Yafren in the Western Mountain, Moḥammed Sūwf al-Maḥmūdi who was the tribal leader of al-Maḥamīd tribe in north east the city of Tripoli, and Muḥammed Abdullah al-Būsayfī, one of the *Mujāhidīn* leaders in the Western Mountain and others<sup>812</sup>. One of the well known *Mujāhidīn* was Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī who belonged to al-Sanūsiyya political –religious Sufi order, tribe and political movement<sup>813</sup> which played a major role in the history of Libya. The movement and its relations with the Ottomans are going to be focused on in this chapter and chapter (5)<sup>814</sup>.

Following the outbreak of war between the Italians and the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* in Libya, Germany sent a number of journalists to report on what was going on there and to evaluate the situation. Not only Germany but also Britain and France had reporters in Libya<sup>815</sup>. Nevertheless the Italian politicians were suspicious with regards to the activities of these reporters and put many obstacles in their way<sup>816</sup>. They also imposed strict censorship on all reports that were sent to Europe before they were published. These controlling actions led some German journalists and others to stop their work and return to their countries reporting the harassment of the Italian authorities<sup>817</sup>. As the conflict developed and following a number of unequal battles between the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* and the Italians, the Italian government released a decree on November 5, 1911 announcing its suzerainty over all of Libya<sup>818</sup>. In return Germany issued a rejection of this

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<sup>812</sup> Khishīm, Ḥasan ‘Ali, *ṣafaḥāt min jihādānā al-waṭani*, dār maktabat al-fīkr, Ṭarābulis, 1974, p. 54.

<sup>813</sup> Ibrāhīm, Maḥmūd, *al-‘alāmah Muḥammad bin ‘Alī al-Sanūsī al-jazā’iri mujtahidan mujāhidan 1788-1859*, dīwān al-maṭbu‘āt al-jamī‘īya, al-Jazā’ir, 2009, p. 124.

<sup>814</sup> *al-Sanūsiyya* is a religious movement in Libya at the beginning of the nineteenth century founded by al-Mahdi al-Sanusi and which gained his name. *al-Sanūsī* is the title of all the sons of al-Mahdi *al-Sanūsī*, who took the leadership or not.. *al-Sanūsiyyin*: They are the followers of al-Mahdi *al-Sanūsī* politically, ideologically and personally, Brāhīm, *al-‘alāmah Muḥammad bin ‘Alī al-Sanūsī...*, p. 124.

<sup>815</sup> On this issue see : Tripoli, les officiers étrangers suivant la guerre [Image fixe] : [photographie de presse] / [Agence Rol] November 1911, Gallica, BNF, Paris Reference 17327.

<sup>816</sup> On this issue see Nicola Labranca, *La guerra italiana per la Libia: 1913-1931*, Il Mulino, Bologne, 2012, 293p.

<sup>817</sup> Ghrīfintīs, Ghayūr Ghafūn, *tārīkh al-ḥarb al-lībiyyā al-iṭāliyya*, translated by ‘Imād al-Dīn Ghānim, muraja‘at al-‘Amīn al-Ṭāhir Shaqlīlā, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn did al-ghazu al-iṭāli, Ṭarābulis, 1986, p. 112.

<sup>818</sup> See on this issue: Tripoli, l'état-major italien pendant la lecture de l'acte d'annexion [Image fixe] : [photographie de presse] / [Agence Rol] october 1911, Gallica, BNF, Paris, Reference 17330. And see also Tripoli, le général Caneva lisant l'acte d'annexion ; à sa droite, l'amiral Borea Rica [Image fixe] : [photographie de presse] / [Agence Rol] BNF Paris, Gallica, Publication : [Octobre 1911] Reference number 17313; Māsāi, Būl, *al-waḍa‘ al-dawalī li-Ṭarābulis al-gharb: Nuṣūṣ al-mu‘āhadāt al-lībiyyā al-frinsīyyā ilā nihāyat al-qarn al-tāsi‘ ‘ashar*, translated by

decree followed by France and Britain<sup>819</sup>. The German rejection meant that this decree was not granted the international legitimacy.

However, this uncompromising attitude did not last long, especially after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1912. It seemed that if Italy did not succeed in imposing political and military pressures on the Ottoman Empire and some European countries, Italy could not signed that agreement.

That agreement led to the international recognition of the Italian existence in Libya even if it was not explicitly announced. Even if Germany initially opposed Italy's aims the strategic interests and the political and economic relations with the rest of Europe determined its position in the end. Thus the Germans in Berlin were serving their interests primarily and that was why they declared their opposition at first, and then changed their decision and declared their support to the Italians. In a parallel line they maintained their strong relationships with the Ottoman Empire at the same time they stood by the Libyans as well<sup>820</sup>. The evidences were that a number of German officers were fighting in the frontline alongside Enver Pasha and his *Mujāhidīn* in the city of Derna in the Far East part of Libya against the Italians. These officers sent their reports to the government in Berlin; among those officers was the Baron von Dalwing<sup>821</sup>.

Furthermore they had taken on the task of helping the Turkish leaders in the management of war battles and organizing the *Mujāhidīn* and those Germans can be described as guides for military operations<sup>822</sup>.

This German position was echoed by the leaders of the Islamic Libyan *Jihad*, in particular, by Sulaymān al-Bārūnī who led the *Jihad* movement in the western part of the country, specifically the area of the western mountain and its environs. He trusted the German Emperor Wilhelm II, and considered that the latter was pursuing a moderate policy toward Libya. He also worked to spare the country from entering war on a number of occasions. From this point Sulaymān al-Bārūnī kept in contact with the German Emperor several times, especially after the signing of the Treaty of Ouchy in 1912, between the Italians and the Ottomans. His initial message dating back to December 27, 1912 required Germany to recognize Libya as an independent state that had its

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Muḥammad al-'Alāqī, muraja'at 'Alī Dawī, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 1991, p. 153; Ghrīfintīs, *tārīkh al-ḥarb al-lībiyyā al-iṭāliyya*, p.123.

<sup>819</sup> Rāshid, *tārīkh 'aqtār al-maghrib al-'arabī...*, p. 40.

<sup>820</sup> Hagen, *Die Türkei im Ersten Weltkrieg*, p. 13.

<sup>821</sup> Ghrīfintīs, *tārīkh al-ḥarb al-lībiyyā al-iṭāliyya*, p. 354.

<sup>822</sup> Rāthmān, Lüthar, "niḍāl al-sha'b al-lībī ḍid al-isti'mār", *muḥadārāt al-mawsam al-thaqāfi al-awal 1979-1980*, i'dād Muḥammad 'Abdul-sālam al-Jafā'irī, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn ḍid al-ghazu al-iṭāli, Ṭarābulis, 1989, p. 212.

existence based on what was in that convention and to be treated as state with full independence. On January 4, he sent another message, asking the German government to protect the Libyans and their rights. He asked the Emperor of Germany to do his best to influence the king of Italy considering that they were allies and make him announce the independence of Tripoli. He asked the King also to impose pressures on the Italian to withdraw their forces from Libya<sup>823</sup>. He was pointing to the uncivilized methods that were pursued by Italy in Libya, including but not limited to paying some local leaders to stop fighting against them and join the Italian army, which would lead to a weakening of the Libyan front<sup>824</sup>.

Sulaymān al-Bārūnī resumed his contact with Germany in 1913. Following the signing of the Treaty of Ouchy in Lausanne (1912) the leaders of the independence movements were divided as to how to respond to the new developments. One faction argued for continued conflict with the Italian forces, whilst the other faction preferred the option of negotiation on the basis of the Treaty. Sulaymān al-Bārūnī belonged to the former faction, even going so far as to proclaim the independence of Tripolitania. As Italian hostilities continued he decided to travel to Turkey, where he was elected a general for the West Mountain Front in the Turkish Council of Commissioners. The majority of the independence fighters and a number of tribal leaders supported al-Bārūnī and by this stage he was also supported by the Ottoman state<sup>825</sup>. His requests to Germany to support the nationalist movements stressed the country's desire and ability to be independent from foreign rule. Germany continued its support for the independence movement in Libya.

German support became more explicit during World War I. It should be noted that Germany's position had become very complicated due to the alliance they made with Turkey. They were seeking to use Libya as a base to attack the allies in North Africa (Britain, France and Italy). At the same time Italy controlled Libya which until this point was neutral and did not announce joining any of the parties of the conflict in World War I. Thus Germany had to take steps to

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<sup>823</sup> al-Shaqrūnī, Tawfiq 'Ayād, " Wathāiq 'an taḥrukāt Sulaymān al-Bārūnī al-dawliyya", *majalat al-wathāiq wa al-makhṭūṭāt*, al-'adad al-sādis, al-sana al-sādisa, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 1991, pp. 148,150.

<sup>824</sup> Politisches Archiv, Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis..., R16118, Nr. A 115.

<sup>825</sup> al-Ghatmī, Maḥmūd al-Mahdī, "Sulaymān al-Bārūnī", *majalat al-wathāiq wa al-makhṭūṭāt*, al-'adad an al-tāsi'a 'ashar wa al-'ishūrūn, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 2003-2004, p. 251.

ensure the achievement of their interests. So Germany tried to influence Sayyid <sup>826</sup> Aḥmed al-Sharīf, the commander of the *Mujāhidīn* in eastern Libya to stop the war against the Italians and to start fighting the British in Egypt. However when Italy declared Italy's accession to the Allies, Germany started to reconsider its position and pursued a completely different policy to what it was in the past and began providing aid to the *Mujāhidīn* in their war against the Italians. This was done by providing them with financial and military support<sup>827</sup>. German forces managed to penetrate the blockade imposed by the Italian troops on all sea ports that could be used to bring weapons into Libya. The blockade was evaded using German submarines that had reached the Libyan coast to deliver the aid required. The aid was unloaded at the cities of Sirte, Misurata and Tobruk in 1915. At the same time the German aid reached the *Mujāhidīn* more indirectly, as in the case of a convoy loaded with about 2000 Mauser guns which had been made in Germany. This was in addition to 6 mountain defenders with ammunition and some other equipment. The weapons were delivered by an officer working for the British occupation forces in Egypt, who delivered the weapons to the *Mujāhidīn* across the Egyptian-Libyan border<sup>828</sup>.

In the eastern part of Libya, the German support for the men of the Libyan resistance (the *Mujāhidīn*) was a source of great concern to the Italians as well as to the British who were in Egypt. They had been watching the situation closely inspecting the German intervention and continuous source of aid that Germany gave to Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf via Istanbul<sup>829</sup>.

It is worth noting that the delivery of Germany military aids to the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* was not an easy job because the country was under strict observation of the Italian forces especially the borders. In addition to that, the British supported Italy in their observations, particularly after Britain's recognition of the Italian ambitions in Libya in the Secret Treaty of London (26 April 1915) and the British-Italian agreement of 31 July 1916.<sup>830</sup> Following these agreements Britain intensified their efforts to prevent German interference in Libya<sup>831</sup>.

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<sup>826</sup> Sayyid is a religious position and title which was given to the leaders of *al-Sanūsiyya* movement in Libya. See for example: Morimoto, Kazuo, ed. (2012). *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies: The Living Links to the Prophet* (illustrated ed.). Routledge. pp. 2, 11

<sup>827</sup> Rāfiq, *al-'arab wa al-'ūthmāniyyūn...*, p. 47; al-Hasan, *al-anzima al-sīyāsīyya wa al-distūriyya...*, p. 390.

<sup>828</sup> Ramadān, Bashīr, *al-qīyādā wa al-'imdād fī ḥarakat al-jihād al-lībī*, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 1999, p. 396; Rāthmān, "niḍāl al-sha'b al-lībī ḍid al-isti'mār", p. 214.

<sup>829</sup> Wathīqā 371, bi tarīkh 16 Sebtember 1914, wathāiq al-kharijīyyā al-injīlīziyya, shu'bat al-wathāiq al-ajnabīyya, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-māhafūḍāt wa al-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>830</sup> J.C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record -British-French Supremacy, 1914-1945*, Yale University Press, Vol. 2, London, 1979, p. 146.

<sup>831</sup> Rāthmān, "niḍāl al-sha'b al-lībī ḍid al-isti'mār", p. 241.

It was obvious that Germany was working to strengthen its position as a political force in the Mediterranean, despite the Turco-Italian signing of the Treaty of Ouchy in October 1912, which confirmed the influences of these two countries over the region and implied that other countries should refrain from interfering in the situation. Despite this, Germany continued to support the Libyans in their armed struggle against Italy<sup>832</sup>.

Although the social history of Tripoli is not the main focus of this study, it is worth noting that the population of this region suffered badly as a result of the political and military conflicts. The Italian leadership imposed a blockade on Tripoli, to prevent weapons or other forms of support for the *Mujāhidīn* from entering the city. At the same time, the surveillance of the borders led to a decrease in the amount of food supplies that could enter the country. This created a rise in food prices and a decrease in the market availability of basic foodstuffs. The situation was complicated further by a drought in the same year, which also caused a sharp drop in the agricultural output of the country. A report in the German political archives, describing the general situation in west Tripoli in 1911 refers to the poor yield of this year, linking this to a rise in poverty and an increase in the amount of beggars in the streets. The author of the report notes that the situation was not limited to Tripoli, but that other regions of Libya were affected by the same degree of poverty, with the same results. The same document notes that the military conflict, between the *Mujāhidīn* and the Italians, had a negative effect on the agricultural yield of the region and that the orange trees, olive trees and date trees were particularly badly affected<sup>833</sup>. Despite the orders issued from Istanbul in October 4, 1911 to the Ottoman troops to withdraw from Libya and the subsequent withdrawal from Al Khums, Derna and Benghazi in the same month, however, some Turks officers decided to stay in the country and help the Libyans to resist Italian colonialism<sup>834</sup>. Even if they were few in number, they still managed to influence the *Jihad* process. They were divided into two sections: the first section remained in the areas surrounding the city of Tripoli, and the other section directed towards Cyrenaica in the east where they received commands from ‘Aziz al-Māṣrī in Benghazi, while in Derna the leadership was

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<sup>832</sup> Wathīqā bidūn Tarqīm, al-‘arshīf al-‘ūthmānī, mursala min nazarat al-ḥrbīyya al-‘ūthmāniyya ilā al-safārā al-‘ūthmāniyya fī Lundun, shu‘bat al-wathāiq al-ajnaḇīyya, al-markaz al-waṭānī li-l-māḥafūḍāt wa al-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>833</sup> Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Tripolis, R141612, Nr. 691, May 1912.

<sup>834</sup> See J. C. Ewald Falls, *Drei Jahre in der libyschen Wüste. Reisen, Entdeckungen und Ausgrabungen der Frankfurter Menasexpedition (Kaufmannsche Expedition)*, von Freiburg, Herder, 1911, 381p.

entrusted to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk<sup>835</sup>. The chief of command for the region of Cyrenaica was Anwar Pasha, who was able to organize the *Mujāhidīn* there, and he was the field commander in several attacks against Italian soldiers. For instance he commanded the attack on the Italian fortifications in Lombardia and Calabria<sup>836</sup>, but Anwar Pasha was forced to leave Libya in 1912. The commander was then ‘Aziz al-Māṣrī in the eastern region<sup>837</sup>. Then he was transferred to the area of al-Jaghbūb where Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī lived and informed him with the latest developments of events and what Turkey had decided concerning Libya, and that Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī became in charge. Anwar Pasha left then to Turkey. The resistance was united in eastern Libya under the leadership of Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī, who moved to the east of the country and took over<sup>838</sup>.

The political and military developments led the Libyans to regroup and take a stand to defend their land. They entered in fierce battles against the Italians since the beginning of the invasion along the Libyan coast. The most important battles were al-Hani, (called Sharee al-Shat) the coast route in October 1911, when the militants managed to repel the Italian attack, despite the big difference in the equipments and the number of soldiers<sup>839</sup>. The battle of Sydī Abdeul Jālīl in the west of the city of Tripoli on June 8, 1912 was recognized by the Italians themselves as was one of effective battles. The Italian wanted to extend their control over the entire west coast of the country<sup>840</sup>.

At this stage the *Mujāhidīn* led by Sulaymān al-Bārūnī, Muḥammed Abdullah al-Būsayfī and Moḥammed Sūwfal-Maḥmudi were able to resist the Italians for a period of time during which many battles took place like the battle of Jendouba in the March 23, 1913, which was one of the important battles in the history of the Libyan *Jihad* and despite the courageous resistance of the *Mujāhidīn*, but they were unable to stand for long against the Italian forces which were well equipped. The result of this battle was the defeat of the *Mujāhidīn* and the success of the Italians in controlling the mountain area in western part of the country. Later on, they were able to control the entire western region of South Libya including Swanee bn Adam, Sidi Kraim Alqrbā in eastern Libya. This was the first battle to be under the command of Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīfa

<sup>835</sup> Ziyada, *Lībiyā fī al-‘uṣūr al-ḥadīthā*, p. 82; Manā‘, *judhūr al-niḍāl al-‘arabī...*, p. 26.

<sup>836</sup> Shukrī, *al-Sanūsiyya dīn wa daula*, pp. 138,140.

<sup>837</sup> Rāshid, Aḥamad Ismā‘īl, *tārīkh ‘aqtār al-maghrīb al-‘arabī al-sīyāsī al-ḥadīth wa al-mu‘āṣir (Lībiyā- Tūnis- al-jazā‘ir - al-maghrīb - Mūrītāniya)*, dāral-nāḥḍā al-‘arabiyya, Bayrūt, 2004, p. 38.

<sup>838</sup> Maḥmūd, *Lībiyā baina al-māḍi wa al-ḥādīr*, pp. 224-225; Shukrī, *al-Sanūsiyya dīn wa daula*, pp. 138,146.

<sup>839</sup> Ismā‘īl, *tārīkh Afrīqiyā al-ḥadīth...*, p. 273; Rāshid, *tārīkh ‘aqtār al-maghrīb al-‘arabī...*, p. 41.

<sup>840</sup> al-Tilīsī, *ma‘arik al-jihād al-lībī...*, p. 30.

member of al-Sanūsiyya movement<sup>841</sup>. The battle took place on May 16, 1913. The *Mujāhidīn* were able to defeat the Italians, and forced them to reorganize their forces and to take into account the entry of al-Sanūsiyya movement into the war as a new factor.

The Italian forces in Libya experienced repeated defeats at the hands of the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* despite the big difference in the armament and number of troops. The battle called Gasr Bu Hadi was famous. It took place on April 28, 1915. This represented a painful defeat to the Italians, and is considered as one of the important battles in the history of the Libyan *Jihad*. It showed clearly the development in the military capability enjoyed by the *Mujāhidīn* and their ability to take advantage of the prevailing conditions. The Italian defeat forced the Italian commander Colonel Miani to flee the battlefield with the rest of the soldiers<sup>842</sup>. This defeat concurred with their defeat in Europe against the German and Austrian troops and the awful defeat in the battle of Kaptort in World War I. The position of the Italians became very critical, especially in view of the resistance of the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* to the sophisticated Italian weapons at that time. This played a major role in weakening the power of the Italians and forcing them to retreat towards the coastal cities<sup>843</sup>. In order to maintain its survival in Libya Italy had withdrawn its military garrisons scattered around the city of Tripoli, Zuwarah and Al Khums in the west and center of the country. The situation of the Italian troops was critical until the year 1917<sup>844</sup>. They were pushed to take refuge in the French centers deployed on the Libyan-Tunisian border, as well as with the Algerian border<sup>845</sup>.

#### 4.6.1 The Ottoman-al-Sanūsiyya movement Relations:

Al-Sanūsiyya movement began as a religious movement. The leader Sayyid Muḥammad Ibn Ali al-Sanūsī (born 1781- died 1859) was born and grew up in Algeria but settled in Libya after years of travel. The beginning of the movement was in the area of the Green Mountain in the eastern part of Libya<sup>846</sup>. The founder of the movement settled first in Cyrenaica but in 1854

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<sup>841</sup> Evans-Pritchard, the Senusi of Cyrenaica, *Journal of International Africa*, 15-2, 1945, p. 61 ; See also: N. Slousch, Les Senoussiya en Tripolitaine, Revue du monde musulman, 1907.

<sup>842</sup> Hasan, *ṣafahāt min jihādānā al-waṭani*, p. 23.

<sup>843</sup> Hagen, *Die Türkei im Ersten Weltkrieg*, p. 189; Qāsim, " Mwqif Maṣr min al-ḥarb al-ṭarābulisiyya...", p. 340.

<sup>844</sup> al-Tilīsī, Khalīfa Muḥammad, *ba'd al-qurḍabīyya dirāsa fī tārikh al-isti'mār al-iṭālī bi Lībiyā (1922-1930)*, al-dār al-'arabiyya li-l-kitāb, Lībiyā-Tunis, 1978, pp. 5 , 11.

<sup>845</sup> al-Turkī, 'arūsīyya, *fusūl fī tārikh al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya al-tūnīsiyyā al-mu'āshira*, maktabat 'alā' al-dīn - Ṣafāqis, 2005, p. 52.

<sup>846</sup> See: Brūkilmān, *tārikh al-shu'ūb al-islāmīyya*, p. 651; al-Sayyid, Yūsuf, *fajir al- ḥaraka al-islāmīyya al-mu'āshira al-Wahābiyya - al-Sanūsiyya - al-Mahdiyya*, Miṣr al-'arabiyya li-l- nashir wa al-tawzī', al-Qāhirā, 2000, p. 60.

decided to move the headquarters of the movement to the south of the country to be isolated from direct contact with the power of the Turkish ruling at the time. He decided on the AlJaghbug Oasis and used it as base for his operation and home for the al-Sanūsiyyafamily and their followers from 1856<sup>847</sup>.

It seems that the choice of Al-Jaghbug as a base was influenced by several factors. AlJaghbug was far from the centers of political powers in the North Africa region, both the French, who were stationed on the western border, specifically in Tunisia and Algeria, the Ottoman Empire in Libya, and the British in Egypt on the eastern borders of the country. AlJaghbug was also situated on the route of the caravan trade, which was helpful for al-Sanūsiyya movement in terms of the financial returns that this could bring, which would be important in providing a livelihood for the followers living there<sup>848</sup>. The protection that this location allowed the followers to exercise over the caravan traders also enabled them to expand their sovereignty in the region.

Because of the numbers adhering to al-Sanūsiyya movement and the popularity and authority that its followers enjoyed in the region, the Ottoman Empire treated them with certain wariness. The Ottoman-al-Sanūsiyya movement relations had been characterized by mutual caution since the settlement of the al-Sanūsiyya movement in Libya. The Ottomans avoided direct confrontation, preferring instead a policy of cooperation when possible. Their relations tended to be characterized by the principle of mutual interests. For example a decree was issued from Istanbul exempting al-Sanūsiyya movement from paying taxes. This step came as a proactive step to bridge the gap and enhance the relations with them<sup>849</sup>. The movement had the task of protecting and securing the interior affairs in the region where they live.

Thus al-Sanūsiyyabegan to play a significant political and social role in Libya. al-Sanūsiyya movement Order performed their power in their territories stretching from Benghazi to frontiers

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<sup>847</sup> Marx, *Geschichte Afrikas...*, p. 90; 'Amīsh, *al-tārīkh al-sīyāsī...*, p. 87; al-Sayyid, *Fajr al-ḥaraka al-islāmīyya al-mu'ashira...*, p. 60; Shukrī, *al-Sanūsiyya dīn wa dawla*, p. 65 ; Yāghī, *al-dawlā al-'ūthmānīyyā fī al-tārīkh al-islāmī*, p. 29.

<sup>848</sup> On the Senoussiya see Jean-Louis Triaud, *Tchad 1901-1902. Une guerre franco-libyenne oubliée ? Une confrérie musulmane, la Sanūsiyya, face à la France*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 1988, 208 + 32 p and *La légende noire de la Sanūsiyya. Une confrérie musulmane saharienne sous le regard français (1840-1930)*. Paris, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, et Aix-en-Provence, Institut de Recherche et d'Etudes sur le Monde Arabe et Musulman (IREMAM), 1995, 2 volumes, 1151p.

<sup>849</sup> al-Sharīf, Muftāḥ al-Sayyid, *masīrat al-ḥaraka al-waṭniyya al-lībiyya al-Sanūsiyya*, maktabat wahba, al-Qāhirā, 2008, pp. 84,88.

of sub-Sahara Africa<sup>850</sup>. The movement's leaders led the Islamic *Jihad* in eastern Libya during World War I which increased the pressure on the Ottoman Empire to maintain cordial relations with them. Accordingly the two parties signed an agreement regarding their united struggle against European colonialism<sup>851</sup>. The same interest brought al-Sanūsiyya movement together closer to the Ottoman rulers to confront the British in Egypt, as both parties consider serving their interests<sup>852</sup>. The goal that brought them together at this time was to fight the British and the Italians during World War I.<sup>853</sup>

#### 4.6.2 The German Declaration of Neutrality toward the Issue of Libya 1911:

The German government's position was explicitly stated following the announcement of Italy's war on Turkey in Libya. Germany tried to stop the war especially when the Ottoman Sultan submitted a request to some European countries. Germany then took the initiative despite the fact that it was not confident that it would be a success. The resolutions stated by Germany were thought to be moderate and included proposing a truce to end the military conflict and giving Italy some geographic areas in Libya and the necessity of negotiation and reconciliation between the two parties<sup>854</sup>.

The direct order from the German Emperor was to conduct the mediation in favor of the Ottoman Empire with Italy, stressing that the effort should be undertaken as a long term project, rather than a one-off attempt. This position was very different from the position of the rest of the European countries which took a neutral stance to the whole issue<sup>855</sup>. However they applied practically the terms of the conventions signed with the Italian government. This was obvious in the response of King George of Britain to the request submitted by the Ottoman Sultan to stop the Italian invasion in the province Tripoli. The King of Britain then apologized, citing the inability of Britain to do this role, and it would only remain neutral<sup>856</sup>.

<sup>850</sup> Minawi, Mostafa, *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz*, Stanford University Press, Stanford California, 2016 p. 29.

<sup>851</sup> Marx, *Geschichte Afrikas* ..., p. 149.

<sup>852</sup> al-Sharīf, Miṭāḥ al-Sayyid, *al-Sanūsiyya*, dār al-istiglāl, al-Qāhirā, 2008, p. 178; For the roots of these confrontations see A.A. Boahen, Britain, *the Sahara and the Western Sudan, 1788-1861*, London, 1964.

<sup>853</sup> Wathīqā 47, *al-wathāiq al-iṭāliyya*, p. 166; Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā*..., p.51; As will be shown in chapter 6

<sup>854</sup> Mīkhā'īl, *al-'alāqāt al-injīlīziyya al-lībbīyya*..., p. 32.

<sup>855</sup> Ibid.

<sup>856</sup> Baghnī, 'Amr Sā'īd, Wathīqa 376, " mukhtārāt min maḥfūdāt shu'bat al-wathāiq wa al-makhtūṭāt bi markaz jihād al-lībbīyyīn ḍid al-ghazū al-iṭālī ", *majalat al-wathāiq wa al-mukhtārāt*, markaz jihād al-lībbīyyīn ḍid al-ghazū al-iṭālī, Ṭarābulis, p. 156.

The position of Germany could be also classified in the category of neutrality, but with a note on what Germany was trying to achieve on the ground. Germany took the initiative at this stage, especially at the expense of Britain, in addition to trying to attract the largest number of countries to pursue a policy of peace. However they were seeking to get the maximum advantages of doing so.

In sum, the German approach was new in the modern European politics. It considered as a kind of political maneuvering which had been pioneered by Germany and excelled in implementing as they succeeded in leading the situations during the dispute between the Italian and the Turkish until the outbreak of war between them in Libya.

Germany continued to assume their responsibilities towards the issue of Libya, and their neutrality led to their being asked by Italy to protect their interests with the Turkish side. The same request was also made by the Ottoman Empire. Therefore Germany took over the evacuation of the Ottoman Turks from Tripoli using German shipping. They evacuated people including soldiers, doctors and pharmacists who had decided to leave the country. The German consul Alfred Tilger was in charge of their evacuation<sup>857</sup>. He also mediated to transfer the belongings and properties of the Turkish soldiers which were in Libya to Istanbul in 1913. It should be pointed out that the German ship call Olos secured the transfer of this baggage<sup>858</sup>. The position of German public opinion did not differ from the position of their government, thus when the Italian fleet visited the ports of the province of Tripoli, the German newspapers took a unified stance. They showed their reservation about the move<sup>859</sup>.

#### **4.6.3 The German Doctors and Health Missions in Tripoli:**

Tripoli was a station for many German doctors who arrived there during varying periods of time, many of them who provided their services to the local residents. It is to be noted that during the Italian invasion in Libya; German had sent a health mission to Libya in 1912. In this part of the research the issue of the German health mission in the province of Tripoli is going to be divided into two phases: The first deals with the German doctors who had worked individually and most of them were travellers, the second phase included the mission sent by the German Red Cross to Libya in 1912.

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<sup>857</sup>Ghānim, *al-bi'thā al-'almāniyya ilā Lībiyā...*, p. 25.

<sup>858</sup> al-Sāhlī, Khālīl, " wamaḍāt min al-wathāiq al-'ūthmāniyyā ḥawl al-fatra al-'ūla min al-jihād al-lībi", *majalat al-shahīd*, al-'adad al-thālith, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn did al-ghazū al-iṭāli, Ṭarābulis, 1982, p. 295.

<sup>859</sup>Yaḥya, al-maghrib al-kabīr..., p. 713.

### 5.6.3.1 Individual German Doctors in Libya:

The doctors came to Tripoli individually and on an unofficial basis. They were also included in the category of travellers and geographic explorers. On top of those was Gerhard Rohlfs who did not have a medical degree because he did not complete his education at the German universities. Instead he stopped his studies of medicine and decided to travel to a new country. Gerhard Rohlfs studied the health situation in the province of Tripoli and visited a number of hospitals in the east and south of the province in 1865. He provided a lot of information in his writings in terms of organization and methods of treatments used in the country.

The historical information indicates the presence of another German doctor who was responsible for the hospital in the city of Benghazi in the east of the country during the second half of the nineteenth century<sup>860</sup>. The doctor Gustav Nachtigal differed from his predecessors because he had a great experience in the region in general. He also studied the health situations in the province of Tripoli in terms of the spread of diseases, and particularly these coming from the mid- Africa carried by trade caravans. Moreover he studied the customs, traditions and ways of indigenous medicine<sup>861</sup>.

Nachtigal had an opportunity to practice his profession and in addition to the practice of his work he wrote a book in which he addressed communicable diseases in the region<sup>862</sup>. He pointed out which areas had good climate and were suitable for better life. It worth mentioning that the book was focused on the south of the country and referred to diseases including typhus, malaria, fever, and cholera which was the main cause of death of many residents in addition to the smallpox and other diseases<sup>863</sup>. Nachtigal referred to tuberculosis as the most serious common disease<sup>864</sup>. He also described the local methods of treatment, which tended to be unsuccessful, and referred to the belief of the local people that some diseases originated from *al-jinn* (means supernatural creatures) and could be prevented by using the amulets or hanging some parts of the animals to

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<sup>860</sup> Ghānim, *al-bi'thā al-'almāniyya ilā Lībiyā...*, p. 16.

<sup>861</sup> al-Fandarī, Munīr (Translator), *ṭabīb al-maḥala al-bilād al-tūnīsīyya fima bain 1863-1868 min khilāl rasā'il al-ṭabīb al-'a l-mānī Ghūstāf Nākhtijāl*, markaz al-nashir al-jamī'i, Tūnis, 2003, pp. 47- 48.

<sup>862</sup> Nachtigal, Gustav, *Sahara und Sudan*, 3 vols, Berlin – Leipzig: Weltgeist-Bücher Verlags-Gesellschaft m.b.h., 1879–1889.

<sup>863</sup> See on the cholera deseas in Tripoli, Tripoli, cadavres de cholériques [Image fixe] : [photographie de presse] [Agence Rol], BNF Paris, Gallica, [Novembre 1911], Reference 17336. And see also Tripoli, cadavres de cholériques [Image fixe] : [photographie de presse], [Agence Rol] Publication : [Novembre 1911] Reference-17321. See as well on the same issue, Tripoli, cadavres de cholériques [Image fixe] : [photographie de presse] / [Agence Rol] Publication : [Novembre 1911] Idem, Reference 17314.

<sup>864</sup> Ghānim, *al-bi'thā al-'almāniyya ilā Lībiyā...*, pp. 19-20.

expel *al-jinn*<sup>865</sup>. Nachtigal provided his medical services to the local people. Here he was helped by his experience gained in both Algeria and Tunisia. He also benefited from the local healers who were not only men, but there were a number of older women who practiced the profession of indigenous treatment according to their experience. Nachtigal had noted that the modern medical knowledge has not yet reached these parts of the country<sup>866</sup>. His work intended to first help the local people to combat epidemic diseases and the second intention was to give a clear picture to the government in Germany about the existing epidemic diseases in the north and center of Africa<sup>867</sup>. They benefited a lot from this information in establishing their colonies there. In 1911 -the first year of the Italian war in Libya- the German doctor Felix Tlhaber volunteered to work in Libya and was working with the Turkish Red Crescent and he remained in Libya from November 1911 to January 1912<sup>868</sup>. Tlhaber arrived to Libya and headed to Al Aziziyah which was taken by the *Mujāhidīnas* a gathering point and a military center of their leadership<sup>869</sup>. He referred to one lady, a widow of a German captain in the army who provided Tlhaber an offer to establish a hospital in Libya. Tlhaber found the health situation to be very bad in the country and this prompted him to send a telegram to Berlin urging them to prepare a German medical clinic to provide emergency aid to the people in Libya. He made great efforts in order to get the approval of the German authorities<sup>870</sup>.

#### **4.6.3.2 The German Health Mission to Libya in 1912:**

This stage came in the framework of efforts of the German government in order to provide medical assistance to the Libyan specifically the victims of the Italian war, as well as providing treatment for the many common diseases in the country. The Italian attack on Tripoli had echoed strongly in Germany and there was a great sympathy with the people of the country, as the news presented the inhumane behavior of the Italian forces in Libya that found stiff opposition from the German public opinion.

The German authorities submitted a request to the Italians in order to provide such assistance, but the offer was rejected<sup>871</sup>. At the same time another request was submitted to the Ottoman

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<sup>865</sup>Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, pp. 144, 147,158.

<sup>866</sup> Ghānim, *al-bi`thā al-`almāniyya ilā Lībiyā*..., p. 22.

<sup>867</sup>Nākhtījāl, *al-Saḥrā` wa bilād al-Sūdān*...,p. 213, 215.

<sup>868</sup> Ghānim, (Translator), *taqārīr bi`that al-ṣalīb al-aḥmar al-`almānī*, p. 9.

<sup>869</sup> felex Tlhaber.....p.17. ???

<sup>870</sup>felex Tlhaber.....pp.17,97.

<sup>871</sup> Ghānim, (Translator), *taqārīr bi`that al-ṣalīb al-aḥmar al-`almānī*..., p.17.

authorities, who welcomed the idea and the Ottoman Red Crescent started to be involved to provide great help to the local people in Libya at this critical time<sup>872</sup>.

It is worth noting that the timing of the proposal to provide financial aid was at Christmas in Germany, a period of celebrations and therefore it was not possible to collect the amount of money necessary for the preparation of the medical mission and sent to Libya. On the other hand, the German Red Cross was unable to provide such amount of money. Thus an appeal was announced to collect donations from the people; however they were not sufficient to cover the expenses of the mission. The German officials had tried to overcome this financial problem<sup>873</sup>.

The idea of sending a health mission prompted a number of Germans who were working in the field of trade and industry in addition to bankers to form a special committee which had taken upon itself the responsibility of financing and supporting the health mission to Libya<sup>874</sup>.

Due to the concerted efforts of many Germans, they succeeded to equip the mission, which included three doctors, including Dr. Goebel who was the chef of the mission, Dr. Fritz, and Dr. Schütze besides three of the medical students and twelve nurses<sup>875</sup> and a chemical doctor and electricity technician and a mechanical worker, and it was noted that they came from different cities<sup>876</sup>.

After the group completed their preparations they started their journey on a ship called (Pera) from Hamburg in January 11, 1912<sup>877</sup> towards the port of Ben Guerdane, which was located on the Libyan-Tunisian border. Three hundred camels and twelve wagons were rented to transport the luggage and materials to Gharyan which they decided to establish the medical center of the mission; the mission had been fully equipped with equipment, medical devices, food, medicines and others.

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<sup>872</sup> Ghānim, (Translator), *taqārīr bi‘that al-ṣalīb al-aḥmar al-‘almānī...*, p.17.

<sup>873</sup> Ibid.

<sup>874</sup> Beiträge zur Kriegsheilkunde aus den Hilfsunternehmungen der Deutschen Vereine vom Roten1 Kreuz Während des Italienisch–Türkischen Feldzuges 1912 und des Balkankrieges 1912 /13, Kimmle, Die Hilfsexpeditionen des Deutschen Roten Kreuzes nach Tripolitanien (1912) und nach dem Balkan (1912 und 1913), Beiträge zur Kriegsheilkunde, Berlin, 1914, p. 1.

<sup>875</sup> al-Barīkī, ‘Abdul-Raḥmān ‘Umar, " al-ṭīb al-sha‘bi wa dūr al-ba‘athāt khilāl fatrat al-jihād", *majalat al-shahīd*, al-‘adad al-‘ishir, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis, 1989, p. 140.

<sup>876</sup> Beiträge zur Kriegsheilkunde aus den Hilfsunternehmungen der Deutschen Vereine vom Roten1 Kreuz Während des Italienisch–Türkischen Feldzuges 1912 und des Balkankrieges 1912 /13, Kimmle, Die Hilfsexpeditionen des Deutschen Roten Kreuzes nach Tripolitanien (1912) und nach dem Balkan (1912 und 1913), Beiträge zur Kriegsheilkunde, Berlin, 1914, p. 1.

<sup>877</sup> Beiträge zur Kriegsheilkunde aus den Hilfsunternehmungen der Deutschen Vereine vom Roten1 Kreuz Während des Italienisch–Türkischen Feldzuges 1912 und des Balkankrieges 1912 /13..., p. 2.

It is worth noting that although the mission and the establishment of the hospital were directed mainly to provide the necessary services for people in the war zones and equipped according to the pattern of military missions, the hospital's function was not limited to this but also took care of Libyan patients who suffered from chronic diseases like typhoid, malaria and lung diseases and other diseases prevalent in the country at that time. The German doctors spared no effort in helping the local people, according to reports from those involved in the hospital treatment was evident that about 1,000 patients were treated<sup>878</sup>, the diseases were also mentioned as follows: 43 patients with skin diseases, about 122 are suffering from esoteric diseases, and a number of 750 suffering from injuries or different diseases<sup>879</sup>. Despite the seriousness of these diseases, they had been handled by the German doctors, some of whom also became infected. Dr. Schütze and two of his assistants died. All were buried in Gharyan<sup>880</sup>.

It could be argued that the German mission provided great services to the Libyans in spite of the period of time they spent in the country which was relatively short. Moreover, the results of their scientific research had been very important in terms of assessing the situation and the identification of the communicable diseases and the indigenous treatments methods and medicine. Most importantly of all was moral support provided by the Germans to the people of the country in a critical period. This positive German position was realized by the international community and became a feature of the German politics that had been adopted during the First World War<sup>881</sup>.

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<sup>878</sup> Beiträge zur Kriegsheilkunde aus den Hilfsunternehmungen der Deutschen Vereine vom Roten Kreuz Während des Italienisch – Türkischen Feldzuges 1912 und des Balkankrieges 1912 /13..., p .10.

<sup>879</sup> Ghānim , (Translator), *taqārīr bi 'that al-ṣalīb al-aḥmar al-'almānī* ..., pp. 19,22,25.

<sup>880</sup> al-Barīkī, " al-ṭīb al-sha'bi...", p.140.

<sup>881</sup> Ghānim, *al-bi'thā al-'almāniyya ilā Lībiyā*..., pp22.

## Chapter Five

### German-Ottoman Rapprochement Policy and its Impact on the Situations in Libya during World War I (1914-1918)

#### 5.0 Introduction:

This chapter focuses on the German-Ottoman policy of rapprochement and its impact on the situation in Tripoli during the World War I 1914-1918. The chapter starts with brief description of the main events and causes of World War I and the German-Ottoman rapprochement during the war. It includes the German and the Ottoman policy towards Britain and France and their ambitions in the Mediterranean among other themes related to this topic during this period of time. This stage is viewed as an important turning point in international politics because of the seriousness of the situation and the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

This chapter begins by examining the German position toward the Libyan *Jihad*, with special emphasis on the German motives and goals. It will then discuss the German support for the Ottoman Empire and the presence of Germany in Libya. This was after an explicit announcement on the part of Germany that they would play a more active role in the political developments of the country by supporting the national Libyan movements in the country. Here they concentrated their support on two main currents of nationalism; the movement headed by Ramaḍān al-Swiḥlī (1879-1920) and Sulaymān al-Bārūnī (1872-1940) in the west and the al-Sanūsīyya in the east<sup>882</sup>. Sulaymān al-Bārūnī, who came from a relatively distinguished family and represented the area of the Western Mountain tried to organize a force to oppose the Italian landings but did not receive the support of the Ottoman government.<sup>883</sup>In addition to these currents, Germany also supported the Ottoman Empire in the revival of its influence in Libya.

This development led to the declaration of war against the British in Egypt in 1915 according to the German-Ottoman geo-strategic project that aimed to weaken the power of the British in the Mediterranean. The main battles of the Ottoman war against the British in Egypt are to be illustrated also in this chapter.

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<sup>882</sup> Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, Tripolis, Nr. A33454, 9-12-1916, R16106; On Ramaḍān al-Swiḥlī see Ronald Bruce St. John, *Historical Dictionary of Libya* (Toronto, 2014), p. 316.

<sup>883</sup> Timothy W. Childs, *Italo-Turkish Diplomacy and the War over Libya 1911-1912*, Leiden, 1990, p. 89.

This chapter concludes with an examination of the German policy towards Libya at the end of the First World War in 1918, and an analysis of how this was reflected in international developments on the orientation of the policy in Libya. It will also consider how the defeat of Germany and the Ottoman Empire in World War I led them to abandon their project in Libya and the region more generally.

## 5.1 World War I:

World War I is seen as an influential event in the history of the world as it included the major powers and took place in different continents. The beginning of World War I was when the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne was assassinated on 28. June 1914, and the government in Austria declared official by Serbia to be involved and started the hostilities after refusing any sort of negotiation<sup>884</sup>. The major powers mainly Russia, Germany, France, Britain joined the hostilities, which developed into a world War<sup>885</sup>. It is argued in the literature that the major causes behind World War I were economic imperialism in terms of extending colonies outside Europe driven by the industrial revolution, which is the focus of this research. Other factors are also listed, such as the nationalism movements, and the system of secret alliances and agreements that divided Europe into two main alliances<sup>886</sup>. One was the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austro-Hungary, in May 1915<sup>887</sup>. The other alliance was of France, Russia and Great Britain; Italy announced that they joined into the Allies. In 1914, with the outbreak of the First World War the world was divided into two camps. The Ottoman Empire later joined the alliance of Germany, Austro-Hungary. In addition to these two alliances, there were many other alliances and agreements signed secretly or publically between the major powers or included other countries<sup>888</sup>. Moreover one of the main causes of World War I was the desire of the major powers to expand their navies and military forces and control more territories.

As the war continued the smaller countries and states joined these two main powers in accordance with their political and economic interests. As stated in literature<sup>889</sup> that the fighting

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<sup>884</sup>Richard F. Hamilton, Holger H. Herwig, *The origins of World War I*, Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 2003, p. 10.

<sup>885</sup>Hamilton and Herwig, *The origins of World War I*, p. 12.

<sup>886</sup>Hamilton and Herwig, *The origins of World War I*, p. 16.

<sup>887</sup> Straub, Eberhard, *Weltgeschichte im 20 Jahrhundert*, Daten, Fakten, Dokumenten in Chronologischem Überblick, München, 1985, p. 58.

<sup>888</sup>Hamilton and Herwig, *The origins of World War I*, p. 10.

<sup>889</sup> Koller Christian, *The Recruitment of Colonial Troops in Africa and Asia and their Deployment in Europe during the First World War*, Routledge, Immigrants & Minorities Vol. 26, Nos. 1/2, March/July 2008, pp. 111–133.

extended rapidly in several other countries including Japan, Belgium, New Zealand, South Africa who joined the German colonies in Africa, Asia and the Pacific.

The Ottomans decided to enter the War on the side of Germany in 29 October 1914<sup>890</sup> after signing a military contract with them in 27. October 1913. The contract stipulated that Germany would take over the reform in the Ottoman military forces<sup>891</sup>. This was a step done by Grand Vizier and Minister of War Mahmud Shevket Pasha (1856-1913) who was trying to restore the Ottoman Empire that was falling due to the loss of several territories and much power in the Ottoman-Italian War of 1911 or the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913<sup>892</sup>.

## **5.2 The Ottomans Declaring *Jihad* Backed by Germany:**

Part of the efforts of the Germans and the Ottomans was to mobilize as much support for their entrance into the war as possible. Towards this end the policy makers in the Ottoman Empire promoted the idea of Islamic Holy *Jihad*, and asked the Islamic countries, especially those were under their control, to join them on this basis. It seems likely that this strategy was developed in response to a suggestion by an official at the German Embassy in Cairo, Von Oppenheim.<sup>893</sup> By invoking the concept of *Jihad* the Germans hoped to mobilize a larger degree of Muslim support for their efforts against the Russian<sup>894</sup>, British and French forces in the region<sup>895</sup>.

Thus the propaganda of the German and Ottoman Empire began to be directed towards Libya according to German-Ottoman plans which had been prepared previously. The first step was the declaration of *Jihad* against England, France and Russia made by the Ottoman Sultan Mohammed V (1844 - 1918)<sup>896</sup>. He used then a *Fatwa*<sup>897</sup> provided by the *Shaykh al-Islam* in

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<sup>890</sup> Uyar and Erickson, *A military history of the Ottomans : from Osman to Atatürk Praeger Security International*, Santa Barbara, Calif [u.a.], 2009, p. 243.

<sup>891</sup> Uyar and Erickson, *A military history of the Ottomans...*, p 237.

<sup>892</sup> Uyar and Erickson, *A military history of the Ottomans...*, p. 236.

<sup>893</sup> Hagen, *Die Türkei im Ersten Weltkrieg*, p. 13.

<sup>894</sup> Lüdke, Tilman, (Not), *Using Political Islam: The German Empire and its Failed Propaganda Campaign in the Near and Middle East 1914-1918 and Beyond*, In Zürcher, Erik-Jan, *Jihad and Islam in World War I: Studies on the Ottoman Jihad on the Centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's "Holy War Made in Germany"*, Leiden University Press, 2016 p 83.

<sup>895</sup> Lüdke, Tilman, *Jihad made in Germany : Ottoman and German propaganda and intelligence operations in the First World War*, Lit, Münster, 2005.

<sup>896</sup> Wathīqā 46, *al-wathāiq al-iṭālīyyā*, al-majmū'ā al-'ūl ā, translated by Shamis al-Dīn 'Urābī, i'dād al-Furjānī Sālīm al-Sharīf, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn dīd al-ghazū al-iṭālī, Tarābulis, 1989, p. 163; For an overview see Philip Hendrick Stoddard, *The Ottoman Government and the Arabs 1911 to 1918*, Phd dissertation, Princeton University, 1963.

<sup>897</sup> Is a legal opinion or learned interpretation of a qualified jurist or mufti which is given on issues pertaining to Islamic law Hallaq, Wael B. "Fatwa". *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa*. Encyclopedia.com

Istanbul supporting the necessity of *Jihad* in the path of God against the enemies of religion, particularly when these had taken control of the Islamic countries<sup>898</sup>. Thus a set of messages and letters was prepared and addressed to the leaders of *Jihad* in those countries, including Libya, which occupied an important place in the German-Ottoman military plans at that time due to its strategic location<sup>899</sup>.

The Turkish authorities worked hard on this project and presented it to the Arab politicians residing in Turkey at the time. These included the Libyan Bashīr al-Sa‘adāwī, and the *Shaykh* Ṣaleh al-Tūnisī, Muḥammad Farīd and ‘Alī Pasha Ḥāmbah and others. These individuals, who made up a committee called *Lajnat Tashkilāt Makhṣūṣa* headed by Sulaymān al-‘Askarī, were amongst the most prominent political personalities of the period and were considered essential for supporting the propagation of the idea of *Jihad*. Muḥammad Farīd was the head of the Egyptian Nationalist Party (al-Ḥizb al-waṭanī al-miṣrī) whilst ‘Alī Pash Ḥāmbah and Saleh al-Tūnisī were leaders in a Tunisian movement calling for the removal of the French occupation in Tunisia<sup>900</sup>.

The idea was approved by the majority, except Bashīr al-Sa‘adāwī, who justified his reservations on the grounds that the *Mujāhidīn* in Libya were not in a position to confront the British and the Italians at the same time and that it would be better to expel the Italians before approaching the British. However, the enthusiasm of the others for the idea, and the support of Enver Pash in 1914, which showed great confidence in the success of this work, led them to send a message to Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf urging him to stand by the Ottoman Empire and to declare war on its enemies. A number of letters were sent for this purpose, particularly to Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf, who led the war in eastern Libya against the Italians. The letters encouraged him to support the plans to weaken the British military presence in Egypt, from the Libyan side of the border. At the same time they requested Anwar Pasha from Bashīr al-Sa‘adāwī to accompany the Ottomans officers to Tripoli, but he apologized because the duty did not conform to his political stances towards this work precisely<sup>901</sup>.

The Germans and the Ottomans tried to support *Jihad* movements in many Arabic countries where the allies ruled, including Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya. In the next part of the

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<sup>898</sup>Hagen, *Die Türkei im Ersten Weltkrieg*, p. 190 .

<sup>899</sup> See Luca Micheletta and Andrea Ungari, *L'Italia e la guerra nella Libia*, Roma, Storia Studium, 1974, 490p.

<sup>900</sup>Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, p. 52; Shukrī, *mīlād dawlat Lībiyā al-ḥadītha...*, p. 245.

<sup>901</sup>Shukrī, *mīlād dawlat Lībiyā al-ḥadītha...*, pp. 460-461.

chapter their support to al-Sanūsiyya movement to fight the British in Egypt instead of fighting the Italians in Libya is going to be illustrated.

### **5.3 The German- Ottoman Support to al-Sanūsiyya Movement:**

The Ottoman Empire decided to revive their influence in Libya in 1914. The Libyan population responded positively to the renewed interest of the Ottoman Empire<sup>902</sup>. This gave Germany, as an Ottoman ally, more opportunity to develop its own presence in the region. The decision of the Ottomans to revive their influence in Libya was supported by the German government, which wanted to reduce the control of the allied nations everywhere. The methods they chose to use to achieve this goal included spreading unrest and military skirmishes and supporting the revolts against the European powers particularly in the Arab countries, for example the British in Egypt and to increase the level of resistance against the Italian occupation in Libya<sup>903</sup>.

Meanwhile, there were two main factions within the Libyan *Jihad* movement. The first of these was the Western Independent Libyan Movement, which was led by Ramaḍān al-Swīhlī and Sulaymān al-Bārūnī and was based in Misurata<sup>904</sup>. The second faction was al-Sanūsiyya movement led by Sayyid Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī in the eastern region of the country<sup>905</sup>.

The debate within the German political field was about which of two factions Germany should support and which would be more beneficial to German-Ottoman interests.<sup>906</sup> The decision was finally taken to support the al-Sanūsiyya movement, by supplying them with ammunition and weapons 1915<sup>907</sup>. Al-Sharīf had been recognized by the Ottoman Empire and was even granted the title of Deputy Sultan in the region by the Ottoman Sultan (See Appendix 3). He was also visited by Enver Pasha at the movement's headquarters in southern part of the country in al-

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<sup>902</sup> Shukrī, *mīlād dawlat Lībiyā al-ḥadītha...*, pp. 460-461.

<sup>903</sup> Yāghī, *al-dawlā al-‘uthmāniyya fī al-tarīkh al-islāmī*, p. 317.

<sup>904</sup> For information on these two individuals see above, p. 214.

<sup>905</sup> On the Sanussiyya movement see Dirk Vandewalle, *A History of Modern Libya*, Cambridge, 2012, pp.17-25; On the Sanussiyya see Jean-Louis Triaud, *La légende noire de la Sanūsiyya. Une confrérie musulmane saharienne sous le regard français (1840-1930)*, Paris, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, et Aix-en-Provence (IREMAM), 1995, 2 volumes, 1151 p. And also : Jean-Louis Triaud, *Tchad 1901-1902. Une guerre franco-libyenne oubliée ? Une confrérie musulmane, la Sanūsiyya, face à la France*, Paris, L’Harmattan, 1988, 208p.

<sup>906</sup> Politisches Archiv, Das Auswärtigen Amts, Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Bd 17, R 16122, Nr. A33454, 9 / 12 / 1916.

<sup>907</sup> Ibid.

Jaghbug and handed the decision issued by the Sultan that appointed him as his deputy and deliver him the leadership of the region in Libya<sup>908</sup>.

The same period also witnessed the arrival of Nuri Pasha, an emissary of his brother Enver Pasha, and Jā'far al- 'Askarī, an Ottoman officer of Iraqi origins<sup>909</sup> who arrived on board a German submarine which docked in the port of Purdi on the east coast of Libya in December 1914<sup>910</sup>. The Ottoman authorities sent with them the higher ranked medals and a senior medal to Sayyid Aḥmed Sharīf and other members of the al-Sanūsiyyamovement<sup>911</sup>. They held a meeting attended by these parties as well as some al-Sanūsiyyachieftains and advisers of Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf at the end of 1914. The discussion was about the establishment of an Islamic State in North Africa supported by Germany and the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Sultan addressed an appeal to Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf to support the declaration of holy war against the British, Italians, French and Russians, alluding to the serious situation that might result from the control of these countries on the Islamic world and added that this would weaken the power of Islam<sup>912</sup>. Therefore, religion obliged him to fight these enemies. Sultan Mehmed V (ruled 1909-1918) also tried to influence Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf by sending him a letter praising the founder of the al-Sanūsiyyamovement, and mentioned his efforts to protect Islam and the respect that al-Sanūsiyyathe movement enjoyed in Libya and the Muslim world<sup>913</sup>. The Sultan did not fail to mention Germany in this letter where he confirmed it as friend to the Muslims and a God-given means to reform the situations of their countries. He added that this was a real opportunity to get rid of the occupation of the Italian, French and British alike. The Sultan had pointed out that their declaration of *Jihad* would lead the rest of the peoples in North Africa to follow them, enabling them to obtain freedom and all their rights<sup>914</sup>. The majority of

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<sup>908</sup>Politisches Archiv, Das Auswärtigen Amts, Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Bd 17, R 16122, Nr. A33454, 9 / 12 / 1916.

<sup>909</sup> Wathīqā 47, *al-wathāiq al-iṭāliyya*, p. 166.

<sup>910</sup> Shukrī, *al-Sanūsiyya dīn wa daula*, p. 247.

<sup>911</sup> Wathīqā 49, *al-wathāiq al-iṭāliyya*, p. 179.

<sup>912</sup> Manā', Muḥammad 'Abdul-Razāq, *Aḥmad al-Sharīf ḥayātahu wa jihādahu*, mu'assasat nāṣir li-l-thaqāfa, dār al-Waḥda, (D.T), p. 70.

<sup>913</sup> Hagen, *Die Türkei im Ersten Weltkrieg*, p. 200; *Trablus al Garb fi al-wathāiq al- 'utmaiyya*, Istanbul, 2013, p. 577.

<sup>914</sup> On the *Jihad* and Germany see the work of Tilman , *Jihad made in Germany...*, 251p; Hagen , *Die Türkei im Ersten Weltkrieg*, pp. 200,203.

people supported the idea of Muslim *Jihad* against the infidels, especially in the light of the assistance promised by Germany<sup>915</sup>.

Germany was able to send a group of German and Turk officers to the *Mujāhidīn* camps in eastern Libya in November 1914 to train the *Mujāhidīn* on the use of weapons. Moreover, the Germans provided them with submarines, which were the most effective weapon during this stage due to their ability to move more freely and in accordance with the scheduled time and well studied plans. Germany relied heavily upon the use of submarines during World War I, both in the military operations or as a safe means of communication between them and their allies. The submarines were also used to transfer arms and military equipment, and for the transport of soldiers to and from the shores of Libya<sup>916</sup>. Some submarines were well known such as the submarine UC20 and UC73 and UC12, (more information is given about this in the last chapter) which was rebuilt in August 19, 1912 and began its activity towards the Libyan coast in early December 1915. The German submarines started the journey from Kataroa to the port of Purdi and then returned to transfer materials and equipments to be used by the Libyan and Ottomans.<sup>917</sup>In addition to that Germany provided financial aid and other assistance to the Ottomans and the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* in that area. They created the impression that the aid was sent by the Ottoman Empire<sup>918</sup> in order to provide the appropriate environment for the Ottomans to work and so they had great respect from the *Mujāhidīn*<sup>919</sup>.

In this context the German and the Ottomans efforts were focused more on fighting the British in Egypt. Otto Mannesmann was selected by the German political leadership to support their goals in Libya<sup>920</sup>. Mannesmann was one of the intelligence officers of the German army and became the German consul in Libya in October 1914 and in December 1914 he arrived to Libya<sup>921</sup>. It is worth mentioning that Otto Mannesmann was fully aware of the situation in the North Africa region because he was living in Morocco where he oversaw the management of Mannesmann industrial businesses, and he was one of its owners. He also owned also large farms in the area of

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<sup>915</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>916</sup>U – Boote der Keiserlichen Marine an der Libyschen Küste, pp. 1-5.

<sup>917</sup> U – Boote der Keiserlichen Marine an der Libyschen Küste, p.1.

<sup>918</sup> Wathīqā 48, *al-wathāiq al-īṭāliyya*, pp. 175-176.

<sup>919</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, p. 72.

<sup>920</sup> Ibid.

<sup>921</sup> Ghānim, *'amalīyyat al-ghūwaṣāt al-'almāniyya fī al-miyāh al-lībiyyā...*, pp. 41,45.

Sus in the south of Morocco and he had strong relations with the tribal leaders<sup>922</sup>. Thus he had extensive experience in dealing with the Arabs and their leaders.

Mannesmann had proposed to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs to send a special delegation consisting of Ottoman and German representatives to Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf<sup>923</sup>. The permission of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs was given for the preparations described in the report of the military command in Tripoli<sup>924</sup>. Upon receiving the approval of the Ministry, preparations for the delegation began and the selection of the members of the delegation focused on selecting persons with high capabilities and skills in persuasion to strengthen the idea of the struggle against the British in Egypt but not the Italian in Libya. The Germans took this action because they were aware of the rapprochement between Sayyid Idris al-Sanūsī (Sayyid Idris al-Sanūsī, was supposed to be the leader of the al-Sanūsīyya movement but because he was young the position had been assigned to his cousin Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf until Sayyid Idris became eligible) and the British. Thus careful preparation was taken in order to ensure the success of this delegation. This required also extensive communication with all the parties involved, this was the reason behind the reconstruction of a telegraph station in Misurata. The construction was undertaken by German experts under the supervision of Von Todenwarth<sup>925</sup>.

In 1914 Otto Mannesmann arrived in eastern part of Libya to support the al-Sanūsīyya movement and the Ottoman presence in the region and to serve the strategic interests of Germany<sup>926</sup>. He arrived as part of the German-Ottoman plans to fight against the British in Egypt. Mannesmann was sending his reports to the German military leaders<sup>927</sup>. He was accompanied by the Turkish commander Nuri Pasha. The political significance of their presence in the eastern part of Libya led to discussions about German intervention in Libya within the

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<sup>922</sup> Ghānim, wa Shlūtir " al-Qunṣuliyya al-'almāniyya fī Ṭarābulis..., p. 10.

<sup>923</sup> Sayyid Idris al-Sanusi was also present in the region, Idris al-Sanusi was supposed to be the leader of the al-Senussia movement but because he was young the position had been assigned to his cousin Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf until Sayyid Idris became eligible.

<sup>924</sup> Politisches Archive, Das Auswärtigen Amts, Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Bd 17, R 16122, Nr A33454, 9 / 12 / 1916 .

<sup>925</sup> Ibid.

<sup>926</sup> This finding is supported by a document in the German Political Archive, which contains information for which Mannesmann is described as the source. See: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, Tripolis, R16120, Vom15-2-1914 bis 31-10-1915, Nr. A33454, 9/12/1916.

<sup>927</sup> Politisches Archive des Auswärtigen Amts, Tripolis, R16120, Vom15-2-1914 bis 31-10-1915, Nr. A33454, 9/12/1916.

German Foreign Ministry<sup>928</sup>. The leadership team of the military and political department in the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin was given the responsibility of studying the situations in Libya in general and the military situation in particular. The study was based on the information and reports from Libya especially those derived from the reports of Mannesmann, Oberleutnant von Todenwarth and a third person who was an informant working as an interpreter referred to as Salama. Salama, who receives no further identification in the reports, appeared to have been an Arab and evidently had a great deal of knowledge about the region. The German policy was centered on the Libyan *Jihad* movement and how to use it for German strategic benefit. Mannesmann contacted Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf personally, and mentioned that they were going to present him with a senior medal from the German Emperor and a book selected by him for Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf<sup>929</sup>.

The Italians were present in Libya during this time but had withdrawn their troops to the coastal areas, where they were mainly concentrated in the cities of Tripoli, AlKhums and Benghazi. The Italians placed weak control over some ports like Purdi, Sirte and Misurata, which provided important docking points for German submarines<sup>930</sup>. The Italians also worked to strengthen their relations with Britain in Egypt to put more pressures on the *Mujāhidīn* in the Eastern part of the country<sup>931</sup>.

In the same year in April 1916 the Ottoman Empire sent Sulaymān al-Bārunī to Libya as a governor on behalf of the Ottoman Sultan<sup>932</sup>. Al-Bārunī travelled from Istanbul to Vienna and then on to Libya. His journey took place under the auspices of the German government, who provided al-Bārunī with a German submarine for the last stages of the journey, until his arrival in the city of Misurata.<sup>933</sup> Al-Bārunī was carrying with him the decision of his appointment as a deputy of the Sultan in the West as well as money and weapons that had been provided by the

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<sup>928</sup> Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Tripolis, R16120, Vom 15-2-1914 bis 31-10-1915, Nr. A33454, 9/12/1916.

<sup>929</sup> Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Tripolis, R16120, Vom 15-2-1914 bis 31-10-1915, Nr. A33454, 9/12/1916.

<sup>930</sup> al-Zawī, *jihād al-abṭāl*, p. 303.

<sup>931</sup> Ibid.

<sup>932</sup> al-Turkī, *fuṣūl fī tārikh al-ḥaraka al-waṭanīyya al-tūnisīyyā...*, p. 69.

<sup>933</sup> Politisches Archiv, Das Auswärtigen Amtes, Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis, Bd 17, R 16122, Tripolis, Nr. A27104.

Ottoman Empire<sup>934</sup>. Sulaymān al-Bārunī was able to reorganize the *Mujāhidīn*, and led a movement of struggle against the Italians which continued over the year 1917<sup>935</sup>.

#### **5.4 The Attack on the British Army in Egypt in 1915:**

Meanwhile, the German-Ottoman propaganda to declare *Jihad* had started to spread worldwide. However, a decision could not be taken by Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf who wanted to wait to make an appropriate decision because he stood at a crossroads by then. He wanted to continue the war against the Italians and wished at the same time to secure the help of the Ottomans and the German for his own goals<sup>936</sup>. His relations with the British were not hostile but it was characterized more as being cautious. The two sides did not share the same aims or political direction but in some cases the British did permit aid coming from Egyptian sources to pass over the border to the *Mujāhidīn* in Libya<sup>937</sup>. Apart from Tunisia, this had become the only means by which they could gain access to any form of assistance<sup>938</sup>. In addition to that Britain had also begun to improve their contact with Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf, as they recognized the danger constituted by British by the German-Ottoman presence on the eastern borders of Libya. The British tried to persuade him to join their side to ensure that there would be no more disturbances or disorders on the western border region of Egypt<sup>939</sup>. Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf was frequently visited by the messengers of the British offering their friendship sometimes and other times to be alliances. It worth to refer in this context to one of the messages sent from Lord Kitchener, the commissioner of the British in Egypt and addressed to Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf, which carried expressions of respect and appreciation of the British and indicated at the same time to the importance of his position for them and the British desire for friendship and mutual support. It was a clear attempt to induce him to their side<sup>940</sup>. This was especially after they learned about the presence of Turkish envoys sent to sign an agreement with Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf and alliance

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<sup>934</sup> al-Zawī, *jihād al-abṭāl*, p. 303.

<sup>935</sup> Ismā'īl, *tārīkh Afrīqiyyā al-ḥadīth* ..., p. 453.

<sup>936</sup> Ben Ghalbon, *The Life Times of King Idris of Libya*, E.A.V, De Candole, London, 1990, p. 27.

<sup>937</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā*..., p. 72.

<sup>938</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā*..., p. 72.

<sup>939</sup> Wathīqā 48, *al-wathāiq al-iṭāliyya*, p. 174.

<sup>940</sup> Manā, *Aḥmad al-Sharīf*..., p. 53.

with him against England and Italy<sup>941</sup>. They tried to gain time and to keep Aḥmed Sharīf out of Ottoman-German influence so as not to offer strategic support<sup>942</sup>.

Therefore, Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf was hesitant at the beginning to help Germany and the Ottomans; in addition to that he was aware of the extensive preparations that attacking the British in Egypt would require, including large quantities of equipment and military assistance. Given that the *Mujāhidīn* were constantly involved in smaller conflicts with the Italians, it was a matter of concern as to whether this degree of preparation was possible.

Meanwhile the British imposed a tight control on the Libyan-Egyptian border and the Libyan-Sudanese border. This hampered the progress of convoys loaded with ammunition and weapons coming to Libya. There was then a crippling blockade on the country<sup>943</sup>. The situation was further complicated by the British prevention of many Egyptian volunteers (*mutaṭawwi‘ūn*) leaving to Libya. These volunteers tended to come from the regions of Egypt close to the Libyan border and many of them originated from tribes with Libyan origins<sup>944</sup>. They were inspired by the idea of *Jihad* against European occupation and decided on this basis to make their way to the camps of the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* and to join their battle against the British<sup>945</sup>. This was especially following the Ottoman Empire's entrance into the war in 1914 on the side of Germany and their declaration of *Jihad* against the allied forces.

Given the religious and Islamic principles with which Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf had been educated it would have been difficult for him to relinquish his support of the Ottoman Empire, especially when they raised the banner of Islam and *Jihad* at this time. There was a religious and moral obligation to respond to this appeal, despite the risks that this would cause for him.

Aḥmed al-Sharīf was advised by some people not to support the German and the Ottoman plans. These people included Sultan Hussein Kamel, the Sultan of Egypt, Henry McMahon, the viceroy of the British King in Egypt and British the commander of the British army in Egypt, General Maxwell. Maxwell also offered that the British could help to obtain the independence of Libya thus Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf refused the German-Ottoman offer.

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<sup>941</sup> Wathīqā 289 /56219, wathāiq al-arshīf al-injīlīzī shu‘bat al-wathāiq al-ajnaḇīyya, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-al-māḥafūḍāt wa al-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>942</sup> Ibid.

<sup>943</sup> Manā, ‘ *Aḥmad al-Sharīf*..., p. 52.

<sup>944</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-Waṭanīyya fī sharq Lībiyā*..., p. 72

<sup>945</sup> Mīkhā‘īl, *al-‘alāqāt al-injīlīziyya al-lībbiyya*..., p. 54.

The Ottomans reacted using their diplomatic relations to ignite the fighting on the eastern front of Libya. They realized that Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf did not want to commit his men to a war that would not help the Ottomans in their fight against the Italians. It was obvious that Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf failed to determine his position once and for all. The difficulty increased for him realizing the German Ottoman plans that included the stop of *Jihad* against the Italians in Libya temporarily. At that time the idea of a truce between the *Mujāhidīn* and Italy was launched in order to concentrate all the forces on the war against the British in Egypt<sup>946</sup>. Nuri Pasha sent a letter to his brother Enver Pasha. The letter refers slightly to al-Sharīf's lack of commitment to his own country and to his close relationships with the British<sup>947</sup>. Al-Sharīf's rejection did not prevent Nuri Pasha and Jā'far al- 'Askarī from mobilizing and training fighters and volunteers in far eastern Libya. These fighters were from the area of Cyrenaica. They were joined by a large number of the 'Aūwlad Ali tribe, which inhabited the Egyptian desert and who traced their origins to the region of eastern Libya. The Ottoman officers wanted to guarantee the success of this project, which is why they began to receive German arms that reached from using the German submarines through the Mediterranean Sea<sup>948</sup>(See Appendix 6). All these pressures led Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf to decide the war against the British in Egypt<sup>949</sup>; especially after the Turkish strong propaganda led by Jā'far al- 'Askarī who used all the human and financial resources available in order to improve the conditions on the Libyan-Egyptian border. He worked also to get the support of many Libyan *Mujāhidīn* who were under the influence of this idea. This prompted some of them to attack effectively on Egyptian territory without the knowledge of the al-Sanūsiyya military leadership in Libya which did not leave any other choices to Sayyid Aḥmad al-Sharīf to accept the Turkish-German proposal<sup>950</sup>.

Consequently Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf decided to launch war against the British within British-controlled Egyptian territory with the support of the Ottoman Empire and Germany. The attack took place in 1915, in the midst of the World War I<sup>951</sup>.

The Libyan leadership of the *Mujāhidīn* was well aware of the seriousness of the situation, especially with the presence of the Italian colonialism.

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<sup>946</sup> Kāmil, *al-dawala al- 'arabiyya al-kubra...*, p. 336.

<sup>947</sup> Mīkhā'īl, *al- 'alāqāt al-injīlīziyya al-lībbiyya...*, p. 54

<sup>948</sup> Ben Ghalbon, *The Life Times of King...*, p. 26.

<sup>949</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, p. 66.

<sup>950</sup> al-Zawī, *jihād al-abṭāl*, p. 256.

<sup>951</sup> Ismā'īl, *tārīkh Afrīqiyyā al-ḥadīth ...*, p. 453.

It is noticeable that the German-Ottoman project aimed to encircle the British considering that the movement of troops from Libya would have a significant role in the defeat of the British in Egypt, especially because the internal situation allows them to do so after the victories they have achieved against the Italians. At the same time there was the Ottoman army moved coincided with the Libyan attack to control the Suez Canal<sup>952</sup>.

### 5.5 The Most Important Battles of the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* in Egypt:

#### Map (16): Libyan-Egyptian Borders during World War I<sup>953</sup>

(‘Libyan-Egyptian Boarder provinces during World War I’)



Libyan-Egyptian border areas during World War I

<sup>952</sup> Hagen , *Die Türkei im Ersten Weltkrieg*, p. 19.

<sup>953</sup> Names of cities were changed from Arabic to English :Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā*, p. 75.

Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf and Nuri Bey led the *Mujāhidīn* forces in this war. All were motivated by the main aim of ending the Italian occupation to their land using the aid from the Germans and the Ottomans who promised to declare the independence of Libya if they won the war against the Italians. Moreover, the *Mujāhidīn* believed in the idea of *Jihad* and its success to fight the occupiers of their country<sup>954</sup>.

The choice of battles' location depended on the strategy of the place and was sometimes determined by the *Mujāhidīn* because of their experience in knowing the country well<sup>955</sup>.

The first attack was on the Sallum a village at the Egyptian-Libyan borders, at the beginning of November 1915<sup>956</sup> where the militants managed to achieve a victory over the British forces and in conjunction with the start of the ground attack, the German submarine U35 made some military movements that led to the destruction of the British aid ship named Tara in the Mediterranean Sea<sup>957</sup>. The German support to the *Mujāhidīn* had significant efficacy confirmed by the success of the German submarine to sink that ship in the Gulf of Sallum on November 5, 1915. This resulted in the capture of the Captain of the ship, one officer and 79 soldiers who were on board and taken to the Libyan territory, specifically to the Gulf of Brady where they were handed over to the Ottomans as war prisoners<sup>958</sup>(See Appendix 7). The maneuvers of the German submarines did not stop at this point, but the same submarine was able to destroy other two boats in the port of Sallum and they were carrying guns to support the land army<sup>959</sup>.

It should be noted that Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf did not play a real role in the attack. The *Mujāhidīn* themselves planned and implemented the attack after hearing the news that their leaders had agreed to this project. The presence of Nuri Bey in the region also supported their situation<sup>960</sup>.

### 5.5.1 The Battle of Umalrakham in 1915:

The German submarine U38 led by Captain Valentiner reached the eastern shores of Libya on December 12, 1915. The German Consul Brobbstr and a Turkish officer Named Jamal were on

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<sup>954</sup> Ahmida, Ali Abdellatif, *Forgotten voices*, Routledge, London, 2005, 108p.

<sup>955</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Libiyā*..., pp. 74,76.

<sup>956</sup> Brūkilmān, *tārīkh al-shu'ūb al-islāmīyya*, p.652; Lūtiskī, *tārīkh al-aqtār al-'arabiyya al-ḥadīth*, p.372; Ziyada, *Libiyā fī al-'uṣūr al-ḥadīthā*, p. 87.

<sup>957</sup> 'Azzām, " kifāḥ al-sha'b al-lībī fī sabīl al-hurrīyya", p. 432; al-Sāḥlī, " wamaḍāt min al-wathāiq al-'ūthmāniyyā...", p. 323.

<sup>958</sup> Ben Ghalbon, *The Life and Times*..., p. 27.

<sup>959</sup> U– Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der libyschen Küste 1915 – 1918 , p. 1.

<sup>960</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Libiyā*..., p.. 66.

board accompanied by two Arab leaders; the ship was also carrying 6 tons of munitions destined for the *Mujāhidīn* to support them to continue the fight against the British<sup>961</sup>.

The area of Umalrakham was located near Matrouh in Egypt and the first clash was between the forces of the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* and a number of volunteers from the tribe of 'Aūwlad Ali on the one side and the British on the other side. The battle lasted from morning till evening, but the *Mujāhidīn* had persevered in this battle and suffered minor losses while the British lost a lot of soldiers<sup>962</sup>. After the end of the battle the British retreated and the *Mujāhidīn* withdrew to the area of Wadi Majid.

### **5.5.2 The Battle of Wadi Majid in 1915:**

A second battle between the two sides took place at the end of December 1915 in the area of Wadi Majid in Egypt and it was named after the area<sup>963</sup>. The British army received reinforcements and military support represented by the arrival of 15 thousand troops to the battlefield. In contrast, the Turkish commander Jā'far al-'Askarī arrived at the head of a group of troops to rescue the *Mujāhidīn*, while Nuri Bey led the battle. Nuri was victorious and defeated the British, forcing them to withdraw toward Matruh in Egypt after they suffered big losses.

### **5.5.3 The Battle of Bir Tunis in 1916:**

Bir Tunis was located near Bir Majid in Egypt where the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* got their supply of water. The British wanted to end the war quickly and to eliminate the Libyan forces. So they decided to make a surprise attack, but the natural factors had a role in delaying the implementation of this attack. There was heavy rainfall which impeded the movement of the British army and thus delayed the outbreak of the battle between the two parties in Botons to late January 1916. Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf participated in this battle, in addition to Nuri Bey and some German officers who took part in the fighting. The loss of the two parties was large in this battle<sup>964</sup>. Despite the small number of *Mujāhidīn* the result was in their favor. The fact that a German officer was among the dead led the British to assert that the senior leadership and management of the battle was done by the German. Moreover, this was because of the nature of the battle and the steadfastness of the *Mujāhidīn*. However, there was no question that the

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<sup>961</sup> U–Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der libyschen Küste 1915 – 1918, p. 1.

<sup>962</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, p. 73.

<sup>963</sup> Ben Ghalbon, *The Life and Times...*, p. 28.

<sup>964</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, pp. 77-78.

majority of the participants were Libyan *Mujāhidīn*, who were motivated by the ideology of the *Jihad* and the goal of expelling the Italian occupation from their country.

After this battle, more officers and soldiers were sent by the Ottoman Empire to eastern Libya. Although the document does not specify numbers, it does record that the submarine U38 brought 6 officers and a load estimated to be 10 tons of weapons to the *Mujāhidīn* on February 10 to 11 in 1916. The submarine was unloaded at the port of Bardija<sup>965</sup>.

#### **5.5.4 Controlling Siwa Oasis in 1916:**

Following these clashes near the coast Aḥmed al-Sharīf commanded the *Mujāhidīn* to distribute their forces and not to be concentrated on one front. This was why he sent the Egyptian Captain Moḥammed Ṣaleḥ Ḥarb to Siwa Oasis<sup>966</sup>. He succeeded in controlling the oasis and dominated the neighboring area. In addition to that he controlled the area of Frafr Aldakhila. After this success in the depth of the Egyptian territory a military contingent was led by Abdullah Tamaskat to the Bahriyya oasis where he defeated the British garrison there and controlled the provinces of Fayoum and Minya<sup>967</sup>.

The intensification of fighting between the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* and the British and the losses of both sides prompted Germany to intensify their financial and military support. This was reflected by the arrival of the German officer Von Todenwarth with his companions in addition to four Turkish officers along with ammunition and weapons on April 20, 1916 on the board of the submarine U21<sup>968</sup>.

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<sup>965</sup> U – Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der libyschen Küste 1915 – 1918 , p. 2.

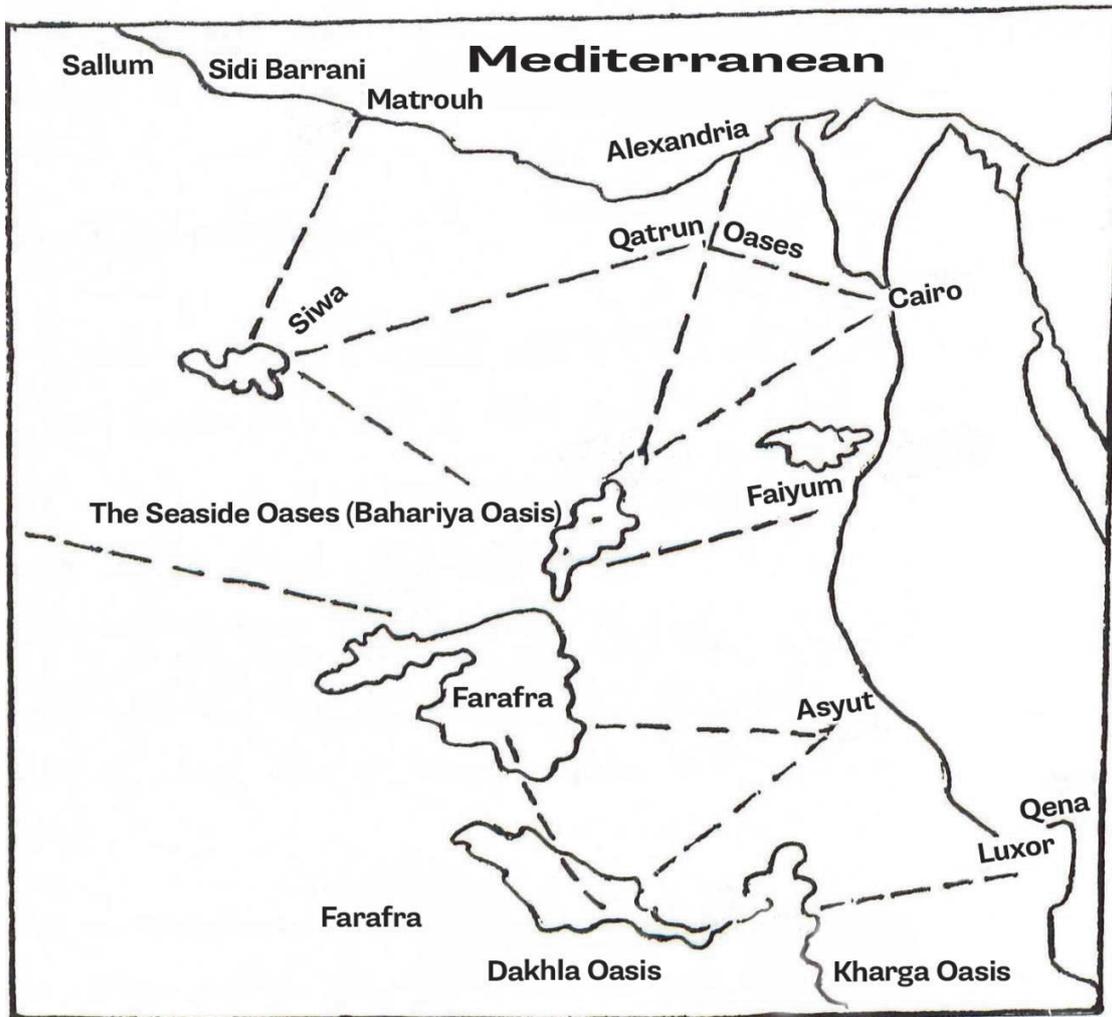
<sup>966</sup> Mīkhā'īl, *al- 'alāqāt al-injīlīzīyya al-lībbīyya...*, p. 61.

<sup>967</sup> 'Azzām, " kifāḥ al-sha'b al-Lībī...", pp.434- 435.

<sup>968</sup> U – Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der libyschen Küste 1915 – 1918 , p.2.

## Map (17) Battle to control Siwa Oasis in 1916<sup>969</sup>

(‘Western Egyptian Oasis and Routes’)



Western Egyptian provinces and Oases and the routes connecting them

### 5.5.5 The Second Battle of Majid in 1916:

After the arrival of more military reinforcements the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* continued their war against the British. The next clash between the two sides was in the second battle in Majid. Jā'far al-‘Askari led the forces in this battle, while General Wallace led the British. The British had suffered again new losses in spite of the small number of forces of the *Mujāhidīn* who forced the British to withdraw from the battlefield.

<sup>969</sup>Names of cities were changed from Arabic to English :Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī s'arq Libiyā*, p. 93.

### 5.5.6 The Battle of Agagia in 1916:

Agagia<sup>970</sup> was located near the coast of the Mediterranean and the battle ensued between the two sides there. It was noticeable at this stage that the *Mujāhidīn* and in particular the forces that were under the command of Nuri Bey suffered from a severe shortage of supplies and ammunition. In contrast, the British army had received big reinforcements and supplies. That was why they won the battle. It should be noted that ‘Abdul-Raḥmān ‘Azzāmhād been involved in this battle<sup>971</sup>.

This battle led to a great loss of the *Mujāhidīn* and they were forced to withdraw from the battlefield. Moreover, most of the forces that participated in the fighting withdrew from the Egyptian territory toward Cyrenaica inside of the Libyan territory<sup>972</sup>. This gave the British a chance to move forward. They succeeded in controlling the region of Sidi Barrani on February 28, 1916<sup>973</sup> and then occupied Sallum on March 24, 1916<sup>974</sup>.

On the front inside was Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf able along with Moḥammed Ṣaleḥ Ḥarb on the seizure of most of the Egyptian oases which were Farafra, Dakhla, Alkharija and the Bahria<sup>975</sup>. They succeeded in tightening their grip on the road to the oases implementing the agreement between the Germans and the Ottomans, which also required the establishment of a revolution in Egypt, led by Jamal Pasha against the British. This was supposed to be synchronized with the arrival of Ottoman forces coming from Syria to the Suez Canal to encircle the British; however, this plan did not succeed<sup>976</sup>. The British managed to control the interior territories of Egypt and thoroughly repressed the revolution. Thus Jamal Pasha was unable to carry out his task of enabling Ottoman penetration via the Suez Canal by diverting British attention towards the eastern border and internal unrest<sup>977</sup>. This was despite the careful preparation and the presence of a number of German officers to assist him<sup>978</sup>. In addition to the approximately 35 thousand troops who were supposed to perform this task, but England succeeded in repelling the attack of the Ottoman Empire after the success of the Ottoman army in transiting overland across the Sinai

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<sup>970</sup>Also known as Agagiya or Aqqaqiya

<sup>971</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭanīyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, pp. 82-83; ‘Azzām, „kifāḥ al-sha‘b al-Lībī...“, pp. 438,441,443.

<sup>972</sup>Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭanīyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>973</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭanīyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, p. 86.

<sup>974</sup>Kāmil, *al-dawala al-‘arabiyya al-kubra...*, p.338.

<sup>975</sup> Mīkhā‘īl, *al-‘alāqāt al-injīlīziyya al-lībbīyya...*, p. 62.

<sup>976</sup> Brūkilmān, *tārīkh al-shu‘ūb al-islāmīyya*, p. 604; Manā‘, *Aḥmad al-Sharīf...*, p. 70.

<sup>977</sup>Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭanīyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, p. 95.

<sup>978</sup> al-‘Aqād, *Lībiyā al-mu‘āṣira*, p. 19.

desert toward Ismailia. The Ottomans began to withdraw. That was how the German-Ottoman plan to control that front failed<sup>979</sup>.

## 5.6 The Defeat of *Mujāhidīn* in Egypt in 1917:

Following these dangerous developments Sayyid Aḥmed Sharīf and his army in the Egyptian oases became isolated from any contact with the rest of the front. This became worse with a cholera outbreak among the soldiers. Sayyid Aḥmed Sharīf was forced to withdraw his troops towards Siwa, Farafra and Bahria<sup>980</sup> where he was attacked by the British in a battle in February 28, 1917. This forced him to retreat toward the Libyan territory<sup>981</sup> where he arrived with his forces to the areas near to the Al Jaghub. They were chased by the British forces tht wanted to eliminate the troops of Sayyid Aḥmed Sharīf, which resulted in a battle between the two sides in the region of Guba. However, the British failed to defeat the *Mujāhidīn* who were helped by the natural factors to avoid more deaths and losses. This battle was the last battle between the two parties<sup>982</sup>. However, the British were not satisfied and sent a warning to Sayyid Idris al-Sanūsī, who was in AlJaghub to leave the area of AlJaghub as soon as possible. They informed him if this did not take place the British forces would destroy fully the city of AlJaghub in addition to the burial place of Sayyid Moḥmed bin Ali al-Sanūsī. This place was of central emotional and religious significance to the al-Sanūsīyya movement and its loss or destruction would be a great blow<sup>983</sup>. Upon hearing this threat of the British Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf decided to leave the area. He went toward Alagalia area<sup>984</sup>.

It is worth pointing out that the military operations in the area of the desert oases continued between 1916 and early 1917.

The fighting coincided with the arrival of the German submarines. In July 1916 arrived the submarine U39 carrying two military missions from the Turkish army with ammunition and equipments which had docked first in the port of Barqa on July 8, 1916 and then went to the city of Misurata on July 10, 1916. The submarine itself returned in October carrying Turkish officers

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<sup>979</sup> 'Atīq, Wajih 'Abdul-Ṣādiq, *muḥāḍarāt fī tārikh al-'arab al- mu'āṣir*, dār al-thaqāfā al-'arabiyya, al-Qāhira, 1994 / 1955, p. 20.

<sup>980</sup> al-Tilīsī, *ba'd al-qurḍabīyya...*, p. 456.

<sup>981</sup> al-Zawī, *Jihād al-abṭāl*, p. 257.

<sup>982</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, p. 94.

<sup>983</sup> Shukrī, *al-Sanūsīyya dīn wa daula*, p. 288.

<sup>984</sup> Kāmil, *al-dawala al-'arabiyya al-kubra...*, p. 338.

and an amount of weapons to support the combat capability of the Libyans. The submarine was carrying orders for the general Todesfarth to go back to Germany<sup>985</sup>.

It is also noteworthy that in spite of the defeat suffered by the Ottomans in this campaign the officers and soldiers who took part in the fighting did not leave Libya. They initially remained in the city of Ajdabiya then moved to the city of Misurata later<sup>986</sup>. The reason behind their stay was the insistence on the importance of their presence in the country and that the war was not over yet. Second, Turkey was determined to maintain its control over Libya for as long as possible, and they did not want to lose this geographical important part of the region. That was the reason behind the fact that Nuri Bey continued working to serve the interests of the Ottoman Empire. His work was focused on the restoration of confidence in Turkey and the revival of the Turkish influence again in addition to the control over the Turkish military.

Nuri Bey tried to be closer to the new political leadership in Cyrenaica led by Idris al-Sanūsī who ruled from 1917 and did his best to influence them in order to continue the war against the British in Egypt. He offered great promises to provide aid through German submarines. But the new commander of the Sanūsīyya movement had a different point of view to that of the Ottomans<sup>987</sup>. Especially after the Sanūsīyya movement attacked Egypt but the attack failed, he believed that the interests of the country required them to enter into negotiations with the British and the Italians alike and not to engage with them in an unequal war.

From this point Idris al-Sanūsī decided not to listen to the appeals of the Ottomans and even ended his connection with them. This led to a changed attitude on the part of the Ottomans, who began to regard him and the al-Sanūsīyya movement as opposition. So the new Turkish policy was to attack the al-Sanūsīyya movement, who were allies in the recent past. Nuri Bey then sent three Turkish officers with their troops to the south of Libya, where Moḥammed Abed al-Sanūsī the brother of Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf was managing the affairs of the region. The soldiers brought gifts to Moḥammed Abed al-Sanūsī to hide their movements and intentions and to reassure the latter that their presence did not hold any other purpose. They then made the sudden move of seizing the city of Murzuq. Moḥammed Abed al-Sanūsī tried but failed to restore the city. In addition to this city, the Ottomans also seized the city of Zwila and continued to hold them despite the repeated attempts to recover them by al-Sanūsīyya movement until July 10,

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<sup>985</sup> U – Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der libyschen Küste 1915 – 1918 , p.2.

<sup>986</sup> Khishīm, *ṣafahāt min jihādanā al-waṭani*, p. 73.

<sup>987</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭanīyya fī sharq Libiyā*..., p. 116.

1917 when the Ottomans withdrew from Murzuq and Zwila. They turned towards the city of Sebha and there they regrouped especially with the arrival of supplies from the leader Nuri Bey in the city of Misurata. This led them to intensify their control on Fezzan to force Moḥammed Abed al-Sanūsī to leave it and went to the city of Al Kufra<sup>988</sup>. The Ottomans controlled Fezzan until the end of World War I<sup>989</sup>. During this time, the Italian presence was concentrated on the coastal regions only. Due to their involvement in the war in Europe around this time, they did not undertake large scale military activity in Libya at the same time. They did however make a few smaller attacks on the *Mujāhidīn*, when this did not present a great risk to their own side.

Within the framework of *Jihad* the Ottomans did not only start the war in Egypt, but also sought to declare war on the French in Tunisia by mobilizing the *Mujāhidīn* in the western region. To achieve this goal the Turkish envoy Hassan al-Sharīf travelled to the city of Misurata and met Ramaḍān al-Swīḥlī and Saif al-Dīn al-Sanūsī, one of al-Sanūsīyya movement leaders and offered them the project of attacking the French in Tunis, but they did not agree. Saif al-Dīn al-Sanūsī refused the plan while Ramaḍān al-Swīḥlī accepted it. This led al-Sanūsī leader to leave the city of Misurata<sup>990</sup>. Saif al-Dīn al-Sanūsī point of view was that the country could not bear the burden of fighting three major European countries (Italian, British and French) at one time especially at this particular time. He was particularly concerned by the financial and economic problems and deteriorating military forces. Despite this some Ottoman officers attacked Ben Guerdane area in September 1915 and succeeded in capturing 40 French soldiers. France then moved quickly and decisively addressed the leadership of the al-Sanūsīyya movement to discuss the necessary measures. Saif al-Dīn al-Sanūsī quickly directed a stern warning the Ottoman officer who was in charge who was forced to stop the attack on the French and return to Fezzan<sup>991</sup>.

Germany's role in these events became clear when they commissioned the consul Mannesmann to join the Ottomans in their attack on the western border. However Saif al-Dīn issued orders banning him from reaching his destination so as not to complicate the matters even more. Mannesmann had moved with the Turkish leaders to Misurata after they left Cyrenaica<sup>992</sup>.

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<sup>988</sup> Shukrī, *al-Sanūsīyya dīn wa daula*, pp. 189-190.

<sup>989</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭanīyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, p. 116.

<sup>990</sup> al-‘Aqād, *Lībiyā al-mu‘āṣira*, p. 21.

<sup>991</sup> Shukrī, *al-Sanūsīyya dīn wa daula*, p. 201; See also André Martel, *La Libye, 1835-1990. Essai de géopolitique historique*, PUF, 1991, Paris, p. 291.

<sup>992</sup> al-Zawī, *jihād al-abṭāl*, p. 290.

The position of the Ottomans at this stage was sensitive, especially given the lack of united rule over Libya. The eastern and southern parts were under the control of the al-Sanūsiyya movement, the center of the country was subjected to the tribal leaders, whilst the west was disputed over and was not under specific authority. That was the reason behind the attempts of the Ottomans to renew their relationship with Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf. To show their good intentions they sent two convoys loaded with food and other supplies that the al-Sanūsiyya movement needed. The convoy should have departed from Misurata, but the leader of Misurata Ramaḍān al-Swīḥlī refused to permit the passage of these goods to al-Sanūsiyya, due to his own hostile relations with the movement. He took control of the convoy and prevented it from reaching its target.

Following these developments and after the refusal of Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf to cooperate politically with the Ottomans the Turkish commander Nuri Bey distanced himself from the Turkish promises<sup>993</sup> and decided to leave the territories under al-Sanūsiyya movement influence despite the difficult economic conditions. He retired from the political sphere and refused to enter into an armed conflict with his cousin Sayyid Idris al-Sanūsī, who became the leader of the movement and the owner of the actual political power in the region of Cyrenaica.

An analysis of the events that occurred reveals that the failure of the war against the British in Egypt was due to a combination of factors. These included the imbalance of power in addition to the fact that the *Mujāhidīn* were fighting for more than three years against the Italians and al-Sanūsiyya movement was divided among themselves, all these together led to the final result. As a result of this war al-Sanūsiyya movement was divided into two groups the first a group of supporter which followed their religious and national senses led by Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf, and the second group took into account the internal difficult situations and was led by Sayyid Idris al-Sanūsī, each of them governed by their own beliefs, opinions and political orientations.

In sum, the military campaign against the British in Egypt led to the failure of the Libyan side. They did not make any significant gains on the ground or even political gains and suffered different types of human and material losses. In spite of all these failures that hit the German-Ottoman plans in eastern Libya, their determination was not weakened and their action in the north of Libya.

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<sup>993</sup> Shukrī, *al-Sanūsiyya dīn wa daula*, pp. 224-225.

Libya became the focus of the Ottoman-German interests again, which led them to take further practical steps. The first was the arrival of an Ottoman envoy in May 1918 to monitor the situations closely. Then a mission was appointed to Prince Osman Fouad who was granted by the Ottoman authority as commander of the African military forces in Libya. He was reporting about everything that was happening on the ground to the Ottoman authorities in order to be able to take the necessary measures. He went to Istanbul to present the results of his tour to the power there and he kept in contact with the leaders of *Jihad* in Libya. He wrote to Aḥmad Bik al-Marīḍ one of the *Jihad* leader in the city of Terhona and briefed him on the latest developments and that he worked for the benefit of Libya and to secure all the needed assistance and then he would return to Libya<sup>994</sup>. The German submarines took over the transfer of messages between the two sides.

The results were very encouraging for the Ottomans as they had Misurata as a field of their activity. That was behind the return of the Prince Osman Fouad to Libya, representing the Turkish side<sup>995</sup>. The German Baron Fred Von Tondorf was commissioned to resume the representation of the German side and to implement the German policy in 1918<sup>996</sup>. Both leaders arrived and worked on the implementation of the task. The German Baron assumed the task of managing the telegraph in Misurata, and therefore was responsible for the operations of communication, coordination and command and this was a delicate task in this particular stage.

It was decided by the Ottomans that Libya was to be the main base of their operations in North Africa. The two sides decided to make a major change in the process of moving the front of Libya. This time the main emphasis was laid on the extension of the *Mujāhidīn* in the West, with better arms and financial support. This decision was issued by the German military staff in Berlin<sup>997</sup>, which sent a letter to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs in January 4, 1917 to inform them of the German plans.<sup>998</sup> The military leadership was seeking to implement this plan in Libya, supported by weapons and equipment transported by the German submarines from

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<sup>994</sup> Wathīqā 11, risāla min al-'amīr 'ūthmān Fū'ād ilā Aḥmad Bik al-Marīḍ, tārikh al-wathīqā 2 Fibrāyir 1918, al-wathā'iq al-ijtimā'iyya, shu'bat al-wathā'iq wa al-makhtūṭāt, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-wathā'iq wa al-māhafūdāt al-tārikhiyya, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>995</sup> Ibid.

<sup>996</sup> Ibid.

<sup>997</sup> Wathīqā 11, risāla min al-'amīr 'ūthmān Fū'ād ilā Aḥmad Bik al-Marīḍ, tārikh al-wathīqā 2 Fibrāyir 1918, al-wathā'iq al-ijtimā'iyya.

<sup>998</sup> Ibid.

Germany<sup>999</sup>. The starting point was to be from the west heading to the east and thus involving the largest possible number of Libyan people. This time the primary aim of the *Mujāhidīn* was to expel the Italian presence from Libya.

The Ottomans received assistance from Germany in the delivery of military support to the Libyan *Jihad* in Misurata (See Appendixe 5). The Italians tried hard to prevent the arrival of those supplies. For example, the German submarine UC73 led by Commander Schebeler reached the city of Misurata, carrying three Ottoman officers, 1,000 rifles, 200,000 bullets in addition to 18 boxes filled with gold. Bad weather forced the submarine to dock in the Gulf of Sirte where its cargo was unloaded on May 26, 1917<sup>1000</sup>. The Italian forces had tried to take possession of the submarine and even continued in their efforts when it reached the port, but the counter-attack of the *Mujāhidīn* forced the Italians to retreat<sup>1001</sup>.

This Italian attack came as a reaction against the German forces attack on some of the Italian targets in April 1917. Examples of these attacks included the German submarine U20 attack on an Italian ship in front of the city of Zuwarah in western Libya and directly hit it by a missile. They also attacked other Frigate in front of the coast of Tripoli and detonated it<sup>1002</sup>.

Moreover the political action was moving towards the idea (started in 1914) which reviving the idea of establishing the Republic of North Africa. This idea received strong support from Germany, Austria and the Ottoman Empire during 1915. A number of *Jihad* movements established by youth from Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco aimed at *Jihad* against the European occupation participated in these activities. Their aim was also to establish one united republic in North Africa. They aimed to build the republic with political border starting from the Red Sea in Egypt in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the west. They took the Tunisian-Libyan borders as the starting point for their activities. Their activities were supported by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs who received the representatives of this entity and promised them support and assistance. The German ambassador in Istanbul was one of the strongest supporters to this movement. Germany committed to this movement as well as Austria. Germany provided equipment and weapons<sup>1003</sup>. The internal situation in Libya was very suitable for the

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<sup>999</sup> Wathīqā 12617, wathāiq al-'arshif al-siyāsī al-'almānī, wathāiq muṣawarā bi-shu'bat al-wathāiq al-ajnaḇīyya, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-māḥafūḍāt wa al-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>1000</sup>U – Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der libyschen Küste 1915 – 1918, p. 2.

<sup>1001</sup> al-Zawī, *jihād al-abṭāl*, p. 291.

<sup>1002</sup>U – Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der libyschen Küste 1915 – 1918, p. 2.

<sup>1003</sup> Amīsh, *al-tārīkh al-siyāsī*..., p. 101.

development of this scheme because the Italian control over the country during this stage was weak and limited to a few coastal cities only. Despite this the Italian administration in Tripoli discovered the scheme of the Republic of North Africa which was supported by Germany during World War I<sup>1004</sup>.

Despite all these events the German-Ottoman aid to the Libyan *Mujāhidīn* did not stop. The reliance on German submarines made the port city of Misurata a vital area for the movement and landing cargo on it<sup>1005</sup>. The German intensified their activity during 1917, particularly in the period between the months of May and December. In May a mission from the German army reached on board of the submarine U20 led by Reetmestr Verhl and Von Todesfarth. The other submarine UC20 was doing the same during the month of July 1917 and had succeeded in its mission. On July 30 it bombed important Italian military targets in the city of Al Khums near Misurata, the Italian bombed back which forced the submarine to dive and stay away from the coast<sup>1006</sup>.

In October 1917, had the submarines attacked Italian targets at the same time continues to transfer military support for the Libyan *Mujāhidīn*. On Oct. 4 the submarine UC73 transported an estimated 25 tons of military equipment to the city of Misurata and in Oct. 6 attacked the Italian vessel and a protection Italian boat which had been docked in Tripoli with two missiles. On the next day Italian fortifications in the city of Tripoli were attacked.

### **5.7 The German Policy towards Libya at the end of World War I in 1918:**

The Ottoman Empire tried in 1918 to reinforce their influence in Libya again after the loss they suffered in Egypt and the failure of all the Turkish activities inside Libya. Evidence of this is provided by the fact that the Germans were behind the selection of Prince Osman Fouad as a general governor in Libya in 1918 (See Appendix 8) because Germany wanted him to mobilize the *Mujāhidīn* to ignite war again in Libya<sup>1007</sup>. Moreover Germany had offered to provide Turkey with two German leaders to accompany him on his mission. But Anwar Pasha rejected the German offer. However he arrived in Libya accompanied with a number of German experts on board of a German submarine. Their field of operation was the telecommunications and advises

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<sup>1004</sup> Wathīqā 322/371, al-wathāiq al-injīlīzīyya, shu'bat al-wathāiq al-ajnaabīyya, al-markaz al-waṭanī li-l-māhafūdāt wa al-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Ṭarābulis.

<sup>1005</sup> al-Tilīsī, *Ba'd al-Qurḍabīyya...*, p. 12.

<sup>1006</sup> U – Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der libyschen Küste 1915 – 1918, p. 3.

<sup>1007</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭanīyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, p. 170.

the Prince Osman Fouad<sup>1008</sup>. In addition to that he was assigned the task of the convergence of views between the Ottomans and Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf as mentioned before.

During the negation between Germany and Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf, he sent Moḥammed Ṣadiq as his delegate to reach an agreement with the German party.<sup>1009</sup> The fact that Sayyid Aḥmed al-Sharīf sent a representative on his behalf to the meeting reflected his support for the German project. ‘Abdul-Raḥmān ‘Azzām, who had fought against the British in Egypt and then returned with Nuri Bey to Libya and remained with him until they left together in early 1918 to Turkey. From there he was sent to Berlin to enter into negotiations with them in order to send military equipments to Libya and therefore he was well known to the military and political powers in Germany, who approved him to be the companion of Prince Osman in his new mission in Libya<sup>1010</sup>.

It should be noted that despite the departure of Nuri Bey from Libya the Ottoman government sent a number of leaders to take over and complete the task that he had begun. Ishaq Pasha, an officer in the Ottoman army, was selected as Nuri Bey’s replacement as the commander of Ottoman forces in the western front in early 1918. However, unlike Nuri Bey he did not take Misurata as a center for leadership, but headed west and settled in the city of Zawiya. A conflict developed between Ishaq Pasha and Ramaḍān al-Swīḥlī over leadership tasks, and Ramaḍān al-Swīḥlī maintained that he was the higher commander. The conflicts intensified over the issue of who should receive the military and financial aid sent by the German submarines to Libya. Whilst Ramaḍān al-Swīḥlī argued that this aid and ammunition should be kept within the area of influence, the Ottoman commander Ishaq Pasha recommended the transfer of all arms and ammunition to the headquarters at the Zawiya, arguing that the western region at this time was the most important field of the fighting against the Italians and experienced the most battles and clashes. The conflicts intensified to the extent that the Turkish commander set up a military campaign to force Ramaḍān al-Swīḥlī to execute his orders. However, the intervention of Prince Osman Fouad came with positive results and prevented further losses on the side of the *Mujāhidīn*<sup>1011</sup>.

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<sup>1008</sup> U – Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der libyschen Küste 1915 – 1918, p. 4.

<sup>1009</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, p. 168.

<sup>1010</sup> Shukrī, *al-Sanūsiyya dīn wa dawla*, pp. 229,231.

<sup>1011</sup> Hūwīdī, *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī sharq Lībiyā...*, p. 167.

However at the beginning of 1918 the German submarine continued to assault the Italian targets in Libya. For example the submarine UC73 attacked the Italian ships on the coast of the city of Tripoli on January 2, 1918.

In the beginning of November 1918 some of these submarines were attacked in Tripoli, making it difficult for them to continue their activities. They had also received orders that the coast they operated was unsafe<sup>1012</sup>. This period was the end of World War I, when the defeat of Germany became clear. Accordingly the field of the military operations in the areas of fighting had seen a negative development for the Ottoman Empire and Germany alike. They were defeated and the allies succeeded in achieving victories. This was the background to the signing of the Treaty of Modros at the end of October 1918.<sup>1013</sup> One of the terms of this treaty was that the Ottoman state had to withdraw all armies from all the Arab countries and based on that they issued orders to their officers in Libya to abandon the military operations against Italy and even surrender to the Italians. They were also obliged to hand over all the ports which were under their control to the allied armies<sup>1014</sup>. This was the beginning of the end of the Ottoman-German relations in Libya, as it was also the starting point at the same time to break the link between the Ottoman and Libya in spite of which Prince Osman Fouad continued to be present in Misurata<sup>1015</sup>.

The Baron Fred Von Tondort was present in Misurata at this time and received the news of the defeat over the radio in October 1918. Baron Fred Von Tondort received orders to leave Libya, along with Prince Osman Fuad who represented the Ottoman Empire and all the Turkish officers as well as the German who were working with him. He received these orders, but did not carry them out directly. He thought it was wise to postpone the execution of these orders a little bit so they could arrange the political situation in Libya<sup>1016</sup>. During this Baron Fred Von Tondort learned that Germany intended to continue the war until the end, and they were committed to help the Libyans with money and weapons. In return the leaders of *Jihad* in Libya announced their willingness to form a local government to ensure the continuity of the war against the Italians in a united manner.

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<sup>1012</sup> U – Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der libyschen Küste 1915 – 1918, p. 4.

<sup>1013</sup> Brūkilmān, *tārīkh al-shu‘ūb al-islāmīyya*, p. 605; ‘Amīsh, *al-tārīkh al-siyāsī...*, p. 63.

<sup>1014</sup> al-Zawī, *jihād al-abṭāl*, pp. 304-305.

<sup>1015</sup> Wathīqā 54, *al-wathāiq al-iṭālīyya*, p. 207.

<sup>1016</sup> ‘Amīsh, *al-tārīkh al-siyāsī...*, p. 63.

In the meantime, there was a German submarine docked in front of the coast of Misurata<sup>1017</sup>. This submarine arrived to take the Prince Osman and the German Baron and their officers and soldiers. But they decided to stay and they were supported by the commander of the submarine in their decision and told them that the road was not safe and it was not the right time to travel. Thus the submarine returned back. The *Jihad* leaders in Libya and Prince Osman and ‘Abdul-Raḥmān ‘Azzām held an emergency meeting to take the appropriate decision in line with the dangerous developments. Therefore Prince Osman sent an invitation to all tribal leaders to come to Mislata for a meeting. The meeting took place in the city of Mislata in 1918 and concluded with the declaration of the republic of Tripoli<sup>1018</sup>. The republic included all tribal leaders and dignitaries in the western region of the country. This stage was particularly critical because Germany and the Ottoman Empire had withdrawn from the conflict, which meant the stop of the military supplies and equipment for the *Mujāhidīn*<sup>1019</sup> which were essential for their struggle against the Italians. This made the role of local fighters even more crucial.

The local leaders had a prominent role in the events that occurred during the final phase of the World War I, particularly in the central and western regions of Libya. They included Sulaymān al-Bārūnī who took leadership in the western region, Ramaḍānal-Swīḥilī who had an alliance with the Italians and fought against al-Sanūsiyya movement and ‘Abdul Nabī Bilkhīr who was the leader of Warfalla tribe in the area of Bani Walid in the north-west of Libya he had also collaborated with the Italians, and Aḥmed Bik al-Marīḍ the leader of Tarhuna tribe I southeast.

Moreover, the idea of proclamation of the Republic of Tripoli was an extension of the idea of the Republic of North Africa, which was adopted and supported by Germany during the early years of World War I. At this stage Germany also supported this idea, but on a small scale. They were seeking to achieve political gains after their defeat at war.

The leaders of the Republic of Tripoli wanted to obtain the international recognition. They sent messages to all of Britain, France, Italy and the United States towards this end but their efforts did not achieve the desired results<sup>1020</sup>. However they kept their contact with Italy independently and succeeded in signing an agreement with them in 1919. The direct result was the immediate

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<sup>1017</sup>U – Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der libyschen Küste 1915 – 1918, p. 4.

<sup>1018</sup> al-Zawī , *jihād al-abṭāl*, pp. 310-311.

<sup>1019</sup> Amīsh, *al-tārīkh al-siyāsī*..., p. 63.

<sup>1020</sup>al-Ḥasan, *al-anẓima al-siyāsīyya wa al-distūriyya*..., p. 390.

issuance of a basic law to Tripoli by which the Libyans could form a parliament in the presence of a governor to be appointed by the king of Italy<sup>1021</sup>.

With the defeat of Germany and Ottoman Empire and the actual withdrawal of all officers from Libya in 1919, the Ottomans was subjected to strong pressures by the allied powers and forced to sign a number of treaties that led at the end to determine their influence and despoiled large territories that were under its control. This deteriorating situation led Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (ruled 1881–1938) to declare a Turkish secular state when he separated between the Sultanate and Caliphate. He then canceled the Sultanate and announced the Republic in October 1923<sup>1022</sup>. At that time Germany had elected a new government called the Weimar Republic.

These international events affected to great extent the German policy towards the Mediterranean countries in general and Libya in particular, because the latter was at the heart of German policy in this area over the years of World War I.

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<sup>1021</sup> al-Ḥasan, *al-anẓima al-sīyāsiyya wa al-distūriyya...*, pp. 390-391.

<sup>1022</sup> Waḥīd, *al-qawl al-mufīd fī ḥukum al-sultān ʿAbdul-Ḥamid*, p. 307.

## Chapter Six: Conclusion of the Research

This thesis explored the nature of the German interests in the province of Tripoli in North Africa between 1884 and 1918, and Tripoli's role in the German politics during the scramble for Africa. This was undertaken through an analysis of the general situations in Tripoli during the period in question in order to understand the nature of the relationship between Germany and the province of Tripoli. An important aspect in understanding German politics is the role of German travelers, who lobbied hard to attract German politicians towards the province, and, together with a number of business people, pushed for the opening of a German consulate there. Furthermore, the study examines the relationship between Germany and the Ottoman Empire, which governed the province of Tripoli (1551-1911). The period of the Ottoman Empire reforms which led to changes in policies towards the province of Tripoli and which allowed the Italian occupation of the province is also crucial for this thesis. In addition to that, the main international events and agreements in the context of the imperial race were also discussed, which had an influence on the bilateral relations. So too did the research emphasize the German role during the world war and its impact on the Libyan *Jihad* movement beginning from the year 1915 against the occupation and colonization.

The first hypothesis of this research was that Germany was trying to emulate the major European powers, and notably Britain and France, by extending its control beyond Europe. Germany had political, strategic and economic interests on North Africa, especially in the province of Tripoli, but never pursued colonial intentions like the other European countries. To realise these goals, Germany started to strengthen its relations with the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. It supported the development and training of the Ottoman military forces by the transfer of German military personnel and equipments to Turkey<sup>1023</sup>; through this Germany provided the Ottoman army forces specifically with weapons for the artillery and infantry, different types of German designed and manufactured field guns, rifles and carbines<sup>1024</sup>. Germany also established large-scale economic projects, most prominently the Baghdad railway. A second hypothesis of this thesis is that because Germany had already political and military

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<sup>1023</sup> Trumpener, Ulrich, "German Military Aid to Turkey in 1914: An Historical Re-Evaluation", *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Jun., 1960), the University of Chicago Press, pp. 145-149.

<sup>1024</sup>The Ottoman Empire', URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/ottoman-empire>, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 2-Sep-2014, p. 12.

presence in parts of central Africa, it viewed the province of Tripoli as the gate to reach the German colonies in Africa.

The importance of this study stems basically from the significance of the period investigated by this research and the events that were taking place during that time, such as the industrial revolution in Europe in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, the European colonization of different parts of Africa, World War I. and the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Additionally, although the literature has so far provided a detailed examination of the imperial activities of Britain, France, Italy in North Africa, German involvement has received less attention, as is shown by the absence of comprehensive studies discussing this subject. By tackling all political, social, and economical dimensions of German involvement, this study writes Germany firmly into the history of imperialism and thus situates the events which are scattered in the sources in one meaningful historical framework.

To investigate the research's hypothesis the research used "histoire croisée"<sup>1025</sup> as a method that helped to great extent to conduct constant comparison and conscious confrontation of contemporary sources of information.

To achieve the objectives of this thesis it was helpful to use different sources of data.<sup>1026</sup> To give an example of their relevance, this thesis used four main sources. The first of these was the published and unpublished documents found in the Political Archive and the Federal Archives in Berlin (Politisches Archiv and Bundesarchiv) and the National Center for Documentation and Archives in Libya and the Casbah (*qaṣba*) archive in Tunis. From these documents information on the economic exchange between Germany and the province of Tripoli and the military aid provided by Germany to the *Mujāhidīn* in Libya such as the reconstruction of a telegraph station in Misurata in 1914 were extracted and used to understand the German involvement in Libya at that time. The second of these was the Arabic books which were written and reflected on different issues concerning the province of Tripoli, such as the book of the Chronicler Ḥasan al-Faqīh<sup>1027</sup> who wrote the civic minutes and the events occurred at his time in the province or the

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<sup>1025</sup> Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, „Beyond Comparison: Histoire croisée and the challenge of reflexivity“, *History and Theory*, Volume 45, Issue 1, February 2006, pp. 30–50.

<sup>1026</sup> As mentioned in details in chapter 1.

<sup>1027</sup> Ḥasan, al-Faqīh Ḥasan published by two famous Libyan historians : *al-yawmiyāt al-lībiya, al-juz' al-'awwal, 958h-1248h (1551-1832)*, M. al-Ustā' et 'Amār Jihīdir., Tripoli, 1984 (markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn lil-dirāsāt al-tārikhiya, collection of textes and archives, 7) ; and *al-yawmiyāt al-lībiya, al-juz' al-thānī, al-harb al-'ahliya wa nihāya al-'ahd al-Qaramānī, 1248-1251h. (1832-1835)*, 'Ammar Juhayder (ed.), markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn lil-dirāsāt al-tārikhiyya, collection textes and archives, 2-7, Tripoli, 2001.

books of 'Imād al-Dīn Ghānim<sup>1028</sup> who wrote about different consuls in the province. These books were a very effective source of information for these issues. The third of these is constituted by the books which were written by travelers and especially the Germans such as Gerhard Rohlfs' and his book "a Trip to Alkafra"<sup>1029</sup> which was particularly relevant for this thesis. In his book he wrote much information about the nature of the economic, cultural and social life and the importance of the province of Tripoli for Germany. To give an example of constant comparison of data carried out on this thesis; information from this book was repeatedly compared with information from books written by 'Imād al-Dīn Ghānim on travelers, 'Imād al-dīn wrote also about Gerhard Rohlfs. The fourth of these is the references including books, journals and internet sources that were written in English, German and French, all of which cover the period under study or the main historical local or international events including agreements and the main theoretical framework of the research like the book of Jürgen Osterhammel<sup>1030</sup>.

The main findings of the research agree with the research hypothesis that German expansion beyond Europe primarily aimed at strengthening its own position in Europe. Thus, the study shows that Germany employed the province of Tripoli in order to serve its growing international influence and competitiveness in Europe, particularly with Britain and France. This conclusion was found to support the theoretical argument of Conrad and Osterhammel, which portrays German activity in Libya as falling within the informal colonial expansion of the German empire. In other words, the province of Tripoli was included in the informal colonial German Empire. To make this point clearer, Germany used trade as well as political penetration to gain control over territories that were not colonized in a military sense. Only in some territories, where the political and economic influence could not be guaranteed otherwise, did Germany employ military means to secure its position. As for the province of Tripoli, it was within the informal colonial sphere of Germany and was used not only as a gate to reach its colonies in central Africa but also as a market for its products. Most of all, however, Germany considered it as a means to jockey for a better position in Europe. Even if Germany did not colonize the province of Tripoli using any military means of occupation, it was able to penetrate the province

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<sup>1028</sup>Ghānim, "al-maṣāliḥ al-'almānīyya fī Libiya..."

<sup>1029</sup>Rohlfs, *riḥla 'abar Afrīqiya mushāhadāt al-rahḥāla al-'almāni Rulfis*.

Rohlfs, *Kufra: reise von Tripolis nach der oase Kufra*.

<sup>1030</sup>Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus: Geschichte-Formen- Folgen*.

economically<sup>1031</sup> and used it in the way that helped its international policy (*Weltpolitik*)<sup>1032</sup> that is described by Baumgart as an expression of its striving for world power (*Weltmacht*)<sup>1033</sup>. The term *Weltpolitik* obtained its popularity after its use by the German Emperor Wilhelm II. In his speech in January 18, 1896; he celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the German Reich<sup>1034</sup>.

German colonization in Africa was started by the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in 1884-85. This was later than the other European powers such as Britain and France who had begun their expansionist policies in the Sixteenth century. As the German chancellor had explained to Eugen Wolf, an explorer, much to the colonial enthusiasts' regret (on December 8, 1888): "*Your map of Africa looks nice, but my map of Africa lies in Europe. Here is Russia, and here is France, and we are here at the very center; that is my map of Africa.*"<sup>1035</sup> This anecdote illustrates well the theoretical argumentation and the distinction between colonialism and imperialism suggested by Jürgen Osterhammel. Imperialism<sup>1036</sup> as a relationship of domination between two culturally different powers in which one party controls the decision of the other, who is forced to deal with these external pressures and serve the interests of the dominant party<sup>1037</sup>.

Factors and actors behind the German imperial expansion discussed by Conrad and Osterhammel and presented in details in chapter (1) could be well summarized here by using the quotation of Osterhammel that "*the interplay of colonial expansion, Eurocentric capitalist trade, industrialization, the development of a world-wide modern infrastructure, and the increasing global movement of individuals, goods and ideas*"<sup>1038</sup>

This study frequently illustrates that the province of Tripoli fell within the German colonial informal expansion and penetration. For example, details have been provided to clarify the meaning of informal imperialism, and to explain the German intention towards the province of Tripoli. Examples of these include:

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<sup>1031</sup> As mentioned in detail in chapters 2 and 3

<sup>1032</sup> As mentioned in chapter 3 about the conference of Berlin and chapter 4 on the international agreements

<sup>1033</sup> Baumgart Winfried, German Imperialism in Historical Perspective, In *Germans in the Tropics, Essays in German Colonial History*, (ed.) Arther J. Knoll/Lewis H. Gonn, New York [u.a], 1987 p. 151.

<sup>1034</sup> -Ibid.

<sup>1035</sup> -Ibid.

<sup>1036</sup> As discussed in chapter 1

<sup>1037</sup> Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus: Geschichte-Formen- Folgen*, p.21.

<sup>1038</sup> Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt...*, In: Göttsche, p.44.

**Firstly** The province of Tripoli was a focus, not only for Germany, but for many European interests, because the province and its ports were located in the middle of the Mediterranean and any power seeking to dominate the Eastern, Western, or internal parts of Africa would take the province of Tripoli as starting point. Thus Tripoli's strategic importance lay in the fact that it made access to different parts of Africa easier. In addition to that, during the time period studied in this research Tripoli was ruled by the Ottoman Empire which had started to lose territories at an increasing rate. A prominent example in the 1820s was Greece, which began to campaign for its independence from the Ottoman Empire, and the creation of its own state. In fact since the Treaty of Berlin in 1878<sup>1039</sup>, the Ottoman Empire lost 52 % of its territories and 51% of its population<sup>1040</sup>.

**Secondly:** The increasing number of German travelers who visited the province of Tripoli and the information they provided to their government reveal the imperial intentions of Germany toward the province of Tripoli. A number of these travelers were supported by Otto von Bismarck and the King of Prussia, such as Friedrich Gerhard Rohlfs and Gustav Nachtigal, in addition to Heinrich Barth amongst others. In addition to the support that the travelers received from their own government, they were also supported by the Ottoman Empire, which was focusing on building strong relations with Germany and strengthening its positions through the implementation of wide-reaching reforms. Consequently the German travelers were more successful than others in their missions.<sup>1041</sup> One example of the information provided by travelers that can be given here is the accounts submitted to the German government by the traveler Friedrich Gerhard Rohlfs (who traveled several times to the province of Tripoli in the 1860s). His reports include lengthy summaries of the geography, nature and agriculture in these regions<sup>1042</sup>. He wrote also important notes regarding customs and traditions, health, and trade in Tripoli in general. He also wrote a number of documents that were sent to and used by the King and the German Chancellor who used them in making decisions and convincing the politicians<sup>1043</sup>. This information contributed substantially to the development of German policy regarding the province of Tripoli, especially in view of the good relations between the Prussian

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<sup>1039</sup>al-Jamīl, Sayār, *al-‘arab wa al-atrāk al-inbi‘ath wa al-tahdīth min al-‘athmana ilā al-‘almanā*, markaz dirāsāt al-wahdā al-‘arabīyya, Bayrūt, 1997, pp. 63-64.

<sup>1040</sup>Naci Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan’, German arms, Trade and personal diplomatie in the Ottoman Empire before WWI*, Tauris, 2014, pp. 2, 256.

<sup>1041</sup>The role of travelers is discussed in detail in chapter 4.

<sup>1042</sup>Rohlfs, *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien...*, pp. 63, 78.

<sup>1043</sup>Rohlfs, *rihla ila al-kufra*.

King and the Chancellor. For example Rohlfs submitted a request to the King to send a German consul to the province of Tripoli. The information that he supplied and his own views about the province of Tripoli were formative in awarding this province a particular status in the development of the German policy in Africa was set. He mentioned that Tripoli is “*the key to Africa*”<sup>1044</sup>. Germany succeeded in reaching to the southern desert in Africa through the German travelers who used the province of Tripoli as a starting point. From here they were able to travel to many African Kingdoms such as Zanzibar. Germany also built strong relationships with the peoples of these kingdoms on the basis of cooperation and economic exchange without resorting to military occupation.

**Thirdly:** The entry of Germany into the scramble for Africa and the overlapping interests of the European powers and their ambition in Africa resulted in conflicts between them. These conflicts were the main reason behind Otto von Bismarck’s organization of the second Berlin conference in 1878. This conference sought to settle the conflicts and to mark the borders of influence of each of the countries that participated in the conference. The decisions and agreements signed during this conference had a significant impact on the region of North Africa and it has been argued that this conference was the beginning of the European colonization of parts of Africa<sup>1045</sup>. By calling this conference Bismarck called himself the “honest broker” who was willing to solve the conflicts of the European powers without benefiting personally from the conference. Bismarck wanted Germany’s role in this conference to reflect its distinguished position among the other European countries and to highlight the German role in conflict mediation and resolution in Europe at that time. At the same time however, his reference to the role of the disinterested “honest broker” denied any German ambitions to benefit from their hosting of the conference. His denial has been questioned in some studies, particularly given the threat that any rapprochement between Russia and France would constitute for Germany. For example, Carlson observes that “*The "Honest Broker" worked to save the peace of Europe and to secure the interests of Austria at Russia's expense for the benefit of Germany*”<sup>1046</sup>. Bismarck aimed at isolating France and was hostile to Russia, even if he was not averse to supporting their position in cases where this coincided with his own aims. For Carlson” *Bismarck was willing to come to a*

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<sup>1044</sup> Rulfis, *rihla 'abar Afrīqiya mushāhadāt al-rahḥāla al-'almāni Rulfis...*, p. 29.

<sup>1045</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism*.

<sup>1046</sup> Carlson, M. Dale, (1964), Bismarck the Dishonest Broker?, A master’s thesis submitted to the Department of History, Political Science and Philosophy Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas (<http://krex.k-state.edu/dspace/handle/2097/25771>), pp. 100-102

*close understanding with Russia and to support them in an aggressive policy in the Balkans. However, Bismarck made his price high. German support of Russia in the best would be given only in return for support of German policy against France.*"<sup>1047</sup>In addition, the European powers used the conference to realize their goals that allowed them the scramble for Africa.

Another important finding of this research is the way in which Germany used the province of Tripoli as a bargaining chip in this conference. This is reflected in Bismarck's offering of Tripoli to Italy in exchange for Italy's desisting from military conflict. This bargain happened without the knowledge of the Ottoman Empire. The offer made was that Italy could exercise influence on the province of Tripoli, in return for permitting France full control over Tunisia.

Germany's interest in strengthening its own position in Europe led it to enter into a number of agreements and treaties that enabled it to play an important international political reconciliation role. Thus Bismarck's policy of rapprochement with France can be seen as limiting the primacy of England in the power constellation whilst also constituting an obstacle to any attempt of a French attack on Germany.<sup>1048</sup> This study shows that the province of Tripoli was a point of conflict between England and France, especially when the two countries obtained contiguous colonies in Africa<sup>1049</sup>. Britain began to regard Germany as a threat due to its increasing political power, especially after the victory over France's traditional ally Britain. It therefore began trying to draw a new policy which aimed to maintain its strength within Europe and protect its colonies abroad, particularly its strategic interests in the Mediterranean, Egypt, and India<sup>1050</sup>. England was primarily interested in the eastern part of the province of Tripoli, specifically Cyrenaica. By contrast, the French focused their attention on the south, specifically the city of Ghadames and its environs. This was due to the location of Ghadames on the colonial border with the Algerian territory which had been under French occupation since 1830<sup>1051</sup>. Ghadames was also close to the colonial Tunisian territory which had been subjected to the French protectorate since 1882. From these two regions the French tried to extend their influence and control to Ghadames<sup>1052</sup>.

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<sup>1047</sup>Carlson, M. Dale, (1964), Bismarck the Dishonest Broker?..., (<http://krex.k-state.edu/dspace/handle/2097/25771>), pp. 103

<sup>1048</sup>Conrad, *German Colonialism...*, p.21.

<sup>1049</sup>al-Dijānī, *Lībiyā qabīl al-iḥtilāl al-iṭālī* ..., p. 312.

<sup>1050</sup>Mommsen, *Das Zeitalter...*, p.72.

<sup>1051</sup>Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p.77-78.

<sup>1052</sup>al-Ḥarīrī, 'Abdul-mula Ṣāliḥ, "al-tamhīd li-l-ghazu al-iṭālī wa mauqif al-lībiyyīn minhu", *buhūth wa dirāsāt fī al-tārīkhal-lībī 1911-1943*, al-juzu' al-thānī, majmū'a min al-'asātidha wa al-bāḥithīn, ishrāf Sālāḥ al-dīn Ḥasan Al-sūrī wa Ḥabīb Wadā'a Al-ḥisnāwī, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn ḍid al-ghazū al-iṭālī, Ṭarābulis, 1984, p. 21.

Soon Italy entered the conflict, as the Italian politicians realized the seriousness and effectiveness of their expansion policy and correspondingly used these to achieve their goals. Thus Italy entered into agreement with Germany, Austria / Hungary to obtain colonies in Africa. This is the agreement known as the Triple Alliance which was signed in 1882<sup>1053</sup>. The same agreement was used by Italy as defense mechanism against France, to stop France from expanding in the province of Tripoli as it had done previously in Tunisia<sup>1054</sup>. This alliance was restored several times. Italy also signed an agreement with England in 1887. In the same year the Chancellor Otto von Bismarck signed a bilateral agreement with Italy which confirmed Italy's right to occupy the province of Tripoli.<sup>1055</sup> Germany's stance was unambiguously hostile to French interests. Most of the European powers tried to isolate France or form coalitions against the French. This was also Germany's motivation for supporting the limitation of French control and influence in the province of Tripoli and Morocco. This was followed by the Anglo-French Agreement in 1899, the British-French-Italian Agreement in 1890, the Italian French Agreement 1900 and the Franco-British Entente Cordiale in 1904. There were many results but the most significant one in relation to the province of Tripoli is Italy's ability to acquire a political victory through taking advantage of the conflicting interests of the European countries and successfully exploiting these conflicting interests to occupy the province of Tripoli in 1911.

**Fourthly:** The finding of the research supports the argument that German imperialism was not limited to the actual establishment of colonies but could also include penetration by economic and financial means. Chapter 1 of this study supported the argument of J. A. Hobson (1858–1940) that the economic gains were crucial for many colonial powers during the industrial revolution when the European powers were competing for new markets and sources of raw materials. This thesis argues that Germany had economic interests in the province of Tripoli and that there is evidence for an unequal trade balance between Germany and the province of Tripoli. Importing raw materials from the province of Tripoli was not as significant for Germany as using the province of Tripoli as a market for German products and as a means of transporting German export further into Africa. Many trade centers and network of routes were used by convoys which were long established in the province of Tripoli with significant economic uses for

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<sup>1053</sup> al-Dijānī, *Lībiyā qabīl al-iḥtīlāl al-iṭālī*..., p. 329; Shukrī, *al-Sanūsiyya dīn wa daula*, p. 109 ; Kutzner, *Weltgeschichte der Neuzeit* ..., p. 125.

<sup>1054</sup> Muḥāfaẓa, *mawāqif al-duwal al-kubra min al-waḥdā al-'arabiyya*..., p. 26.

<sup>1055</sup> Ismā'īl, *tārīkh Afrīqiyā al-ḥadīth*..., p. 263.

Germany. Examples of these routes are Tripoli-Kano (Nigeria) road and Tripoli-Borno<sup>1056</sup> road that lead to central Africa. Cities and ports like Tripoli, Benghazi, Sawkanh and Ghadames constituted important centers for German trade. The report<sup>1057</sup> found in the Political Archive (Politisches Archiv) in Berlin covering the period between July 1869 till October 1888 included the number and types of livestock, trees, types and quantities of crops including fruits and vegetables produced in the province of Tripoli. The report supports the argument that Germany was collecting detailed information about raw materials available in the province but did not import large amounts of these raw materials itself. In addition to that the maritime commercial activity between the province of Tripoli and Germany was evidenced in the establishment of the German line (Deutsche Levante Linie), which was one of the most important shipping companies. The main task of this company was the transportation of materials and products coming from or going to both Germany and Belgium<sup>1058</sup>. However, not many goods were transported from Tripoli to Germany. Rather, goods exported from Tripoli tended to be destined for ports such as Egypt and Beirut.

It is therefore defensible to argue that German imports into the province of Tripoli were more significant than the goods that were exported out of this province. Goods imported by Germany into the province of Tripoli included haberdashery items, blankets, tea, sugar, iron, glass, perfumes, chemicals and medical materials, textile yarns, ropes, cotton, wool textiles, porcelain, gold and silver ornaments, and alcohol<sup>1059</sup>. Exports from Tripoli to Germany however, were limited to leather, ivory, ostrich feathers, barley, salt and dates. Evidence provided in the same report estimates the value of goods imported from Tripoli into Germany at around £ 7,000, a figure which fell in 1894 to £ 4,000. Meanwhile the value of goods exported from Germany to the province of Tripoli amounted to £ 16,000 in 1893 and increased in 1894 to £ 27,500<sup>1060</sup>. In 1895 the quantity of the imported goods was £ 4,000 while the exported goods reached £ 29,000<sup>1061</sup>. The exports increased over time and the value of exports of Germany to the province of Tripoli amounted to 50,000 golden francs in 1902, then in 1903 increased to reach 720,000 golden francs. The export of the German goods to the province of Tripoli had continued during

<sup>1056</sup> 'Āmir, *tārīkh al-maghrb al-'arabī...*, p. 157.

<sup>1057</sup> Politsch Archiv Das Auswärtigen Amts Allgemeine Angelegenheiten von Tripolis..., R 901/52506.

<sup>1058</sup> Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī*, p. 76.

<sup>1059</sup> Bundesarchiv, die Handels- und Schifffahrts-Verhältnisse mit Tripolis, Band 1, vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904, R 901/11936; Kūrū, *Lībyā athnā' al-'ahd al-'ūthmānī al-thānī...*, p. 77; Nājī, *tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-gharb*, p. 55-56.

<sup>1060</sup> Bundesarchiv, die Handels..., Bd1, vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904, R901/11936, Nr. II 11590.

<sup>1061</sup> Bundesarchiv, die Handels..., Bd1, vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904, R901/11936, Nr. 27611/96.

the year 1911 according to reports by Alfred Tilger, the German consul in the province of Tripoli. They included exchange of products like tea, beer, flour, steel products, machinery, and enamel. The value of exports of Germany to the province of Tripoli reached 56,828 Italian Lira<sup>1062</sup>.

**Fifthly:** The establishment of the German consulate in the province of Tripoli was a clear sign of the start and growing German imperial intentions towards the province of Tripoli as well as the country's desire to compete with other European powers. That was mainly because many European powers such as Britain, France Spain and Italy had consulates in the province of Tripoli long before Germany, which decided only in 1884 to open not a consulate but only a deputy consulate. This was due to the insufficient number of German inhabitants residing in the province. However, this was changed in 1909 and the consulate was opened at a very critical point of time when the Ottoman Empire started to change its policy towards the province of Tripoli. This was obvious because the Ottoman Empire started to introduce reforms and changing the Ottoman governors when the province of Tripoli became then the scene of the hidden conflict between the Ottomans (the German friends) and Italy (with which Germany entered into different agreements). At the same time, Italy was conducting many projects in the province of Tripoli which were more economic in nature but with political intentions<sup>1063</sup>.

Moreover, the German consul Alfred Tilger provided very important information in his reports to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs which contained not only economic but also political information. For example one of his reports dating from 1912 contains detailed information on the new customs procedures which were implemented by the new authorities in Libya and the current economic activities in the Libyan ports such as Homs, Misurata and Zuara. He states that all these ports implemented the new customs system with reference to the continued flow of the Libyan exports to Germany<sup>1064</sup>. This was critical time because Italy then had occupied Libya (province of Tripoli) in 1911. During and after the Italian occupation of Libya, the German position was limited by two main factors. The first of these was its signing of the Triple Alliance and the second was its good relations with the Ottoman Empire. Despite these good relations, when Italy started the war against the Ottoman Empire in the province of Tripoli, Germany did

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<sup>1062</sup> Bundesarchiv, Bd1, Nr. II °580<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>1063</sup> Marx, *Geschichte Afrikas...*, p.150.

<sup>1064</sup> Bundesarchiv, die Jahres-Handelsberichte des Ksl, Vize-Konsulats in Tripolis (Tripolitaniien), R901/4443, vom August 1907 bis Juni 1916, Nr. II °1526.

not oppose Italy because Germany was part of the Triple Alliance. However, it did support the Ottomans in their war against Italy.

In the meanwhile World War I started in 1914 between one side of Germany, Austro-Hungary and Italy (Triple Alliance), and on the other side France, Russia and Great Britain. The Ottomans entered World War I in support of their ally Germany in 29 October 1914<sup>1065</sup> after signing a military contract with them in 27. October 1913. This contract stipulated that Germany would take over the reform in the Ottoman military forces<sup>1066</sup>.

Germany and the Triple Alliance tried to mobilize as much support as possible for their entry into the war. Thus the policy makers in the Ottoman Empire promoted the idea of Islamic Holy *Jihad*, and asked the Islamic countries, especially those under their political control, to join them on this basis. It seems likely that this strategy was developed in response to a suggestion by an official at the German Embassy in Cairo, Max von Oppenheim<sup>1067</sup>. By invoking the concept of *Jihad* the Germans hoped to mobilize a larger degree of Muslim support for their efforts against the Russian, British and French forces in the region<sup>1068</sup>. However, because Libya was under Italian occupation Germany tried to redirect the Islamic *Jihad* in Libya toward fighting the British in Egypt rather than the Italians in Libya. Germany provided significant military support to the *Mujāhidīn* in the form of military equipments, weapons and German submarines that helped in the transportation of army forces or military equipments. So again Germany was successful in using Libya to serve its own goals and policies and could convince the Libya to engage in many battles against the English in Egypt between 1915 and 1917<sup>1069</sup>. 1918 was considered as the end of the scramble for Africa because of defeat of the Triple Alliance in World War I and the withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from different provinces in North Africa including Libya. In this year the republic of Tripoli was declared, during which time the Weimar Republic was elected in Germany.

To conclude, this thesis argues that the province of Tripoli fell within the sphere of informal German colonial expansion, where it was used to serve its imperial interests and policies. This

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<sup>1065</sup>Uyar and Erickson, *A military history of the Ottomans...*, p. 243.

<sup>1066</sup>Uyar and Erickson, *A military history of the Ottomans...*, p. 237.

<sup>1067</sup>Hagen, *Die Türkei im Ersten Weltkrieg*, p. 13.

<sup>1068</sup>Lüdke, *Jihad made in Germany*.

<sup>1069</sup>As explained in chapter 6

was the case even if Germany did not occupy Libya military but in a more informal sense, through their relationship with the Ottoman Empire.

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## **Appendixes:**

(1) Table of German Exports to the Province of Tripoli in 1910<sup>1070</sup>

28 *Ein- & Ausfuhr - Liste* L. n. l. u. n. 3. X  
*der Dampfer der "Deutsche Levante-Linie" in resp. aus Tripolis [Bez.]*  
 1910.

Name des Dampfers	Datum	Von Hamburg eingegangene Ladung	Von Antwerpen eingegangene Ladung	Ausgegangene Ladung f. Begypoten	Ausgegangene Ladung f. diverse Länder	Bemerkungen
<i>Aegina</i>	15. III. 10	200 kg. Wolle 300 " Porzellan 800 " Fischwaren 200 " Pfeffer 2.000 " Emailwaren 10.000 " Mehl 7.000 " Tee 300 " Leder 700 " Schokolade	/	2.100 kg. Kummel u. Lorbe 200 " Wolle 1.050 " Nüssen 1000 " Zucker 2.000 Schafe	1.000 kg. Wolle 1.000 " Nüsse 950 " Kakao	} nach Syrien
<i>Anatolia</i>	24. III. 10	3000 kg. Tee	1000 kg. Parfümglas 55.000 " Zucker 11.000 " Schokolade 800 " Wolle 600 " Kaffee	3000 Schafe 500 Olivenöl 2000 kg. Butter 500 " Wolle	1500 kg. Datteln	nach Gambia na Alexandria
<i>Thasos</i>	7. V. 10	/	2.600 kg. Glaswaren 15.400 " Schokolade 650 " Pfeffer 85.000 " Zucker 2.750 " Kaffee 3.400 " Parfümglas 350 " Pfeffer 450 " Kupfer	/	2500 kg. Matten 1000 " Orangen 1500 " Butter	} nach Antankon " Lahrnik
<i>Sydnos</i> <i>T 559</i>	19. VI. 10	400 kg. Porzellan 400 " Schokolade 1.800 " Eisenwaren 800 " Glaswaren 500 " Pfeffer 300 " Mehl 4.500 " Zucker 3.200 " Eisenwaren 4000 " Schokolade	/	2000 Schafe 80 " Mehl 10.000 kg. Zucker	/	/
<i>Aradia</i>	2. VI. 10	/	32.000 kg. Eisen u. Waren 2500 " Eisenwaren 1500 " Silberwaren 850 " Kupferwaren 1100 " Porzellan 200 " Wolle 60.400 " Zucker 13.000 " Schokolade	2300 Schafe 620 kg. Wolle 1800 " Pfeffer 1400 " Zucker	300 kg. Wolle	nach Syrien
<i>Anatolia</i>	12. VII. 10	1200 kg. Cashm Papier 1050 " Pfeffer 75 " Porzellan 570 " Schokolade 310 " Eisenwaren 800 " Mehl 900 " Glaswaren 150 " Eisenwaren 300 " Leder 2000 " Pfeffer 350 " Leder	/	2500 Schafe	250 kg. Wolle 800 " Porzellan	} nach Syrien
<i>Sydnos</i>	19. VII. 10	600 kg. Eisenwaren 700 " Schokolade 600 " Wolle 1000 " Leder 2000 " Schokolade 800 " Pfeffer 400 " Porzellan 500 " Porzellan 1000 " Pfeffer 1700 " Pfeffer 8600 " Pfeffer 59.000 " Zucker	/	1700 Schafe 110 " Mehl 35 " Pfeffer 2500 kg. Kummel 1000 " Pfeffer 200 " Wolle	2000 kg. Porzellan	nach Syrien

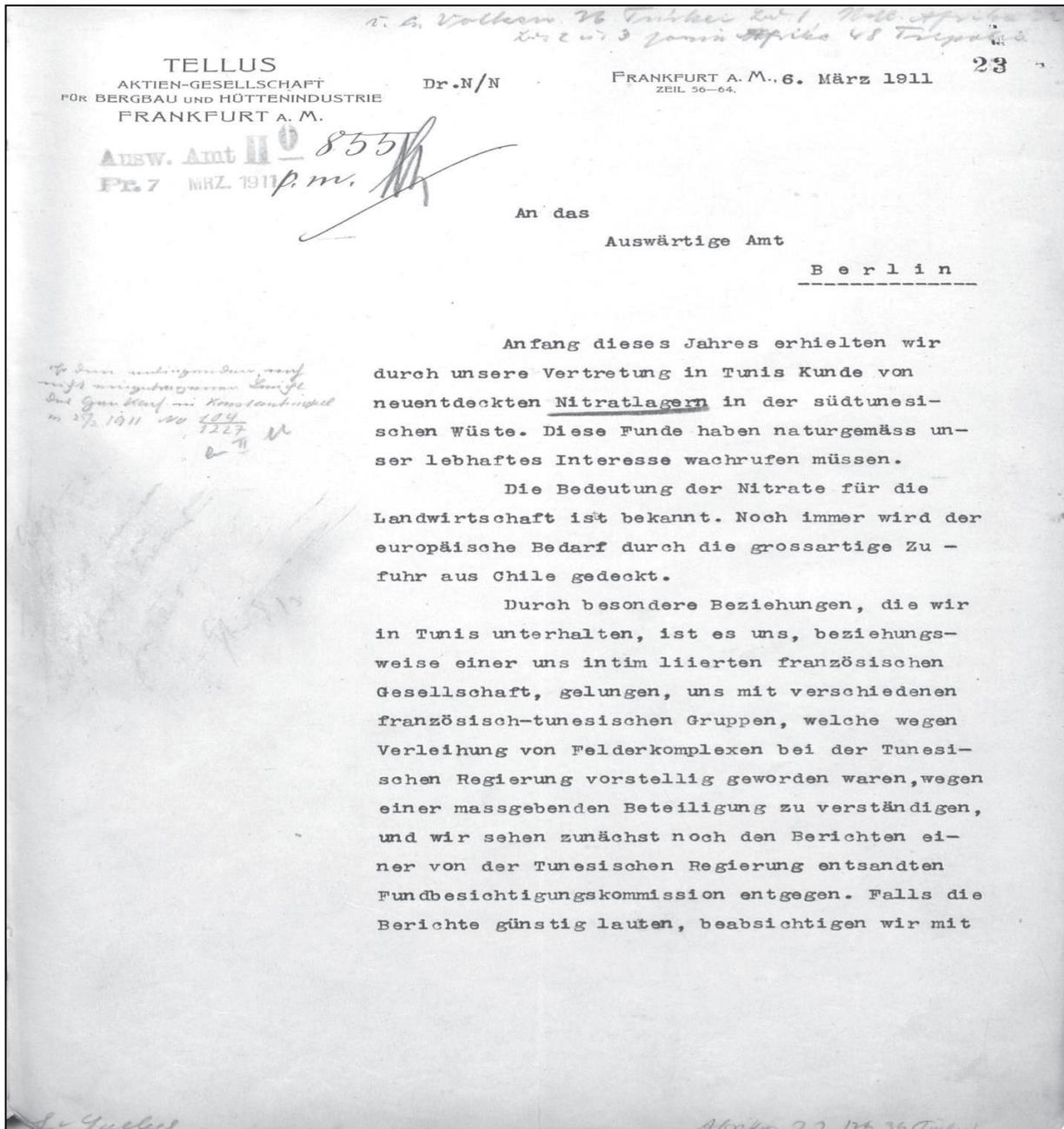
b. w.

<sup>1070</sup>Bundesarchiv, Die Jahres Handelsberichte des Ksl. Vizekonsulats in Tripolis (Tripolitaniens), August 1907 – Juni 1916, Tripolis, R 901/4443, Nr. II°559.

# Fortsetzung.

Name des Dampfers	Datum	Von Hamburg eingegangene Ladung	Von Antwerpen eingegangene Ladung	Ausgang. Ladung im System	Ausgang. Ladung in diverse Länder	Bemerkungen
Galata	13. VII. 10	400 Kg. Eisenwaren 1400 " Glaswaren 400 " Porzellan 350 " Seife 250 " Nähmaschinen 550 " Leder 2000 " Bier 900 " Tee 1150 " Farben 2500 " Eisen 118000 " Zucker	/	1300 Schafe 12 Kühe 40 Kamelle 18400 Kg. Wergeln 4800 " Butter 2000 " Matten 1250 " Wollewaren	/	/
Sios	18. VII. 10	/	1800 Kg. Kerzen 10000 " Glaswaren 2500 " Farberde 38000 " Zucker 550 " Seife 250 " Kampfer 8500 " Eisenwaren 200 " Eisen 2000 " Wollewaren 4800 " Seife 450 " Leder	10 Kamelle 2000 Butter 9000 Wergeln 750 Zucker	/	/
OS	14. IX. 10	/	850 Kg. Stroh 1200 " Farben 3000 " Eisenwaren 950 " Seife 350 " Leder 400 " Seife 34000 " Zucker 20000 " Eisen	700 Schafe 85 Kamelle 40 Kühe 38000 Kg. Zucker 5000 " Wergeln 2400 " Butter 2000 " Wollewaren	1400 Kg. Wergeln 150 " Zuckerwaren 1200 " Verschiedenes	} nach Beirut } nach Fatta
OS	23. IX. 10	/	24000 Kg. Eisen 200 " Glaswaren 2250 " Kerzen 550 " Farben 1000 " Seife 1500 " Verschiedenes 400 " Wollewaren	90 Kamelle 170 Schafe 2600 Kg. Zucker 1000 " Verschiedenes	/	/
Tripolis (Afrika) den 31. Dezember 1910.						

(2) A request submitted to the German government by Aktien-Gesellschaft für Bergbau und Hüttenindustrie in Frankfurt, A. M to obtain the approval of the Ottoman authorities that allowed them to search for the Nitrates in the province of Tripoli 1911<sup>1071</sup>



<sup>1071</sup>Bundesarchiv, die Handels- und Schifffahrts-Verhältnisse mit Tripolis, R 901/4412, Bad 3, Vom Januar 1910-

FRANKFURT A. M., 6. März 1911  
ZEIL 56-64.

grösster Beschleunigung eine Expedition auszurüsten und zu entsenden.

Das südtunesische Salpetergebiet reicht bis zur tripolitanischen Grenze, die erst vor kurzem von einer französisch-türkischen Kommission vermessen worden ist. Da es nicht unwahrscheinlich ist, dass die Nitratlager in tripolitanisches Gebiet hinein fortsetzen, möchten wir die eventuell zu entsendende Expedition einen Vorstoss in die tripolitanische Wüste ausführen lassen, was nur mit Unterstützung der Kaiserlich Ottomanischen Regierung angänglich sein würde.

Im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung nordafrikanischer Nitratlager für Deutschland glauben wir auf das Interesse der Kaiserlich Deutschen Regierung für unsere Bestrebungen rechnen zu dürfen. Wir gestatten uns demzufolge die ganz ergebene Bitte, durch Vermittlung der Kaiserlich Deutschen Botschaft in Konstantinopel feststellen zu lassen, ob die Kaiserlich Ottomanische Regierung geneigt sein würde, die Untersuchung des zwischen dem Meridian von Ghadames und dem neunten Längengrad oe. v. Paris liegenden Teiles von Tripolitanien auf nutzbare Mineralien zu bewilligen und zu unterstützen, sowie uns die Zusicherung zu erteilen, dass in-

nerhalb des Untersuchungsgebietes während der Expedition und der sich daran anschliessenden Studien, d.h. bis Ende 1912, an keine anderen Interessenten Schürferlaubnisse oder Konzessionen auf nutzbare Mineralien gegeben werden.

Wir wären bereit, mit der Kaiserlich Ottomanischen Regierung einen Vertrag einzugehen, nach welchem uns die Regierung das Ausbeutungsrecht auf irgendwelche durch die Expedition zwischen dem Meridian von Ghadames und dem neunten Grad östlicher Länge von Paris nachzuweisende Minerallagerstätten zugestände, wogegen ihr ein Anteil von 25% an dem nach Abzug einer Vordividende von 8% verbleibenden Reingewinn eingeräumt würde.

Ueber die südtunesischen Nitratfunde sind noch keine Nachrichten in die Oeffentlichkeit gedrungen. Die Angelegenheit wird von den beteiligten Kreisen mit strengster Diskretion behandelt. Wir gestatten uns auf diesen Umstand aufmerksam zu machen, da das Bekanntwerden der Nitratfunde besonders in türkischen Kreisen zu übertriebenen Vorstellungen führen könnten und bitten ganz ergebenst, gütigst dahin zu wirken, dass bei den erbetenen Erkundigungen die Nitrate nicht erwähnt werden, sondern als Zweck der beabsichtigten Expedition eine Erfor-

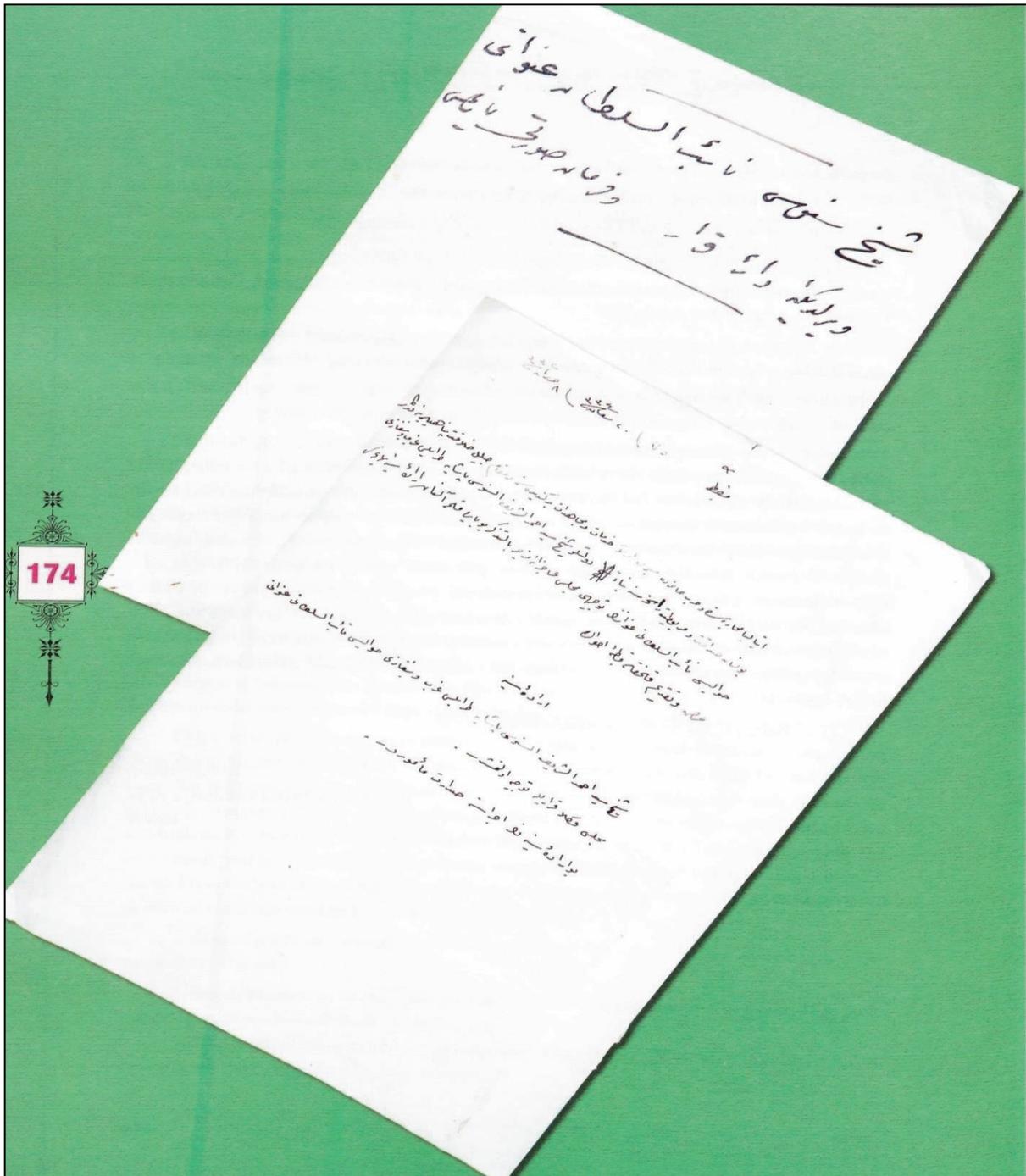
schung der Mineralreichtümer im Allgemeinen angegeben wird,

Wir empfehlen uns  
in ausgezeichneter Hochachtung  
ganz ergebenst

TELLUS Aktiengesellschaft  
für Bergbau und Hüttenindustrie

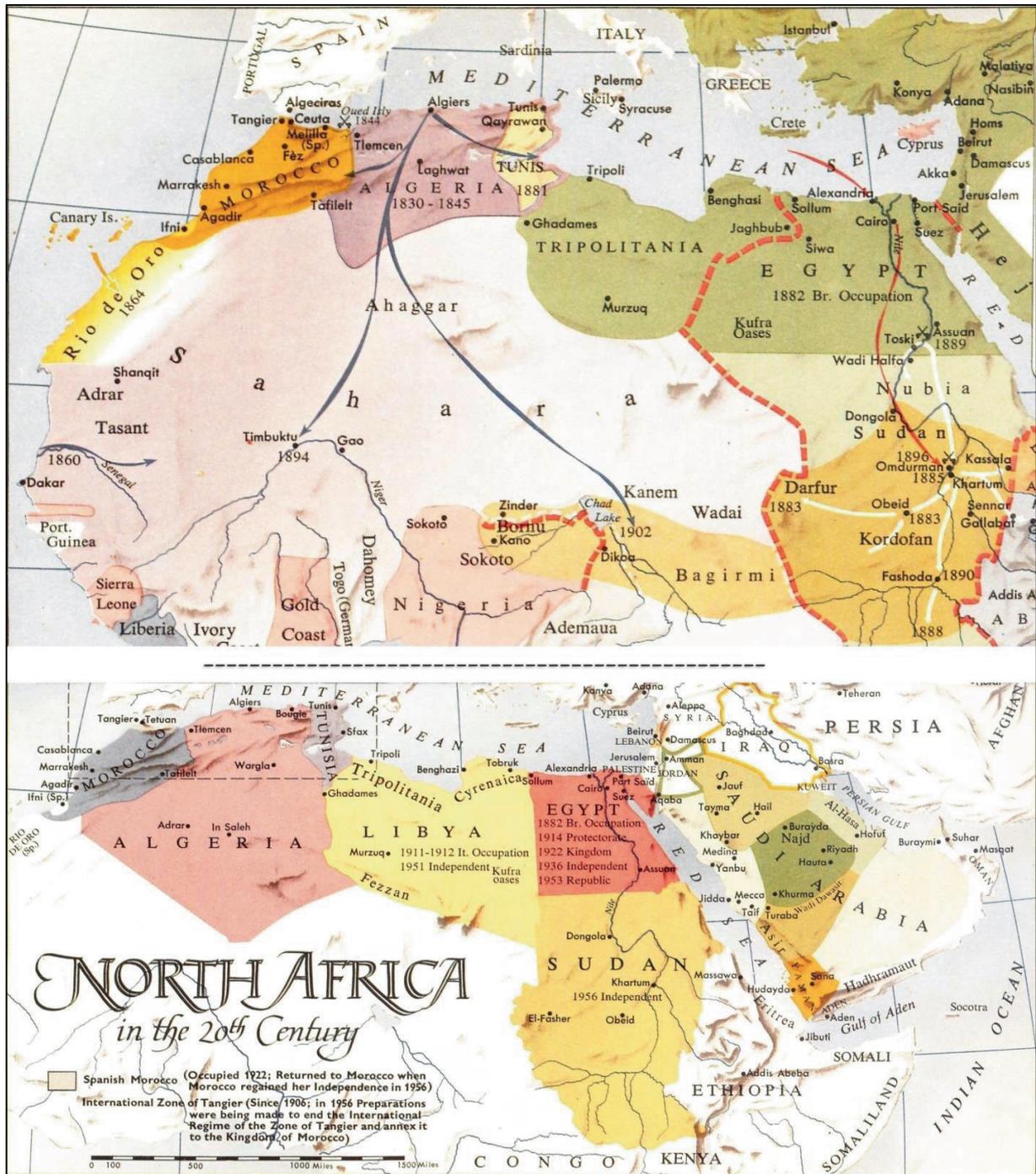
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**(3) Faraman Appointing Aḥmed al-Sharīf as the Deputy of the Ottoman Sultan in the Province of Tripoli<sup>1072</sup>:**



<sup>1072</sup>Ṭarābulis al-gharb fī al-wathā'iq al-'ūthmānī, Iṣtānbūl, 2013

**(4) Libya's Borders in the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Century<sup>1073</sup>:**



<sup>1073</sup>Historical Atals of the Muslim People, compiled by Roolvink et al Amsterdan 1957.

## (5) The German Submarines in the Libyan Shores during the World War

I<sup>1074</sup>.

U-Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der libyschen Küste 1915-1918			
19.	08.	1915	<p>„UC 12“/Kptl. Palis, das vom 19.8.1915-9.12.1915 in (Pola) für Transportzwecke umgebaut worden war, vollführte 9.-23.12.1915 ein Fahrt von (Cattaro) nach (Bardija) an der nordafrikanischen Küste und zurück, um einen Materialtransport für die türkisch-arabische Landkriegführung zu überführen. Auf dem Hinwege wurde „UC 12“, nachdem es das begleitende „U 38“ verloren hatte, längere Zeit von „U 39“ geschleppt; auf dem Rückmarsch hat das nur 168 t große Boot die rund 700 sm lange Strecke mit eigener Maschinenkraft ohne Aufenthalt zurückgelegt.</p>
12.	10.	1915	<p>„U 35“/Korv. Kapt. Kophamel: Besondere Unternehmung nach der türkische (libyschen) Küste in Nordafrika. 28.10.1915; Bei Signalstation Hersingstand auf Gallipoli Verbindung mit Land, Befehle der Mittelmeerddivision eingeholt, dann Marsch nach dem türkischen Stützpunkt (Orak) an der Kleinasiatischen Küste. 1.11.1915: dort 10 türkische Offiziere und Munition an Bord genommen zur Überführung nach Nordafrika, um die türkische Kriegführung gegen Ägypten zu unterstützen. Auch übernahm es „U 35“ unterwegs, 2 türkische Segler mit 120 Soldaten und Munition für Afrika, zeitweise in Windstille zu schleppen. 4.11.1915 nach beschwerlicher Überfahrt mit dem überlasteten Boot bei drückender Hitze im Hafen von Bardija an der afrikanischen Küste geankert, türkische Offiziere und Munition ausgeschifft. 5.11.1915 in der Bucht von (Sollum) englischen Hilfskreuzer „Tara“, 1862 T, durch Torpedoschuß versenkt. Die Besatzung – Kommandant, Offizier und 79 Mann – in Booten nach Bardija geschleppt, als türkische Kriegsgefangene abgegeben. Danach im nahen Hafen von Sollum zwei zu Anker liegende englische Kanonenboote durch Geschützfeuer schwer beschädigt.</p>
26.	11.	1915	<p>„U 39“/Kptl. Forstmann: 13.12.1915: Begegnung mit „UC 12“, das als Transportboot von Cattaro nach der afrikanischen Küste unterwegs war, von „U 38“ dorthin hatte geschleppt werden sollen, die Verbindung mit „U 38“ aber nach der Otranto-Straße verloren hatte. „U 39“ nimmt „UC 12“ in Schlepp, südwärts. 15.12.1915 abends wirft „U 39“ in Nähe von Bardija „UC 12“ los, tritt mit 20 t Treiböl Rückmarsch an.</p>
19.	12.	1915	<p>„U 38“/Kptl. Valentiner mit „UC 12“ zusammen von Cattaro ausgelaufen. Auf „U 38“ eingeschifft Der deutsche Konsul Dr. Pröbster, der türkische Major Djemal Bey, zwei arabische Häuptlinge, ferner 6 t Kriegsmaterial für die türkisch-arabische Landkriegführung in Afrika, 315 Gewehre, 93 000 Patronen, 1000 Pistolen mit Munition, eine Funkstation und Geld. Aufgabe für „U 38“: 1) „UC 12“ zur Überführung eines Transports nach Afrika durch Schleppen unterstützen. 2) Die eigene Ladung und das Personal nach Bardija bringen. 3) Handelskrieg. 9.12.-12.12.1915: „U 12“ zeitweise geschleppt, dann nicht mehr gefunden. 14.12.1915 in Bardija eingelaufen, Personal ausgeschifft, Ladung gelöscht. 15.12.1915: Der Kommandant „U 38“ entschließt sich nach Unterredung an Land über die militärische Lage in Nordafrika, sich und sein Boot noch länger in den Dienst der türkisch-arabischen Sache zu stellen. Die darauf folgenden Unternehmungen des U-Bootes gingen auf Kosten der Durchführung der Hauptaufgabe, des Handelskrieges, und waren nicht im Sinne des Flottenchefs und des Admiralstabs. 15.-19.12.1915 Aufenthalt an der afrikanischen Küste vor Bardija und Umgebung zur Deckung der an Land im Gange befindlichen Kampfhandlungen ohne nennenswertes Eingreifen des U-Bootes. 19.12.1915 abends von Bardija an die syrische Küste. 2.1.1916 in Marmaritsa, Kriegsmaterial für Afrika geladen; mit sechs türkischen Offizieren und Unteroffizieren nach Bardija in See gegangen. 4.1.1916 in der Bucht von Sollum wegen schlechten Wetters keine Ausschiffungsmöglichkeit. Daher Beschluß, Rückmarsch anzutreten, ohne Material und Personal an Land gebracht zu haben. 10.1.1916 Cattaro.</p>
21.	12.	1915	<p>„U 34“/Kptl. Rücker von Cattaro. Aufgabe: 1) 5 t Munition, Gewehre und Funkeinrichtung für die türkische Kriegführung gegen Ägypten nach Bardija bringen. 2) Verbindung suchen mit „UC 12“; dieses nötigenfalls von Bardija zurückschleppen. 22.12.1915 im Ionischen Meer „UC 12“ getroffen; Schleppen in dem stark bewachten Seegebiet nicht möglich. „UC 12“ setzt daher nach Vereinbarung Marsch nach Cattaro allein fort.</p>

<sup>1074</sup>U-Boote der Kaiserlichen Marine an der Libyschen Küste 1915–1918, al-markaz al-watani li-l-mahfuzat al-tarikhiyya.

			26.12.1915 Bardija angelaufen und nach Löschen der Ladung wieder verlassen.
05.	02.	1916	„U 38“/Kptlt. Valentiner Befehl: 1) Sechs türkische Offiziere und Unteroffiziere sowie 10 t Kriegsmaterial nach Bardija zu bringen. 2) Handelskrieg. 10. und 11.2.1916 Das türkische Personal und Material in Bardija an Land gebracht.
10.	04.	1916	„U 21“/Kptlt. Hersing: Aufgabe: 1. Heerestransport, bestehend aus deutschem Oblt. Frhr. v. Todenwarth nebst Begleiter, vier türkischen Offizieren und Unteroffizieren, sowie Waffen, Munition, Funkeinrichtungen, Geld, nach Nordafrika bringen. 15.4.1916 östlich Tripolis an der Küste der Küste der Großen Syrte angelangt. Teils wegen Brandung, teils weil Verständigung mit arabischen Führern an Land nicht zu erreichen ist, kann Ausschiffung von Personal und Material nicht stattfinden, trotzdem dies bis zum 19.4. an mehreren Stellen der Küste versucht wird. 20.4.1916 Ankerplatz bei Marsa Brega verlassen, um Handelskrieg zu führen. Nach Verlauf dieser Unternehmung beschloß der Admiralstab, sich bezüglich der Entsendung von U-Booten nach Nordafrika gegenüber den Anforderungen des Heeres künftig mehr zurückhaltung aufzuerlegen.
05	07.	1916	„U39“/Kptlt. Forstmann hatte Auftrag, zunächst eine deutsche und eine türkische Heeresabordnung, erstere unter Führung des Oblt. Frhr. v. Todenwarth, zusammen sieben Köpfe, sowie Kriegsmaterial an die tripolitische Küste zu landen. 8.-10.7.1916 die Heeresangehörigen und Munition an zwei verschiedenen Küstenstellen in Tripolis, bei Marsa Brega und Misrata, ausgeschifft. Danach Handelskrieg vor der nordafrikanischen Küste zwischen Tunis und Algier.
08	10.	1916	„U39“/Kptlt. Forstmann von Pola ausgelaufen mit der Aufgabe, Handelskrieg im westlichen Mittelmeer zu führen. Daneben sollte eine türkische Mission, bestehend aus dem Gouverneur von Tripolis, vier türkischen Offizieren und zwei arabischen Begleitern, an der tripolitischen Küste nebst Waffen und Munition gelandet sowie der deutsche Oblt. Frhr. v. Todenwarth von dort abgeholt werden. 13.10.1916 an der afrikanischen Küste bei Marsa Brega geankert; von dort auf Grund erhaltener Nachrichten nach Misrata, wo am 15.10. Personal und Material für Zwecke der türkischen Kriegführung gelandet werden. 27.10. bei Misrata verabredungsgemäß Oblt. Frhr. v. Todenwarth und einen türkischen Offizier abgeholt, dann nochmals Marsa Brega angelaufen, dort nach Besprechungen einen weiteren türkischen Offizier sowie einen führenden Araber mit Begleitern auf „U 39“ eingeschifft und nach Cattaro gebracht.
00	00	1917	„UC 20“ und „UC 73“ waren für Transportzwecke im Mittelmeer besonders hergerichtet. Es wurde für notwendig gehalten, die türkische Kriegführung in Nordafrika gegen die Italiener und Engländer von den österreich-ungarischen Stützpunkten her durch Kriegsmaterial verschiedener Art zu unterstützen. Nur mit Tauchfahrzeugen war dies möglich. Statt der Minenschächte, welche bei den übrigen Booten des C II-Typs den Raum des Vorschiffs einnahmen, besaßen die Transportboote Laderäume. Die Torpedo- und Geschützausrüstung der beiden Boote war die gleiche wie die der anderen CII-Boote
29	03.	1917	„UC 20“/Oblt. z.S. Franz Becker: Überführung von drei türkischen Offizieren, vier türkischen Unteroffizieren und einer Ladung Kriegsmaterial (Geschütze, Maschinengewehre, Munition, Geld, Sanitätsmaterial) von Pola nach Tripolis. Handelskrieg vor der afrikanischen Küste. 4.-7.4. und 13.4.1917 an der afrikanischen Küste südlich Misrata das türkische Kriegsmaterial in besonderer Bootseinrichtung an Land geschafft. 11.4.1917: Vor <u>Zuara</u> westlich der Stadt Tripolis den auf Reede zu Anker liegenden, beim Löschen seiner Ladung beschäftigten italienischen D. „ <u>Candia</u> “, 1045 T + durch U-Torpedoschuß. 12.4.1917: Kasernenanlagen der Küstenstadt Homis beschossen. Zwei Landbatterien erwidern das Feuer des U-Bootes und zwingen zum Tauchen. 14.4.1917: Ital. Segler „ <u>Cinque Ottobre</u> “, 39 T, + mit Granaten abends ital. Schlepper „ <u>Progresso</u> “, 29 T, mit einem Leichter in Schlepp vor Tripolis angehalten, gesprengt, ebenso 15.4.1917 ital. Segler „ <u>Alessio Cocco</u> “, 29 T, mit Ausrüstungsgegenständen für italienischen Truppen in Tripolis. Später am 15. U-Torpedofehlschuß, vielleicht durch Netz aufgehalten, gegen zu Anker liegenden Dampfer auf der Reede von Homis. Allgemein: Vor der tripolitischen Küste nur geringe Bewachung.
24.	04.	1917	„UC 73“/Kptl. Schapler: Von <u>Helgoland</u> um die <u>Shetlands</u> nach dem Mittelmeer zur U-Flottille Pola. Eingeschifft ein türkischer Offizier, drei türkische Unteroffiziere; Ladung: 1000 Gewehre, 200 000 Gewehrpatronen, 18 Kisten mit Gold und militärische Ausrüstungsgegenstände, zu überführen nach der afrikanischen Küste bei Misrata. 16.5.1917: Bei Misrata eingetroffen. Durch Brandung verspätetes Löschen der Ladung am

			21./22.5. 26.5.1917: In der Großen Syrte italienischen D. „Agragas“, 850 T, aufgebracht, am gleichen Tage der türkischen Leitung zur Verfügung gestellt, italienische Besatzung in türkische Gefangenschaft gegeben. Dampfer auf Strand gesetzt und am 27.5. gesprengt. 30.5.1917: In der Morgendämmerung den Küstenplatz Bengasi mit 40 Granaten belegt. Kurz danach ein italienischen Torpedoboot zur Stelle, das zum Tauchen zwingt. Dauer der Unternehmung 44 Tage
14.	05.	1917	„UC 20“/Oblt.z.S. v.d.Lühe: Transportfahrt nach Misrata, Handelskrieg Eingeschifft eine deutsche Heeresabordnung – Rittmeister Frhr. v. Todenwarth, ein Offiziersstellvertreter und vier Mann – sowie ein türkischer Hauptmann. 21.5.1917: An der afrikanischen Küste bei Misrata geankert, dort auch „UC 73“. 22.5.1917: Das als Ladung überführte Kriegsmaterial und die Expeditionsteilnehmer ausgeschifft. 27.5.1917: Wieder nach Misrata zurückgegangen. 30.5.1917: Dort eingetroffen. Wegen Brandung gelingt es erst am 3.6., türkisches Personal gemäß Vereinbarung an Bord zu nehmen. Dann Rückmarsch nach Pola.
21.	07.	1917	„UC 73“/Kptlt. Schapler: Nach Melfa, Westseite der Großen Syrte, mit Kriegsmaterial. 25.7.1917 Am Ziel angelangt, Ladung gelöscht. Auf Rückmarsch befehlsgemäß kein Handelskrieg.
22.	07.	1917	„UC 20“/Oblt.z.S. v.d.Lühe: Nach der Tripoli-Küste mit vier türkischen Offizieren und einer Ladung von 21 Tonnen Gewehre und Munition. 28. und 29.7.1917 Ladung und Personal am Bestimmungsort in Gegend von Misrata ausgeschifft. <i>Libia</i> 30.7.1917 Militärische Anlagen des Hafens Homs beschossen. Landbatterien erwidern sofort das Feuer, U-Boot taucht. Rückmarsch. Auf Angriffstätigkeit unterwegs wurde befehlsgemäß verzichtet, um nächsten Transport beschleunigt vorzubereiten.
11.	08.	1917	„UC 73“/Kptlt. Schapler: Nach Misrata mit Gewehren, Gewehr- und Geschützmunition. 16.8.1917 Ladung am Bestimmungsort gelöscht.
15.	08.	1917	„UC 20“/Oblt.z.S. v.d.Lühe: Nach dem gleichen Ziel mit einem türkischen Offizier, zwei türkischen Unteroffizieren, Gewehren, Gewehr- und und Geschützmunition sowie anderem Kriegsmaterial. 26.8.1917 Ladung bei Misrata gelöscht. Personal ausgeschifft, ohne Störung von feindlicher Seite.
29	09.	1917	„UC 73“/Kptlt. Schapler: Transportfahrt nach der libyschen Küste, Handelskrieg. 4.10.1917: 28 Tonnen Kriegsmaterial ohne Störung bei Misrata gelöscht. 5.10.1917: Für Rückfahrt 3 ½ Tonnen Rohgummi an Bord genommen. 6.10.1917: Westlich Tripoli zwei vergebliche Torpedoangriffe auf flachem Wasser gegen zu Anker liegenden italienischen Dampfer und Bewacher. 7.10.1917: In dem gleichen Gebiet einen befestigten Küstenplatz der Italiener unter Feuer genommen. 11.10.1917: Nordöstlich von Misrata griech. Segler „Georgios“, 560 T, +durch Geschützfeuer und Sprengen, ebenso 14.10.1917: vor Misrata italienischen D. „Lido G.“, 1003 T. 16.10.1917: Befestigte italienische (libysche) Küstenstadt Homs mit 42 Granaten belegt. Feuer wurde von Landgeschützen schwach erwidert. Rückfahrt wurde wie üblich ausgenutzt, um türkische Verbindungsleute zum Verkehr mit deutschem Generalstab nach Pola zu bringen.
17.	10.	1917	„UC 20“/Oblt.z.S. v.d.Lühe: Transportfahrt nach der libyschen Küste, Handelskrieg im mittleren Mittelmeer. 28.10.1917: Vor der afrikanischen Küste bei Misrata geankert, Ladung an Land gegeben. Als Rückfracht Baumwolle und Rohgummi an Bord genommen. Abends am 28. Ankerplatz verlassen mit zwei Türken an Bord.
27.	11.	1917	„UC 20“/Oblt.z.S. v.d.Lühe: Transportfahrt nach Misrata. 2:12.1917: Am Bestimmungsort geankert. Löschen der Ladung begonnen, aber wegen zunehmender Brandung abgebrochen. Bis 7.12. vor der Küste auf Beruhigung des Wetters gewartet, schließlich am 7. Rückmarsch angetreten, ohne den Rest von 16 Kisten Munition an Land gegeben zu haben.
19.	12.	1917	„UC 73“/Oblt.z.S. Wiedemann: Von Pola Transportfahrt nach Misurata. 25.12.1917 nachts Löschen der Ladung in Misrata 1.-3.1.1918 Vor der Tripolitanischen Küste nach Angriffszielen gesucht.

			<p>2.1.1918 Vormittags zwischen Zuara und Tripolis ergebnisloser Angriff auf einen Gruppe von 2 italienischen Dampfern.</p> <p>3.1.1918 Nochmals auf der Reede von Misrata geankert, türkische Passagiere an Bord genommen, dann Rückmarsch.</p>
26.	12.	1917	<p>„UC 20“/Oblt.z.S. Kämpel: Transportfahrt von Pola nach Misrata</p> <p>3.1.1918 Vor Misrata eintreffen, Ladung gelöscht und ausgelaufen.</p> <p>4.1.1918 Vor Tripolis Unterwasserangriff auf einzelnen Dampfer. Torpedotreffer. Dann aufgetaucht um den Dampfer, der beschleunigt verlassen wird, durch Geschützfeuer zu versenken. Boot muß jedoch, nachdem der Dampfer einige Treffer erhalten hat, wieder unter Wasser gehen, da eine Landbatterie von Tripolis wirkungsvoll Feuer eröffnet.</p>
12.	02.	1918	<p>„UC 73“/Oblt.z.S. Wiedemann: Von Pola Transportfahrt nach der afrikanischen Küste. Als Passagiere zur Überfahrt 3 türkische Offiziere und 4 Unteroffiziere.</p> <p>18./19.2.1918 Ladung bei Misrata gelöscht.</p> <p>19. – 26.2.1918 Marsch von Misrata nach Aguila westlich Barsa Brega an der Großen Syrte, um türkische Offiziere nebst einer Ladung zu Zwecken der türkischen Landkriegführung dorthin zu überführen.</p> <p>Nach Erledigung dieses Auftrages von Misrata aus Rückmarsch.</p>
19.	03.	1918	<p>„UC 73“/Oblt.z.S. Wiedemann: Von Pola Transportfahrt nach der afrikanischen Küste mit 3 türkischen Offizieren und 3 Unteroffizieren.</p> <p>25.3.1918 Von der afrikanischen Küste bei Misrata geankert, Ladung gelöscht.</p> <p>29.3.1918 Westlich Tripolis 7 griechische Segler, zusammen etwa 100 t durch Sprengen versenkt. Danach Rückmarsch.</p>
09.	04.	1918	<p>„UC 20“/Oblt.z.S.Kukat: Von Pola Transportfahrt nach Misrata.</p> <p>19.4.1918 Im Laufe von 7 Stunden bei Kap Ras Chara, südlich Misrata, Ladung gelöscht, Rückfracht an Bord genommen.</p> <p>21.4.1918 Einen Araber nebst Ladung an einen Küstenplatz der Großen Syrte an Land geschafft. Dann Marsch nach Tripolis.</p> <p>24. – 27.4.1918 Vor Tripolis gekreuzt, kein Verkehr</p>
11.	05.	1918	<p>„UC 73“/Oblt.z.S. Wiedemann: Von Pola Transportfahrt nach der afrikanischen Küste.</p> <p>17.18.5.1918 Ladung bei Misrata gelöscht, Rückfracht an Bord genommen.</p>
30.	05.	1918	<p>UC 20/Oblt.z.S. Kukat: Von Pola Transport nach Misrata, danach Handelskrieg. Ladung: 18 t Munition, in Begleitung von 4 Türken.</p> <p>6.6.1918 Bei Misrata Ladung gelöscht. Bis 10.6. Aufenthalt in der Großen Syrte für Zwecke der Landkriegführung.</p> <p>10.6.1918 Von Misrata aus Rückmarsch.</p>
19.	06.	1918	<p>„UC 73“/Oblt.z.S. Otto Gerke: von Pola Transportfahrt nach Misrata</p> <p>26.6.1918 Bei Misrata Ladung gelöscht und Rückladung an Bord genommen.</p> <p>27.-30.6.1918 Verkehrsfahrt zwischen Misrata und Aguila für türkische Offiziere. Dann Handelskrieg</p>
27.	07.	1918	<p>UC 20/Oblt.z.S. Rohne: Von Pola Transportfahrt nach Misrata.</p> <p>2.8.1918 Vor Misrata geankert türkische Passagiere und 2 F.T.-Gäste für deutsche Landfunkstation ausgeschifft.</p> <p>3.8.1918 Ladung gelöscht – Danach bis 15.8. Verkehrsfahrt von „UC 20“ nach 2 Küstenplätzen an der Großen Syrte zum Überführen türkischer Passagiere hin und zurück. Beratungen an Land betreffend Krieg der Senussen.</p> <p>15.8.1918 Rückmarsch angetreten mit türkischen und arabischen Passagieren.</p>
24.	10.	1918	<p>„UC 73“/Oblt.z.S. Hagen: Letzte Transportfahrt von Pola nach Misrata, an die sich der Rückmarsch des Boots nach den heimischen Gewässern anschloß. Ladung Munition, Kriegsmaterial und Ausrüstungsgegenstände für ein arabische Expedition sowie eine Kiste Gold, 4 Kisten Silber. Als Begleitung türkische Offiziere.</p> <p>31.10.1918 Vor der afrikanischen Küste östlich Misrata geankert, türkische Passagiere an Land gesetzt.</p> <p>1.11.1918 Ladung gelöscht.</p> <p>2.11.1918 Von feindlichen Motorbooten auf flachen Wasser mit Geschützfeuer angegriffen. Daher auf tiefes Wasser gelaufen und wegen allgemeiner Unsicherheit der Küstengewässer sofort den Rückmarsch angetreten.</p> <p>4.11.1918 Im Ionischen Meer Funknachricht des B.d.U. aufgefangen, daß die Adria Häfen wegen ausgebrochenen Unruhen nicht mehr benutzbar wären. Rückmarsch nach Deutschland angetreten. Trinkwasser und Lebensmittel knapp, da die Besatzung des Bootes durch 10 deut-</p>

			sche Passagiere, die aus Misrata zurückgezogen werden sollten, auf 39 Köpfe angewachsen war. 2.12.1918 in Kiel eingelaufen.
30.	09.	1918	UC 20/Oblt.z.S. Rohne: Von Pola Transportfahrt nach der afrikanischen Küste. Tagebuchaufzeichnungen liegen nicht vor. 25.10.1918 Nach beendeter Transportfahrt in Spalato an der dalmatinischen Küste eingelaufen.

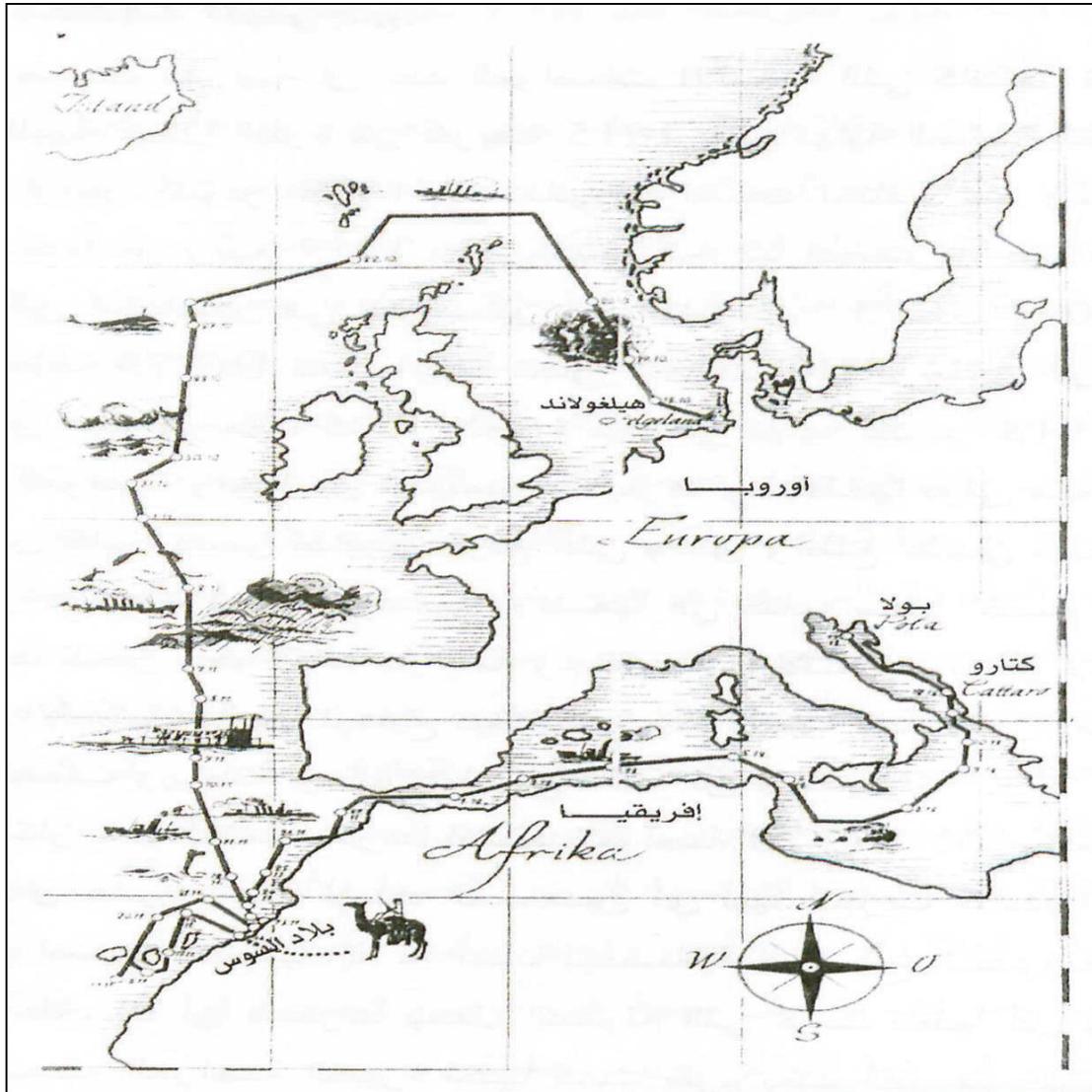
Quellen: Der Krieg zur See, Handelskrieg mit U-Booten, Band 3 bis 5 (Marinearchiv)

Erlebnisberichte dazu sind in folgenden Büchern zu finden:

„Ubootfahrer und Kamelreiter“, Ludwig Dinklage, Stuttgart 1939

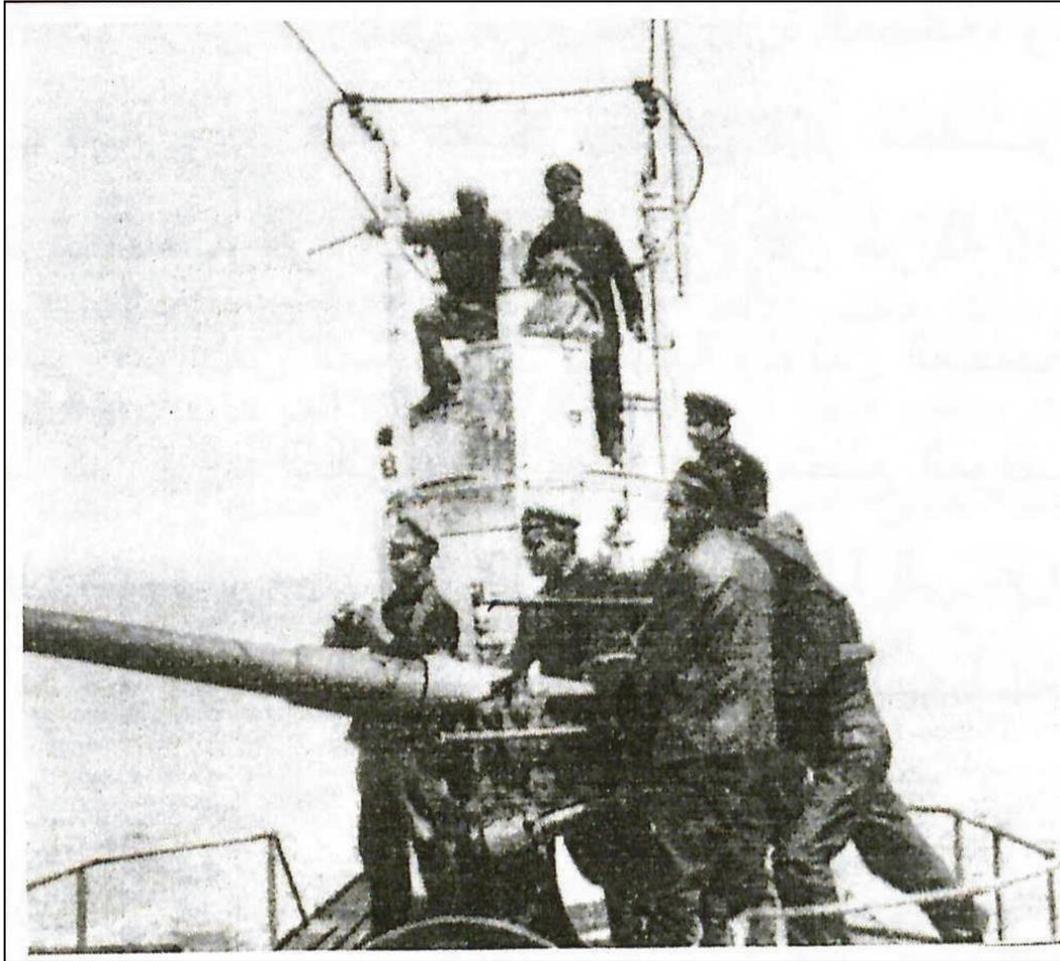
„U 38 – Winkingerfahrten eines U-Boots“ Max Valentiner, Berlin 1934

(6) Movement Lines nused by the German Submarines Journeys<sup>1075</sup>:



<sup>1075</sup>Ghānim, 'Imād al-Dīn, *'amalīyyat al-ghūwaṣāt al-'almāniyya fī al-miyāh al-lībiyyā wa ḥarakat al-jihād 1915-1918, dirāsa fitārīkh al-'alāqāt al-lībbīyya al-'almāniyya*, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Tarābulis, 2003, p.

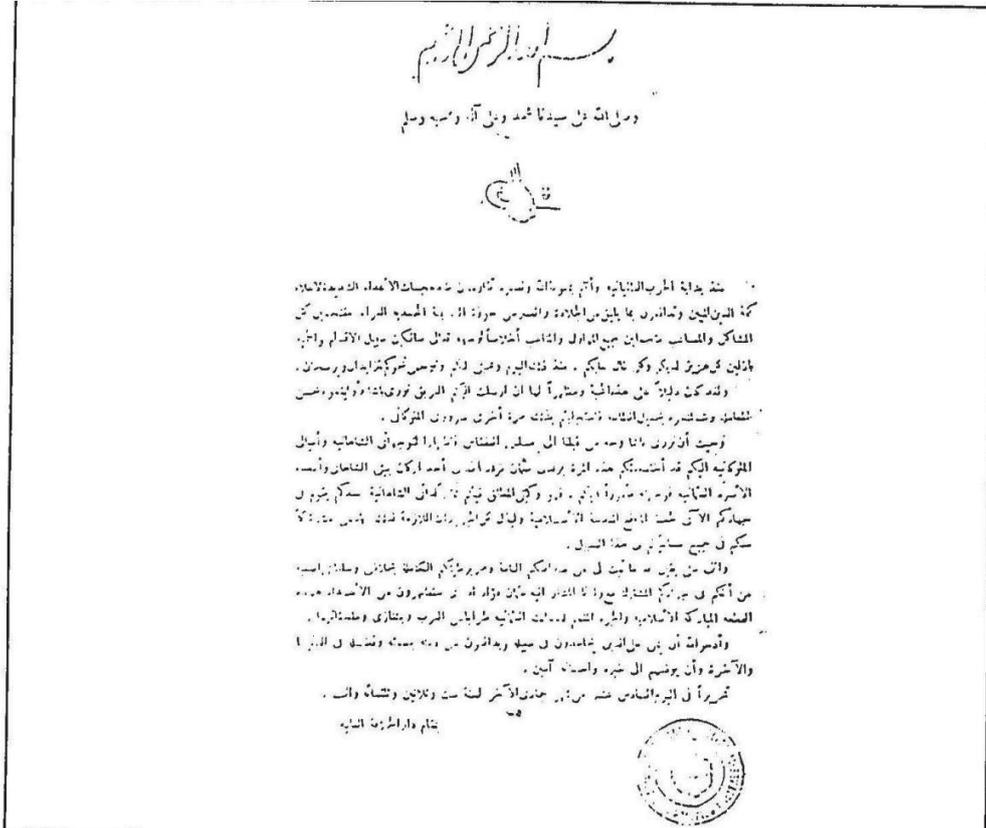
**(7) A German Submarine Attacking the English Army in Egypt  
Supporting the *Mujāhidīn* <sup>1076</sup>:**



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<sup>1076</sup>Ghānim, 'Imād al-Dīn, *amalīyyat al-ghūwaṣāt al-'almāniyya fī al-miyāh al-lībiyyā wa ḥarakat al-jihād 1915-1918, dirāsa fītārīkh al-'alāqāt al-lībbīyya al-'almāniyya*, markaz jihād al-lībiyyīn li-l-dirāsāt al-tārīkhiyya, Tarābulis, 2003, p.

**(8) Sultanic Decree Inaugurated Prince Osman Fouad in the Province of Tripoli in 1918<sup>1077</sup>**



<sup>1077</sup>Wathā'iq dār al-mahfūzāt al-tārīkhiyya, al-Sarāy al-Ḥamrā'.

## Curriculum Vitae

SUAAD MOHAMED OMAR ALGHAFAL

Azizia, Libya Libyan citizen

### WORKING EXPERIENCE

- Since 2002 | Lecturer, Department of Contemporary History, Tripoli University, Libya:  
-Supervision of B.A. theses  
-Teaching courses:  
- Contemporary Asian History  
- Contemporary European History  
- Medieval European History  
- European political relations  
- Contemporary Arab History  
- Islamic Culture  
- The Umayyad Caliphate  
- The Abbasid Caliphate
- 1995-2002 | High school teacher at Al-Khadra School, Tripoli, Libya

### EDUCATION

- Since January 2012 | PhD Student in Contemporary History, working title of dissertation "Tripoli (Libya) in the German Politics Between 1884 and 1918" Free university Berlin, Germany
- 2001 | Magister (equivalent to M.A. degree), Contemporary History, Tripoli University, Libya
- 1997-2001 | Graduate Student of Contemporary History, Tripoli University, Libya
- 1994 | License (equivalent to B.A. degree) in History, Azzaytuna University, Libya
- 1990-1994 | Undergraduate student of History, Azzaytuna University, Libya

### OTHER ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES

- 15 March 2016 | Participation in a seminar *Discussions on five years Libya without Gaddafi* held at Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in Berlin
- on 3-6 October 2015 | Paper contribution sent to the International *Form Ottoman Era in the Contemporary Arab Studies held in Algeria*, paper's title is "*the political*"

	<i>situations and their effects on the economy in the province of Tripoli in the period between 1835 and 1911”</i>
Nov 2012-Apr 2013	Affiliated to the Centre for African Studies (Markaz al-dirasat al-ifrqiyya), Tripoli, Libya
June 2012	Paper on the economic relations between Tripolitania and Germany at the workshop <i>A New Start? A Workshop on Libyan History and Historiography at a Time of Historical Transition</i> , Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin, Germany
November 2011	Talk on the German-Libyan relations, Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin, Germany

#### ADDITIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

Languages	Arabic (native); German (B1); English (B2)
Computer/IT	good command of MS Office, Internet research

#### PUBLICATIONS

Forthcoming. *Al-alaqat al-thaqafiyya wa-l-ijtima'iyya bain wilayat Tarabulis al-gharb wa Tunis khilal al-ahd al-uthmani al-thani* (The cultural and social relations between Western Tripoli and Tunisia during the second Ottoman rule, Markaz al-watani li-l-mahfuzhat al-tarikhiyya.

2010. *Adhwa' ala al-alaqat al-iqtisadiyya al-almaniyya al-libiyya khilal al-haqba al-tarikhiyya 1884-1911* (Spotlights on the economic relations between Germany and Libya between 1884-1911), Dirasat al-tarikhiyya, Jami'at Dimashaq.

2010. *Al-alaqat al-siyasiyya al-almaniyya al-libiyya – marhalat ta'sis al-al-Qunṣuliyya al-almaniyya fi Libya* (The Libyan-German political relations at the time of the foundation of the German consulate in Libya), Dirasat al-tarikhiyya, Jami'at Dimashaq.

2006. *Al-alaqat al-libiyya al-tunisiyya khilal al-ahd al-uthmani al-thani, 1835-1911* (The Libyan-Tunesian relations during the second Ottoman rule, 1835-1911), Markaz al-watani li-l-mahfuzhat al-tarikhiyya.