

Algerian Saharan Travel Accounts during the Nineteenth Century: the Journeys of Al-Hajj Ben Al-Din Al-Aghouati and Abd Al-Rahman Al-Tinilani as case studies

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Abstract---This article aims to introduce a selection of travel accounts written during the nineteenth century by authors originating from the Algerian Sahara, and to highlight their role in the writing of Algerian history. It seeks to demonstrate the historical significance of these travel narratives as indigenous sources that document social, cultural, and intellectual life in Algeria during this period. The study focuses on two representative examples: the journey of al-Hajj Ben al-Din al-Aghouati and that of Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Umar ibn Idris al-Tinilani. These accounts offer valuable insights into the realities of the Algerian Sahara in the nineteenth century and contribute to enriching Algerian historiography through locally grounded perspectives that have often been marginalized.

Keywords---Travel literature, Algerian Sahara, al-Hajj Ben al-Din al-Aghouati, al-Tinilani.

INTRODUCTION

In historical writing, historians rely on a wide range of material sources, both written and oral, particularly after historiography moved beyond its earlier limitations and ceased to focus exclusively on political, military, and diplomatic history. Among written sources, travel literature occupies a prominent place, as it constitutes one of the most important sources for documenting historical geography, social life, and economic, cultural, and religious realities. For this reason, travel accounts have attracted

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considerable scholarly interest; many have been critically edited and published, while others remain unedited, and some have been lost altogether.

Southern Algeria forms part of the Great African Sahara, which extends from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Red Sea in the east, and from the Saharan Atlas Mountains in the north to the Sahelian countries in the south. Covering an area of approximately eight million square kilometers, the Sahara is shared by southern Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, northern Egypt, western Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Chad, and southern Sudan. The Sahara alone occupies nearly 90 percent of Algeria's total land area¹. From the Algerian Sahara, local travelers recorded observations and traces that have endured as valuable historical sources for scholars interested in the history of Algeria and its desert regions. Among the nineteenth-century travelers originating from the Algerian Sahara are al-Hajj Ben al-Din al-Aghouati and Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Umar ibn Idris al-Tinilani.

FIRST: THE JOURNEY OF AL-HAJJ BEN AL-DIN AL-AGHOUDI

At the beginning of his travel account, al-Hajj Ben al-Din introduces himself by stating that his name is al-Hajj Ben al-Din al-Aghouati. He does not mention either the place or the date of his birth; however, it is most likely that he originated from the city of Laghouat. The available sources provide little information about his life or upbringing, apart from the fact that he lived during the nineteenth century and thus witnessed the period of French colonization. Dr. Abu al-Qasim Saadallah suggests that al-Hajj Ben al-Din composed his travel account around the year 1829. The date of his death likewise remains unknown, although certain information indicates that his son served as a judge in the municipality of Kouinine in the Oued Souf region, and that his grandson, Shaykh Abu Bakr al-Hajj 'Isa, was born in Kouinine in 1912. This raises the question of whether al-Hajj Ben al-Din settled in Oued Souf after leaving his native city of Laghouat².

With regard to his education, Dr. Saadallah argues that al-Hajj Ben al-Din possessed limited formal learning, yet was widely read. This is evidenced by the fact that he did not provide sufficient information about the major events of his time, despite living in an era marked by significant developments, foremost among them the French invasion of Algeria³.

Several studies have highlighted the relationship between William Hodgson⁴ and al-Hajj Ben al-Din al-Aghouati, given that Hodgson was the translator who rendered the manuscript of al-Hajj Ben al-Din's journey from Arabic into English. He described the work as a historical account of the city of Laghouat, the Sahara, and North Africa between 1825 and 1829. The manuscript was later critically edited by Dr. Abu al-Qasim Saadallah. However, Hodgson did not clarify how he obtained the manuscript of Ibn al-Din's journey: whether he requested it directly from the author, purchased it from him, met him personally, or discovered the manuscript in one of the archives. These questions remain unanswered by the editor of the travel account⁵.

Today, the travel narrative is accessible to researchers, and scholarly opinions regarding it have varied. Some consider it a valuable historical source that accurately depicts the reality of Algerian cities and routes, while others argue that it reflects a degree of confusion or lack of knowledge on the part of Ibn

¹ *Al-Siyasah al-Faransiyyah fi al-Sahra' al-Jaza'riyyah*, 1844–1916, 'Umirawi Ahmidah, Zawiyah Salim, et al. (Ain M'lila, Algeria: Dar al-Huda li-l-Tiba'ah wa-l-Nashr, 2009), p. 10.

² *Al-Anda' al-Ijtima'iyyah wa-l-Siyasiyyah li-Mintaqat al-Aghwat Athna' al-Hukm al-Uthmani min Khilal Riblat al-Hajj al-Din al-Aghwati*, Mus'ab Ja'furah and Nur al-Din ibn Dumah, *Majallat al-'Ulum al-Ijtima'iyyah*, vol. 17, no. 1 (March 2023), p. 463.

³ *Majmu' Riblat al-Hajj al-Din al-Aghwati (Riblat al-Hajj al-Din al-Aghwati)*, al-Hajj al-Din al-Aghwati, trans. and ed. Abu al-Qasim Sa'dallah (Algeria: al-Ma'rifah al-Duwaliyyah li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzi', special ed., 2011), p. 8.

⁴ William Hodgson was the assistant to the United States consul Shaler in Algiers between 1825 and 1829. He mastered several Eastern languages, including Arabic and Turkish, and became familiar with Berber; he showed a strong interest in the popular culture of Arabs and Berbers in North Africa. *Majmu' Riblat al-Hajj al-Din al-Aghwati*, Ibid., p. 81.

⁵ *Al-Shaykh Abu Bakr al-Hajj 'Isa al-Aghwati: Sirah wa-Masirah (1912–1987)*, Tawfiq Jumu'at, *Jaridat al-Basa'ir*, 15 June 2022.

al-Din al-Aghouati. Still others suggest that inaccuracies may stem from flawed translation rather than from the author himself—errors that are nonetheless attributed to him today.

The journey of al-Hajj Ben al-Din al-Aghouati is of considerable historical significance, as it provides researchers with an important historical source due to the wealth of historical, geographical, and economic information it contains. This is evident in his writings on numerous towns of southern Algeria during the period preceding the French occupation of Algeria, as well as on several cities in North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. He offered a general description of the political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of life that he observed.

William Hodgson noted that the original text of the journey was written in a Maghrebi (Mauritanian) script that was neither clear nor precise. Al-Hajj Ben al-Din described regions close to Laghouat, such as Tajmout, the Mزاب Valley, and Metlili of the Chaamba, providing accounts of their inhabitants, methods of gunpowder production, and the Sufi orders followed by the desert population. He then proceeded to discuss Ouargla and the city of El Meniaa, before reaching the oases of Touat, Ain صالح (In Salah), and Gourara. The journey of Ibn al-Din al-Aghouati may therefore be regarded as a highly valuable historical source, particularly as it contains diverse information on the cities and villages he visited, including descriptions of their geography, political, economic, social, and cultural life, as well as important data concerning tribes, religious affiliations, and languages⁶.

Nevertheless, this travel account still requires further scholarly investigation, particularly through the identification and examination of the original manuscript copies, in order to verify the authenticity and accuracy of its content as written by Ibn al-Din al-Aghouati.

SECOND- Manuscript of Abdul Rahman Al-Tinilani's Voyage and his Documentation of the English Campaign Against the City of Algiers

The Touat Territory is rich in an important intellectual and cultural heritage, most of which is still in manuscript form and is still being explored. The historical aspect is considered the most neglected aspect when compared to the literary and religious aspects.

Given the importance of reviving this heritage, we wanted to know the extent of the contribution of the scholars of Touat to the historiography of the regions outside their territory. In the article, I will focus on the Voyage of Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Idris bin Omar Al-Tinilani to the Protected Port of Algeria in the year 1231 AH/1816 AD in general, and on the last station of the Voyage, which was to the capital of the Ottoman State of Algeria, the city of Algiers in particular. The Sheikh's presence in the city coincided with the occurrence of the Anglo-Dutch Campaign against it, and he wrote what he witnessed, and transmitted from the pious what he heard⁷.

Who is Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Idris Al-Tinilani? To what extent did his Voyage contribute to the historiography of this Campaign and its stages? What sources did he rely on to document the events of the Campaign? Did the events of his Voyage match what was Stated in history books written about the same Campaign?

Section I: Introduction to Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Idris bin Omar Al-Tinilani and his Voyage

First: Introduction to Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Omar bin Idris Al-Tinilani: The sources of Touat and others are scarce in providing a comprehensive biography of Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Idris

⁶ Ibid., p. 464.

⁷ There are books that talk about the Campaign that can be referred to: John Wolfe, **Algeria and Europe (1500-1830)**, translated and annotated by Dr. Saad Allah. There are Ottoman documents by Abdul Jalil Al-Tamimi, **Research and Documents in Maghrebi History (1816-1871)**.

Belhamissi Moulay, **Navy and marines of Algiers in the Ottoman era (1518-1830)**.

bin Omar Al-Tinilani when compared to other sheikhs of the Al-Tinilani family in particular and the families of The Touat Territory in general. Perhaps what the author of “The Luxury Pearl” mentioned is the most found. He is Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Idris bin Omar bin Abdul Qadir bin Ahmed bin Youssef Al-Tinilani, born in 1181 AH in Tanilan, and his father Idris died in 1182 AH in Tanilan. He learned from “Sheikh Sidi Muhammad bin Abdul Rahman bin Omar” and “Sidi Muhammad bin Ahmed Al-Jazlawi”. He traveled to the city of Fez and learned from “Sidi Abdul Qadir bin Shaqroun”. He was known to be a skilled scholar in the principles of jurisprudence and interpretation, and he was a memorizer of the issues. The author of “The Luxury Pearl” said about him: “He was one of the most amazing people of his time in terms of memorization”. Sheikh Abdul Rahman died in the month of Jumada Al-Thani in the year (1233 AH) in the city of Suwa in Libya while returning from the Two Holy Mosques after performing the Hajj.⁸

There are those who confuse the scholar Sheikh “Abdul Rahman bin Omar Al-Tinilani” with Sheikh “Abdul Rahman bin Idris bin Omar Al-Tinilani”.⁹

Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Idris bin Omar wrote an elegy after the death of the two sheikhs, “Abdul Rahman bin Omar Al-Tinilani” and “Sheikh Omar bin Abdul Rahman Al-Tinilani”. The beginning of his verses read:

Indeed, it is for the sake of Allah, that have befallen us
From the worries, sorrows, distress and ingratitude
Incidents have overwhelmed us with their misery
And calamities have befallen us from where we do not know

Then he said:

When we received the news of his death,
Our minds are gone and we are full without wine
If it were not for God’s gratitude through religion and piety,
Our souls would have perished, but be blessed with patience¹⁰

Second: Introduction to the Voyage¹¹: The author of the Voyage, Sidi Abdul Rahman bin Idris Al-Tinilani, left the Scientific Corner of Tanilan on the 3rd of Shaaban 1231 AH, heading for the Protected Port of Algeria. He entered Timimoun, the base of the villages of El-Guerrara, on the 8th of Shaaban, and stayed there for nine days. On the 18th of Shaaban, he headed to the City of Mzab (the Mzab plain and its base is the City of Ghardaia), accompanied by the Chaamba tribe of Metlili, whom he praised greatly. On his way, he entered Lak’a (the fortress, which is El-Menia City), then arrived at Metlili on Monday, the 3rd of Ramadan 1231 AH, where he stayed for five days and was in glory and sanctity, as mentioned by the author of the Voyage. On the 9th of Ramadan in the afternoon, he reached the first palace of the Mzab, which is El Atteuf, then he entered the other palaces and met with their jurists. While in Mzab, he read their most important books and chose to reside in the palace of Atlik (Malika

⁸ Abdul Qadir bin Omar Al-Mahdawi Al-Tinilani, **The Luxury Pearl in Mentioning the Touat Sheikhs** (Manuscript in the Library of Ba Abdullah, owned by Abdul Qadir bin Walid, Adrar), p. 6. Muhammad Bay Balalam, **The Sublime Voyage to the Touat Region to Mention Some Notable Figures, Monuments, Manuscripts, and Customs and Links Touat from the Regions**, Dar Houma Press, Algeria, 2005, Vol. 1, p. 36.

⁹ For the comprehensive biography of the scholar Abdul Rahman bin Omar Al-Tinilani, see: Muhammad Bay Balalam, **The Low Branch in the Biography and Life of Abdul Rahman bin Omar Al-Tinilani**, Dar Houma Press, 2004.

¹⁰ For the complete verses of elegy, see: Balalam, **The Low Branch**, pp. 74-76.

¹¹ We relied on a copy of the manuscript (see the appendix), but to facilitate reading, I relied on the copy of Al-Tayeb bin Abdullah bin Salem bin Abdullah bin Ahmed Al-Habib Al-Balbali, who transmitted it in 1417 AH/1996 AD. He in turn transmitted it from Muhammad Abdul Rahman bin Muhammad bin Ali bin Muhammad Al-Tinilani, who transmitted it in the middle of Dhu Al-Q’idah in the year 1244 AH. He in turn transmitted it from the handwriting of Sheikh Sidi Abdul Rahman bin Idris bin Omar Al-Tinilani. The version we relied on consists of 14 pages, its script is clear Maghrebi, but it contains some spelling errors, and in the names of places and notables, and perhaps the fault lies with the transmitter and not with the original manuscript, so I did not want to highlight these errors as much as I wanted to highlight the importance of the Voyage from a historical perspective, and I hope that the Voyage will find specialists in modern history and manuscript verification to search for and verify the original version, and I heard that there are some researchers seeking to verify it inside and outside Touat, and thank God some pens have emerged now that are interested in it. You can refer to: Khair Al-Din Shatra: **Algerian Voyages, the Voyage of Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Idris bin Omar bin Abdul Qadir Al-Tinilani to the Port of Algeria in 1231 AH / 1816 AD**, Dar Kurdada for Publishing and Distribution, Bou Saada, 2015 (special edition).

Al-Alia) due to the presence of the Malikis there. Then he left Ghardaia on the 18th of Ramadan with the Arabs of Al-Nawael tribe until he entered their regions and praised their qualities greatly. After two days, he went to the city of Titri (The Titteri Territory, whose capital is Medea City) with men from Beni Mzab, and entered it on Sunday at breakfast time. Then he went to the city of Al-Blida, which he said, it had collected all the beauties. Then he entered Mitidja (Mitidja Plain) from where he could hear the waves of the sea crashing. Then he entered the city of Algiers on Wednesday morning, and rented a house in the Algiers Hotel Bab Azzouz (perhaps in Bab Azzoun). In the city of Algiers, the details of the Voyage will begin, because he stayed in the city of Algiers for 37 days. Among what he mentioned in his Voyage is that he met with the Maliki jurist, "Sidi Al-Hassan", the son of the Maliki judge, "Sidi Al-Hajj Mustafa Al-Jaza'iri" and he said that God had brought love together between them so that they were inseparable. On Sunday, the English landed near the Port of Algiers¹². And from here the details of the Campaign begin.

Section II: The Anglo-Dutch Campaign on Algiers City, Shawwal 1231 AH / August 1816

Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Idris was not a historian specializing in writing history, so we should not expect him to provide many details about the Campaign or the internal and external conditions that surrounded it. Rather, we need a description from an eyewitness who wrote what he saw or heard truthfully. Accordingly, we will add some historical information that will enable us to understand the Campaign more.

First: The Circumstances and Reasons for the Campaign: Sheikh Abdul Rahman mentioned that on Sunday (August 25, 1816) the ships of the enemy of God, the English, landed in the sea near the city of Algiers, but they were far from the cannons of the Algerians. He numbered their forces at forty ships, each ship had 100 large cannons, and each cannon was armed with a quintal of gunpowder. On Tuesday morning (August 27), they changed the flags of their ships from black to white, the latter being a symbol of reconciliation and well-being. Then the English sent a letter to Omar Pasha (the Dey of Algiers) which read: "Know that I have come to you as an advisor and a reformer. "Look at this Sultan of the Maghreb (Moulay Suleiman bin Muhammad, ruled 1792-1822, not affiliated with the Ottoman Empire). He is better than you in lineage, more powerful in wealth, more numerous in soldiers, and more numerous in countries. He was at reconciliation and in harmony with all Christian races, while he followed his religion and they followed theirs. Look at the ruler of Tunis (an Ottoman province), who is against you and your brother, at reconciliation with the Christian race. And the ruler of Tripoli (Youssef Pasha) is the same. Each one follows his religion, and they are all at reconciliation and in harmony. None of them is hostile to Christians, as if jihad was imposed only on you. If you were wise, you would follow your example. Do not think that I am like the Christians you know and play with, like the French, Hispaniola, and Flemish (the Dutch) ... I have two thousand castles, of which I have brought you forty". Then he warned him against treating the Christian prisoners as slaves, and that no sane person would accept that. He asked him to release them, following the example of his neighbors, and that reconciliation would be made, and if he refused, war would follow. He told him to consult the notables of the town and the leaders of the soldiers, and that the response period would be two hours. When the letter reached Dey Omar Pasha, he wanted to consult the notables of the town and the leaders of the soldiers, but he found them scattered in the gardens, because it was the custom of the people of the town in the fall (perhaps he meant to write the summer season) to live in the orchards, so the response was delayed. So, the Christian advanced with his ships and entered the Port, and when some of them wanted to attack him with cannons, the commander of the Port swore to them that he would cut off the hand of anyone who fired his cannon. He mentioned something that is closer to the truth, which I have not found in anyone else, according to my knowledge, which is his saying that the captain of the Port, "Captain Ali", had received a bribe from the Christian, even though he mentioned the word "it was said", which indicates illness in the news. The fate of Captain Ali will be mentioned at the end.¹³

¹² Abdul Rahman bin Idris, **The Voyage**, pp. 1-5.

¹³ Abdul Rahman bin Idris, **The Voyage**, pp. 5-6.

As is known, the State of Algiers was a horror in the Mediterranean due to the strength of its naval fleet, and in contrast, England was the master of the sea. To understand the circumstances and reasons for the Campaign, it is necessary to know the conditions of the region during this period (1815-1816), which we summarize as follows:

- ✓ The French Emperor "Napoleon Bonaparte" was eliminated, and the State of terror and chaos in Europe ended.
- ✓ The Vienna Conference was held in 1815 and a final decision was issued on June 9, 1815 to put an end to the issue of enslaving Christians in the Maghreb countries (Algeria, Tunisia, Tripoli, Morocco).
- ✓ England wanted to control the Mediterranean Sea, as it was known at that time as the master of the sea, so it held the London Conference at the beginning of 1816 with the participation of The Netherlands, France and some Italian States. The conference recommended the formation of a joint its naval fleet to strike the Maghreb States, but France refused for fear of England monopolizing the Mediterranean Sea.
- ✓ The Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Mahmoud II (1808-1839) knew about the intentions of the European countries, especially England, towards its three provinces "Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers" and considered that the Vienna Congress might interfere in its internal affairs, but it was satisfied with only warning, such as sending its envoy "Ahmed Agha" to the three provinces to warn them of the danger of the European countries.
- ✓ The unwise policy of the Dey of Algiers, "Hajj Ali" (1809-1815), according to the letter sent by Muhammad Khosrow (Ottoman Minister of War) to Sultan "Mahmoud II" on July 2, 1815, which Stated, "Since this person became governor of Algeria, grievances with Christians have multiplied, to the point that friendship (with Europeans) has turned into conflicts and attacks".
- ✓ The Anglo-American War ended on December 24, 1814, and the two countries devoted themselves to confronting the Algerian naval fleet.
- ✓ England justified the Campaign by saying that Algerian sailors in Annaba had seized a ship flying the English flag, and that Algeria had captured its Christian subjects from Naples and Sardinia.
- ✓ Rais Hamidou was killed on the Atlantic coast by the American Navy for many reasons that there is no room to mention.¹⁴

On 5 Rajab 1231 AH/1 June 1816 AD, the Dey "Omar Pasha"¹⁵ sent a letter to the Ottoman Sultan stating, "We will use all our energies and interests to defend this Muslim people who are under our

¹⁴ William Schaller, **Memoirs of William Schaller, American Consul in Algiers (1816-1824)**, translated, annotated and introduced by Ismail Al-Arabi, National Company for Publishing and Distribution, Algeria 1982, p. 150. Hanifi Halaili, **Algerian-European Relations and the End of the Regency 1815-1830**, Dar Al-Huda, 1st ed., Algeria, 1428 AH/2007 AD, pp. 12-14, 21-22. Mouloud Qasim Nait Belqasim, **Algeria's International Personality and Global Prestige before 1830**, Dar Al-Baath for Printing and Publishing, 1st ed., Constantine, Algeria, 1405 AH/1985 AD, Vol. 1/210. Abdul Karim Mahmoud Ghraibiya, **Modern Arab History**, Al-Ahliya for Publishing and Distribution, Beirut, Lebanon, 1984, p. 175. For more information on the biography, Campaigns and killing of Rais Hamidou, see: Albert Duval, Rais Hamidou, translated by Muhammad Al-Arabi Al-Zubairi, Algerian Printing Institution, Algeria, Undated Edition, p. 15 ff. Ahmed Al-Sharif Al-Zahar, **Memoirs of Hajj Ahmed Al-Sharif Al-Zahar, Chief of the Ashrafs of Algeria, (1168-1246 AH/1754-1930 AD)**, investigation: Ahmed Tawfiq Al-Madani, National Company for Publishing and Distribution, 2nd ed., Algeria, 1980, pp. 117-118.

¹⁵ **Dey Omar Pasha**: He assumed power at the beginning of Jumada al-Ula 1230 AH/April 8, 1815 AD. He did not accept the rule except after suffering and attempts. The people were happy with him because he was one of the Ottomans who married Algerian women. Duval said about him, "This Pasha was miserable, because during his reign, calamities multiplied in Algeria. Rais Hamidou was killed, the Americans dictated a shameful reconciliation to the country, the city was afflicted with an epidemic, and the English bombed Algiers and burned the Algerian naval fleet without exception". Al-Zahar mentioned that his State and his days were full of setbacks and calamities such as the locust invasion, high prices, the tragedy of Hamidou's death, and the tragedy of the English. He was a bloodthirsty man. Dey Omar was killed, like his predecessors, on Monday, Shawwal 26, 1232 AH/September 8, 1817. See: Al-Zahar, Op. Cit., p. 127. Duval, Op. Cit., pp. 97, 98. Ghraibiya, Op. Cit., p. 175. Ahmed Tawfiq Al-Madani, **Muhammad Uthman Pasha, Dey of Algiers (1766-1791 AD), his biography, his wars, his works, the State system, public life during his reign**, the National Book Foundation, Algeria, 1986, p. 58.

protection, and we are prepared to sacrifice ourselves in defense of it”¹⁶. This means that Algeria is prepared for any possible attack by European countries.

In August 1816, the British Foreign Secretary “Lord Castlereagh” met with the ambassadors of Russia, Prussia, Austria and France in London and discussed with them a project to form a joint military alliance for a period of 7 years. He aimed to gain more support for the Campaign he was trying to prepare against the Maghreb States.¹⁷

There were Campaigns that preceded the Campaign that was detailed by the author of the Voyage, Abdul Rahman Al-Tinilani, but here we will only focus on what was in his Voyage, which is the English Campaign that left the port of Plymouth, led by Lord Exmouth, on July 28, 1816, after receiving orders from the office of King Saint James, and was at the head of 19 naval ships (there is a dispute over the number of ships). When it reached Gibraltar, it was joined by the Dutch naval fleet led by Admiral Von Capellen in seven ships, and they arrived in the port of Algiers on August 26.¹⁸ Exmouth then presented an ultimatum to the Dey that included the following:

- ✓ The release of the English consul held by the Dey because the latter heard that he wanted to escape.
- ✓ Abolition of piracy and the enslavement of Christians.

There was a difference of opinion regarding the period given to respond to the ultimatum. The author of the voyage set it at two hours, and the same opinion was held by Al-Sharif Al-Zahar, a contemporary of the Campaign, and Yahya Bouaziz who said half a day. In any case, the period was estimated at only hours. When the period ended and Dey Omar Pasha did not respond to the ultimatum because his entourage had dispersed in the orchards, as the author of the voyage mentioned, or because Dey Omar Pasha himself was asleep and the guards did not wake him, according to Al-Zahar’s account, or other accounts, then the period given to respond to the ultimatum ended. The naval fleet advanced intelligently and deceitfully until it came within firing range of the cannons, especially since it was taking advantage of the white flag indicating the reconciliation on the one hand, and the bribe it had offered to Commander Ali, the Captain of the Port, as the author of the voyage mentioned, and his claim that he was awaiting the Dey’s orders on the other hand.¹⁹ Thus, Exmouth took control of a strategic position that enabled him to win the battle.

Second: The Campaign Facts and Events: The author of the Voyage mentioned that the first thing the Christians did was to bombard the water centers entering the country with three cannons, and I did not find this in the references that I was able to consult. Then they bombarded the city with bombs from the time between noon and afternoon until almost midnight, and in fact for a period of eleven hours minus one-sixth “10 hours and 50 minutes”. They burned the fourteen ships of Algeria, which were very large. They burned thirteen of them until nothing remained of them, and there was one that remained of something.²⁰ Then he began to describe the horror of the tragedy. Among what he wrote was, (The night of Algeria became equal to its day, and if it were not for the extreme exaggeration, it would have been said that the light of that night was stronger than the light of the sun during its day and nights, from a night in which children grew old or pregnant women miscarried... The grief is beyond description and does not occur to the mind. In truth, no poet, no wise man, no jurist, no flatterer, and no eloquent person can describe this incident in its true description... I do not know what is similar to it, and its ultimate goal is that it is like a thunderclap from its beginning to its end,

¹⁶ Halaili, Op. Cit., p. 24.

¹⁷ Halaili, Op. Cit., p. 24.

¹⁸ For more details, see: Yahya Bouaziz, **Algeria’s Foreign Relations with the Countries and Kingdoms of Europe (1500-1830)**, University Publications Office, Algeria, Undated Edition, p. 121. Nasser Al-Din Sa’iduni, **Algerian Papers, Studies and Research in the History of Algeria in the Ottoman Era**, West Islamic House, 1st ed., Beirut, Lebanon, 2000, p. 209. Yahya Bouaziz, **The Brief of the history of the modern Algeria**, University Publications Office, 2nd ed., Algeria, 2009, Vol. 2/197.

¹⁹ See details: Al-Zahar, Op. Cit., p. 122. Bouaziz, Op. Cit., p. 121.

²⁰ Abdul Rahman bin Idris, **The Voyage**, p. 6.

continuous as if it were a single cannon... When it was after the dawn prayer, they cried out, may God curse them, in their trumpet, "Shall we increase the war or is this enough for us?"²¹ At the end of the Voyage, he informed us that the "Tower of Moulay" Maulana Al-Hassan from the direction of Ain Rabat was the only one whose cannon was useful in shelling the Christians and sank the English ship carrying about 300 men. He indicated that the Muslims were forced to demolish the top of the Beni Amzaf Hotel because it stood between the aforementioned tower and the port.²² I did not find this in the references I read either.

Despite the few details provided by the author of the Voyage about the course of the war, they remain an important building block in explaining what happened during the bombardment. He will detail the results of the Campaign, from which we will implicitly understand the horror of the war. One of the documents States that the Dey, Omar Pasha, sent a report on the State of the siege and the Campaign, which was conveyed by the head of the port of Algiers, Captain Ali, to the Sublime Porte: "Although we concluded an agreement with the English and the Flemings (Dutch), which stipulated a six-month wait to reconsider the issue of the prisoners, they came to Algiers with a huge naval fleet consisting of thirty pieces, and that was on August 15, 1916. After the naval fleet raised the white flag, the symbol of peace and reconciliation, they sent us a boat to deliver a message containing their conditions, which stipulated that we hand over to them all the prisoners present in Algiers, and respond to their message within only one hour. When we began to prepare the response, some of the naval fleet's pieces advanced from the fortifications and began to shell our positions with shells... and (the war) continued with all its ferocity from eight in the morning until midnight".²³

The fact that the Campaign came down on August 15 and the bombing was on August 17 is exactly what the author of the Voyage mentioned, as he mentioned that the Campaign came on Sunday and the bombing was on Tuesday, and there are those who mentioned that the Campaign came on August 16.

Third: Victory of the Joint Campaign and the Terms of the Reconciliation: The joint English-Dutch naval fleet was victorious in this Campaign, and imposed its terms for signing a Reconciliation Treaty with Algeria. The author of the Voyage said, "The ruler of Algeria knew that he could not handle him or his war. So, he asked him for well-being, and he answered him with conditions, which are:

- 1) That every prisoner he has, who is imprisoned with him, be returned to him in his custody, thirteen hundred prisoners and thirty-two prisoners from such-and-such tribe... If one prisoner remains, then there is no redress.
- 2) That the Christians, whom God has let down, last year ransomed some of their sons from the people of Algeria, and their number was ten hundred prisoners, each prisoner for a thousand riyals, the pearl of the great, so he stipulated that he return to him all the riyals that were ransomed, and if anything of that remained, then there is no redress.
- 3) That the ruler of Algeria releases to them Oran and Annaba, from which they measure the crops, and that the Turks not interfere between the Christians and the owners of the crops, the farmers, in that. So, the Dey agreed to all of those conditions".

The author of the Voyage also explained that the Reconciliation Treaty lasted for 5 years, and some say it was a year, and some say it was five months, but he said that he was not sure of the exact duration, and that the one he trusted, the Maliki judge, told him that it was one year.²⁴

The author of the Voyage provided some information that we did not find in other sources and references, according to what I have read, especially the third condition. Al-Sharif Al-Zahar mentioned

²¹ Abdul Rahman, **The Voyage**, pp. 6, 7.

²² Abdul Rahman, **The Voyage**, p. 12.

²³ The document is quoted from Halaili, Op. Cit., pp. 27-28.

²⁴ Abdul Rahman, **The Voyage**, pp. 7, 8.

that the Dey was rejecting the conditions and wished to continue fighting, and this was the opinion of his soldiers, and in the end, he took the opinion of those who agreed to the conditions presented.²⁵ As for the date of the agreement, it was on Shawwal 4, 1231 AH/August 28, 1816. It was the first Algerian treaty with a foreign country written in the Arabic language during the Ottoman era. It Stated:

- 1) Abolishing slavery and freeing Christian slaves in Algeria of all nationalities.
- 2) Paying a war indemnity of 500,000 francs.
- 3) The Dey publicly apologizes for what happened to the English consul after his capture and imprisonment.
- 4) The Dey returns all the ransom money he took from the prisoners since the beginning of this year.

Schaller, the American consul, quoted O'Carlo, the Swedish consul (who was tasked with mediating between the two parties to the conflict), saying that the Dey was refusing to accept the terms proposed by the attackers for the reconciliation.²⁶

Of the 3,000 prisoners in Algeria, 1,110 were released (Naples-Sicily), 62 (Sardinia-Genoa), 6 (Piedmont), 174 (Romania), 6 (Tuscany), 226 (Spain), 4 (Portugal), 28 (Netherlands), 18 (England), 2 (France), 2 (Austria).²⁷

Algeria concluded a nearly similar treaty with the Dutch, and the Netherlands concluded a truce with the Tripoli Province.²⁸

Section III: Reasons for Algeria's Defeat and War Losses

First: Reasons for the Defeat: We have previously mentioned that the author of the Voyage attributed the reasons for Algeria's defeat in this war to some reasons, including:

- The trick of the English replacing the black flag with the white.
- The bribe that the commander Ali, the commander of the port, was said to have received from the Christians.
- At the end of the Voyage, he recalled the futility of the cannons of the port of Algiers when the Christian naval fleets entered the shooting range.
- The Dey was relatively blamed for his indifference, as the Sultan of the Maghreb, Moulay Suleiman, had informed him of the Campaign, and the Jews of Algiers City also told him about it.²⁹

Many researchers attributed the factor of deception to the main reason for the defeat, including Mouloud Qasim Nait Belqasim, "The two naval fleets used treachery in this Campaign, but war is deception." He then cited a Statement by Dey Omar when he sent a letter to Sultan Mahmoud II, which read, "...about the cursed Anglo-Dutch naval fleet, which used the trick of raising the white flag".³⁰

Al-Sharif Al-Zahar attributed the defeat to the corruption of the opinion of Dey Omar Pasha and the opinion of the corrupt military, because he took their opinion into account in stopping the war, especially after it became clear to them that the joint naval fleet had also been severely damaged and its ammunition had run out.³¹

²⁵ Al-Zahar, Op. Cit., p. 124.

²⁶ Halaili, Op. Cit., p. 29. Schaller, Op. Cit., p. 167.

²⁷ Halaili, Op. Cit., p. 30.

²⁸ For more details on the terms of the reconciliation and the Reconciliation Treaty of Holland, see: Schaller, Op. Cit., pp. 157, 158. Al-Zahar, Op. Cit., pp. 124-125, p. 307. Halaili, Op. Cit., pp. 29-30. Sa'iduni, **Algerian Papers, Studies and Research in the History of Algeria in the Ottoman Era**, p. 358.

²⁹ Abdul Rahman, **The Voyage**, various pages.

³⁰ Mouloud Qasim, Op. Cit., vol. 1/202, p. 210.

³¹ Al-Zahar, Op. Cit., pp. 125, 126.

As for William Schaller, he also held the Dey responsible, as he considered his behavior to be characterized by a lack of determination and firmness, as he returned the British admiral's messenger without an answer, and also allowed the English naval fleet to choose suitable locations to bombard the city without thinking of resisting it.³²

Some identified the secret of the defeat in the factor of wasting time, because the army was waiting for the Dey's orders. If the defenders of the city had bombarded the Anglo-Dutch naval fleet, victory would have been theirs. Duval (French Consul in Algeria 1814-1827) believes that the secret to the Campaign's success lies in two factors:

- The British Admiral visited the city of Algiers three times during this year (1816) to negotiate, which enabled him to know the strengths and weaknesses of the fortifications of the city of Algiers.
- Dey Omar rushed to negotiate, because if he had delayed it, he would have been able to defeat the English, especially since their ammunition had run out.³³

Dr. Al-Zubairi adds that the Algerians were not fully prepared to confront the Campaign. He also mentioned an Algerian narration that says that during the barrage of shelling, Lord Exmouth sent a boat and attached sulfurous shirts to the Algerian battleships blocking the entrance to the port, then bombarded them with cannons, causing them to catch fire.³⁴

Second: Algeria's Losses: No matter how many stories there are, the Algerian naval fleet was defeated by this Campaign. The following is a presentation of the losses of both sides in this war:

The author of the Voyage listed and described the human and material losses of the Algerians in separate pages, some of which destroyed 500 entire houses. As for the rooms and minarets, they cannot be counted. The same applies to all the walls of the port. He devoted lines to the destruction of the Lighthouse Tower, describing its importance and national, regional and international value. He even said that it is the pride of Algeria and has no equal in the Islamic world. The Maliki Mosque was also destroyed, leaving only its features, and the dome of the shrine of the scholar, jurist, imam, and saint Abu Zaid Sheikh Sidi Abdul Rahman Al-Tha'alibi was hit, in addition to the dome of the Hanafi Mosque, in which he counted 14 bullets. 341 men were martyred in the bombing, and 47 were eaten by gunpowder. He then described the scattered bodies and limbs that were emerging from under the rubble, especially from the Maliki Mosque, and then said, "What a good death they died" (as if he wished for martyrdom). The Christians also bombed the house of Dey Omar Pasha, and 11 of his entourage and children died.³⁵

Schaller cited what the commander of the English Campaign, Exmouth, wrote describing the destruction of the naval fleet anchored in the port of Algiers: "During the attack on Algiers on August 27, 1816, four large battleships (each with forty guns), five large corvettes (each with thirty guns), and all the warships were destroyed... All the floating bridges, docks, platforms, and the lighthouse that guides sailors were partially destroyed, as well as the House of Industry with its wood and various marine equipment. Gun carriers, barrels, and ship stores of various types and descriptions were also destroyed".³⁶ Schaller even mentioned that if the bombardment had continued on the second day, the Campaign would have been able to occupy the city of Algiers and expel the Turks.³⁷ As for the loss of life, Schaller mentioned that the Algerians lost 600 dead and wounded.³⁸

³² Schaller, Op. Cit., p. 156.

³³ For more information on the reasons for the defeat, see: Halaili, Op. Cit., pp. 28, 29.

³⁴ Muhammad Al-Arabi Al-Zubairi, **Introduction to the History of the Modern Maghreb**, Algerian Printing Institution, Algeria, 1975, p. 94. The story of sending boats to set fire to ships was mentioned by Al-Zahar, Op. Cit., p. 124.

³⁵ Abdul Rahman, **The Voyage**, pp. 8, 11.

³⁶ Schaller, Op. Cit., p. 303.

³⁷ Schaller, Op. Cit., p. 158.

³⁸ Schaller, Op. Cit., p. 292. To know other opinions on the number of Algerian martyrs, see: Halaili, Op. Cit., pp. 30, 31.

Third: English and Dutch Losses: The author of the Voyage mentioned that 300 Christian shooters were killed while they were on a ship that the Algerians managed to bombard and then it sank. He then says that he has no reliable evidence for other than this number, and he refuted some rumors that say that 1500 Christians died.³⁹ Schaller mentioned that 138 of the English were killed and 695 were wounded, while 13 of the Dutch were killed and 52 were wounded.⁴⁰

Section IV: Conditions in Algeria After the Campaign and the Value of the Voyage

First: The Reconciliation Results: The author of the Voyage mentioned a set of images for the situation in Algeria after implementing the terms of reconciliation and responding to Exmouth's conditions, which can be summarized as follows:

1. The Dey Omar asked the Bey of Oran to send him a ship, and when it arrived, he sent it to the Ottoman Sultan Mahmoud II, who wrote to him about what had happened between him and the Christian Campaign, and stressed the need to send him ships.
2. The Dey worked on repairing the port of Algiers, transporting wood and cooking lime, with the help of the tribes of Algiers, each of which would come three days to work.
3. He provided statistics on the number of builders and servants, as well as the number of camels, donkeys and mules.
4. The Dey assigned a special group to restore the Malikis Mosque, the dome of the saint Sidi Abdul Rahman Al-Tha'alibi, and the dome of the Hanafis Mosque.
5. The fate of the captain of the port, Captain Ali, who was killed by the Dey and tortured by cutting his face into pieces, placing each part of it on iron and sticking it on the port wall as a lesson to others.
6. He described the State of the horror in Algiers, the lack of security and the frequent thefts in all regions of Algeria, such as Constantine and Oran. Rumors also abounded that the Christian aggressor or his ilk would return to strike the city again.
7. During the Campaign, the Dey was praised for his bravery. If what happened to him during the Campaign had happened to anyone else, he would have died during it and nothing would have remained of him. Despite that, he went out calling out, "Jihad, Jihad, O nation of Muhammad", until foam rose from his mouth like a running camel due to the intensity of his running and urging people to jihad.
8. The author of the Voyage and the rest of the Algerians complained about the Christians who were wandering around the city of Algiers (waiting to take the prisoners) and they were proud of what they had destroyed and they said this place was destroyed by such and such a ship, and this is such and such a ship, and the Turks and Arabs remained unable to talk to them, and I did not learn this talk except from our friend, the author of the Voyage.
9. The Christian leader spitefully attacked Pasha Omar when he sent him a letter reminding him of the promise, he had made to him before the Campaign and threatening him that he would defeat anyone who stood in his way. He assured him that war was a trick and without it he would not have achieved victory against him. He reminded him that when his Sultan (Mahmoud II) wanted to stand in his way, he fought him until he asked for reconciliation after three hours. Therefore, you must make peace and reconciliation and let the subjects move around and buy and sell. In this way, they will love you and appreciate you and move wherever they want without fear.

Second: The value of the Voyage of Al-Tinilani: Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Idris bin Omar Al-Tinilani, the author of the Voyage, left the city of Algiers after staying there for 37 days. He wrote that he left it in the process of restoring and repairing the port wall, and the focus was on it as a symbol of protection. Then he concluded his Voyage by saying that this is what he saw or heard about the pious people.⁴¹

³⁹ Abdul Rahman, *The Voyage*, p. 9.

⁴⁰ Schaller, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 311-312.

⁴¹ Abdul Rahman, *The Voyage*, pp. 9, 13.

We find that the Voyage of Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Idris Al-Tinilani is considered a historical source for the Campaign, and this is for the following reasons:

- An eyewitness to the Campaign, place and time, said: "I did not write, and we do not write, except what I saw with my own eyes".
- A reliable transmitter of those he heard from, especially since those he transmitted from were not ordinary people: "I did not write, and we do not write, except what ... or a reliable person told me about it", such as the Maliki Judge Sidi Al-Hassan, "and the Maliki Judge told me about its occurrence a year ago", and the Sheikh of Quran Reciters in Algeria Sidi Abd Al-Salam, who narrated from him the incident of the man who laughed during his burial and congratulated him on his martyrdom.
- He investigates the information and has a critical spirit in accepting it, through the phrases he used to provide, including "and the duration of that, according to the investigation, was eleven hours minus one-sixth". Not confirming the news in his Statement "It was said that the Christian bribed him with fifty quintals". And about the duration of the reconciliation, he wrote "I have not been informed of the verification of that from a reliable person".
- He mentioned facts that we did not find in the sources and references that talked about the Campaign, and I have referred to some of them in the text of the article.
- He refutes incorrect information such as: "What is widespread among many people there, that fifteen hundred Christians died, is false".

Finally, to the best of my knowledge, there is no Arab source that witnessed the Campaign and wrote about it other than Sheikh Abdul Rahman, the author of the Voyage, and Sheikh Al-Sharif Ahmed Al-Zahar, who was in his garden, which is an hour's walk from the port of the City of Algiers, during the joint naval fleet's bombardment of the City of Algiers.⁴²

CONCLUSION

Following the presentation of the two journeys and an assessment of their historical value, it becomes evident that Saharan travel accounts of the nineteenth century possess great importance for the writing of Algerian history in general, and the history of the Algerian Sahara in particular. This significance stems from the valuable knowledge they provide on political, social, doctrinal, and urban conditions, especially given that these accounts were based on direct observation. What further distinguishes these two journeys is that they were undertaken prior to the French occupation of Algeria

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