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Modernization reforms in the states of Tunis and Tripoli (1800-1912 AD)

– a historical reading an approach-

الإصلاحات التحديثية في إيالتي تونس وطرابلس الغرب (1800 – 1912)
- قراءة تاريخية - مقارنة -

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abstract:

Since the mid-eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire has witnessed a major reform movement that included various aspects. The first attempts were based on reforming the military establishment, and the reform movement later included administrative, financial, economic and judicial systems. This aimed to preserve the Ottoman Empire from falling and collapsing. Tunis and Tripoli were among the most important provinces affected by the Ottoman regulations, and the pioneers of the reform movement in the two countries tried to adopt the Ottoman and European model to develop and improve conditions in various areas of life. The main problem of the research is based on several questions, the most important of which are: What are the causes and repercussions of the reform movement in the Ottoman Empire? How did it affect the provinces of Tunis and Tripoli? What are the points of similarity and difference in the two experiences? This study aims to reveal the main reasons for the reforms witnessed by the Ottoman Empire, and their general effects on the provinces of Tunis and Tripoli, while providing an overview of the reforms implemented by the rulers of the two provinces, as well as our procedures for comparing the two experiences.

Keywords: State of Tunis, Tripoli, Modern reforms, Covenant of security, Organizations

الملخص:

لقد شهدت الدولة العثمانية منذ منتصف القرن الثامن عشر حركة إصلاحية كبيرة شملت مختلف الجوانب، فكانت المحاولات الأولى تركز على إصلاح المؤسسة العسكرية، لتشمل فيما بعد حركة الإصلاح النظم الإدارية والمالية والاقتصادية والقضائية، وهذا بهدف الحفاظ على الدولة العثمانية من السقوط والانهيار، وقد كانت تونس وطرابلس الغرب من أهم الإيالات التي تأثرت بالتنظيمات العثمانية، وحاول رواد الحركة الإصلاحية في البلدين اعتماد النموذج العثماني والأوروبي لتطوير وتحسين الأوضاع في مختلف ميادين الحياة. وترتكز الإشكالية الرئيسية للبحث على عدة تساؤلات، وأهمها: ما هي أسباب وتداعيات الحركة الإصلاحية في الدولة العثمانية؟ وكيف كانت تأثيراتها على إيالاتي تونس وطرابلس الغرب؟ وما هي نقاط التشابه والاختلاف في التجريبتين؟

وتهدف هذه الدراسة إلى الكشف عن الأسباب الرئيسية للإصلاحات التي شهدتها الدولة العثمانية، وتأثيراتها العامة على إيالاتي تونس وطرابلس الغرب، مع تقديم لمحة عن الإصلاحات التي طبقها حكام الإيالتين، وأيضا إجرائنا لمقارنة بين التجريبتين. الكلمات المفتاحية: إيالة تونس، طرابلس الغرب، الإصلاحات الحديثة، عهد الأمان، التنظيمات

Introduction :

Since the mid-18th century, the Ottoman Empire has experienced a major reform movement involving different aspects. In order to advance the state and keep abreast of the developments of the European State in the Renaissance, the first attempts were to reform the army, after which the reform movement included administrative, financial, economic and judicial systems, aimed at preserving the Ottoman Empire from fall and collapse.

The reform movement had an impact on the entire Ottoman Province (Eyalet), especially the Arab-Islamic Movement, which was backward, weak and unable to confront the threat of the European colonial movement, whose dependence began to emerge in the first half of the twentieth century. Since France's occupation of Algeria in 1830 has had a profound impact on Ottoman Province in the north of the African continent, it has sought to strengthen relations with Tunisia and Tripoli in the west so that they do not have the same destiny as Algeria. It also worked on the reform in all aspects of political, economic and even cultural and social action.

The main problematic of research is based on several questions that we will try to answer, most importantly: what are the causes and repercussions of the reform movement in the Ottoman Empire? What are its effects on Tunisia and Tripoli the West? What aspects did the two countries' reform movement care about? What are the similarities and differences in the two experiments?

1- Ottoman Reforms "study of causes and motives":

The term reform is called the intellectual trends political and social movements that have emerged in the Muslim world in recent centuries. They differ from each other in the extent of the transformations they call for in people's situations, their methods, and their degree of reliance on religion, on the one hand, and on political considerations, some of which are authentic and some of which are foreign, on the other hand, the different times and circumstances have an impact on the difference between these movements as well (Abdussalam, 1986:120).

Thus, the starting point for reform is to think about finding solutions to corruption by identifying the causes and reasons. The reformer tries to find solutions and a policy that opposes and resists backwardness while recruiting members of society and educating them about the causes of deterioration and practical solutions to resist it (Bishnoun 2009:17).

As for the Islamic starting point, reform is every call to reform people's conditions and return them to Islam (Islam of nature) (Omlil, 1983: 23). As for modern Islamic reform, it came as a reaction to the foreign attack (Omlil, 1983: 26), and the reformers attribute the reason for their countries' backwardness to the nature of the political institution and see the solution in transforming absolute authority into an authority bound by law and the principles of Islamic justice. However, there is a weakness in the reformist thinking related to the economic and social aspect (Omlil, 1983: 29).

Therefore, it will not focus on the concept of reform in detail and accurately as much as it will try to focus on the extent to which reformist thought was influenced by European progress. The meaning of reform that we will try to study in this topic is reformist thought and its manifestations in the nineteenth century and the attempt of Islamic countries to change political conditions and circumstances in a way that does not reach the level of a revolution. It was keen to call for a balanced political transformation that is in accordance with Islamic law (Sharia) and religious Sunnah and is also in accordance with reason (Abdul Salam, 1986:120)

Khair al-Din al-Tunisi¹ mentioned to us in his book "Aqwam al-Masalik fi Ma'rifat Ahwal al-Mamalik" that Islamic law is suitable for both worlds (this world and the hereafter), and that it can be adapted to the requirements and demands of each era, by opening the door to diligence and rejecting intellectual stagnation. He also believes that the civilization and development of the Islamic world throughout the ages depends on the extent to which it applies Islamic law in the most correct manner. His evidence for this is that the Islamic law (Sharia) gave the best results in previous eras. Therefore, taking into account the conditions of the time in issuing ruling in order to achieve results that contribute to the development of the life of the Muslim person (Al-Tunisi, 2011: 51-52),

¹- **Kheir al-Din al-Tunisi** was originally a Mamluk, and there is some debate about the exact year of his birth. According to Ottoman archives, he was born in 1826, but it is more likely that he was born between 1822 and 1823. He was owned by a prominent figure in Istanbul, who later sold him to an agent of the Bey of Tunis in 1839. He grew up in the Bey's palace, where he studied Islamic sciences. He then joined the military, where he gained knowledge from French officers and rose through the ranks, eventually obtaining the title of "Amir al-Umara" (Commander of Commanders). However, he left his military career to enter politics. In 1853, he was sent to Paris to defend

Modernization was not a choice, but rather a necessity for self-defense. Therefore, the thought of reform and modernization, which became a project, was not born out of an intellectual development among Moroccans in the nineteenth century, a thought that was characterized by extreme isolation, but rather was born out of a psychological state and a sense of danger, and a way of pushing to confront danger. The idea of modernization, then, was born out of external circumstances without being the result of an internal development.(Ammari, 1986: 91)

Tunisia's interests, and he participated in meetings of the Disputes Committee at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He spent four years in Paris, advocating for Tunisia's cause. Thanks to this journey, Kheir al-Din was able to observe European advancements in various fields. The trip gave him a close look at the reasons behind the success of Western civilization, including its science, industries, urban development, and public life. It also gave him the opportunity to interact with political figures. After returning to Tunisia, he was appointed as the Minister of the Navy and the President of the Higher Consultative Council. Kheir al-Din worked on implementing several reforms in Tunisia and passed away in 1889. For more details, see (al-Tunisi, 2008: 20 and onwards).

The circumstances that the Ottoman Empire was going through since the middle of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century suggested the need to implement a set of reforms and regulations. The Treaty of "Carlo Kitz" in 1699² was the beginning to the Ottomans of losing the initiative in Europe, and they became exposed to confrontation with many European countries in the first quarter of the 18th century. Venice showed its inability to maintain its sovereignty in the Mediterranean, and Austria became the one

²- After the Ottoman Empire failed to capture Vienna in 1683, Emperor Leopold sent his envoys asking for help from Poland. John Sobieski realized that the future of Christianity was under threat, so he quickly led the Polish army of 40,000 men into action. The Austrians and their allies advanced rapidly into Ottoman territories in Hungary, Greece, and along the Black Sea coast. The Ottomans suffered defeats at the battles of Mohács in 1687 and Zenta in 1697, which forced the Ottoman Empire to sign the Treaty of Karlowitz (Curlowitz) on January 26, 1699. As part of this treaty, the Ottomans gave up Transylvania, most of Hungary, and parts of Ukraine and Podolia, which were returned to Poland. The Treaty of Karlowitz marked the first time the Ottoman Empire signed a treaty after a defeat, no longer being the formidable threat to Western Christianity. From then on, Europe itself posed a greater threat to the Ottoman Empire's unity. The Ottomans gave up more territories under the Treaty of Passarowitz and lost the city of Belgrade, which they later regained in the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739. After the Austrian threat faded, the Ottoman Empire found itself facing an even greater danger—Russia. Tsar Peter the Great was determined to secure a foothold in the warm waters of the Black Sea. He led a campaign against Azov and its surrounding areas but lost, and Azov was returned to the Ottomans in the Treaty of 1711. However, Russia continued to push for Ottoman territories and allied with Austria in 1776. The war between 1733 and 1739 resulted in Russia occupying Azov, leading to a series of Russo-Ottoman wars. - For more, see (Abd al-Aziz Omar, pp. 120-121).

that posed a threat to the Ottomans. They were able, with the support of France, to eliminate it. The Sistova Peace Treaty between them in 1791 ended a conflict that lasted more than two and a half centuries of hostility. Then Russia replaced Austria in threatening the Ottomans. As a result of Russia's victory over them in the war that took place between them between the years (1735-1739), Russia obtained some gains. After the war resumed between the two parties in 1774, and the collapse of the Ottoman forces, the Crimean Tatars became independent from the Ottoman Empire, so that Russia could annex them to it in the year 1782. This was the first major expansion of their influence, as Russia reached the shores of the Black Sea and obtained freedom of navigation and trade in Turkish waters. After the war between the Russians and the Ottomans was renewed between the years (1787- 1792). According to the Peace of Bassey in 1792, and according to the Peace of Yasi in 1792, Russia extended its influence to the waters of the Dniester River to become a border area between the two countries. (rafik, 1991-1992: 165- 166).

In the midst of the weakness and repeated defeats to which the Ottoman Empire was exposed, its rulers rushed to reform and developing the state and keeping pace with the developments taking place in Europe, which is why their reform primarily dealt with the army. The first of the reforming sultans was Selim III (1789-1807), who carried out a number of reforms, the most important of which was in the military field. He established a new infantry force bearing the name (New Order) and in 1795 he established a school for military engineering. He also developed the Ottoman Navy by modernizing the naval school, reorganizing the arsenals, and establishing a school for naval health, he also reorganized the financial affairs services and diplomatic missions were established in several European capitals. Selim III is considered as the champion of openness to the West, especially to France, as he was a supporter of the French Revolution. However, these reforms failed because of the Ottoman traditional institutions. (Al-Uthmani,1993: 13-14)

The second phase of reforms began during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. During his reign (1808-1839), he pursued a reform policy³ aimed at renewing the administrative system of the state, introduced important changes to the army, and sought to change the minds of influential circles in Ottoman society, He also prepared the first major reform decree (Gulthane Document)⁴,

³- **Sultan Mahmud II** focused on three key aspects to ensure the success of his reform movement. First, he aimed to apply the reforms across all Ottoman institutions and society, rather than limiting them to just one area. Second, he sought to dismantle old systems that might obstruct the reform process. Third, he emphasized the importance of careful planning and taking necessary precautions to ensure the reforms' success before implementing them. Despite relying on these strategies, he faced significant challenges that he could not overcome. The Greek Revolution, the separatist movement in Egypt led by Muhammad Ali, and the rising nationalistic movements in the Balkans among the Serbs, Romanians, and Greeks were some of the major obstacles. Russia supported these revolutions in hopes of weakening the Ottoman Empire and gaining access to warm-water ports. The outcome was Greece's independence, Serbia achieving a form of autonomy, and Russia increasing its influence in Wallachia and Moldova, which eventually led to their unification and independence. In Africa, France occupied Algeria in 1830 and aimed to establish an African empire. Despite these challenges, which drained the state's resources, Mahmud II continued his reform efforts despite opposition from conservative forces like the Janissaries. He tried to follow in the footsteps of Muhammad Ali, who had transformed Egypt into a modern state with efficient administration, finance, military, navy, and industry, enabling him to suppress the Wahhabi and Greek revolutions. For more details, see (Mustafa, 1993: 190).

⁴- **The Hatt-i-Sharif of Gulhane**; known in history as the Tanzimat, contained key points aimed at securing the lives and property of the state's subjects, abolishing the tax farming system and its abuses, organizing military

which was announced on the 3rd November 1839 during the reign of Sultan Abdul Majeed Al-Othmani, 1993: 28-29), as well as the Humayun Document in 1856. The reform reached its peak with the proclamation of the constitution during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1876. Some historians have believed that the aim of these regulations was to deprive European countries of the pretext of imposing their protection on the Sultan's non-Muslim subjects, because these announced reforms were quickly abandoned when the circumstances surrounding them disappeared⁵.

conscription, ensuring fair public trials for criminals, and guaranteeing equality for people of all religious faiths when applying the laws. This last point was seen as a more radical departure from the old Islamic traditions, creating a significant shock to Islamic principles. The Empire's policy of tolerance and protection for non-Muslims played a major role in granting them considerable autonomy in their internal affairs. For more, see (Lewis, 2016: 136-137).

⁵ The **Hatt-i-Sherif of Gulhane** was issued in 1839 to secure European support against Muhammad Ali in order to remove him from the Levant. The **Hatt-i-Sherif Humayun** was issued in 1856 to gain European backing at the Paris Conference, which ended the Crimean War between the Ottomans, supported by France and England, and Russia. The **1876 Constitution** was issued just before the start of the Berlin Conference in 1878, which aimed to settle the issues in the Balkans and ultimately determined the fate of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. Although these reforms appeared to have a liberal nature, they reinforced the centralization of the state and emphasized the sultan's rights more than his duties. For more see - (Rafiq: 1991-1992: 278).

The reform movement known as the organizations began to try to save the Ottoman Empire from collapse. The administrative apparatus of the state was modernized, the system of states was adopted, society was westernized, and the law and education were secularized. Mustafa Pasha (1800-1858) is considered the father of the organizations, especially since his stay in Paris and London as an ambassador allowed him to be informed of European affairs, and after assuming the position of Sadr to Adham in 1846, he was one of the most severe. Enthusiasts for reform, and without forgetting "Ali Amin Pasha" (1815-1871) and also "Muhammad Fuad Pasha" (1814-1869) and "Midhat Pasha: (1822-1884). All of these reformers and others followed the path of reform and organization, and during their reign it gained a new dimension. They were credited with changing part of the conditions in the Ottoman provinces and setting them on the path to reform (Al ottmani, 1993: 63 on wards).

And from the above, we can say that the Ottoman state was based on the reform movement aimed to change the prevailing conditions, and to face the pressures imposed by European countries and Russia, so a reform project was a partial change whose features were not completed.

For this reason, contradictions were formed within Ottoman society, because the final liberation from the past and complete integration into Western civilization was not achieved, which further obstructed the movement for reform and its failure to maintain the strength and prestige of the Ottoman Empire, it entered a stage of collapse and gradually began to lose its lands and properties.

2- The reformist movement in Tunisia and Western Tripoli (1830 - 1912):

The French occupation of Algeria in 1830 had a profound impact on the future of the Western Maghreb countries (Libya, Tunisia, and the Far Maghreb). Accordingly, the Ottoman Empire sought to pay more attention to the Tunisian province and the western province of Tripoli, especially since all indications pointed to the intensification of the conflict between France and Britain to annex the two provinces to their colonial lands. France sought to implement its plans aimed at separating Tripoli from Istanbul, and also immersing Tunisia in crises to facilitate the process of its occupation and establishing a colonial empire in North Africa. In light of these conditions, reform was the best way to preserve the Tunisian and Tripoli provinces and avoid the fate of Algeria, so, how were the reforms implemented in the two countries? And were the French plans foiled through them?

Firstly: Reforms implemented in Tunisia Province

What should be noted is that the Tunisian reform movement was based on the initiative of some politicians, and for various political reasons, Marshal Ahmed Bey (1837-1855) initiated a group of reforms, and if we ask about their reasons, we find that their source is twofold: on the one hand, it is an imitation of what "Muhammad Ali" accomplished in Egypt and Mahmoud II in Turkey, and on the other hand, it is a reaction to the dangers facing the country and responding to the new situation brought about by Europe's leap forward. These reforms dealt with various fields, the first thing that the Tunisian government initiated since the year 1832 was to organize a modern (regular) army to replace the old militias, following the Turkish and Egyptian example, and perhaps to accept the request of the Ottoman Sultan. But it is the custom of the Bey of Tunis that he does not obey the Sultan's order unless it is in his own interest. Since he assumed power in 1837, "Ahmed Bey" has paid great attention to the military.

He increased the number of regular soldiers and the military equipment, to the point of exhausting the country's finances and almost leading it to bankruptcy (ibn abi Al-Dhiaf,, Ithaaf, 12,20,22). These expenses resulted in the necessity of reforming the administrative situation and the tax collection from administrative centralization and transforming the tax system so that it meets the needs of the army and the state. He also thought about constructing modern factories such as the gunpowder and cannon factory, a shoe and textile factories. ... However, most of these facilities failed. (Al hadi, 1993: 98-100)

He also established a military school in Bardo to graduate officers. The most skilled officers in Turkey and Europe were appointed to it, and it was named the Military Office on March 5, 1840, corresponding to Muharram 1, 1256 AH. It took care of teaching soldiers the necessary legal system and sciences such as engineering, arithmetic and languages, in addition to teaching them the arts of war. The Bey appointed the Italian teacher “Alai Kali Qaris⁶ (ibn abi Al-Dhiaf, Ithaaf: 36), to manage the affairs of this school. Sheikh Mahmoud Qabado also taught in Arabic. Among the most important students of the school was Hussein Pasha... (Khoja: 482). After their graduation, the students took over the reins of government and high positions in the Tunisian state and were influenced by European progress through the sciences and knowledge they received from the Western professors at the school (ibn abi Al-Dhiaf, Ithaaf: 37).

Thus, Bey Ahmed directed his attention to establishing ammunition factories and developing the naval fleet, and as he revived the port of Ghar al-Milh and filled it with the army and equipment, the arrival of the towers of November 1846, Halq al-Wadi was impressed by the men and cannons, and after his visit to Paris, he was very impressed by the manifestations of civilization and construction in Europe, and in particular the Palace of Versailles, so he built a similar one in Tunis, known as the Palace of Muhammadiyah, and he imposed some European fashions and customs around it and in his court (ibn abi Al-Dhiaf, Ithaaf: 98) The Bey was greatly influenced and amazed by what Europe in general and France in particular had achieved in terms of progress and development in all aspects, especially in the scientific, cultural, urban and industrial aspects (ibn abi Al-Dhiaf, Ithaaf: 107 - 108 - 109).

Ibn Al-Dhiaf personally witnessed the cultural prosperity in Tunisia during the era of Ahmed Bey, saying, “In these days, the market of knowledge has died down and its youth has been determined, its path has flowed and its waves have filled, and the door of diligence has opened and its causes have become apparent, and the stars of the crescent have shone on the horizon of this capital, who are now suns and full moons that adorn the gatherings and the full moons. (ibn abi Al-Dhiaf, Ithaaf: 67). Accordingly, Ahmed Bey strove hard during his term to transform Tunisia from a province to an independent kingdom and a modern state dominated by modernity, imitating European progress in several fields, thanks to the reformist policy that he adopted despite the negative repercussions that had on the Tunisian government and the Tunisian people.

⁶- An Italian orientalist who learned Arabic in the Levant and worked in the Turkish army, then later in Tunisia during the reign of Hussein Bey II. He wrote a book about the life of Napoleon Bonaparte, which was translated into Arabic by his student, Amir al-Umara Hussein, with revisions by Sheikh Qabadu. For more, see (al-Tunissi, 2008: 21).

- **Reforms of al Maoula Marshal Muhammad Bey (1855-1859):**

He assumed power after the death of the first Marshal in 1855. The second Marshal "Muhammad Bey"⁷ was known for his adherence to Islamic teachings and preserving them, rejecting Western systems. He had a strong criticism of the policy of "Ahmed" Bey and his reforms taken from Western civilization (Ibn Abi Al-Dhiaf Ithaaf : 187 - 188), but he kept Ahmed Bey's ministers in their positions. Mustafa Khaznadar was the Minister of Finance, Mustafa Agha was the Minister of War, Khair Al-Din was the Minister of the Navy, and his secret writer was Abu Al-Dhiaf (Bayram Al-Tunisi, Safwat :14)

Although this Bey was not convinced of keeping pace with European progress, his reign was not without some reforms, as he introduced printing with letters in Tunisia after it had been stone, and he installed a Sharia Council in 1857. And he made the decision in the legal incidents to two Maliki and Hanafi judges, (Ghallab: 90), and in September 1857, the Bey Muhammad Pasha granted the covenant of security to all the inhabitants of Tunisia to preserve money and life, and this covenant was like a constitution for the country (Ibn Abi Al-Dhiaf, Ithaaf:231), and it was an attempt by the Bey to implement the Ottoman reforms or what is known specifically as the regulations and also to submit to the pressures of the consuls of the European countries, France and England, and in compliance with the efforts of the reformers in Tunisia such as "Khair al-Din al-Tunisi" and the secretary of the Beys, Ahmed bin Abi Al-Dhiaf, and the constitution (the covenant of security⁸) is the first constitution aimed at preserving and protecting human rights in the Islamic world (Ibn Ashur, 1956:

⁸ - After the announcement of the **Hatt-i-Humayun** in 1856 by the Sublime Porte, the French consul (Roche, 1855–1863) and the British consul (Wood, 1855–1876) advised Bey "Ahmad" to implement this law in the Tunisian eyalet. After the execution of the Jewish man "Batosfouz" in Tunis, there was a strong reaction in both Jewish and European circles. As a result, the consuls increased their pressure on the Bey, leading to the establishment of courts similar to those in the Ottoman Empire. These courts were intended to prevent the state from issuing hasty judgments. At the end of August 1857, the consuls submitted a written proposal suggesting broader reforms. Bey "Muhammad" yielded to this pressure and called upon his advisors to discuss the proposed reforms. He entrusted "Ibn Abi al-Diyaf" with drafting the text. Therefore, the "**Ahd al-Aman**" (the Covenant of Security) closely resembled the content of the **Hatt-i-Humayun**, and its principles were in line with the reforms announced by the Ottoman Sultan in 1856. For more see - (Kricken, 1988: 4–5–6).

⁷- Muhammad Bey: Abu Abdullah was born in 1811. He studied the Quran under the reciter Sheikh Abu al-Abbas Ahmad al-Sinan, and later under the scholar Abu Muhammad Hassan al-Tatauni. He grew up learning horsemanship and archery. For more see- (Abi al-Diyaf,, *Ittihaf*: 185).

19 - 20), and the actual reason that prompted the Bey to issue the covenant of security was the incident of the Jewish citizen whom the Bey sentenced to death in June 1957 on charges of insulting the Islamic religion (Ibn Abi Al-Dhi'af, Ithaaf: 231 and after).

In 1858, Muhammad Bey created a municipal council to organize the affairs of the country and look after its interests. He appointed its members from among the notables of civilization under the leadership of a foreign advisor. He was the first to establish this pattern for reforming the city and organizing it, including repairing the roads and lighting the streets (Ata Allah Al-Jamal, 1977:117). He also established canals and iron water pipes and created a palace in Bardo. He was also interested in the goldsmithing, foundry, turning, antiques, and exquisite perfumery industries. During his rule, the manufacture of precious stones and types of fine perfumes became popular. He is also considered the first to mint gold, silver and copper mints with his name on one side of the coin and the name of the owner of the Ottoman authority on the other side, and he opened the mint house in Bardo (Al-Senussi, 1976: 58- 59- 60).

- **Marshal Muhammad al-Sadiq Bey's reforms (1859 - 1881):**

Following the death of Marshal Muhammad Bey on September 22, 1859, his brother Muhammad al-Sadiq Bey⁹ succeeded him. During his reign, Tunisia witnessed an actual reform movement and sincere efforts to reform the country's conditions. The Bey Muhammad al-Sadiq tried to reconcile two contradictory trends, namely the tendency towards foreign European powers, especially the French, with the connection to the Ottoman Empire. He began his reign by adhering to what was stipulated in the Pact of Security, and he also undertook constitutional reforms, as he established in 1860 civil councils to adjudicate cases, and formed the legislative council and municipal councils in 1861 (Abdullah:21). Khair al-Din became the reformist leader who led this phase of Tunisia's history, so he activated agriculture, and made improvements in all administrative branches of the judiciary, and to encourage industry and agriculture, he established a series of customs centers on the Algerian border to deter smuggling, and organized another section for ports and docks, and he issued special laws to organize the management of Habous properties, which were in a deplorable state. He also tried to develop the naval fleet¹⁰

⁹- **Mohammad Sadek Bey:** (Mohammad Sadek bin Hussein bin Mahmoud Bey) was born in 1813 and took power after the death of his brother Mohammad Bey. He was characterized by his weak personality and lack of political.

¹⁰- acumen. It is worth noting that the term "naval fleet" was not used in its true sense, as it referred to a small number of warships and merchant vessels, which lacked basic military equipment. Even the number of soldiers and officers was minimal. The fleet consisted of between 17 and 20 warships, none of which had significant military value due to their inadequate equipment and poor condition. The fleet's activity was mostly limited to transporting supplies to the army in Sfax or moving soldiers for guard duties. The warships were often stationed at the La Goulette arsenal, or in shipyards in Marseille

which was in a deteriorating state (Al-Tunisi, memories, 2008: 39 -40).

The reforms of "Khair ad-Din" contributed to improving the financial situation of the Tunisian state. He was also interested in the urban aspect, so he beautified the city of Tunis, paved its roads, restored old paths and built new roads. He also ordered the repair and expansion of primary schools, and established the Sadikia School in the style of European institutes, with 150 students paid for by the government, who received education in the Arabic language and Islamic sciences, along with studying various modern sciences and the Turkish, French and Italian languages. Education was also organized at the Great Mosque, "the Zaytuna Mosque", and the administration of justice was organized, so he determined the salaries of public notaries. (Al-Tunisi, memories, 2008 : 40-41)

Despite the reforms implemented in Tunisia after being "Khair al-Din" the president of the Tunisian government, and his success in implementing several reform projects, the personality of the Bey and his indifference to state affairs. He granted ministerial positions to those who had no experience in administrative and political affairs, such as Minister "Mustafa Khaznadar", who was close to the Bey and had the most influence on him. His only concern was to achieve his personal interests at the expense of the country's interests. He was an obstacle in the way of reform. In addition to the increasing of the foreign threat on the country, (Peirm, p2: 17), and as the Beys of Tunisia adopted the reform movement as a result of the pressures imposed on them by the consuls of European countries that had ambitions in the country and sought to ensure their influence and powers, which caused the reform movement not to achieve its programmed goals by its pioneers.

- Reforms implemented in Tripoli the West (1835-1911):

The spread of chaos and unrest during the reign of the Karamanli dynasty played a role in the intervention of the Ottoman authority and its issuance of orders declaring it to be the rule of the Karamanlis. Thus, direct Ottoman rule returned to Tripoli from 1835 until 1911, during which the country was ruled by several governors who adopted a new policy and a different method in managing the affairs of the country to save what could be saved and confront the dangers threatening the Ottoman Empire from all directions (Ghalib A-Kayb 1978: 103-104).

or Malta for repairs. The main vessels owned by the eyalet included the *Baji*, *Mynos*, *Safa*, *Barni*, *Mansour*, *Karraket al-Nar*, *Hassinia frigate*, *Makki*, *Hattab*, and *Nisr* Due to their small number, the ships were not always fit for sailing. As a result of the poor condition of the naval vessels, the state resorted in 1864 to purchasing a *vapor* for transporting military supplies at a cost of 61,000 francs. Between 1864 and 1865, agreements were made to purchase additional ships despite the high costs. This was due to the state's concern over the condition of its inactive fleet, prompting efforts to repair and replenish it. For more, see (Ben Belghith, 1995: 133 - 134).

In the first years of Turkish control over the country, the governors were busy suppressing the revolutions that erupted in various parts of the region. They maintained the old administrative organization until 1843, when they created a new organization according to which the country was divided into (Sanjaks and Qaimquaimiyas)¹¹. In 1869, they established only the civil, criminal, and commercial courts in Tripoli. The country was also divided into two parts: the Tripoli state and the Benghazi district,

¹¹- In 1843, Tripoli was divided into four administrative districts, as follows:

A – **Tripoli Province**: Its center was Tripoli, and it included the following districts and regions: Tripoli District, Zawiya District, Gharyan District, Najad District, and Tarhuna District.

B – **Al-Khums Province**: Its center was the city of Al-Khums, and it included the following districts and regions: Misrata, Sirte, which had the sub-regions of Tayba and Tawergha, and Zliten District.

C – **Western Mountain Province**: Its center was the city of Yafran, and it included the districts of Ghadames, Nalut, and the regions of Kikla, Mizda, and Zintan.

D – **Fezzan Province**: Its center was Murzuq, and it included the following districts and regions: Murzuq al-Shat, Sukna, Ghat, which were divided into ten regions: Sebha, Eastern Hafira, Eastern Wadi, Western Wadi, Atba Valley, Zilla Valley, Qatron Region, Hun Region, Ghadwa, and Wadan Region. **Benghazi Municipality**: Its center was the city of Benghazi, and it included the following districts and regions: Al-Awafir District. The districts included Jalu, Awjila, Al-Marj, Al-Baraqah, which included the sub-regions of Al-Darsa, Al-Hassa, and Al-Qubba, Tobruk, Bomba District, and the Ghgob District, which was established in 1910. For more, see - (Kakia, 87–88).

this latter was attached to the central government in Astana and placed under its direct supervision. At the head of the state was a governor with the rank of Pasha which represents the executive authority and has the highest direction for civil and economic affairs, as well as political authority in dealing with representatives of foreign countries. He is appointed by the Sultan for a specific period. (Kore, 1971: 26).

The governor of Tripoli was considered the representative of the Sublime Porte in his state, as well as the governor of Benghazi, and both of them are assisted by a local administrative council that included senior officers, Senior officials and a number of notables and national leaders. The administrators are appointed by the Sublime Porte in the Ottoman capital. As for the directors, they are appointed by the governor in Tripoli and the administrator in Benghazi after their approval from Astana (Ben Mussa, 1988:20).

Administrative reform was not only carried out by limiting the powers of the governors, the mayors, and the directors, but also limited the sizes of salaries paid by the state to the employees. The governor, for example, was receiving 150 golden liras. The administrators of A-Khums and Fezzan each receive 5,000 piasters, and the administrators of Al-Jabal Al-Gharbi receive 4,000 piasters. However, despite the fixed salaries, some employees were plundering and oppressing the population (Brochin 2001:333).

The governors of Western Tripoli also worked to carry out military reforms with the aim of preparing the state against the European threat¹². The number of military forces increased by the end of the 19th century, reaching in 1896 an infantry column, 30 cavalry, and 1 artillery in the sites of Al-Zawiya, Al-Ajailat, Fora, and Sidi Ali. Their center was in Zuwara. and two columns of infantry, 20 cavalymen and 15 artillerymen in Zalit.... increasing the number of soldiers required increasing the establishment of military barracks, so a barracks was established in the center of the state and other barracks in several other areas, and the municipality was responsible for building and maintaining these barracks and camps, which burdened the municipality with expenses and caused its inability to carry out its basic tasks. Among the military equipment was also the training of the people and Tripoli residents to bear arms and prepare them for popular resistance, especially after the occupation of Tunisia in

1881 and the occupation of Egypt by England in 1882, the training began for the people and military service and it was imposed in 1901 after the people were exempt from it (Al-Dajani: 89-101)

The Eyala also paid attention to military fortifications, such as building forts, castles, and towers, so the governor, "Ahmed Rasim" established the Hamidiya Castle between the years 1880-1881, which was one of the best castles that defended Tripoli during the Italian occupation. He also established the Sultanate Castle (1881-1882), and in the same year the Victory Castle was built in Qarqarash (Al-Zawi, 1986: 282-283). Thus, A-Tarqi newspaper noted, in the year 1898, a number of military barracks were established in Misrata, Zaltin, Masalata, Al-Jafara and Al-Ajailat, and military ammunition warehouse was also established by the municipality in the Al-Manshiya area. In addition to the towers (the Al-Mandrake Tower), it was maintained during the reign of "Ahmed Pasha", and the Turab Tower known as the Karma Tower was repaired and improved during the reign of "Ahmed Rasim" in 1882 and in the same year, the clock tower was repaired and the construction of Sidi Masri Tower located in the south of the city of Tripoli was completed Military reform was not limited to forts and barracks. Rather, a military hospital was established during the reign of Ahmed Amin Pasha in Al-Manshiya area next to the cavalry and artillery barracks. It had a capacity of one hundred beds and was not designated for the military only, but was frequented by citizens for treatment (Al-Dhuwaibi, 1999: 74-84).

¹²- The French occupation of Tunisia led to violent reactions in Tripolitania. After the signing of the *Treaty of Bardo* in May 1881, the governor *Ahmad Izzat Pasha*, following an order from Istanbul, sent *Sheikh al-Balad Sayyid Ahmad al-Nuwaybi* to Tunisia. In May, *Ahmad Izzat Pasha* was dismissed, and *Muhammad Nazif Pasha* was appointed in his place. He took the initiative to establish military camps along the Tunisian border to maintain security in his territory. After France occupied Sfax on July 16, 1881, rumors spread that France was preparing to annex Tripolitania as well. However, the French foreign minister reassured all of Europe on this matter, stating that his country was trying to prevent Tripolitania from inciting any Islamic religious fanaticism that could ignite revolutionary fires in Algeria and Tunisia. This meant that France was concerned about the solidarity of the Libyan people with Tunisia and Algeria. For more, see - (Firro, 1994: 523-524).

The Ottoman Empire worked to promote the economy in province and worked to develop it in various fields, as for agriculture it established new agricultural villages with the aim of raising the standard of living. Among the most important of these villages, we mention the village of "Abi Najim", known as the Majidiyya ruins in Fezzan, which was established during the reign of Muhammad Amin Pasha in 1844. In Tripoli, the village of Al-Aziziyah (named after Sultan Abdul Aziz) was established during the reign of the governor: Mahmoud Nadim Pasha, on 29 May 1866 and the agricultural space was attached to it with a building to be a government palace with a public market. The Ottoma Empire also contributed to the establishment of several other villages and cities, such as its care for the port of Tobruk and the port of Bomba and granting financial privileges to the people of Shahat and Qubbah. The construction process continued from 25 Julyn 1847, until the 2nd November 1869, so the Ottoman soldiers were housed in Bomba, and special privileges were granted to the residents for housing In the region, several villages were established and repaired in Al-Qubba, Shahat, Al-Hasa Center, Susa, Awza, and Taknes, . . . (Al-Tawir: 20, 23, 24).

Among the important projects that the Turks accomplished in the field of revitalizing agriculture and helping the farmer was the opening of the Agricultural Bank in 1902 during the reign of Governor Hafez, who is considered one of the governors who worked to advance the affairs of the state. The bank was officially opened in Tripoli in 1906, and branches were opened in Zawiya, Yafran, Ghorban, Al-Khums, and Misrata. The bank contributed to extending loans to farmers to reduce the greed of usurers. It is also worth noting that the Ottoman authorities established in 1869 what was known as the Public Benefit Fund for Agricultural Lending during the reign of Governor Ali Reda Al-Jazairi. The fund system was based on providing its capital to senior employees whose salaries exceeded 1000 piasters per month. They were forced to deposit part of their salaries in the fund, and loans were provided to needy farmers in exchange for a guarantee, but the fund did not succeed in continuing due to the irregularity of its work. (Bin Musa, 1988: 96,98).

The state government also attempted to implement a land law starting in the year 1858 to facilitate the collection of taxes individually in a system of common lands. Although it achieved equality between the tribal populations in exploiting the lands, it was a factor in the emergence of disputes. The Ottomans worked to implement a land registration law in the division based on the powers of the lands. This leads to the absence of the emergence of a feudal class. Starting on April 2, 1858, the Ottoman Land Law was issued stipulating the creation of the Land Registry Authority's (Land Register) to record the properties of individuals in a private land registry, which is called (Haqqani Book). It is a practical way of fixing and registering names under the (Tabu) and granted to the owner of a land an ownership certificate called (Kushan Tabu). This law was not applied until the year 1874. It included Tripoli and its suburbs, the Western Mountain, and some lands in Coastal cities. The reason for not generalizing the application of the law to all Libyan lands is due to the refusal of the population to register their properties for fear of taxes. The government tried by all means to convince the population to register their lands. In 1901, the first committee began to practically survey the lands and register the properties in Tripoli, Al-Manshiya and the coast, but the population did not respond effectively to the work of the committee. No citizen came forward to request ownership of his land. However, after the Ottomans opened the Credit Bank in 1902, which stipulated granting loans to farmers if they had lands registered in the Land Registry, the process of registering the lands was activated. (bin Musa 1988: 108-112).

With regard to the industrial aspect, the Ottoman government was criticized for its lack of interest in local industry. After the initiative of the people to submit a request to the state council calling for the establishment of a reformatory to educate poor and orphaned children and train them in crafts, after the government approved the project, a fixed budget was allocated from the state budget. People were also urged to donate to the school and the begin of the Arts and Crafts School construction was in 1871. It was called the Hamidiya Industrial School, and began receiving its students in 1874. Among the crafts that were taught to students were blacksmithing, carpentry, and shoemaking. As successful students were sent to complete their vocational education, in 1905 AD a scientific mission of 5 students was sent to Istanbul. Thanks to this interest, the industry flourished somewhat in many Tripoli cities. Various products were manufactured to supply the local market, and the surplus was exported abroad. Despite this, Tripoli industry remained characterized by its traditional, craft, and individual character, and was based on meeting the needs of the population. The government was unable to establish large factories despite the abundance of capabilities and the vast area of Tripoli. (Qwaider, 2019 - 2020: 196-197-200)

As for the cultural aspect, the Ottoman government tried to focus on education by establishing regular schools in Tripoli, Benghazi, Derna and Al-Khums since 1895 AD to establish education according to modern systems. The regular schools in Tripoli consisted of a three-year primary school for boys whose curriculum taught the Qur'an, Arabic and Turkish languages, history, arithmetic, jurisprudence and intonation, and a secondary school for boys (the Rashidiya, which lasted four years, taught religious sciences, modern sciences such as languages and arithmetic...). There was also a three-year primary school for girls, and a secondary school with the same curriculum as the boys' school. There was also the Dar Al-Mu'allimin School, which is a private institute for preparing teachers to teach in the interior, and the duration of study there is two years.

The military school was also established, studying there for five years, its curriculum is similar to the secondary school curriculum with the addition of subjects prescribed in the curriculum approved by the Ministry of War. Schools for arts and crafts were approved, most of whose students were poor, and they were taught various crafts. This school was established by "Namik" Pasha in 1898. There was also an elementary school for boys and girls known as the Irfan School, which is a free school whose students were the children of employees and military personnel, and its curriculum was the same as that of public schools. There were also religious institutes specializing in religious sciences, and the duration of education in them was three years, after which the student would move to Al-Azhar to continue his higher education and obtain a high degree. These schools contributed to the development of education in Tripoli in the last years of the Ottoman era. In 1911, approximately 800 external students and 150 internal students attended the schools, and the teaching staff consisted of 41 employees. The same schools were distributed across Al-Khums and Benghazi. It is also worth noting that there were two Israelian schools in Tripoli, one for boys and the other for girls, established by the World Israelian Union (Koro, 1971: 100 -101).

The state of Tripoli also witnessed the opening of a number of foreign schools. There was a French school for boys and another one for girls, directed by monks and nuns. The total number of students was 80 male students and 70 female students. The number of students in French schools was constantly increasing, estimated at 342 male and female students in 1907, 428 students in 1908, and 419 students in 1909, before the number decreased to 359 students in 1910. Italian schools were also opened in Benghazi and Al-Khums, several schools in Tripoli and Al-Dhahra, a shelter for boys, and a higher school for science and commerce. The following table shows us the number of school students in Tripoli between the years (1900-1903).

Various offices	1900-1901 AD	1901-1902 AD	1902-1903 AD
Boys' Shelter	178	264	258
Female Office	322	302	310
Male Office	160	188	231
(Kija) Office	139	166	170
Economic trade	41	43	46

We note from the table that the number of female students is greater than the number of male students. This is due to the delay in opening an Ottoman girls' school. The senior Turkish employees were also keen to train their daughters a foreign culture. Foreign schools maintained the number of their students after 1903 (Al-Dajani, d.t: 274-275-276)

It should be noted that printing had a distinctive role in directing the cultural and intellectual life in Western Tripoli towards modernity. This began with lithography in 1859 and was limited to print official papers of the state government. After 7 years, printing began to contribute to journalistic work with the establishment of the newspaper "Tripoli Al-Gharb" in 1866. The first modern printing press entered the country in 1869, printing the state calendar. With time, printing developed, and a modern printing press with all its equipment was imported from Europe in 1897.

A-Tarqi Printing Press is considered the first private printing press established in the state in 1908, thanks to a local Company, most of which was made up of intellectuals. Printing in general contributed to the development of intellectual life in the western state of Tripoli. One of the most famous printing presses at the end of the Ottoman era was the Oriental Printing Press, which was established by a Jewish settler named (Ephraim Atshweh Ben Shalom). Through the methods of the Eastern Printing Press, he introduced the Hebrew letter to Libya, and publications began to be printed in Arabic and Hebrew along with Latin. (Ben Salim: 63 - 64)

The interest of the Tripoli governors in the second Ottoman era in the health aspect was significant, as during the reign of the governor, "Muhammad Amin», the first military hospital was opened in A-Manshiya (Al Ansari - Al Manhal: 30) It was allocated to treat the military and their families for free, while allowing civilians to be treated in it. It had a capacity of 250 beds. During the reign of the governor, "Ahmed Ezzat" the foundation stone for the first civilian hospital in A- Ghurabaa was laid in 1878, which took 3 years to complete and was opened in the year 1881 during the reign of Ahmed Rasem Pasha, it included various surgical departments and was expanded in 1899 by increasing the number of beds and adding a department for syphilis and venereal diseases.

A special hospital for prisoners was also established in the state in 1880. A hospital was established in the Khoms Mutasarrifiyah in 1906, and military hospitals were established in Benghazi and Fezzan. A field hospital in Al-Azizia includes 16 beds, and one of the most important clinics that were established is a large clinic in the city of Tripoli, whose management is supervised by the Order of Saint Joseph. Hospitals and dispensaries were also supported with pharmacies that provided medicines, either manufactured locally or brought from Europe. The Ottoman authorities also relied on the system of vaccination against infectious diseases starting in 1885 for various diseases such as smallpox. The state government also encouraged granting privileges to everyone who studies or practices the medical profession, as well as sending agreed-upon students to pursue their education in Istanbul (Al Ansari - Al Manhal: 350)

Therefore, we can say that reform in West Tripoli was an inevitable necessity imposed by the internal circumstances that the country was going through, as well as the regional and international circumstances, the most prominent of which is that the country was in a state of chaos. The opposition movement against Turkish rule spread in various regions. And also the growing European threat to the Islamic world, especially the Arab and Moroccan ones as France occupied Algeria and Tunisia, and England occupied Egypt in 1882.

3 - A comparative study of reformatory experiments in the two Provinces:

Through our presentation of models of class reforms in both the provinces of Tunisia and Tripoli in the West, we will present a general conclusion about them by evaluating these experiences from their positive side and the extent of their contribution to the renaissance and intellectual movement of the two countries. We will also attempt to make a comparison of the two experiences by identifying similarities and differences.

In general, we can say that the reformist experience in both Tunisia and Tripoli in the West had some positives, but its negativity overshadowed its positivity, dooming it to miserable failure and this is evidenced by the fact that the two countries fell under European control. Although the reformist movement contributed to the development of the scientific and cultural movement in both Tunisia and Tripoli, they specialized in establishing modern, advanced schools to teach students various sciences such as mathematics, language, engineering, and religious sciences, in addition to sending student scholarships to Europe or Istanbul, where they acquire engineering, mathematics, and astronomy. The reform movement contributed to building some modern factories to meet residential, agricultural, industrial, and commercial needs, in addition to its contribution to the urbanization of the urban landscape of the two countries through building roads, decorating streets, and extending water canals.

As we said previously, the issue of reforms is very thorny and carries within it many contradictions, especially in the Islamic world, which has more justifications and components than many other nations. Perhaps the most prominent difficulty faced by reform in the Islamic world lies in the nature of the challenge and the response, which is dominated by emotion and it is dominated by rubble for recent generations, that is, since the fall of Islamic civilization. Perhaps one of the reasons for the failure of reforms in each of Tunisia and Tripoli the west, is that the pioneers of Renaissance and Reform met with strong opposition from the residents of the country, as many of them rejected these organizations and reforms. They do not suit the condition of the Islamic nation on the pretext that they contradict Islamic law, that they do not suit the state of the Islamic nation, that they put things in the wrong place because the nation is not capable of such civilization, and that they corrupt the state of the nation and the faith of Muslims. (Al-Mohafadha: 243)

One of the reasons for the failure of reforms in the two countries is that they were influenced by the European West. All the projects implemented in the two countries were borrowed from European civilization. Therefore, they were an imitation of what the West had achieved for Europeans only.

Rather, it was encouraged by the ambassadors and consuls of European countries, who encouraged the two countries to implement their reform programs with the aim of inflating expenses and pushed them to demand loans from European banks, due to the inability of the country's budget to bear the expenses of these reforms. which were not a means to confront the political conflict and the challenges of the era.

The reforms implemented in both Tunisia and Tripoli were mostly military, as the governors of Tripoli and the Beys of Tunisia paid much more attention to the military aspect than to other aspects. Military schools were established in the two countries to train recruits under the supervision of European engineers and officers, and student missions were sent to Europe. The army was also developed, modernized, and its institutions were developed in the manner of European institutions, which cost the treasury very large sums of money. This was due to the belief of the rulers of the two countries that the strength of the state is completed by its army, and that the European countries have become strong with their armies and advanced weapons. This was also due to the influence of the two countries on the occupation of Algeria. The Bey of Tunis tried to avoid his country falling under foreign occupation by implementing military reforms.

From the above, we can extract some points of difference in the experiments with reformism implemented in Tunisia and Tripoli in the West. Among them is that the experiments with reformism in Tunisia achieved their goals more than in Tripoli in the West. This is due to the nature and specificity of each Country. Anyone who follows the history of Tunisia during the Ottoman era will notice that it was more politically stable than Tripoli in the West, which lived during the Ottoman era in a political vacuum for several years.

Tripoli was also the subject of conflict over the ambitions of many European countries, especially France, Italy, and even Germany. This is what caused the failure to the implemented reforms. The governors of Tripoli were under pressure from the consuls of European countries to implement their country's projects and demand granting of privileges and facilities. Also, the province of Tripoli was besieged by the European occupation, as France occupied Tunisia in 1881 and England occupied Egypt. In 1882, it was suffering from intense competition between the largest European colonial powers, France and England.

The reforms implemented in Western Tunisia were not convinced by the people and indigenous people. They rejected them, and this was due to their conviction that they did not serve their interests as much as they served the interests of foreign Turks. This is in contrast to the visions of Tunisia, especially Field Marshal Ahmed, who was impressed by the manifestations of Western civilization, especially after his visit to France, as he imitated the European West in all his achievements.

The reality of Libyan society, its traditions, its tribal system, and its desert and Bedouin nature, was not compatible with the applied reforms. The governors of Tripoli were always under pressure of Western influence, the tribes and the clans and their rejection of these projects.

At the conclusion of this topic, we can say that reform in the 19th century was an inevitable necessity that began in the Islamic world in general, and in Tunisia and Tripoli the West particular. This is due to the tyranny of stagnation, fossilization, and backwardness over Islamic society. On the other hand, a European Renaissance and an industrial revolution contributed to the development of means of production and the search for areas of expansion at the expense of the non-Islamic world.

Consequently, reform in the eyes of most of the intellectuals and pioneers of the Renaissance was based on borrowing from Western civilization and adopting its advanced means, modern sciences and innovative technologies, but in line with Islamic civilization. This was proposed by the pioneers of the Renaissance who were able to learn about European civilization through their scientific journey. Their call for reform was based on liberating the Islamic nation from the restrictions of the past, but a liberation that would not make it lose its Islamic features.

However, calls for reform in both Tunisia and Tripoli in the West did not find any echo among the rulers of the two countries. Reform projects began to be implemented in Tunisia and Tripoli in the West after reform projects were presented by European ambassadors and consuls. It is as if they knew the country's interests better than its rulers and people. This is the first mistake that the two countries made. He implemented these projects without studying or evaluating them in advance.

Therefore, both Tunisia and Tripoli of the West were greatly influenced by Western civilization. This is not in line with the nature of the two societies. They also did not benefit from the experiences of the Ottoman Empire and Egypt, despite the fact that some of the Beys were aware of the repercussions of Western reforms in their countries; they were not able to confront the pressures and demands of European countries.

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