

**UNDERSTANDING ‘AFRİKÂ-Yİ ‘OSMÂNÎ’
IN THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD:
THE CASE OF ZANZIBAR**

140559

Hatice Babavatan

Boğaziçi University

2003

UNDERSTANDING 'AFRİKÂ-Yİ 'OSMÂNÎ'
IN THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD:
THE CASE OF ZANZIBAR

Thesis submitted to the
Institute of Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
History

by

Hatice Babavatan

BA in History, 2000, Boğaziçi University

T 140559

Boğaziçi University

2003

Boğaziçi University
Institute of Social Sciences

The thesis of Hatice Babavatan

is approved by

Assis. Prof. Selma Özkoçak (Commitee Chair Person)

Selma Özkoçak

Dr. Didier Bouakaz Khan

Didier Bouakaz Khan

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Bakari

Muhammad Bakari

July 2003

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank first and foremost to Assist. Prof. Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, my thesis advisor, for sparing her valuable hours for me through the writing of the present study. She has always been available whenever I fall into difficulty in interpreting and organizing the records on which I focus on. I am also indebted to her for referring to particular significant sources and for drawing my attention to some very crucial problematic areas.

My thanks also go to Professor Muhammad Bakari. He encouraged me during my studies and provided me some important secondary sources on my research area.

I would like to present many thanks to Dr. Didier Bouakaze Khan. He was so excited with my study on Zanzibar. He is also a good reader with careful notes to put forward some valuable critiques to my study.

My deepest gratitude to Dr. Ahmed Kavas, for being available whenever I need his guidance, valuable comments and critiques. He has never hesitated to let me use his personal library and archival documents. He also helped me to realize the importance of the Ottoman archival sources in the African History. His continual concern on my study encouraged me at the difficult moments.

I am also indebted to Prof. Andrew Jameson who taught me on the general themes in the African History in 1999 summer school at the university. He encouraged me to write a thesis on this topic and supported me during my studies.

Assoc.Prof.Dr Günhan Danışman also deserves very special thanks because of his close interest and care to my studies. I also would like to thank to Assist. Prof. Meltem Toksöz Yalçın and to all my friends in 690 Graduate Seminars for listening

to my presentation and for kindly giving their opinions about the sources and methodology of the thesis.

Warmest thanks to Vildan Serdaroğlu Şişman, my dearest friend, for always being available in spite of the physical distances. I should also thank to Nurullah Ardıç for his help in editing the thesis and Şule Mutlu for her help in the transcription of some documents.

In addition, I wish to express my gratitude to the faculty of the Department of History, our assistants Yasemin, Pınar and Nurullah. The staffs in Boğaziçi University Library, especially Fatma Karaosmanoğlu in the Near East Section, ISAM Library and Beyazıt Halk Kütüphanesi, and Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi also have been very helpful. I thank to them all.

My family who emotionally supported me all along deserves special thanks. My husband, timeless partner and support, Yunus has an exceptional place in every stage of the thesis. He has always taken place next to me when I was exhausted to deal with the details of the study. His appropriate critics, suggestions, and support accelerated me. I thank to him with all my heart.

Finally, my warmest thanks go to those friends whose names cannot be mentioned here.

ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING 'AFRIKÂ-Yİ 'OSMÂNÎ'
IN THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD THE CASE OF ZANZIBAR

by

Hatice Babavatan

The thesis introduces the term Afrikâ-yi 'Osmânî, the Ottoman Africa into the study in order to understand the Ottoman presence in the African continent better. The issue is questioned under two main points. Firstly, the common view, on that the Ottoman presence in Africa throughout the history is restricted to the North Africa, is challenged. The Ottoman port cities along the Red Sea shores, the provinces of Habesh and Hatt-ı istiva and the activities in the Swahili lands in East Africa prove that the Ottoman presence in the continent covered a larger geographical area than what we know today.

Beside the geographical boundaries of Afrikâ-yi 'Osmânî, we can also present the mental boundaries of Afrikâ-yi 'Osmânî into the study. In other words, the Ottoman Empire had also certain relations with the local emirates in Africa even if they were not geographically included into the Ottoman boundaries. Due to the social, cultural, and religious reasons, the Zanzibar Sultanate was included into the mental boundaries of Afrikâ-yi 'Osmânî. Here I question the nature of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Zanzibar sultanate during the colonial period in late nineteenth century.

The Ottoman primary and archival sources have been utilized in the thesis. The term Afrikâ-yi 'Osmânî is questioned under the light of the Ottoman sources. In this sense, it intends to contribute both to the World history writing and the Ottoman historiography.

ÖZET

GEÇ OSMANLI DÖNEMİNDE ‘AFRİKÂ-Yİ ‘OSMÂNÎ’ Yİ ANLAMAK:

ZENGİBAR ÖRNEĞİ

Hatice Babavatan

Tez, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Afrika kıtasındaki varlığının daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için Afrikâ-yi ‘Osmânî ya da Osmanlı Afrikası kavramını öne sürmektedir. Konu temel olarak iki nokta üzerinde ele alınmaktadır. İlk olarak Osmanlı’nın Afrika kıtasındaki varlığının Kuzey Afrika ile sınırlı olduğu şeklindeki genel kanıya karşı çıkılmaktadır. Kızıldeniz sahillerindeki liman şehirleri, Habeş ve Hatt-ı istiva eyaletleri ve Doğu Afrika Sevahil bölgesindeki Osmanlı faaliyetleri gözönünde bulundurulduğunda, imparatorluğun Afrika’daki coğrafi sınırlarının bugün bilindiğinden daha geniş bir alanı kapsadığı görülecektir.

Afrikâ-yi ‘Osmânî’nin coğrafi sınırlarının yanısıra, bu kavramın zihinsel sınırlarından bahsetmek de mümkündür. Diğer bir deyişle, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu siyasi olarak kendi sınırları içerisinde yer almamasına rağmen, bir çok bölge emirliği ile ilişkiler geliştirmiştir. Sosyal, kültürel ve dini nedenlerle geliştirilen ilişkiler, Doğu Afrika’nın en büyük sultanlıklarından biri olan Zengibar Sultanlığı’nda önemli bir düzeye ulaşmıştır.

Bu çalışmada Zengibar Sultanlığı ile Osmanlı İmparatorluğu arasındaki ilişkilerin sömürge dönemi içeriği sorgulanmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, Osmanlı birinci el ve arşiv kaynakları kullanılarak hazırlanmıştır. Afrikâ-yi ‘Osmânî kavramı, Osmanlı kaynakları ışığında sorgulanmaktadır. Bu anlamda çalışmanın, Osmanlı ve Dünya tarih yazıcılığına bir katkı olacağı umulmaktadır.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM AND THE CRITIQUE OF THE SOURCES.....	1
1- Research on East Africa.....	3
2- The Sources Used in This Study.....	8
3- The Outline of the Thesis.....	14
 I. THE OTTOMAN FACTOR IN AFRICAN HISTORY: THE RED SEA, HORN AND EAST AFRICA	17
1. The Ottoman Power in the Red Sea	18
<i>i.</i> Suakin	22
<i>ii-</i> Massawa.....	24
<i>iii-</i> Zeila	28
2- The Province of Habesh	29
3- Swahili Lands.....	35
4- The Province of Hatt-ı Istiva	40
 II. THE OTTOMAN RELATIONS WITH THE LOCAL POWERS IN EAST AFRICA: THE ZANZIBAR SULTANATE (1880-1907).....	43
1-The Zanzibar Sultanate: The Historical Background	43
2- The Zanzibar Sultanate in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Peak of the Colonial Activities and the Berlin Conference (1884-1885)	52
3- The German Presence in Zanzibar	56
4- The Local Resistance Against the Colonial Activities in Zanzibar.....	63
5- The relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers on Zanzibar.....	69

III. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE ZANZIBAR SULTANATE (1880-1907)	73
1- The reign of Berkash (1870-1888)	74
2- The reign of Khalifa b. Sa'ïd (1888-1890).....	77
i. The Visit of Shükrü Beg to Zanzibar in 1889	77
ii. The visit of Abdulkadir Efendi to Zanzibar in 1889	80
3- Mehmed Rüşdi and His Visit in Zanzibar	82
4- The Special Telegraphs from the Zanzibar Sultans to Abdulhamid II.....	84
5- The Visit of the Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Ali B. Hamid, to Istanbul.....	85
6- The Committee of Hilal-ı Ahmer in Zanzibar in 1913	87
 IV. THE OTTOMAN VIEW ON ZANZIBAR	89
1. Zanzibar as portrayed in the Ottoman archival sources.....	89
2. Personal accounts on Zanzibar.....	95
3. Public accounts on Zanzibar: The Ottoman Journals and Newspapers	107
 CONCLUSION	112
 BIBLIOGHRAPHY	116
PRIMARY SOURCES	116
SECONDARY SOURCES	119
 APPENDICES	126
Pictures.....	126
Full Transcriptions of Some Archieval Documents.....	130
Some Original Archieval Documents and their Summaries in English.....	149

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: Red Sea, the Horn of Africa, and the Swahili Lands.....	19
Figure 2: The Red Sea and the Ethiopian Highlands	23
Figure 3: Swahili Lands between Cape Guardafai and Cape Delgado ruled by the Zanzibar Sultanate in nineteenth century.	37
Figure 4: Indian Ocean trading network	91
Figure 5: The Swahili cities that were visited by Piri Reis.....	97
Figure 6- The Zanzibar Sultan Khalifa b. Said, The English Bombardement in Zanzibar.	126
Figure 7- Sultan Bergash b. Said	127
Figure 8- Palace of the Sultan, Beyt al-Acâib.....	127
Figure 9- Rumaliza, one of the famous leaders in Zanzibar fighting against the Colonial Powers, 1866.	128
Figure 10- Ivory Merchants	129
Figure 11- Indian Tipu Sultan, 1799.....	129

INTRODUCTION

The real acquaintance of the Ottoman Empire with the African continent began with the conquest of Egypt in 1517. From this particular time to the 1917, the Ottoman withdrawal from Tripoli, it appears to have established political, economic, social, and cultural relations within the continent. Although the Ottoman presence in the African continent spanned remarkable period of time (four centuries), the history of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Africa has been studied less than the Ottoman studies of other areas. There have been some works concerning the Ottoman presence in Africa, but these are mostly limited to the North African and Arabian lands of the Ottoman Empire. The issues on the rivalries between the Ottoman Empire and the Portuguese powers along the shores of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean at early sixteenth century¹, the establishment of the Habesh province in 1555 by Ozdemir Pasha,² and the endeavors of Ali Beg in East Africa to help the Muslim people against the Portuguese invasion in 1586³ may show us that the Ottoman presence in the African continent can not be limited only to North Africa. East Africa and the Horn of Africa were also partially under the Ottoman control.

These issues noted above mainly refer to the political boundaries of the Ottoman Empire in the African continent, and as I will argue the Ottoman social and cultural influences definitely extended over a larger geographical area. For example, from the early sixteenth century onward, the Ottoman Empire had contacted with the

¹ Richard Hall, *Empires of the Monsoon: A History of the Indian Ocean and Its Invaders* (London, 1996), 208-209.

² Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti* (Ankara, 1996, first publication 1974).

³ Z. A. Marsh and G.W. Kingsnorth, *An Introduction to the History of East Africa* (Cambridge, 1966), 13.

local Muslim emirs in the African continent politically, socially as well as culturally. In other words, the Ottoman Empire never conquered the lands of the Sultan of Bornu, but it was often in contact with this sultanate of the west central Africa early in the sixteenth century.⁴ It is also known that the sultanates of Kano and Sokoto⁵ sent several gifts for the Ottoman Sultans in order to show their alagance to the Caliphate.⁶ Harar Sultanate,⁷ which was the strongest state of Ethiopia in sixteenth century, was also one of the most important sultanates to have close contact with the Ottoman State. The Zanzibar Sultanate,⁸ which is the topic of the present study, was another important sultanate that had continous relations with the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

This thesis mainly focuses on the question whether, or not, the Ottoman presence in the African continent was limited only to North Africa. At this point, it aims at tracing the Ottoman 'real' boundaries in the African continent, physical, social, and perhaps cultural boundaries, with particular focus on East Africa.

⁴ Cengiz Orhonlu, "Osmanlı-Bornu Münasebetine Aid Belgeler", *Tarih Dergisi* 23 (1969), 117. For more information about the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the Bornu Sultanate see also B. G. Martin, "Mai İdris of Bornu and the Ottoman Turks 1576-78", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* III/4 (1972), 470-490; and B. G. Martin, "Turkish Archival Sources for West African History", *African Studies Bulletin* 10/3 (1967), 59-65.

⁵ Sokoto Sultanate was one of the most significant and famous sultanates in today's Nigeria in the sixteenth century.

⁶ Ahmed Kavas, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Afrika Kıtasında Hakimiyeti ve Nüfuzu, Osmanlı Siyaset", 421-430

⁷ It ruled over the today's Ethiopia and Ogedan region of today's Somali starting from the sixteenth century onward.

⁸ It ruled over the coastal regions of East Africa including the lands of today's Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

1- Research on East Africa

The incorporation of the African history into the world history writing during the twentieth century increased the accessibility of the knowledge on the African continent. In this sense, several works were produced on Africa in which the continent was presented as a huge geographical unity with its own diverse cultures. However, most of these earlier works were written on the basis of the European sources, and thus they predominantly represent the Euro-centric point of view that considers the African history only in relation to Europe. This may have been partly because the European historians were unfamiliar with the African languages and thus unable to use the local sources for African history.

During the second half of the twentieth century, there have been remarkable changes in the tendency to make use of the Arabic sources and manuscripts to bring to light the history of Africa for the regions in which Africa had historical connections with the Arabs. For example, Jack Goody, H.F.C. Smith, D.M. Last, John Hunwick, Vincent Monteil, Ivor Wilks, and J.R. Willis are some of these scholars who were aware of the rich content within the Arabic sources on West African History.⁹ In particular, Neville Chittick,¹⁰ B.G. Martin, and J. Spencer Trimingham¹¹ can be stated as the most significant scholars to have made use of the Arabic sources to explain the history of the coastal cities in eastern Africa.¹²

⁹ Martin, "Turkish Archival Sources for West African History", 60.

¹⁰ Neville Chittick, "Kilwa and the Arab Settlement of East Africa n Coast", *The Journal of African History*, 4/2 (1963), 179-190.

¹¹ J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa* (Oxford, 1964).

¹² B. G. Martin, "Arab Migrations to East Africa in Medieval Times", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 7/3 (1974), 367-390.

In addition the Arabic sources, the African historians, as stated by Martin, began searching if they could find other sources written in other languages.¹³ Significantly, Persian sources may offer an expanded view on the history of East Africa. Martin has shown that the public and private libraries of Tehran and those of south Persian collections contain useful sources on commercial relations between East Africa and Persia, as well as Indian Ocean mercantile world.¹⁴

Martin also tried to evaluate the value of Ottoman archival sources on the West African history, especially in their connection to Egypt and the other Ottoman provinces in North Africa. Monteil¹⁵ supports Martin and emphasizes the importance of the Ottoman sources in filling the gaps in the history of Africa. It seems that Monteil considers the Ottoman factor in relation to the Caliphate of the Islamic world and to the developments in East Africa during the colonial periods. I will show throughout the thesis that the Ottoman archival sources also contain an important amount of materials which can contribute to East African History. The periods between the establishment of the Habesh province in 1555 and the visit of Zanzibar Sultan to Istanbul in 1907 cover almost four centuries of Ottoman contact with East Africa.

In spite of this fact, the archival sources on the Ottoman policies and early developments in East Africa have been used by a few Turkish scholars so far. One of them was Cengiz Orhonlu. In his prominent work titled “*Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyalet’i*”, he made comprehensive use of entirely different collections within the Ottoman archive to create a coherent picture of the Ottoman

¹³ Martin, “Turkish Archival Sources for West African History”, 60.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Ahmed Kavas, “Osmanlı Devleti’nin Afrika Kıtasında Hakimiyeti ve Nüfuzu, Osmanlı Siyaset”, 421.

presence in the Horn of Africa. Firstly, the *Mühimme Defters*, covering the extensive period between 1553 and 1716, were examined by him to uncover the fundamental administrative elements of the Ottoman province of Habesh. *Ruus Defters*, between the years of 1550 and 1692, determine the officials who were under the Habesh province. The third one, *Ahkam Defters*, referring to the period between the years of 1563-1605, were used to understand the administrative orders regarding the problems in the Habesh province.¹⁶ The *Yıldız Palace* archives¹⁷, Irade collection, and *Hariciye* documents of early twentieth century were used as well. Orhonlu also used early accounts of the Ottoman travelers and seamen. *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* of Piri Reis is one of them whose writings provided a vivid picture on East African coastal regions in the sixteenth century.

By taking into consideration of the secondary sources, it can be said that Orhonlu's work on the Habesh province was the first extensive work in Turkish scholarship to introduce the Ottoman sources into the writings on African history.¹⁸ His work is also important to challenge the conception of the Ottoman presence in the African continent that was limited to North Africa.¹⁹ Selim Deringil, in his article on the memory of Orhonlu, also stated that Orhonlu was the first Turkish scholar

¹⁶ To get a detailed information of the descriptions of the sections of the Archival materials, see also Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Archives of Istanbul", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6 (1975), 94-114.

¹⁷ For more information of *Yıldız Palace* Archives see also Stanford J. Shaw, "The Yıldız Palace Archives of Abdülhamid II", *Archivum Ottomanicum* III (1971), 211-37.

¹⁸ An African Historian R. S. O'Fahey mentions Orhonlu's work in his article "Sudanese (And Some Other Sources) for Eritrean History, A Bibliographical Note: Sudanic Africa", *A Journal of Historical Sources*, 12 (2001), 131-142.

¹⁹ This issue was also discussed under the light of different sources by Emeri Van Dozel in his article titled "The Turks of Habesh Eyaleti in A Yemenite Source, 1650", *Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları VII. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 7-11 Eylül 1986, (Ankara,1994), pp. 309-315

who has taken the Ottoman- African connection in hand in a most comprehensive manner.²⁰

Orhonlu also wrote some articles on the Ottoman presence on the shores of Red Sea²¹ which were later incorporated into his work “Habeş Eyaleti”. According to Orhonlu, the shores and the port cities of the Red Sea held a crucial political role. They facilitated the Ottoman penetration into the African continent and increased the Ottoman supremacy in the Indian Ocean.

In this sense, studies on the Red Sea also have considerable value in indicating the Ottoman endeavors in the region. Mungul’s article on the Ottoman confrontation with the Portuguese in the Red Sea is interesting. He made use of the letter of Selman Reis (1525), an Ottoman seaman, to show the Ottoman endeavor to get the control of the Red Sea against the Portuguese.²² Özbaran also dealt with the same letter of Selman Reis, as an important sign of the Ottoman presence in the Red Sea shores.²³ I could note that Özbaran is one of the important scholars who worked on the Ottoman policies in the South Seas and the Red Sea, as well as the Ethiopian lands, using extensively the Ottoman archival sources. Işıksal also benefited from the

²⁰ Selim Deringil, “The Ottomans in East Africa: A tribute to Cengiz Orhonlu”, *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History*, (Istanbul, 1990), 189-197.

²¹ Cengiz Orhonlu, “16. Asrın ilk yarısında Kızıldeniz Sahillerinde Osmanlılar”, *Tarih Dergisi*, 12/16 (Istanbul, 1962), 1-24.

²² M. Yakup Mughul, “Portekizli’lerle Kızıldeniz’de Mücadele ve Hicaz’da Osmanlı Hakimiyetinin Yerleşmesi Hakkında Bir Vesika”, *Belgeler* II/3-4 (Ankara, 1965), 37-50.

²³ Salih Özbaran, “A Turkish Report on the Red Sea and the Portuguese Power in the Indian Ocean (1525)”, *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion: Studies on the Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands During the Sixteenth Century* (Istanbul).

Mühimme Records, relating the Ottoman policies toward the South Seas and its confrontation with the Portuguese powers from the sixteenth century to the present.²⁴

Ahmed Kavas should be stated here as an African Historian in Turkish scholarship who has been using both the early sources and the later archival documents to understand the Ottoman Africa.²⁵ His studies can be categorized into two areas. Firstly, he questioned the Ottoman boundaries in the African continent. In his writings on North Africa, he claimed that the Ottoman authority in North Africa did not refer to only a political one but also social and cultural ones.²⁶ He also discussed the extension of the Ottoman boundaries toward East Africa in an interesting article.²⁷ Secondly, he mostly dealt with understanding the Ottoman relations with the local leaders and powers in the African continent.²⁸ Moreover, he

²⁴ Turgut Işıksal, “Arşivlerimizde Osmanlıların Suveyş Tersanesi ve Güney Denizleri Politikasına İlişkin En Eski Belgeler”, *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, 13: 54-61.

²⁵ Kavas, “Osmanlı Devleti’nin Afrika Kutasında Hakimiyeti ve Nufuzu”, 421-430.

²⁶ Ahmed Kavas, “Kuzey Afrika’da Bir Osmanlı Nesli: Kuloğulları”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* XXI (İstanbul, 2001), 31-68. This article mainly deals with the making of an Ottoman society in North Africa as a result of the marriages between the Ottoman janissaries and the local women. He presents a very interesting picture of this Ottoman generation and their way of life in North Africa. He also stated some famous names from this generation such as Hamdan Hoca and his political attitudes toward the European occupation in North Africa.

²⁷ Ahmet Kavas, “Doğu Afrika Sahilinde Osmanlı Hakimiyeti: Kuzey Somali’de Zeyla İskelesinin Konumu (1265-1334/1849-1916)”, *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 5 (İstanbul, 2001), 109- 134.

²⁸ Ahmed Kavas, “Büyük Sahra’da Gat Kazası’nın Kurulması ve Osmanlı-Tevarık Münasebetleri”, *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3 (1999), 171-195. This article is quite important in indicating the Ottoman relations with Tuaregs who had significant role in the trans-saharan trade at the second half of the nineteenth century.

writes on the colonial activities in North Africa and the local uprising against the Europeans.²⁹

In short, the above mentioned historians have helped us to see the importance of the archival materials to illuminate the Ottoman presence in Red Sea, the East Africa, and the Indian Ocean especially in the sixteenth century onward.

2- The Sources Used in This Study

I will use, in this thesis, some Ottoman sources in *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri* in Istanbul. They, as far as I know, have not been widely used. These sources are rich in terms of their contents and include valuable information on the colonial activities in Africa. For example, some important conferences held in the late nineteenth century in Europe on the distribution of the African lands among the European powers were stated in the documents. Their effort toward the abolishment of guns and slave trade are also among the most repeated subjects in these archives. Moreover, the *Yıldız Esas Evrakı* of *Yıldız Collection* in particular has several documents on the Ottoman geographical boundaries in East Africa. The same collection includes interesting materials that can be used in understanding the Ottoman relation to the local sultans in East Africa, in particular the Zanzibar Sultanate and its relations with the Ottoman Empire, the topic of this study. In this sense, the Ottoman archival sources have vital significance for the African historians who would care to take into consideration of the leading power of the Islamic world of the past days and its relationship with the entire continent.

²⁹ Ahmed Kavas, “Afrika’nın Sömürgeleştirilmesi Öncesinde Rabih B. Fazlullah’ın Kurduğu Son Bilâdu’s-Sudan Devleti ve Fransa’yla Mücadelesi”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* XX (2000), 9-35.

In addition to this, there are some geography books and the Ottoman traveler accounts of the late nineteenth century that gave detailed information on the African continent in general. Those geography books are important because they were the first accounts on Africa written with a specific aim at emphasizing the importance of the African continent for the Ottoman Empire. Most of them were written during the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1908) in a parallel base to his policy of the so called Pan-Islamism.³⁰ It seems that they are not simple accounts on the African geography. Most of the writers of these books had specific aims to go to Africa. They aimed at reaching the most trustful information about the region in which Muslims constituted a great portion of population. They carry significant importance in understanding the Ottoman view on East Africa. This could provide a chance to make a comparison between the European and the Ottoman image of East Africa.

One of the most important of these geography books is the account of Mehmed İzzet titled *Yeni Afrika*.³¹ The writer in the introduction of his book introduced his work as the first example of its kind and added that he took on an

³⁰ Eraslan states that Pan-Islamism was an Ottoman policy through which the Muslim world recognized the Ottoman Empire practically as the Caliph of the Islamic world against the colonial powers, especially Britain. On the other hand, Özcan argues that the term Pan-Islamism was a modern term and was used first by Western scholars in the mid-1870's to describe the religious and national sentiments against the European expansion. He also states that even before Western scholars used the term Pan-Islamism, there were certain concepts which had more or less the same meaning with this term such as *ittihad-ı İslam*, *ittihad-ı din* and *uhuvvet-ı din*. Moreover, Özcan provides some examples which indicate that the Caliphate and the Ottoman leadership to the Islamic world were already emphasized by the sultan of Buhara in 1690 and Ubeydullah Han in 1707. For the different descriptions and discussions on the Pan-Islamism see also Azmi Özcan, *Pan-İslamizm: Osmanlı Devleti, Hindistan Müslümanları ve İngiltere* (İstanbul, 1992) and Cezmi Eraslan, "II. Abdulhamid Devrinde Osmanlı Devleti Dahilinde ve Afrika Kıtasında İslam Birliği (Pan-İslamizm) Faliyetleri" (MA Thesis, İstanbul University, 1985).

³¹ Mehmed İzzet, *Yeni Afrika*, İstanbul, 1308 (1891).

important duty by producing this book.³² He also mentioned that the importance of Africa was increasing in the eyes of the European powers, and, that therefore the Ottoman Empire should also know about Africa.³³ The main part of the book was devoted to the history of colonialism. He started the history of the colonial activities with Phoenician and mentioned the European colonial activities in the African continent. After he provided with the historical background of the colonialism, he presented detailed geography of Africa. Its lands,³⁴ seas,³⁵ rivers,³⁶ demographic situations,³⁷ and history³⁸ were explained by Mehmed İzzet. It is interesting to note that he had a section to describe the African people and associated them directly with slavery.³⁹ He also defined black people of Africa as childish natured people who were fond of their desires. Moreover, he described them as uncivilized; wild and lazy no matter whether they were Muslim or not.⁴⁰ I can claim that his terrible image of African people is not seen in the other accounts of Africa of that period. Concerning the Eastern Africa, he mentioned about the colonial activities of Germany and England. He also examined Zanzibar under a specific chapter and mentioned about the British rule in the region.⁴¹

³² “Halbuki lisanımızda şimdilik böyle bir eser mevcut bulunmadığından, sâye-i kemâl tevâye-i canâb-ı padişahîde iktisâb ettiğim behre-i âlemiyenin şükranesi olmak ve şu noksanı ikmal eylemek üzere iş bu risaleyi bi’t-tarih kütüphane-i milliyemize yadigâr olarak takdim ettim.” Mehmed İzzet, *Yeni Afrika*, İstanbul, 1308 (1891).

³³ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu ed. *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi* (İstanbul, 2000), 286.

³⁴ Mehmed İzzet, *Yeni Afrika*, 16.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 28.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁴⁰ *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, 287.

⁴¹ Mehmed İzzet, *Yeni Afrika*, 78.

Another important book written almost in the same period was *Afrika Delili* by Mehmed Muhsin. Although the writer had presented detailed information on the geography of the continent, it is hard to say that it was a simple account of geography. The author's aim at writing a book on Africa was to warn the Ottoman Empire against the increasing danger of European colonial activities and to enlighten the Ottomans about the political developments.⁴²

The traveler account of Ömer Lütfi titled *Ümid Burnu Seyehatnamesi*⁴³ can be evaluated as the first example indicating the Ottoman interest in the African continent. The Ottoman sultan, Abdülaziz (1861-1876), sent Ömer Lütfi to South Africa to help the Muslims of the region by teaching them how to practice their Islamic duties. Although the book was mostly about the South Africa, it provides some information on the people of East Africa and, especially, Zanzibar.

Concerning the East Africa and Zanzibar, there is a very important account kept by Mehmed Rüşdi titled "*Zengibar Hakkında Malumat-ı Mufassala*."⁴⁴ Mehmed Rüşdi was sent to Zanzibar by Abdulhamid II to convey a letter to the sultan of Zanzibar. It is a significant sign of the Ottoman interest in the region. This account is also one of the most valuable sources on Zanzibar in the Ottoman sources.⁴⁵

⁴² *Osmanlı Coğrafya Litaratürü Tarihi*, 322.

⁴³ Ömer Lütfi, *Ümid Burnu Seyehatnamesi* (İstanbul, 1875). This book has been translated into today's Turkish by Hüseyin Yorulmaz (İstanbul, 1994).

⁴⁴ Mehmed Rüşdi, *Zengibar Hakkında Malumat-ı Mufassala* (İstanbul Üniversitesi, TY-5052, 13th/19th century).

⁴⁵ There is only one copy of this manuscript. It is at the Istanbul University library, in manuscript sections. Because of this section of the library is under construction, it is, unfortunately, not possible to receive it for this moment. Nevertheless, the content of the manuscript is included by the extensive work of IRCICA titled *Osmanlı Coğrafya Litaratürü Tarihi*, 312-313.

The traveler account of Sadık el-Mu'ayyed titled “*Habeş Seyehatnamesi*”⁴⁶ is also another important source for East African History. This account was also the sign of the relation between Abdulhamid II and the emperor of Ethiopia, Menelik II.⁴⁷ Although the writer was charged to convey a letter to the Habesh Emperor Menelik II, he did not neglect to keep notes on the events during his journey. He also discussed about the people and traditions of Habesh, Somalia and Sudan. The way he chose to write in the account led it not only to be a simple official report, but also a living narration of the events.

In short, as I will intend to show in this thesis, the Ottoman sources may offer an Ottoman perspective, perhaps a new perspective in the field of the African historiography. Moreover, their contents include several new issues that will be helpful in further studies on the topic. It should be noted here that the early sources, dating from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries are most useful in understanding the Ottoman political authorities over the lands that were under the Ottoman political control. In other words, the North African provinces, the Red Sea ports and the Habesh province can be better evaluated through these sources. On the other hand, the sources belonging to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are useful in understanding the Ottoman influence over the regions which were not directly under the Ottoman political control. In other words, the accounts of the later periods cover larger geographical areas. The political conditions of the era, for example, the colonial period and the Ottoman response to the developments in the region in our case and the Caliphate position of the Ottoman Sultan that especially gained a special importance in the muslim lands all over the world after the Russo-

⁴⁶ Azm-Zâde Sadık Al-Mu'ayyad, *Habeş Seyehatnamesi* (Istanbul, 1904).

⁴⁷ Y. A. Hus., 62/18, n.d. It indicates that Sadık Al-Mu'ayyad Pasha was sent to Ethiopia for an official duty. He also had some gifts and a *Nishan* with him to give to the King.

Ottoman war (1877-1878) seems to be the most important factors. Therefore, this study will focus on the sources of the late nineteenth century, since the primary area is East Africa, Zanzibar.

Thus, the present study aims at expanding the Ottoman boundaries in the African continent, as the sources suggest, toward East Africa. I will approach the issue from two different points of view: Firstly it presents the Ottoman factor in East African history by taking into consideration of the Ottoman political boundaries in East Africa. This chapter of the thesis is dedicated to introduce the historical background of the Ottoman expansion in the region, the making of the port cities in the Red Sea shores, the establishment of the Habesh province, activities in the Swahili coast, and the Hattı-ı istiva province. Secondly, it aims at re-defining the boundaries by taking into consideration of some common social and the cultural values between the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim emirs of East Africa.

The Zanzibar Sultanate is selected as a special case in the present study due to of its features. In terms of diplomatic relations, the Zanzibar Sultanate ruled by Omani Arabs from the early nineteenth century onward was the extreme southern point in the Indian Ocean with which the Ottoman Empire had contacted. Moreover, this sultanate was the significant Islamic power in the eastern coastal areas of Africa, which would survive until the second half of the twentieth century in spite of the European colonial activities. And importantly, there are several archival materials indicating the mutual relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Zanzibar Sultanate.

Throughout the thesis, I will question the nature of relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Zanzibar Sultanate between the years of 1876 and 1910. The time span of thirty-three years is not chosen at randomly. The first date indicates

the European scramble for the African colonies, as well as the first diplomatic contact between Abdulhamid II and Sultan Berkash. The second date refers to the visit of Sultan Seyyid Ali Bin Hamid to Istanbul. In questioning the nature of the relations between these years, the aim is to understand the role of the Caliph title for the Ottoman Empire, such as making it responsible to protect the Muslims all over the world. In this study, it can be seen if the title of caliph played a significant role for the Ottoman Empire in its contact with the Zanzibar Sultanate, which was suffering under the colonial powers.

3- The Outline of the Thesis

The study has been structured in four chapters. The first chapter deals with the Ottoman penetration into East Africa, providing the historical background of the Ottoman presence on the shores of the Red Sea, the Horn of Africa and the Eastern Coastal areas of Africa.⁴⁸ The Ottoman rivalries with the Portuguese power, the Ottoman mode of saving the sacred lands, the sovereignty in the port cities of the Red Sea, and the establishment of Habesh province have been explained starting from the sixteenth century. Moreover, the first Ottoman activities in the Indian Ocean and the Swahili lands will be described to make a correlation with the next chapter in which the Ottoman relations with the Muslim sultanate of Zanzibar have been examined.

The first chapter mainly refers to the political boundaries of the Ottoman Empire in East Africa, as opposed to later chapters emphasizing the extension of the

⁴⁸ The Eastern Coastal areas of Africa are named as Swahili lands. The term Swahili was derived from the Arabic word of 'Sahel' to indicate the coast. The term Swahili is used to refer to the Coastal Lands of East Africa.

physical boundaries into a mental one. By the term of mental, it is meant that although the Ottoman Empire had never conquered the lands of the Zanzibar Sultanate, there were social, cultural and political relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Zanzibar Sultanate.

The second will present the picture of the European presence in Zanzibar by using the Ottoman archival materials and the secondhand sources. It also includes the local disputes against the colonial powers. This is an interesting part due to the fact that the historians who deal with the colonial period of East Africa are generally ignore the view of the people who were subjected to the colonialism. Moreover, the European attitudes to make use of the Ottoman power in East Africa for their own political interests are also studied under a minor section in this chapter.⁴⁹

The third chapter will expose the mutual relations between the Zanzibar Sultans (1880-1907) and the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1908). The main motives and the nature of the relationship have been questioned. The issues the such as Pan-islamist ideology of Abdulhamid II and its impact on the Ottoman policy toward Zanzibar, the Zanzibar's need of friendship to the Ottoman Empire, the permanent envoys and their letters will be analyzed. This chapter carries a significant importance also in sheeding light on the Ottoman diplomatic relations with the Zanzibar Sultanate during the colonial period.

The final chapter primarily intends to present the image of Zanzibar in the minds of the Ottoman people in the studied period. Of course, it is impossible to have a unique definition for the term 'The Ottoman people' itself, but it may be possible to look at the view of the people who actually lived in the Ottoman realms. For example, the people who lived in the eastern provinces of the empire had more

⁴⁹ See also, D. Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge, 2002.)

knowledge on Zanzibar. However, through the later parts of the chapter, it also will be shown that the proximity is not the only factor that determined the degree of the one's knowledge on Zanzibar. This also depends on the mobility of a person. For example, a traveler and a merchant could have, of course, a larger chance of getting information on Zanzibar. Another important factor that will be discussed in this final chapter is how the person's occupation and his area of interest could increase his knowledge on Zanzibar. I will look at, for example, a poet of Ottoman classical poetry, Shaikh Galip, who used the term Zanzibar in three different places in his couplets.



I. THE OTTOMAN FACTOR IN AFRICAN HISTORY:

THE RED SEA, HORN AND EAST AFRICA

In this chapter, I will present a historical background for the Ottoman presence in the Red Sea, Horn of Africa and East Africa starting from the sixteenth century onward. These regions can be seen as the most South-east physical boundaries of the Ottoman Empire in the African continent. This part will also show us the gradual Ottoman advance toward the south-east; and when and how the Ottoman endeavor to establish its power in East Africa started with the Ottoman struggle with The Portuguese to get control of the Red Sea ports in sixteenth century. (See Figure 1)

We may begin here, with the question why the Red Sea was so important. The answer may lie behind the geographical location of this region. It is located at joining point between the African continent and the Arabian Peninsula, and its southern border is opened to the Indian Ocean through the Bab'ul-Mandab. The Red Sea was one of the two important trade routes in Eastern Trade.⁵⁰ The goods produced in Eastern World were carried to the Red Sea through the Indian Ocean. They were then transferred to the Suez through opened to Mediterranean Sea.⁵¹ In addition, the economic activities, the Red Sea also offered the possibility of penetrating into the inlands of East Africa. Some strategic port cities on the Red Sea made the interaction with the inlands of the continent easier.

The Ottoman presence in the Red Sea will be discussed here under the three main port cities, Massawa, Suakin and Zeila that were the pioneering port cities

⁵⁰ Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa* (London, New York, 1978), 182.

⁵¹ Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti*, 3.

between the periods of sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, for holding the economic activities in Southern Seas and the Ottoman penetration into the continent.

1. The Ottoman Power in the Red Sea

The idea of capturing the oriental trade occupied a very central place in the policies of the imperial powers in the age of discovery. The Ottoman, Mughul, Safavid, and Portuguese competed as the imperial powers of the time to gain control of the trade routes in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire had overcome the Mamluks. After the conquest of Egypt, Hijaz, and Yemen, which were located at the intersection point of commercial activities among Africa, Asia and Europe, the Ottoman Empire obtained political control over the holy lands. However, they had to face with some problems that they inherited from Mamluks after taking control of Egypt.

One of the important issues was the Portuguese danger in the Red Sea. It was a significant maritime organization of the time challenging to the merchant ships in the Red Sea and constituted a danger in the roads of holy lands of Muslims. Moreover, it established some commercial relations with Indians and South East Asians that could have provided an expansion of the borders of its sea empire. Through these networks of relations, it aimed at closing the mouth of the Red Sea⁵²

⁵² Salih Özbaran, "The Ottoman Expansion on the Southern Seas", *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion: Studies on the Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands During the Sixteenth Century* (Istanbul), 81.

and cutting the flow of trade between Indian Ocean and the Eastern Mediterranean including the Ottoman lands.⁵³

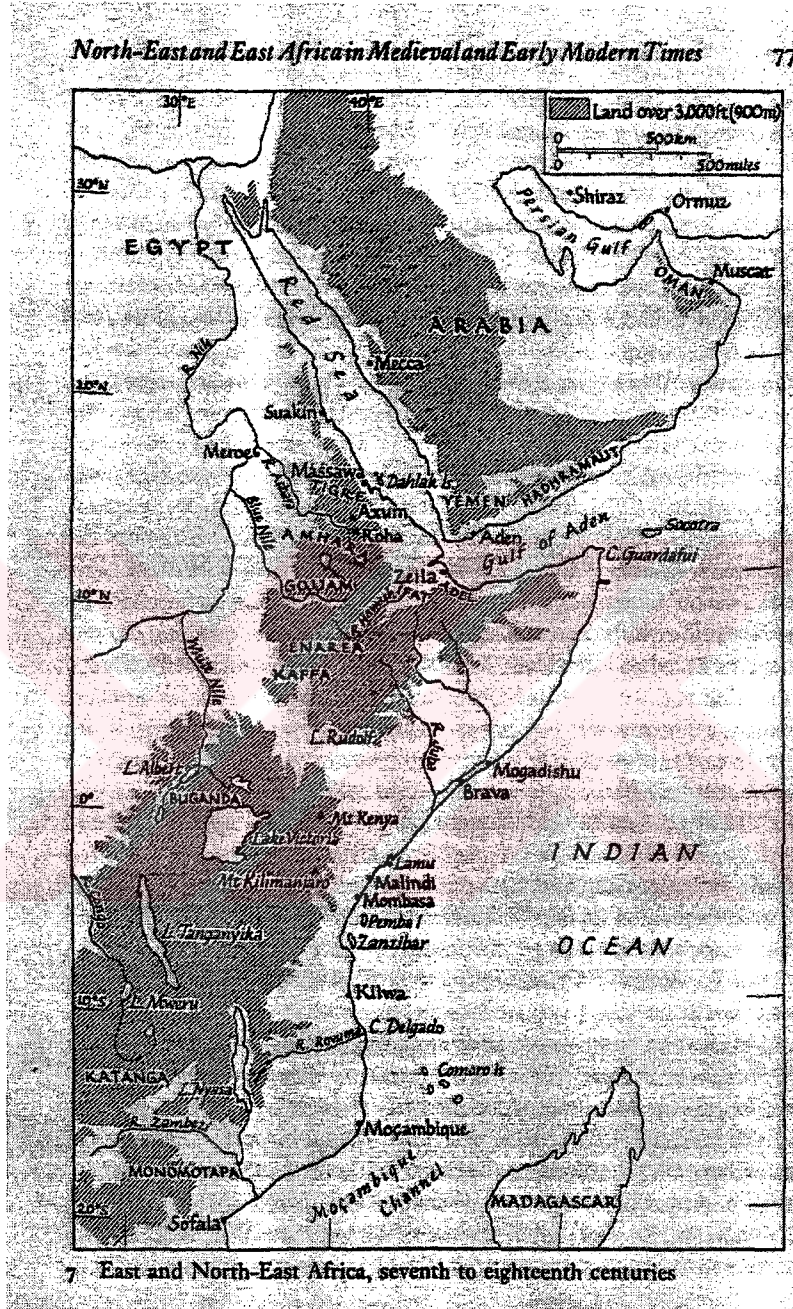


Figure 1: Red Sea, the Horn of Africa, and the Swahili Lands.

(Source: Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa* (London, New York, 1978), 77.)

⁵³ Özbaran, "The Ottoman Confrontation with the Portuguese in the Red Sea after the Conquest of Egypt in 1517", 91.

When the Portuguese attacked in order to realize their aim, it conflicted with the local merchants who were engaging with the trade activities in the region. The attacks of the Portuguese were also mentioned in the *Mühimme Defters* as an important danger to the ongoing trade activities. As it can be understood from the document, constructing a strong naval power was suggested in order to get rid of the enemy.⁵⁴ *Mühimme* records gives information about that the Portuguese was still destroying merchants' ships around the Red Sea mouth. Here in this document it was advised to the ruler of Yemen to make necessary preparations and to wait for the proper season to attack the enemy.⁵⁵

The Ottoman policy in the region made me wonder if the Ottomans had the specific idea to expand the borders of the empire towards the Southern areas or not. If it were the case, to what extent did the Ottoman Empire have an economic mind to gain the control of the region in the direction of the Indian Ocean. Related to these questions, Orhonlu claims that the Ottoman policy makers were aware of the political and commercial developments and did not want to permit the Portuguese to take further steps toward getting control of the region. In another sense, the policies were consciously planned and produced.⁵⁶ However, Akdağ discusses that the Ottoman

⁵⁴ "Mısır Beylerbeyi kapıma mektub gönderüp Portekizlilerin bazı gemileri Hindistandan gelen tüccar gemilerine zarar ve ziyan vermekte olduğu bildirilmistir. Bunları kovmak için donanmanın gelmesi gerektiğinden Suveyş kapudanlığı sefere verilip o taraflara gönderildi... İnşallah oralar benim zamanımda ele geçirilir, düşman oralardan kovulur. Hindistan'dan gelen ve giden tüccarın emniyeti sağlanır" *Mühimme Defters*, 6/257, 13 Rebiülevvel 973/1565.

⁵⁵ "... O tarafları ele geçirmek için mevsim kollamak gerektiğinden Donanmada olan askerin yiğecek sıkıntıları olursa bu emri alınca donanmayla o taraflara geldiğinde her türlü ihtiyaçlarını karşılayıp öncelikle undan ve buğdaydan veresin." *Mühimme Defters*, 6/258, 13 Rebiülevvel 973/1565.

⁵⁶ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti*, 5-6.

Empire had totally no aim of being part of worldwide developments in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Its activities in the Red Sea were due to the Portuguese danger in the holy lands of Muslims. In this respect, the protecting the Holy Lands could be main motivation.⁵⁷

Brummet also supports Orhonlu and states that the clash of the imperial powers in the region was not reduced into a simple religious dichotomy. The factor of religion could only be a mobilizer, but establishing the political and economic sovereignty in the seas was also a very important aspect for the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁸ She believes that the Ottoman naval investment in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, as it is seen in the archival materials too, is an important indicator of the Ottoman economic thinking and is intentionality in the economic policy of commercial expansion in the region.

This particular point of disagreement on the intentions of the Ottomans in the region is not going to be discussed here in detail. Nevertheless, the Ottoman sources indicate that the Ottoman Empire followed the developments in the region very closely. One record within a *Muhammed Defter* record about the construction of the Ottoman naval power in the Suez Shipyard (Tersane)⁵⁹ and the descriptions in Kitâb-ı Bahriye of Piri Reis⁶⁰ could give an idea about the Ottoman awareness and policies in

⁵⁷ Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İctimai Tarihi*, I-II, (Ankara, 1971), 159.

⁵⁸ Palmira Brummet, *Ottoman Sea Power and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (New York), 143.

⁵⁹ *Muhammed Defters*, 6/256, 13 Rebiülevvel 973.

⁶⁰ Ta kim otuz parka bir kezden iy yâr
Geldi konu Cidde'ye ol âşîkar
Beş kadirge dahı bile vardı
Anların ikdâmı bize ârdı
Kas olunsa nola bir kez kim anun
Savuraydık külini gökten yana

the region. The capture of essential port cities like Suakin, Massawa and Zeila can be considered as sign of the Ottoman expansion policy in the Red Sea.

i. Suakin

Suakin was one of the major port cities that were geographically located on the African side of the Red Sea. Before it was captured by the Ottoman Empire in 1524, it was under the control of the Mamluks. It is known that the Ottoman Empire there established some fortress which provided protection against the Portuguese.⁶¹ Selman Reis reported that the Portuguese also wanted to establish a fortress there and sent some soldiers for it. However, Ottomans did not lead them to construct a fortress.⁶² In the seventeenth century, it became an administrative center by means of that Habeş Beylerbeyi was living in Suakin.⁶³

Since Suakin was on the route of the Eastern trade network, most of the people of the area were engaged in the trade activities. They transported goods that had been received from the inlands of Africa to Mecca and Yemen etc.⁶⁴ Moreover, the Indian merchants also arrived in there to buy gold dust and ivory and to transport those goods to India. The goods which were carried from India reached Suakin and then were transported to the Mediterranean and the inlands of Anatolia through the Suez. On the other hand, its lands were very fertile. The people planted some

İmdi geldi Cidde'ye onlar ayan

Nas içinde söyleniyor her zaman (Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, trans. Fevzi Kurdoğlu ve Ali Haydar Alpogut, (Istanbul 1935), 36.

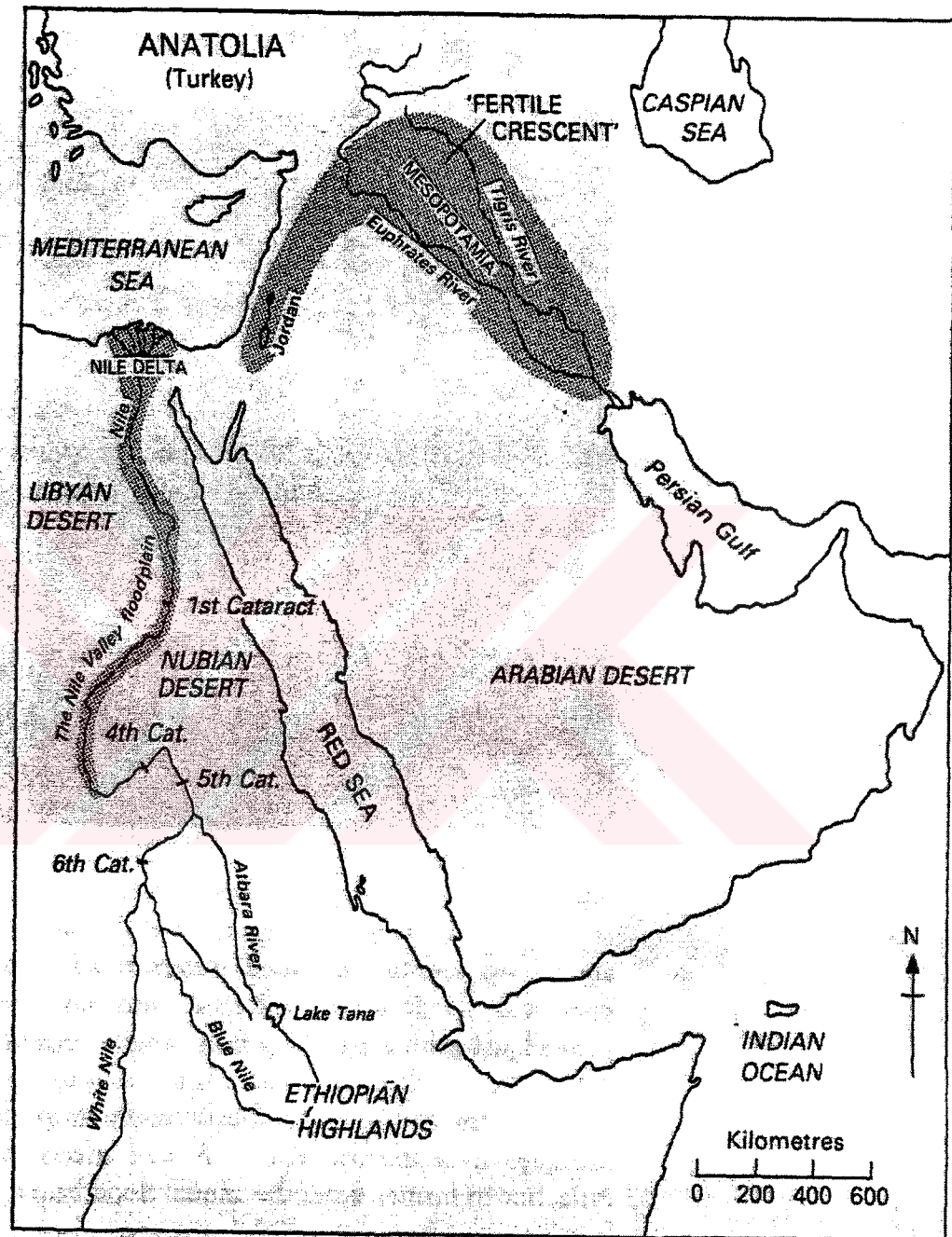
⁶¹ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti*, 122.

⁶² Özbaran, "A Turkish Report on the Red Sea and The Portuguese in the Indian Ocean", 108.

⁶³ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti*, 85.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 139.

important crops; cotton was one of the main products of Suakin. Those products were carried to the central Africa through the caravans.



2.1 The origins of farming: western Asia and northeast Africa

Figure 2: The Red Sea and the Ethiopian Highlands

(Source: Kevin Shillington, History of Africa (New York: 1995), 23.)

It is known that the Ottoman trade activity in the Red Sea was decreasing during the eighteenth century. A document indicates the reason as the European increasing trade activities in the region. In particular, English, Italian and French powers, started to occupy the main port cities in the Red Sea.⁶⁵ At the second half of the nineteenth century, Egypt claimed a right over Suakin and Massawa. Then Suakin was taken under the control of Egypt through 1865.⁶⁶ The importance of Suakin increased again especially after the construction of the Suez Canal.

ii- Massawa

Another important port city was Massawa along the shores of the Red Sea. It was the place of where the inlands of Ethiopia could open to the outside world. In fact, this was the main reason why imperial powers wanted to control Massawa throughout the history. It was the place of where the goods that were produced in Ethiopia were sent to the outside. Moreover, it also played an important role to bring different traders together.⁶⁷ It was taken under the Ottoman control in 1536, but even before, capturing of Massawa there were some Turks from an Ottoman colony who had settled and engaged in trade activities there. According to Alvares, the Turkish community of Massawa in the sixteenth century was a compound of people who were sent there to follow the activities of the Portugues and report them to the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁸ If this statement of Alvares is true, it can be said that the Ottoman

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁶⁸ Fransisco Alvarez, *The Prester John of the Indies*, ed. C. F. Beckingham, I: 54 cited in Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti*, 43.

Empire, from the very early years of the sixteenth century, developed some strategies to control the region.

The Ottoman Empire established some fortresses in Massawa and settled groups of soldier there. These soldiers helped the Ottoman Empire during the Ottoman conquest of Habesh. It can be said that together with the capture of Massawa at the second half of the sixteenth century and during the seventeenth century, it served as an important agent for the Ottoman Empire to establish its power in the inlands of Africa, either by providing an economic gain through the trade or by establishing a military power in the fortress. Moreover, it was one of the biggest sources of income for the expenditure of Habeş Eyaleti. According to Evliya Çelebi, who visited Massawa in 1673, the revenue came from mainly pearl-fishing and cattle, from raids into the interior, and, above all, from customs. Therefore, trade was promoted by the Turks because of these revenues. Slaves, cereals, tallow, honey, wax, and spices were some of the important goods in Massawa.⁶⁹ Fage indicated the number of slaves that were carried between the years of 1651 and 1870 as totalling 1,320,000 in the Red Sea.⁷⁰ Since Massawa was one of the main ports for the slave trade, it made an important contribution to the above mentioned figure. In the eighteenth century, the picture in Massawa seemed to change due to some of the other factors that had begun taking place in the region. England, one of the great powers of the time, started to concern with the Red Sea and economic activities which took place in the Red Sea. Later, the English trade ships started to engage in the transportation of Indian goods to the Suez Canal through the Red Sea ports.

In the nineteenth century, a new factor Muhammad Ali of Egypt established an efficient autocracy in the state affairs. He also constructed a strong army through

⁶⁹ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname: Mısır, Sudan, Habeş (1672-1680)* (Istanbul, 1938), X.

⁷⁰ Oliver and Fage, *A History of Africa*, 259.

which he aimed to achieve his ideal state of a strong Egypt.⁷¹ In terms of commercial activities, he wanted to make use of Massawa and Suakin to control the trade activities in the Red Sea. His entire aim was to improve the economic situation of Egypt by gaining the control over the region. There are some archival materials that prove the presence of Muhammed Ali in Massawa and Suakin .In one of them, an Ottoman ruler informed the officials about the aims of Muhammad Ali. The same documents told that it is impossible to leave the Red Sea ports such as Masawa and Suakin under the control of Muhammmad Ali.⁷² However, they were given to Muhammed Ali as *salyane* during the reign of Sultan Abdulmecid. When Muhammed Ali passed away, the control of the port cities was given to the administration of Hicaz Wali.⁷³ During the reign of Khedive Ismail Pasha, the Ottoman Empire gave the administration of Massawa to the Egypt Khedivate in order to deal with the occupation of East Africa better.⁷⁴

At the end of the nineteenth century, Italians started interesting in Massawa. Italy's aim was not only to gain the control over Massawa, but also to establish its hegemony in the inlands of Africa as well as the Eastern coasts of the continent through the Red Sea ports especially of Massawa. As it can be learned from a document, Italy moved toward the south of Africa, expanding its presence in the

⁷¹ Oliver and Fage, *A History of Africa*, 371.

⁷² Dated 1281, *Mısır İradesi*, no.787.

⁷³ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti*, 179.

⁷⁴ Ahmed Kavas, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Müslüman Harar Emirliği'yle Münasebetleri ve Hristiyan Habeşistan (Etiyopya) İmparatorluğu ile Yakınlaşmasına Etkisi", *Pax-Ottomana, Studies in Memoriam Prof.Nejat Göyünç*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, (Haarlem-Ankara, 2001), 449.

former lands of Egypt in Eastern Sudan, and also disturbing the lands of Ethiopia.⁷⁵ Some other documents also tell that they had planned to send more soldiers to Massawa and its adjacent lands.⁷⁶ There are also some other documents concerning the Italian imperialistic aims in the region.⁷⁷

Thus, the Ottoman Empire after the conquest of Massawa in 1536 established its control and hegemony over the region. It was essential for the Ottoman Empire to control this important port city in the Red Sea mainly because it would play a key role in controlling the province of Habeşistan. As it is known, Habeşistan was far away from the Ottoman capital and it had to feed itself with the incomes that were mainly earned from the trade activities in these port cities.

The Ottoman Empire had strong control over the Massawa at the second half of the sixteenth and during the seventeenth century. However, the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries were not a very successful period for the Ottoman Empire regarding its control here. The rivalries among the imperial powers led them to take over as many lands as they could in the Red Sea, because as the Red Sea was to gain more importance after the opening of the Suez Canal, any western power wanted to benefit.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ "... Massawada bulunan İtalyanların bir buçuk sene evvel cenub-i garbiye doğru tevsi'-i istilaya devamla vaktile idare-i Mısriyye'nin Take müdiriyeti merkezi olan Kassala kasabasına kadar inerek Sudan-ı Şarkide bu suretle merkezlendikleri misillü bir müddetden beru Habeşistan'a dahi tecavüze başladıklarından..." 27 Ramazan 1313, *Yıldız*, 39/2129, file 129/118.

⁷⁶ "İtalya Devletinin Masawa ile civarında kuvvetini tezyid için yeniden asker sevki hakkında ittihaz eylediği istihbar olunan karara dair..." 16 Zilkade 1304, *Mısır İradesi*, 1303.

⁷⁷ *Mısır İradesi*, 1337.

⁷⁸ Oliver and Fage, *A History of Africa*, 183.

iii- Zeila

It is claimed that Zeila, today's Somalia was taken under the Ottoman control after the hard struggles with the Portuguese in the Red Sea in 1520. However, it became part of the Ottoman Empire after Özdemiş Pasha established the Habesh province in 1559. Then it became the centre of the province during the reign of Osman Pasha, the son of Özdemiş Pasha.⁷⁹

Zeila was one of the important port cities at the tip of East Africa. It was in an isolated position and used to pay 300 liras to the Ottoman treasury. It was govern by a Sheikh. At the seventeenth century it was occupied by Christian King of Habesh after the dissolution of the economic situation in Habesh Province. Although the beginning of the eighteenth century increased the economic activities in Zeila, its importance definitely decreased after the change in the trade routes.

The administrative structure of Zeila changed under the Ottoman administration. At the beginning it was a sanjak that was depended on Habesh and Yemen. In 1875 it was temporarily given to Khedive Ismail Pasha and taken under the administration of Sudan of Egypt.⁸⁰ The first *Hatt-ı Humayun* of June 1875 especially emphasized that Zeila was given personally to Khedive Ismail Pasha. Moreover, it was stated that 15.000 additional lira should be paid together with the Egypt tax.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Kavas, "Doğu Afrika Sahilinde Osmanlı Hakimiyeti: Kuzey Somali'de Zeyla İskelesinin Konumu".

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁸¹ *Mümtaza Kalem-i Mısır*, 3-A/10, 12 Şaban 1296.

Kavas claims that the *irade* of Abdülhamid II, dated August 19, 1879, obviously shows that Zeila was seen as a part of the Ottoman Empire at this date.⁸² In short, Zeila was given to Egyptian Khedivate for a certain period at the cost of a certain amount of tax. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Zeila was directly depended on Istanbul because the English occupied Egypt. The Ottoman soldiers were sent to Zeila and established the Ottoman authority there.

After the Ottoman Empire joined the World War I, it lost its power in those lands. It can be said that the Ottoman administrative presence had ended in the region in 1916. Zeila and some of the Ottoman lands in East Africa were occupied by England and transferred, first to the administrative of Indian Office and then to the Foreign Affairs.⁸³

2- The Province of Habesh

Habeshistan was one of the oldest settlement areas of the 'Old World'. It geographically refers to today's lands of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Jibuti. According to Jones and Monroe, the word of "Habesh", which is still used in the Arabic speaking world to refer this geography, was derived from the name of a tribe so called Habashat. The tribe of Habeshat was only one of the tribes that came from Yemen by crossing the Red Sea and landing on the African coast to then gradually occupy the northern part of the highlands in pre-historic times. Here date is quite unknown but possibly falls within the first half of the first millennium B.C.⁸⁴ On the other hand, according to the Greek sources, it was named as Aithiopia which is the combination

⁸² Kavas, "Doğu Afrika Sahilinde Osmanlı Hakimiyeti: Kuzey Somali'de Zeyla İskelesinin Konumu", 134.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁸⁴ A. H. M. Jones and Elizabeth Monroe, *A History of Abyssinia* (Oxford, 1935), 7.

of the words of opsis (face) and aitho (burned).⁸⁵ As it can be understood from the meaning of the word itself, it has been the lands of reddish or black-faced people during history.

Concerning the geographical borders, the Ottoman geographers defined Habeshistan as the area starting from Suakin and ending with Babu'l- Mendeb. In another description it referred to the lands which started from the borders of Egypt and ended with the Mombasa in Eastern Africa.⁸⁶ In fact, these descriptions indicate the coastal boundaries of Habeshistan, though; it is not known how far it went into the inlands of Africa. Mehmed Muhsin, in his book "*Afrika Delili*" goes into details about the borders of Habeshistan.⁸⁷ As it was explained in his book, Habeshistan was on the western side of Babu'l-Mendeb.⁸⁸ It draws a line restricted by the southern part of the Red Sea but without reaching the coast. It was neighbor to the Ottoman Egypt in the North, to Eastern Sudan in the West, to Somali and Galila in the South and the Red Sea shores and the Aden Gulf in East.⁸⁹

The geographical location of Habeshistan held a strategic position in terms of having lands along the Red Sea and in the inlands of Africa. It also provided chance to establish the hegemony in the Southern Seas and become a part of the eastern

⁸⁵ Levent Öztürk, *Etiyopya'da İslamiyet I: Asr-ı Saadette Habeşistan'la Mümasebetler* (İstanbul, 2001), 19.

⁸⁶ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti*, 175.

⁸⁷ Mehmed Muhsin, *Afrika Delili*, 76.

⁸⁸ Babu'l-Mendeb is a canal opens to the Indian Ocean through Red Sea.

⁸⁹ "Babu'l Mendeb'in garbında ve Bahr-ı Ahmer'in kısm-ı cenubisiyle sahile kadar mümetted olmayan bir hat olup, şimalen memalik-i Osmaniye-yi Mısır'ıyye, garben Sudan şarkı ve Kordofan ve cenuben Galila ve Somali ve Şarkan bahr-ı Ahmer sevhili ve Aden Körfezi boyunca olan ... ve Somali kıtalarıyla muhatıddır. Cenub ve garb cihetinden Habeşistan ad olunan Şuğ(?) ve kangayı ile mülhakatı olan yerler dahi dahil olduğu halde beş derece otuz dakika arz şimali, ve kırkbir derece otuz iki dakika tul-i şarki arasında takriben dörtyüz kırk dört bin ikiyüz kilometre ve..."

trade. In this sense, the imperial powers of the sixteenth century had rivalries there to gain the control of the eastern trade network. The Portuguese and the Ottoman Empire fought to prevent one another from establishing superiority in the region. As the Portuguese had also aimed at controlling the Eastern trade, they built firm relations with the Ethiopian kings who were already Christians. They sent an ambassador to Ethiopia. He was warmly welcomed by the King on the whole. Since they were sharing the same religion, they had long meetings. After all, the King seemed to have been greatly attracted and impressed by the Catholic Faith.⁹⁰

On the other hand, Hejaz submitted to the Ottomans after their conquest of Egypt. The advance of the Ottoman Empire created a profound change in the political structure of the Red Sea. It introduced not only new weapons to but also an important amount of firearms and the disciplined troops, capable of using firearms, to the local Muslim princes in the region.⁹¹

Thus, a new kind of picture emerged in the region. The Ottomans were supporting the local Muslim princes against the Ethiopian King, who had an association with The Portuguese powers; the Portuguese together with the support of the King wanted to prevent the Ottomans from occupying naval bases on the Red Sea. Despite the hostile activities that were carried on against the Ottomans, the Ottomans occupied Yemen in 1538 and established a strong garrison along the entire seaboard towns including Aden.⁹²

The conquest of Yemen was an important step for the Ottomans, as they were being informed by the governor of Yemen about the happenings in the inlands of Africa. The governor of Yemen had established close relations with Ahmed el

⁹⁰ Jones and Monroe, *A History of Abyssinia*, 77.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 83.

Mucahid, the local emir of Harar who was informing the governor about the situation in Habeshistan. In return, the governor of Yemen had supported the Harar Emir in the name of the Ottoman Empire against his struggle to the King of Habeshistan.

In 1543, there was a serious war between the troops of Ahmed el Mücahid and the force of the king of Habesh, who was supported by the Portuguese. Ahmed el Mucahid lost the war and was killed in battle. According to Orhonlu, the Portuguese was afraid of a possible Ottoman attack since Ahmed el Mucahid who was supported by Ottomans had lost in fight. However, the Ottomans had seemed not to be interested in this issue for a while. They did not reply the peace maneuvers of the Portuguese.⁹³

In the 1550s the Ottoman seamen Piri Reis and Seydi Ali Reis warned the Ottoman authorities of the possible the Portuguese monopoly in the Southern Seas. During these periods, the Ottomans were not successful enough at sea and hence, they decided to attack against the Portuguese. It was actually quite natural for the Ottoman Empire to plan an attack against to the Habesh lands which could have provided them with a chance of real control of the waterway opening to the Indian Ocean.⁹⁴ In this attack the most important name was Özdemir Pasha. He was a Circassian slave who served under Suleyman Pasha in Sudan, India, and Yemen. Holt says that Özdemir pasha was a relative of the Circassian Mamluk Sultan, Qansuh Gavri, who had been defeated by Selim I in 1516.⁹⁵

Donzel states that Özdemir Pasha went to Istanbul, where he had several trips out of the city; he informed Süleyman the Great about Egypt, Yemen and Habeshistan. Although the Sultan was convinced that expeditions to faraway

⁹³ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti*, 176.

⁹⁴ Emeri Von Donzel, "The Turks of Habesh Eyaleti in a Yemenite Source, 1650", 309.

⁹⁵ M. Holt, *A Modern History of Sudan* (New York, 1966), 23.

countries were adventurous and dangerous; it was decided to undertake the Ethiopian campaign.⁹⁶ Mehmed Muhsin in his book of *Afrika Delili*, explains how Özdemiş Pasha's expedition was set out.⁹⁷ It is also possible to see some statements about the conquest of Habesh lands by Özdemiş Pasha in *Seyahatname* of the famous traveler Evliya Çelebi.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the campaign in the highlands of Ethiopia was not resulted successfully and, therefore, it can be said that the Ottoman presence in Ethiopia, remained limited with the coast. Even if the Ottomans had not been powerful enough to conquer Ethiopia at all, they held Massawa and the small stronghold of Arqiqo on the mainland. Those places helped effectively the Ottomans to dominate the trade in the Red Sea.⁹⁹ (See Figure 2)

After the conquest, some officials were appointed to the administration of the Habesh province. The *nazır-ı emval*, for example, was responsible for controlling the expenditures in the province.¹⁰⁰ Holt, in one of his article mentions an official called 'kashif' whose duty was primarily to collect revenues.¹⁰¹ Moreover, a qadi was

⁹⁶ Donzel, "The Turks of Habesh Eyaleti in a Yemenite Source, 1650", 310.

⁹⁷ "... şu kadar ki sevhilden ve denizden 961 tarihi hicrisinde Özdemiş Paşa derseadet ve Mısır mürettebatından güzide dört bin asker ki bunların her birinin bir kaçar da adamı olduğundan takriben on bin kişilik bir ordu ile Suveyş'den hareket edup ibtida Sevakin'i teshir etdikten sonra Masava'yı istila ve oradan ilerleyerek divara(?) ve Habeşin merkez-i idaresi olan Bundiye'yi zabt etti ve orada cevam-ı şerife inşa ve fevka'gaye neşr-i adalet edup hatta Habeşliler beynlerinde bir mukavele yaptıkları halde birbirlerini ahd-i Süleymani lafzıyla te'min edecek ve bu ahd ile akd olunmazsa makbul olmayacak suretde Osmanlı namını ibka eyledi. Mehmed Muhsin, *Afrika Delili*, 86-87.

⁹⁸ "... Bادهو sene tarihinde Süleyman Han asrında bakiyye-i asker Sultan Elgavri Çerkes Özdemiş Bey Sinan Paşa ve tavaşi Süleyman Paşa imdadları ile Özdemiş fatih-i Habeş olmuşdur. Hala cümle binalar ve kal'a ve camiler anın hayretadır. Sikke ve hutbe sahibi bir vezaret yerdir. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname: Mısır, Sudan, Habeş (1672-1680)*, X: 74.

⁹⁹ Donzel, "The Turks of Habesh Eyaleti in a Yemenite Source, 1650", 311.

¹⁰⁰ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti*, 39.

¹⁰¹ M. Holt, "Sultan Selim I and the Sudan", *The Journal of African History* 8/1 (1967): 22.

appointed to deal especially with the judicial affairs. The knowledge on the local traditions, as well as the languages which were spoken in the region, played an important role for the appointment of a qadi. The nâib, or deputy of the Ottomans, was chosen among one of the tribes in the region so called Bedja. In 1673, Evliya Çelebi described him as “the black nâib, of brown color, with big eyes and a lean face who spoke Turkish with a marked Levantine accent”.¹⁰²

It is seen that the province of Habesh was expanded through the coastlands of the Red Sea south of Egypt as far as the Gulf of Aden, and it included the sanjacks of Ibrim, Suakin, Massawa and Zeila on the African shore, as well as the Jeddah in the Arabian Peninsula. The main motive for the establishment of this province was that the Portuguese became a threat for the Holy lands. Additionally, there was the aim of controlling the trade activities in the region.

Holt claims that after the heroic age of Özdemir Pasha, the Ottoman power in the region rapidly declined. During the visit of Bruce in Massawa in 1769, it no longer had an Ottoman ruler but a local chief. Many people within the Ottoman garrison were already got married with the local people.¹⁰³ During the nineteenth century, the province was mentioned alongside the beglerbeg of Jeddah and Suakin. This shows that southern parts of the province lost their importance and were left to the administration of the local groups.¹⁰⁴ It is important to note here that the Habesh province reached its largest size between the years of 1560 and 1578.

¹⁰² Donzel, “The Turks of Habesh Eyaleti in a Yemenite Source, 1650”, *Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları 7. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Halil İnalcık ed., (Ankara, 1994), 311.

¹⁰³ Holt, *A Modern History of the Sudan*, 25.

¹⁰⁴ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti*, 178.

3- Swahili Lands

The sixteenth century was an important period for the Ottoman activities in the coastal areas of East Africa. Even if the Ottomans were driven out of the Indian Ocean by the Portuguese after the Diu defeat,¹⁰⁵ the control of Egypt gave them greater influence over Aden and Somalia. This geographical hold led the Ottomans to begin concerning themselves with the issues of East Africa. Beside the Portuguese danger in the Indian Ocean and along the eastern African shores alarmed the Muslim sultans of the region. Therefore, after a very short time the Ottoman ships began to venture toward East Africa. Hall states that the first Turkish expedition in the coastal region ended in failure and Piri Reis, the famous Map-maker, was executed because of his carefully planned expedition had ended with no success in 1551.¹⁰⁶

The second expedition was carried by Amir Ali Beg who was very experienced with fighting against the Portuguese in Muscat in the 1580s. Amir Ali Beg prepared well for war and reached Mogadishu and persuaded their people to declare their loyalty to the Ottoman Empire. He was given more ships and supported by the local leaders in the region. At this expedition, Ali Bey did not reach Mombasa but he received a message from Istanbul to establish a fortress in Mombasa.¹⁰⁷ About eighteen months later, Ali Beg came back for Mombasa. He was welcomed and supported by the local leaders to get rid of the Portuguese from the region forever. His preparations also showed us that he was determined to hold Mombasa and stay there.¹⁰⁸ Hall claims that if the Ottoman Empire had not been met by a terrible tribe

¹⁰⁵ The Portuguese powers defeated the Ottoman Navy at Diu in Indian Ocean at 1509.

¹⁰⁶ Hall, *Empires of the Monsoon: A History of the Indian Ocean and Its Invaders*, 265.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 266.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

called “Zimba”¹⁰⁹ who arrived in Mombasa, then that could have been the moment when the entire East African coast, as far south as Mozambique, could have fallen under the Ottoman rule.¹¹⁰ The coming of the Zimbabwes to Mombasa was terrorized both the Swahili people of eastern coast, and newly established Turks. The attention of Ali Beg had to be divided between building up its fortress against the Portuguese invasion and making sure of that the cannibals could not cross over from the mainland. When the Portuguese arrived in Mombasa at 5 March 1589, Turks opened fire with heavy cannons to declare their readiness to fight, but it was seen that they were not prepared enough against the Portuguese powers, as the Ottomans had prepared on two fronts. As their powers were divided both for the cannibals and the Portuguese, most of the Turkish soldiers were slaughtered by the Portuguese in this attack.

The sultan of Mombasa, Shah ibn Msham, sent a messenger for peace to the Portuguese commander, Tome de Sousa Coutinho, who replied that he would consider it but only after all the Turks in the city had been handed over. The sultan of Mombasa did not give any answer to this condition of the Portuguese commander.

An interesting thing occurred at this moment, the chief of Zimba tribe sent a message to Tome de Sousa Coutinho saying that since the Portuguese had honorably ended their enterprise, he asked permission to eat and kill every living thing on the

¹⁰⁹ Zimba Tribe was mostly a large group of people who had lost their lands during the Portuguese invasion of the Zambazi valley, a desperate and hungry tribe. Hall describes them as man-eater at all. See Hall, *Empires of the Monsoon: A History of the Indian Ocean and Its Invaders*, 267.

¹¹⁰ Hall, *Empires of the Monsoon: A History of the Indian Ocean and Its Invaders*, 266.

island.¹¹¹ The Portuguese commander raised no objection and immediately cannibals entered the town and destroyed everything. Meanwhile Ali Beg fled into the sea, together with two hundred Swahilis who were running away from cannibals. The defeated Ali Beg, as it was recorded by Hall, converted into Christianity.¹¹²

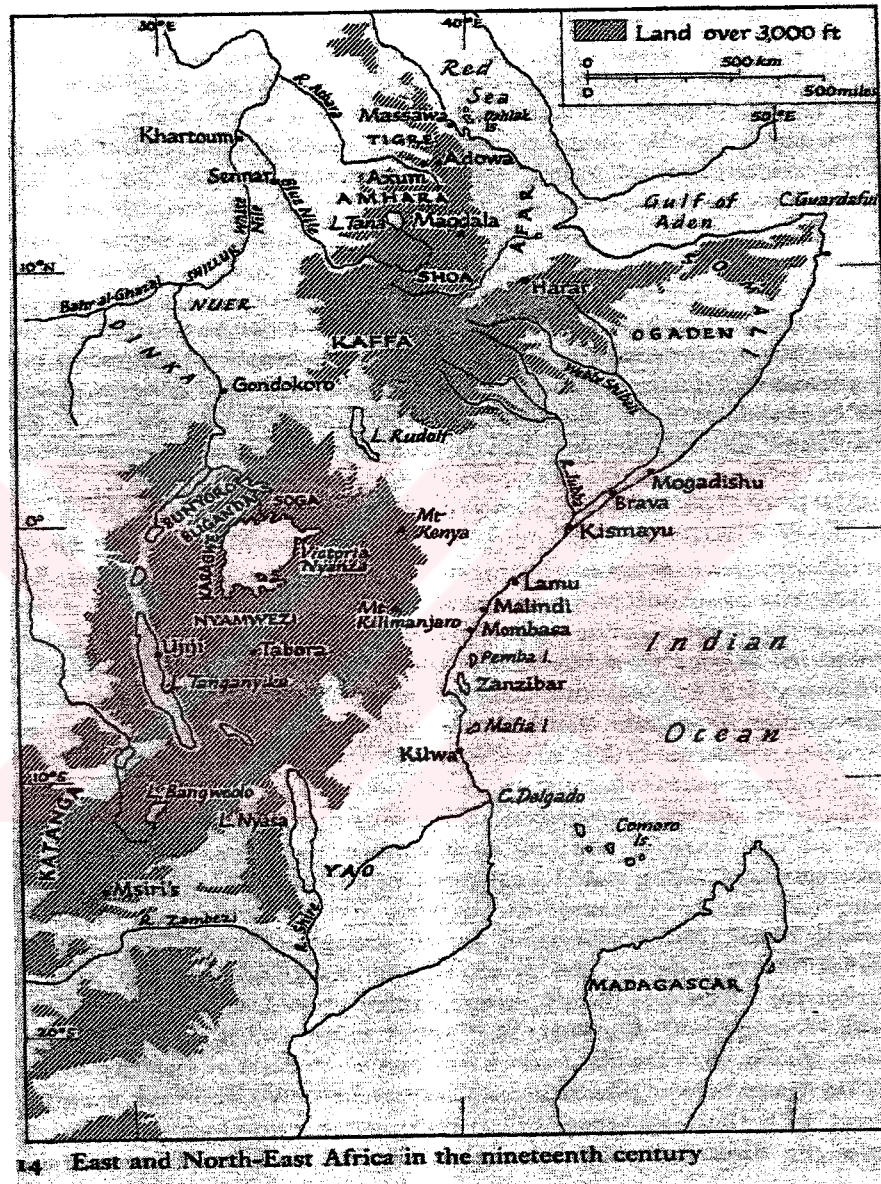


Figure 3: Swahili Lands between Cape Guardafai and Cape Delgado ruled by the Zanzibar Sultanate in nineteenth century.

(Source: Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa* (London, New York, 1978), 150.)

¹¹¹ Hall gives a very detailed information about the events took place in Mombasa during the final siege of Ali Beg. (266-268). He mostly used the European sources and oral narratives to describe the events.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 269.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire started showing its political authority in East Africa through the Egypt Khedivate.¹¹³ As it was mentioned before, Egypt Khedive, Ismail Pasha, undertook an important expansionist movement in the African continent during the second half of the nineteenth century. Massawa and Suakin were under its administration in 1867.¹¹⁴ It provided Egypt with a chance to have strong hold in the Red Sea shores and follow the developments in the region very carefully. When the new emir of Harar, Muhammed Abduşsekûr wanted help from the Ottoman Empire against the attacks of Galla Tribe, the Egypt Khedive who had the control of the Western shores of the Red Sea acted in the name of the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁵ The Egypt army, under Mehmed Rauf Pasha firstly conquered Zeila and Berbera port cities and then went to south through the shores of Somalia. He sent some of his soldiers to Re'sü'l-Hafûn. His soldiers planted the Ottoman flag at Re'sü'l-Hafûn. The name of the Ottoman official who planted the Ottoman flag in Re'sül-Hafûn in Hicri date 1284 (1867) was provided as Cafer Mazhar Pasha in one of the documents concerning the Ottoman

¹¹³ Kavas, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Müslüman Harar Emirliği'yle Münasebetleri ve Hristiyan Habeşistan (Etiyopya) İmparatorluğu ile Yakınlaşmasına Etkisi", 452; Collins provides an information about the *Turkiyya* period in Sudan. He stated that the alien invaders of Sudan in the nineteenth century were the Turkish speaking rulers of Egypt. For more information see also Robert O. Collins, *Eastern African History* (New York, 1990), 9-12.

¹¹⁴ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti*, 179.

¹¹⁵ YEE, 118/31, 8.R.1302/1885. This document is a copy of the telegram which was sent to Egypt khedivate to inform it about the necessity of taking the control of the region between Zeila and Re'sü'l-Hafûn which were already belong to the Ottoman Empire. It is said that an official should sent there by a ship. Moreover, a certain amount of the Ottoman soldiers should be left there to guard the region. Moreover, it is ordered that a lantern should be established there.

boundaries in East Africa.¹¹⁶ After he conquered those lands, Mehmed Rauf Pasha also wanted to take the Harar lands under the control of Egypt army. He went to Harar and seized the administration in 1875.¹¹⁷ The emir of Harar was killed while he was praying.¹¹⁸ Those lands which were located along the shores of the Red Sea and Somalia were temporally given to the administration of the Egypt Khedivate¹¹⁹ which, had to pay 15, 000 in Ottoman gold as a tax for holding those places.¹²⁰

After the Suez Canal opened, the political balances changed in the above mentioned region. Britain did not want the Ottoman Empire to have strong power in the region and supported Egypt to settle in the region. In this sense, Egypt made a contract with England about recognition of its power over these lands in 1877. However, the Ottoman Empire did not recognize the contract.¹²¹ As it can be seen in several archival documents, the Ottoman Empire emphasized its authority over the Red Sea ports, Somalia coastlands until Re'sü'l-Hafûn.¹²²

¹¹⁶ YEE, 118/139, 20 RA 1302/1885.

¹¹⁷ Kavas, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Müslüman Harar Emirliği'yle Münasebetleri ve Hristiyan Habeşistan (Etiyopya) İmparatorluğu ile Yakınlaşmasına Etkisi", 452.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 452.

¹¹⁹ YEE, 118/33, YEE, 118/34. Those two don't indicate any date.

¹²⁰ Kavas, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Müslüman Harar Emirliği'yle Münasebetleri ve Hristiyan Habeşistan (Etiyopya) İmparatorluğu ile Yakınlaşmasına Etkisi", 452.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 452.

¹²² See also YEE, 118/41. 1 RA 1295/1878; YEE, 118/43, 13 N 1297/1880; YEE, 118/45, 17 Z 1301/1884.

4- The Province of Hatt-ı İstiva

This section will mention the Ottoman province of Hatt-ı istiva¹²³. Even if we have limited information on the Ottoman presence along the equator, it is important to show the Ottoman areas of influence in East Africa. The Ottoman expansion toward the southeast of Africa was carried on again through the Khedive Ismail, who expanded the Ottoman boundaries toward southeast and established a province in 1876 in today's Uganda.¹²⁴ Emin Pasha, who was appointed as a wali to the province in 1878, was originally coming from a Prussian family. He was a doctor and left Prussia for Albania in 1864 to serve as a doctor under the Ottoman administration. He had learned the Bosnian, Serbian, and Albanian languages and converted into Islam in 1869. Then he was employed by the Ottoman intelligence service in 1869 and played an important role in suppressing several rebellions within the Ottoman territories. He went to Egypt in 1875 and opened a surgery in Khartoum. When he went to hatt-ı istiva for his service of his medical treatments, he carried very important projects on botaniy and zoology. He became famous because of his inventions in medicine. Then he became the wali of hatt- ı istiva province. He undertook very important responsibilities and expanded the boundaries of the province toward the south. He also built some alliances with the local African leaders.¹²⁵

¹²³ The term Hatt-ı İstiva refers to the equator geographically. See Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lugat* (Ankara, 2000), 342.

¹²⁴ Kavas, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Müslüman Harar Emirliği'yle Münasebetleri ve Hristiyan Habeşistan (Etiyopya) İmparatorluğu ile Yakınlaşmasına Etkisi", 452.

¹²⁵ Y.PRK.TKM 24 1 1309/1891

The province of Hatt-ı istiva was influenced by the movement of Mahdism, which gained the control of entire the provinces in Sudan. Emin Pasha tried hard not to be affected by this movement and carried the center of the province to Vadelay, where was placed at a more southern part of the province. On the other hand, he lost contact with Egypt Khedivate. When he was promoted to Pashalık in 1885, he was also asked to leave the province. He left there in 1887 and went to Kibiro which was, along the Albert River.¹²⁶ Meanwhile, a company that was constructed by Scottish rich men was supported by the Geography Institute of Edinburgh¹²⁷ to go to hatt-ı istiva in order to 'help' Emin Pasha. Their aim was certainly to take the hatt-ı istiva province under the administration of England, as well as to seize the rich ivory and other collections of Emin Pasha. The British East African company did a search and learned that Emin Pasha had incredible amounts of ivory that were valued to be around 100.000 sterlins. This expedition was led by the adventurous English Stanley, who was also supported by King Leopold to enlarge the boundaries of the Congo lands by occupying the rich province of hatt-ı istiva. In 1888, Emin Pasha welcomed Stanley and his group at the southern part of the province as an Ottoman wali. When Emin Pasha had realized that he would not get any help from the Egyptian khedivate,

¹²⁶ See also *Philip's New World Atlas* (London, 1991), 92.

¹²⁷ It is interesting to note that there were several geography institutions at the second half of the nineteenth century. Their aim was mainly to search about the African continent and find out what the Europeans could exploit from there. Those institutions supported several travelers in their journeys to the inlands of Africa. The accounts of those travelers latterly helped them to learn about the unknown parts of Africa. Richard Burton, Sir Henry Stanley and John Speke were some of the most important travelers who carried the exploration activities in the inlands of the African continent.

he had decided to go with Stanley¹²⁸. Thus, the province of hatt-ı istiva was lost in 1889.

I have presented the province of hatt-ı istiva as the most south-eastern land of the Ottoman physical contact in East Africa.¹²⁹ As shown in this chapter, the Ottoman presence in the African continent was not limited only to North Africa. Its presence on the Red Sea shores and in the provinces of Habesh, and hatt-ı istiva can be seen as the Ottoman endeavor to penetrate toward East Africa. This fact will help us to understand better how the Ottoman Empire started contacting with the Zanzibar Sultanate.

This chapter has brought us at the point where we will question how the Ottoman geographical boundaries in East Africa turned into being mental boundaries. Therefore, in the next chapter, I will re-evaluate the term, “Afrika-yi Osmani” by taking into consideration of the Ottoman mental boundaries as well. The Zanzibar sultanate, the most important Muslim dynasty of East Africa in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries will be discussed in the following chapters.

¹²⁸ For more information see also H.Ahmed Schimede, *Emin Paşa, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* IX (1994): 117-119.

¹²⁹ It is also an important example for the Ottoman expansion in Africa through the Egyptian Khedivate at the second half of the nineteenth century. The Turkiyya regime in Sudan was also another example for this. But it will not be discussed here, since it is out of our topic.

II. THE OTTOMAN RELATIONS WITH THE LOCAL POWERS IN EAST AFRICA: THE ZANZIBAR SULTANATE (1880-1907)

In this chapter, I intend to enlarge the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, with a more specific case, the Zanzibar Sultanate. Now, the main emphasis will not be on the geographical boundaries but the more on social and cultural boundaries. Of course, the Zanzibar Sultanate, which was one of the most important Muslim sultanates in the coastal lands of East Africa in the nineteenth century, was never included within the physical boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. However, there were some reasons which led the Ottomans to pay attention to the developments of the Zanzibar Sultanate including it sometimes within the mental boundaries of the Empire. This chapter focuses on the history of Zanzibar and the colonial activities in East Africa drawing on the Ottoman primary sources. It examines whether or not the Ottoman Empire paid attention to the colonial activities of Europeans in a Muslim land, in this case Zanzibar. I also question to what extent the Ottomans were aware of the developments in East Africa and more specifically in the Zanzibar Sultanate.

1-The Zanzibar Sultanate: The Historical Background

After the Islamic penetration into Africa, a number of important Muslim emirates were established all over the continent. They had strong relationships with the outside world especially with the Islamic dynasties of their own days. It is known that they had contacted with the Abbasid, the Fatimid, the Umayyads, Mamlukids

and finally Ottomans. The active trade network, the route of pilgrimage and the demand for the Islamic learning were some of the significant reasons for the communication between the Islamic dynasties and the emirates in the African continent.

When the Ottoman Empire established its provinces in North Africa, it contacted with the Bornu Sultanate which was a dominant power in the lands of today's Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad. The Ottoman province of Tripoli and its most southern part, sanjak of Fezzan, made it possible to communicate with this prominent Muslim sultanate of the Central Africa as early as sixteenth century. The most southern district of Fezzan; Murzuq was located at the center of the sub-Saharan trade networks and provided a connection between the Central Africa and the outside world. The relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the Bornu Sultanate were established in this southern part of Fezzan. In this relationship two important factors seemed to play a significant role. One of the factors was mainly the military technology which the Ottoman Empire had owned in sixteenth century. The Sultan of Bornu, Mai Idris, had taken firearms from the Ottomans whose war technology was highly developed compared to its time.¹³⁰ Martin claims that the sultan of Bornu had also made use of the Turkish soldiers in his entourage.¹³¹ The sultan of Bornu aimed at developing his military technology which could bring power needed for himself to establish his authority over adjacent areas. The second important factor is related to the fact that the Ottoman Sultan was the Caliph of the Islamic world and were responsible to maintain peace in the pilgrimage routes. The sultan of Bornu wanted

¹³⁰ Cengiz Orhonlu, "Osmanlı-Bornu Münasebetine Aid Belgeler", *Tarih Dergisi* 23(1969), 114.

¹³¹ Martin, "Mai Idris of Bornu and the Ottoman Turks, 1576 –1578", 472.

the Ottoman Empire to ensure the security in the pilgrimage routes.¹³² These elements were important in the establishment of certain relations between those two.¹³³

The Ottoman Empire communicated with another important local power and Muslim sultanate in the African continent. It was the Harar Sultanate which was a dominant power in today's Ethiopia and Somalia. Islam had penetrated into the Harar region at the end of the 10th century. During the 15th century it was one of the significant cities under the Muslim Zeila Emirate. After Harar became the capital city of Zeila emirate in 1520, it became an independant sultanate in the region. Its leader Ahmed el Mucahid revolted against the Zeila Emirate and refused to pay tribute to the Habesh Kingdom. Then he started a jihad against the Christian Kingdom of Habesh and conquered many parts of Habesh Kingdom.¹³⁴ We also know that Ottoman Empire had made a military alliance with Harar emirs against Habesh Kingdom and provided firearms to them.¹³⁵

The above mentioned examples may indicate that the Ottomans' contact with the local sultans in Africa which dates back as early as the sixteenth century. The Ottoman penetration into the inlands of Africa was an important factor for these relationships from the Ottoman point of view. On the other hand, its advanced technology and the Caliphate were significant elements for the Muslim local sultans of Africa to establish relations with the Ottoman Empire.

¹³² Orhonlu, "Osmanlı-Bornu Münasebetine Aid Belgeler", 121.

¹³³ It is also known that Bornu sultan sent his envoys to Istanbul. Martin, "Mai Idris of Bornu and the Ottoman Turks, 1576–1578", 488.

¹³⁴ Ahmed Kavas, "Harar", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1997), 16, 108.

¹³⁵ Kavas, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Müslüman Harar Emirliği'yle Münasebetleri ve Hristiyan Habeşistan (Etiyopya) İmparatorluğu İle Yakınlaşmasına Etkisi", 447.

The nature of the Ottomans' contact with the local sultans of Africa was not determined with the Empire's geographical borders. The Zanzibar Sultanate, for example, was never included within the Ottoman boundaries in political terms. However, there were obviously certain relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Zanzibar Sultanate in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Zanzibar was located at 72 kilometers from the coast of the Tanzanian mainland, and 150 kilometers south of the Equator. It is about 53 miles in length and 24 miles at its broadest.¹³⁶ It had been inhabited for many centuries before the coming of the Europeans. The earliest arrivals to the island were by Hadimu and Tumbatu who were Bantu speaking people of the African continent. Moreover, its geographical location which was so convenient for trade activities led the island to have some immigrants from the Persian Gulf, Greece¹³⁷ and India in the earlier centuries. During the seventh century Abdulmelik b. Mervan, the fifth of the Umayyad Caliphs, sent Syrians to build cities including that of Zanzibar along the coast.¹³⁸

In the tenth century, Zanzibar was established as a trading settlement by the Shirazi, the people of Persian extraction.¹³⁹ The African population began to convert

¹³⁶ *EI2*, 447-451.

¹³⁷ Gurnah in his famous novel that was also translated in Turkish mentions Greek merchants in Zanzibar. Abdulrazak Gurnah, *Cennet*, (Istanbul, 1998), 60

¹³⁸ K. A. Berney ed., *International Dictionary of the Historic Places* (Chicago and London), 4: 723.

¹³⁹ Chittick does not accept that Shirazi came to Zanzibar in the tenth century. He claims that the immigration of Shirazi took place some 200 years later than the date in the latter part of the tenth century which has hitherto been accepted. He relies on the archeological excavations, which have been done in Eastern coast of Africa. According to him, the date of the arrival of Shirazi is related with the appearance of coins of Ali bin el-Hasan who is identified with the first ruler of the Shirazi dynasty at Kilwa about A.D 1200. Neville

into Islam, and the culture and tradition of Shirazi supplanted that of the indigenous one. By the early twelfth century, the Arabs came to have a profound influence on Zanzibar.¹⁴⁰ Under the Arab domination, merchants established themselves on the island and become the principal landowners and eventually the ruling aristocracy of the island.¹⁴¹ They used the island as a base for their slave raids into the African interior. Ivory, gold, and spices were some of the important commodity goods in Zanzibar.¹⁴²

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the first direct relations of the island started with Europe. Although there are indications of the earlier contacts with Greece, the voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1499 seems to be the first direct relation of the island with the Europeans. Following, Vasco da Gama Lourenco Ravasco, came into conflict with the inhabitants in 1503. After an exchange of shots, a peace was

Chittick, "The Shirazi Colonisation of East Africa", *The Journal of African History* 6/1/3 (1965), 294.

¹⁴⁰ Chittick discusses that Arabs arrived to coast earlier than twelfth century by making use of the early accounts of the Arab geographers. According to Chittick al-Mas'ûdî (died A.D. 950) records that the island of Qanbalu (equated with Madagascar, Zanzibar and Pemba. Zanzibar is perhaps the most probable.) was Muslim and ruled by Muslim kings. It is said to have been occupied by the Muslims at the beginning of the Abbasid dynasty. (A.D. 750). Moreover, an Omani source gives an account of an emigration at the end of the seventh century. The latter source also states that Arab settlement in East Africa started even before Islam. During the reign of 'Abd al-Malik b. Mervan (A.D. 685-705), a fort was established at Kilwa. See Chittick, "Kilwa and Arab Settlements of the East African Coast", 180.

¹⁴¹ Martin's article gives very interesting information on the Arab migrations to East Africa. It deals with the demographic composition of the migrations mostly from Hadramawt and Yemen, and questions who migrated to East Africa. It also asks the reasons of these migrations and tries to find out a pattern about the migration groups in terms of which social groups they were belonged if there was any. See Martin, "Arab Migrations to East Africa in Medieval Times".

¹⁴² For the picture of ivory merchants see Appendix 5.

signed through which Zanzibar became a vassal of the Portugal king. He also handed over a large sum of money as a tribute for King Manoel.¹⁴³ Knappert states that the sixteenth century was not a period of prosperity for Zanzibar. In 1528 a temporary factory was set up on the island.¹⁴⁴ But Jesuit priests who visited Zanzibar in 1569 found the city in ruins. By 1591 little trade was conducted, and the island had become a refuge for many Portuguese deserters and renegades. Yet, the people of Zanzibar remained loyal to the Portuguese even until when the sultan of Malindi and Mombasa ¹⁴⁵ seized Fort Jesus in Mombasa and declared jihad against the Portuguese throughout East Africa in 1561.¹⁴⁶ Knappert states that the rebellion was put down ruthlessly, but Portuguese authorities were no longer as strong as they had been earlier and Portugal people were decadent.¹⁴⁷ From this historical point on, the Portuguese supremacy was taken over by the English and Dutch by the seventeenth century.

In 1652, an Arab fleet arrived from Oman and sacked the remaining Portuguese settlements in Zanzibar.¹⁴⁸ As Knappert writes, they killed the vicar, Dom Manuel, because he refused to be a Muslim, and they destroyed his church.¹⁴⁹ The queen of Zanzibar, Mwana Mwema declared her allegiance to the ruler of Oman and paid him tribute. She then had to transfer her loyalties back to Portuguese when

¹⁴³ Jan Knappert, *East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda* (London, 1987), 252.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 252.

¹⁴⁵ They are small islands at the north of Zanzibar.

¹⁴⁶ *International Dictionary of the Historic Places*, 4: 723.

¹⁴⁷ Knappert, *East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda*, 254.

¹⁴⁸ Before the Omani ships arrived to Zanzibar in 1652, the Portuguese had captured Muscat in 1517. Said bin Sultan became the ruler of Muscat and expelled the Portuguese from Muscat in 1649. He continued to fight against Portuguese and sent a fleet to Zanzibar in 1652.

¹⁴⁹ Knappert, *East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda*, 254.

they retook the island. The control of Zanzibar shifted between these two powers until 1729 when the Portuguese were finally driven out.¹⁵⁰ However, the number of the Arabs there remained small, 300 out of the 40,000 people and they were even hated by entire the Arabs along the coast in 1770s. During these years Zanzibar was ruled by a king; the son of King Hasani actually died in that year and one of his sons became the king after him. The real power However, was in the hands of the *imam* of Oman and Muscat who appointed a governor at Zanzibar where a fort was kept under the control of the Arab soldiers.¹⁵¹

In the last half of the eighteenth century, Zanzibar rose as a commercial center, especially in the slave trade. Slaves were bought on the continent from dealers who obtained them from raiders, and sold via such ports as Zanzibar and Kilwa to the French and other nationalities. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Omani Arabs were determined to establish their political center on the island. The capital of Oman was moved from Muscat to Zanzibar in 1832. It is stated that three mosques were erected in 1830 and one more in 1840. From 1850-1890 no less than twenty-seven mosques were built in Zanzibar as well.¹⁵² There was also a development in the Islamic teaching and the Islamic law practiced in Zanzibar in that period. The great number of mosques may signify the population growth which can be, at the same time, a sign of a flourishing economy in Zanzibar.¹⁵³ The Arab traders from Oman, Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the southern coast of the Arabian

¹⁵⁰ *International Dictionary of the Historic Places*, 4: 724

¹⁵¹ Knappert, *East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda*, 254.

¹⁵² There is a quite interesting article, which paid a remarkable attention to the mosques of Zanzibar. For more information see Abdul Sheriff, "Mosques, Merchants and Landowners in Zanzibar Old Stone Town", *Urbanism in Islam: The proceedings of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam* (Tokyo, 1989), 4: 250-290.

¹⁵³ G.S. Freeman-Grenville, "Zanzibar", *ET2* (Leiden, 2000), 449.

Peninsula brought silk and cotton goods, dates, and salts in exchange for slaves, cloves, and timber. The main exports of Zanzibar –besides slaves- were ivory, cloves, antimony, blue vitriol, senna, gum copal, hides, and cowries.¹⁵⁴ Thus, since the latter part of the eighteenth century, Zanzibar developed as a centre of twin foundations of transit trade and modest plantation.¹⁵⁵

Said bin Sultan (1832-1856) played an important role in the development of Zanzibar. He recognized the potential of Zanzibar and moved there permanently in 1841. Under his control Zanzibar became the leading trade center of the east coast. In many aspects, he was far ahead of his time, experimenting with new crops and encouraging Omani Arabs to leave the infertile Oman, to settle in Zanzibar, and to start farming. The clove trade was the greatest invention of Said bin Sultan in Zanzibar.¹⁵⁶

The sultan's army was composed of Omani and Baluchi mercenaries. His navy was well equipped and hence its navigation officers were extremely rare and had to be taken from the Europeans and the Americans. Canons were also necessary for the sultan's army. They had to be bought from European and American companies. Expert officers, on the other hand, had to be recruited in India and Iran to instruct the sultan's men to fire a gun. When Sultan conquered Mombasa, he discovered that it could be an important market and shipping port for all ivory of the interior of Africa and adjacent districts. Besides, he began to send out troops for expeditions, probably to collect slaves at first sight and to conquer some lands.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ *International Dictionary of the Historic Places*, 4: 724.

¹⁵⁵ Abdul Sheriff, "Mosques, Merchants and Landowners in Zanzibar Old Stone Town", 253.

¹⁵⁶ Knappert, *East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda*, 260.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 261.

In short, the island of Zanzibar became a center for the Arab sultanate of Zanzibar that was originally established in Oman and belonged to the Bu-Saïd Dynasty.¹⁵⁸ Mehmed Muhsin describes the boundaries of the Zanzibar sultanate as following:

“Bahr-ı Muhîr Hindî sâhîlinde şimâlen Afrikâ-yi ‘Osmâniyeden Somâli kıt‘asını ve cenûben Portekizlilerin Mozambik ve garben Kongo hükümet-i müstekalesiyle muhattır.”¹⁵⁹

Martin also describes the boundaries of the Zanzibar sultanate as more or less the same as described by Muhsin. According to his description, “East African domain, with its capital at Zanzibar Town and its outlying areas, such as Pemba Island, the Southern Somalia coast with Mogadishu, Marka, and Brava, a strip along the coasts of Kenya and Tanganyika down to Kilwa, and the frontier of Mozambique, with the island of Mafia, included such large towns as Lamu, Pete, Mombasa, and Bagamoya. Culturally and religiously, but not politically, the four islands of the Comoro group in Mozambique Channel were likewise a part of Zanzibar.”¹⁶⁰ The lands between the Cape Guardafai and the Cape Delgado also refer to the same places for the boundaries of Zanzibar.¹⁶¹

After providing the historical background for the Zanzibar Island and then the Zanzibar Sultanate, it can be said that the Ottoman Empire contacted with the sultans

¹⁵⁸ Mustafa L. Bilge, “Bû Saïd Hânedanı”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1992), 6: 339-340. This article provides an interesting information about the historical development of this dynasty in which ruled over the Southern part of the Arabian peninsula and the east coast of the African continent.

¹⁵⁹ Mehmed Muhsin, *Afrika Delili*, 84.

¹⁶⁰ B. G. Martin, “Notes on Some Members of the Learned Class of Zanzibar and East Africa in the Nineteenth Century”, *African Historical Studies* 4/1/3 (1971): 526.

¹⁶¹ A. Grohmann, “Zanzibar”, *ET*, 1215

of Bu Saïd Dynasty at the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Since this period was the peak of the colonial activities in the Zanzibar Sultanate, I have devoted the following chapter to the colonial activities in Zanzibar as it was reflected in the Ottoman primary sources.

2- The Zanzibar Sultanate in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Peak of the Colonial Activities and the Berlin Conference (1884-1885)

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Zanzibar Sultanate seems to be one of the most powerful political units in the Indian Ocean. However, it was interrupted by the European's political ambitions over the region. Toward the end of the century, the Europeans started to compete with each other to establish authority in the Indian Ocean.¹⁶² Numerous factors played a role for this competition among the European powers.¹⁶³ The first continuing European pressure came from Britain after the Portuguese occupation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Zanzibar.¹⁶⁴ The reason for British interest in Zanzibar was firstly its inevitable presence in India. In this sense, Zanzibar was important to Britain mainly to secure the western border of its Indian Empire. Britain also believed that its limited and informal influence over the sultanate of Zanzibar could strengthen its presence in India.

Secondly, the British also wanted to diminish the export of slaves from East Africa. Since Seyyid Said was a completely independent ruler and slaves were his most valuable exports, the British did not hurry to stop it totally. Moreover, Britain

¹⁶² Micheal F. Lofchie, *Zanzibar: Background to Revolution* (New Jersey, 1965), 53.

¹⁶³ J.A. Kieran, "The Origins of the Zanzibar Guarantee Treaty of 1862", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 2/2 (1968):149

¹⁶⁴ Oliver and Fage, *A History of Africa*, 152.

did not have a legal jurisdiction even over the European countries involved in trade. Therefore it did not force the sultan of Zanzibar for the abolishment of the trade. Furthermore, Britain needed the friendship of the Bu Saïd dynasty that controlled much of the slave trade, to prevent the Napoleonic invasion of Middle East. For these reasons, gradualism in the elimination of the slave trade became the main theme of the British policy in the Indian Ocean throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁵ Accordingly, the British wanted first of all to persuade the sultan that it would not be abolished totally but limited into certain areas.¹⁶⁶ In this sense, the first step was the treaty of Moresby in 1822 which reflects the British Indian Ocean policy until 1840. Those slaves who were taken from the inlands of Africa were brought to Zanzibar and then some of them were shipped to India and some others were sent to Mauritius Island which came under the control of Britain after the Napoleonic Wars for sugar plantation. Captain Moresby managed to persuade the Sultan Said not to sell slaves to any Christian in these areas. However, the treaty did not interfere with the trade activities of the Sultan of Zanzibar with Oman which was the main market.¹⁶⁷ The treaty was also a sign of the British recognition of the sovereignty of Said over the entire coast of East Africa from Cape Guardafui to Cape Delgado by implication.¹⁶⁸ There was another treaty to restrict the power of Sultan Said on the slave trade. Its content was heavier than the content of the Moresby Treaty. Captain Hamerton as the British Consul officially requested that all exports from Zanzibar to Oman should be forbidden. This restriction meant to stop the trade totally since Oman had an important place in this network. This was limiting the slave trade only within the

¹⁶⁵ Lofchie, *Zanzibar: Background to Revolution*, 54.

¹⁶⁶ Marsh and Kingsnorth, *An Introduction to the History of East Africa*, 42.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁶⁸ Robert I. Rotberg, *A Political History of Tropical Africa* (New York, 1965), 229.

coastal areas of Eastern Africa. However, despite the sultan agreed on it officially in 1845, the treaty was not practiced.¹⁶⁹

The British policy of the abolishment of the slavery gave a chance to Britain to get involved in the political affairs of the royal family. After Seyyid Said's death in 1856, there was a dispute among his sons over the issue of succession and over the new capital at Zanzibar and the former capital in Masqat. Lord Canning, the Governor General of India, was asked to intervene and resolve the problem by declaring that Zanzibar and Masqat were independent of one another.¹⁷⁰ Ingham claims that this situation led the Zanzibar Sultanate to be autonomous in constitutional terms. However, it made the Sultan dependent on Britain more than ever.¹⁷¹ After this historical point, Britain's role seemed to be a guarantor over Zanzibar. Moreover, its authority was extended over the Sultan. Taking steps to abolish the slavery became easier for Britain after the extension of its authority. In January 1873 Sir John Kirk, British Consul at Zanzibar, informed the sultan of Zanzibar, Sultan Berkash (1870-1888) to agree on the complete abolition of the slavery.¹⁷² Otherwise, a British navy could blockade of his dominions. On June 5th, he signed the treaty which abolished the slavery in every port of Zanzibar. It was now anymore totally an illegal act.¹⁷³ The British diplomatic attacks and endeavors which took about fifty years (1822-1873) had undoubtedly some effect upon the export of East African slaves to the markets. On the other hand, the slave trade continued to be practiced in the region for many years.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ Marsh and Kingsnorth, *An Introduction to the History of East Africa*, 43.

¹⁷⁰ Lofchie, *Zanzibar: Background to Revolution*, 54.

¹⁷¹ Kenneth Ingham, *A history of East Africa* (London, 1962), 83-84.

¹⁷² A. J. Hughes, *East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda* (Baltimore, 1969), 189.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁷⁴ Oliver and Fage, *A History of Africa*, 153.

The Britain's ambition to establish its authority over Zanzibar did not end with the abolishment of slavery. In 1884, Britain and Germany signed an agreement which specified their respective spheres in the lands of the Zanzibar Sultanate without informing the sultan about the agreement.¹⁷⁵ The most significant feature of this treaty was that the sultan's authority was diminished to a narrow strip of territory along the coast.¹⁷⁶

In 1890, Britain reached an agreement with the Sultan Khalifa b. Said (1888-1890) to create legally a Protectorate relationship between itself and Zanzibar.¹⁷⁷ A consul-general was appointed and in the following year the British administration began in Zanzibar. The Sultan was deprived of all revenues except those from his private estates and fixed annual grants. In 1896, Sultan Seyyid Khaleed attempted to seize the throne and occupied the palace on the waterfront. Basil Cave, the consul general, warned him to leave Zanzibar otherwise he could be suffered the bombardment.¹⁷⁸ Khaleed did not leave Zanzibar and prepared his troops against the British threat. Hughes records that more than 500 of his supporters were killed in this bombardment. Khaleed himself took refuge in the German Consulate.¹⁷⁹

Britain's gradual assumption of control over Zanzibar started with the securing the abolishment of the slavery in 1873. Then the British reached an agreement with the creation of Protectorate relation between herself and Zanzibar in

¹⁷⁵ Hughes, *East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda*, 190.

¹⁷⁶ Lofchie, *Zanzibar: Background to Revolution*, 53.

¹⁷⁷ For an extensive study of the establishment of the Protectorate relationship between Zanzibar and Great Britain, see also L. W. Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar Under the Foreign Office 1890-1913* (London, 1953).

¹⁷⁸ For the picture of the bombardment see Appendix 1.

¹⁷⁹ Hughes, *East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda*, 190.

1890 that continued until 1914. The second phase of the protectorate was between the years of 1914 and 1939.¹⁸⁰

3- The German Presence in Zanzibar

The German presence in Zanzibar began some time later than the British presence in the region. This may be due to the fact that Germany obtained its political unity later. The various German states were united under the leadership of Prussia in 1862. After it defeated first Austria and then France, it proclaimed the formation of the German Empire in 1871. The person at the head of the empire was the King of Prussia and Bismarck was his chancellor.¹⁸¹ In the early days of the German Empire, the confidence and excitement was tremendous and many of the people wanted that Germany 'should gain its share' from the African continent. The role of Germany would be decided by Bismarck who was against the overseas possessions at the beginning. However, he changed his mind because of several reasons. One of the biggest reasons was his annoyance over British rapacious policy in Africa. Bismarck was making big plans to decrease the role of Britain in the region. He wanted to make use of France's antagonism against Britain. This might have led to a turmoil in the British policy of colonialism and, consequently, cause Britain to decrease its power in Europe. Therefore, Bismarck still believed that Europe was the most

¹⁸⁰ For more information on the British attitude toward Zanzibar in the second half of the twentieth century, Kirkwood's book provides valuable information. Kenneth Kirkwood, "Britain and Eastern Africa", *Britain and Africa* (Baltimore, 1965), 148-181.

¹⁸¹ W.N. Medlicott, *Bismarck and Modern Germany* (New York, 1965), 34-99.

important field of politics, Nevertheless, decided that colonization in Africa would be a useful move in the game.¹⁸²

Although the presence of Britain and Germany were gradually increasing in East Africa, it should be said that only a small portion of the African continent was under the European control before the Berlin Conference. During the early 1880's, the powers of Europe began to come together for their common interests in Africa. France¹⁸³ and Britain asserted their special claims vigorously and particularly after the British troops entered Egypt in 1882.

The Berlin Conference (1884-85) had an important place in the shaping of the colonial desires of the European powers in Africa. German chancellor Bismarck, who was determined to protect German commercial and territorial interests in Africa from Britain, called for a conference to settle the disputes that were taking place among the European powers on in particular Congo Basin. At the end of the conference, some decisions were made, which were latter ignored by the colonial powers. One of the most important consequences of the conference was that international recognition was given to King Leopold for the Congo Free State. Another important consequence of the conference was the determined decision on the suppression of slavery all over the continent. This is important because the suppression of slavery had been always an important excuse for the European powers to interrupt Zanzibar Sultanate.¹⁸⁴

After the British representative, Sir Kirk, conducted an investigation about possible German presence in Zanzibar, he reported that there were some individual

¹⁸² Marsh and Kingsnorth, *An Introduction to the History of East Africa*, 88.

¹⁸³ For the French imperialism in Africa, see James J. Cooke, *New French Imperialism 1880-1910: The Third Republic Colonial Expansion* (Great Britain, 1973).

¹⁸⁴ The British example has been discussed above. It always put forward the issue of slavery and interrupted the Zanzibar Sultanate.

Germans on the coast of Zanzibar. He actually underestimated their importance, and it seems that usually well-informed representative of Britain was this time unaware of the significance of those small groups of Germans in Zanzibar. These groups were representing the German Colonization Society, founded in 1884 and believed the necessity of colonies to construct a great nation as Germany, in Zanzibar. They were responsible to take actions which could lead to the downfall of the British dominance along East African Coast. This society was headed by Carl Peters who was well educated but emotionally an unstable adventurer. He was a good example of the typical European colonialist in the nineteenth century with his beliefs of racial and cultural superiority of the west over the rest of the world.¹⁸⁵ In a very short time this society began to act in the way of establishing an important network with the local leaders in East Africa and Zanzibar. They had signed some treaties with ten local leaders and Peters hurried back to Berlin by leaving some of the society members in Zanzibar as the sign of German presence in the region.

Bismarck published an imperial charter on 3 March 1885 after he received those copies of agreement from Peters. This charter marked the end of Britain's unquestioned supremacy in East Africa claiming the complete control of the territories assumed by Peters' society.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, the position of Peters' society had changed and it was transformed to a larger Company called the German East African Company.¹⁸⁷

It is interesting to note here that there is a significant difference between the first activities of the British and German colonial powers in the region. Britain

¹⁸⁵ Norman R. Benett, *A History of Arab State of Zanzibar* (London, 1978), 126.

¹⁸⁶ Rotberg, *A Political History of Tropical Africa*, 273.

¹⁸⁷ The German East African Company was referred in the Ottoman Archives as a company that carried trade activities in the region. See Y. A. Hus 222/27. For its full transcription see Appendix 15. For its original text and a summary in English see Appendix 22.

preferred to interrupt East Africa by establishing its power on the coastal area whereas German colonizers established their authority initially in the inlands of East Africa. The difference in the way of penetrating into East Africa may be due to the fact that Britain had already established an authority over the West India. It aimed at establishing a strong network of protection for its power in the Indian Ocean. On the other hand, Germans wanted to find an area which was not controlled by Britain. When Britain had recognized the German influence in the region, they began to force the sultan of Zanzibar not to accept the protectorate of any European country without the British consent. On the other side, the consule of the German East African Company, claimed German protection over the interior of East Africa. For instance, it declared a protectorate over the Tanganyika mainland in February 1885. Britain realized that it was too late to remove the German danger from East Africa. Then Britain had to develop another strategy by establishing certain friendship with Germany. In 1886 and 1890, Britain and Germany settled to determine the boundaries of the 'German East Africa.' As seen in a document in Ottoman archives, there were some debates in the German Parliament on signing an agreement with Britain.¹⁸⁸ While Britain and Germany were reaching an agreement on Zanzibar, a tension emerged between the Sultan of Zanzibar and Germany.

Sultan Berkash (1870-88) declared that he did not accept the previous agreement of Peters' society in the inlands of East Africa with ten local leaders. It seems that Berkash recognized it as a danger for his claims on the inlands of East Africa. He sent a letter directly to the German emperor and informed him that those places had been under the Zanzibar sultanate for a long time and that the sultanate

¹⁸⁸ Y.PRK.PT, 6/58, 5 ZA 1307/1890.

had had military garrisons in these regions.¹⁸⁹ Berkash's letter did not stop the German invasion in the inlands of East Africa.¹⁹⁰ They even sent new agents to reinforce or establish new garrisons along the coast. In this tension, Britain supported the objection of Berkash to German King. When the five vessels of the German navy arrived at the Zanzibar harbor, Berkash had to withdraw his protest against the German protectorate in the region.¹⁹¹ Thus, Berkash was not successful enough to stop the German colonial activities there.

The Berlin ambassador informed the Ottoman Empire about the discussions in the German parliament,¹⁹² saying that many of the deputies were against holding a colony in East Africa. Bismarck made necessary explanations about the German policies for the region and then convinced the deputies. Accordingly, the German treasury had allocated 2.000.000 DM for the expenditures in the region. The same document also states that the German colonial policy which was announced in 1884 mainly aimed at protecting the German interest in East Africa against the other Colonial powers.¹⁹³ This seems to enlighten the aim of the Germany in East Africa. It is claimed that Germany entered Africa, not primarily in order to satisfy a specific desire of herself there, but rather as part of a wider political design: Germany wanted to become stronger in Europe by playing a successful game in Africa.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ Benett, *A History of Arab State of Zanzibar*, 129.

¹⁹⁰ Many documents from the Ottoman archives show us that the sultan was able to remove the coastal occupation of the colonial powers in Zanzibar in 1870. For its full transcription see Appendix 17-18-19-20.

¹⁹¹ Benett, *A History of Arab State of Zanzibar*, 131.

¹⁹² Y.A. Hus. 222/20. For its full transcription see Appendix 15.

¹⁹³ Y.A. Hus. 222/69, 29.6.1306/1889.

¹⁹⁴ Oliver and Fage, *A History of Africa*, 161. This book also presents more information about the German aim of holding a colony in Africa. It explains the attitudes of Germany

As has been stated above, Germany's attitude towards the Zanzibar Sultanate created a conflict with the sultan Berkash. The new sultan was also forced by Germany to establish a certain agreement with it. In 1888, the Germans increased their pressure over the sultan Khalifa bin Said about the new regulations in East African coast. Therefore, in April 1888, an agreement took place between Germany and the Zanzibar Sultanate, according to which the German East African Company expanded its boundaries towards the coast and had a right of administration in this region under the sultan's authority and flag.

The German policy in the coastal region led to the disintegration in the German administrative system in Zanzibar. Meanwhile Khalifa bin Said, the sultan of Zanzibar, was increasingly developing an independent policy persisting in his tactic of non-cooperation with colonial powers.¹⁹⁵ In 1889, the coastal area of East Africa remained firmly under the hand of its inhabitants. By this time, Bismarck had made a decision to end the continuing Arab and African resistance in the German sphere. Otherwise, the instability would increase and this could lead the end of its power in the region.¹⁹⁶ Bismarck aimed at increasing Germany's authority in the region and made use of the German Roman Catholics. He thought that this group could undertake an intermediary position between the local people and Germany. On the other hand, Bismarck needed to convince the German Parliament to receive enough financial support for the expenditures done in East Africa because he was

in the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. According to book, Germany always aimed to get some advantages from the tension, which existed between England and French:

¹⁹⁵ Benett, *A History of Arab State of Zanzibar*, 149.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 151.

supposed to finance the German military expedition, commanded by Hermann Wissman who was one of the most famous German explorers in Africa.¹⁹⁷

Wismann's presence in Zanzibar was important for Bismarck's active intervention in East Africa. However, while the Germans were making their plans on Zanzibar, the sultan Khalifa and his advisors decided to continue their determined efforts to minimize their co-operation with both Germany and Britain.

In July, 1890, Germany and Britain reached an agreement according to which that German would give up its colonial presence in East Africa in order to gain British goodwill¹⁹⁸ and Britain received the right to declare a protectorate over the Arab state of Zanzibar. This treaty was a sign of a disaster for the German colonial interests in East Africa.

In short, Germany called for the Berlin Conference under the leadership of Bismarck in 1884. Although there were strong opposition in the German parliament about holding a colony in East Africa,¹⁹⁹ Bismarck did not give up on his policies in the region because he believed that holding a colony in Africa could be useful to gain more power in Europe. Bismarck used the slave trade as the most powerful justification for Germany's interest in Africa. According to Voltaire newspaper, Bismarck claimed that Arab slave traders were still engaging with the slave trade. He also mentioned that Germany would send its soldiers to Zanzibar against Arabs in order to stop the slave trade. He believed that a coalition between Germany and

¹⁹⁷ Y.A. Hus., 222/69, 29.6.1306/1889.

¹⁹⁸ Benett, *A History of Arab State of Zanzibar*, 162.

¹⁹⁹ Y.PRK.PT 6/57, 5 ZA 1307/1890

Britain in Zanzibar could help to stop slavery.²⁰⁰ Another important reason was that Germany intended to include the region within the circle of civilization.²⁰¹

4- The Local Resistance against the Colonial Activities in Zanzibar

In the late 1880's, the European powers, scrambling for having their parts in East Africa, increased their pressures over the Zanzibar Sultans. The occupation and the partition of the Zanzibar lands among the European powers led to the certain disputes in Zanzibar against the colonial powers in Zanzibar. In this sense, there are several materials in the Ottoman archives indicating this anger of both the ruling class and the people of Zanzibar.

As has been stated previously, the slave trade activity in Zanzibar was one of the most important reasons for the colonial intervention. The British and German powers alleged that their aim was definitely to serve humanity by putting an end to the ongoing slave trade in Zanzibar.²⁰² There is a remarkable document within the Ottoman archive which can be evaluated as a reply of the local people to the claims of the European powers. This document quotes some statements from a local newspaper in which an official report was published on the condition of slaves in Pemba and Zanzibar. The main emphasis in the document can be summarized as following: 'The situation of slaves in these regions was quite well. It implies that it was impossible to call them slaves since they were actually free. Moreover, everybody knew that in order to get freedom, it was enough to apply. In the year 1903, there were 196 men, 231 women and 21 children who applied to get their

²⁰⁰ Y.PRK.TKM, 14 R. 1306/1889.

²⁰¹ Y.A. Hus., 222/69, 29.6.1306/1889.

²⁰² Y.A. Hus., 221/30, 12.5.1306/1889.

report of freedom, *atiknâme*. The total number of the people who gained their *atiknâme* was 448. Yet the majority of slaves in Zanzibar preferred to live under the protection of a family rather than being free. In other words, there was no difficulty in terms of earning their daily needs when they were under protection. The slavery was not an awful thing in Zanzibar. They were happy in big houses or *konaks*. They also had privileged positions because their masters could leave some of their properties to them after death. They were also sure that even if they could not work when they were ill, their owner can treat them nicely and provide their daily needs.²⁰³ It is suprising to see what the Zanzibar people²⁰⁴ think of being enslaved. As it has been understood from the document, they recognized the domestic slavery as a guarantee in continuing their lives. The emphasis on the easiness of receiving *atiknâme* makes me think that they had certain choice of being slaves or not. Meanwhile, their suprising words on showing the slavery as a natural event in the region can be analyzed as an objection to the European powers who occupied Zanzibar by alleging the salvery. According to me, the document intends to say that the slavery can not be an excuse for the European powers to intervene and occupy Zanzibar.

Another important claim of the European powers was that they were serving for humanity and wanted to bring civilization into Zanzibar.²⁰⁵ However, I think that the emergence of the Muslim brotherhoods or *tariqas* as anti-colonial movements should be evaluated as a significant response to the European intervention into Zanzibar. In particular the *Uwaysîya* branch of the *Qâdiriye* order played a leading

²⁰³ Y.A.Hus., 484/54, 9.12.1322/1905. For full transcription of the related document see appendix 7.

²⁰⁴ The 'Zanzibar people' does not refer to a specific group of people in Zanzibar. But it means all the people who actually lived in Zanzibar.

²⁰⁵ Y.A. Hus., 221/30, 12.5.1306/1889.

role in opposing the German rule in Zanzibar.²⁰⁶ The Zanzibar coastal area became the centre of the movement which expanded toward the inlands of East Africa. The movement progressed so quickly that Germany conceived it as a danger. Martin made use of the German diplomatic sources to present the view of the German colonial administration on this movement.²⁰⁷ In the sources, there was a telegram from Mecca which was full of propaganda against the European powers in Zanzibar. It was also said that there were 'fanatical preaching in mosques against the foreigners.' Moreover, according to the archives, this group aimed to subvert the German authority by turning their Sudanese soldiers against them.²⁰⁸

The *Uwaysi* order was also supported by the sultans of Zanzibar beginning with Sultan Berkash (1870-1888) and with his successors Khalifa b. Said (1888-1890) and Hamid b. Thuwayni b. Said (1893-6).²⁰⁹ It is interesting to notice here that the above mentioned Sultans were adherents of the Ibadhi sect.²¹⁰ However, they supported a Sunni brotherhood and its leader both economically and politically. It seems to me that the Zanzibar Sultans recognized this brotherhood as a political unification against the colonial powers rather than a religious teaching. They may want to channel it through the political aims. This seems similar to Abdulhamid II's policies in North Africa. He also supported some tariqas in the region against the

²⁰⁶ B. G. Martin, "Muslim Politics and Resistance to Colonial Rule: Shaykh Uways B. Muhammad Al-Barawi and the Qadiriya Brotherhood in East Africa", *The Journal of African History* 10/1/3 (1969): 471.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 474.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 477.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 473.

²¹⁰ For more information on the teachings of Ibadhi sect see Muhammed Ebu Zehra, *İslam'da Siyasi ve İtikadi Mezhepler Tarihi* (İstanbul, 1983), 55.

colonial activities.²¹¹ In this sense the tariqas, religious brotherhoods, had also political agenda in the African context.

Arabs whose political and commercial interests had been badly damaged by the establishment of the German protectorate in Tanganyika in 1891 also supported the Uwaysiya order. For instance, Rumaliza²¹² who was a famous slave-trader and ivory merchant was one of them²¹³ and tried hard to increase the area of influence of this order.

The German governor was disturbed by these activities and always recognized the movement as a big danger. He also suspected that this movement could have a larger connection with the Islamic world. Rechenberg said that Abdulhamid II, the great promoter of the so-called Pan-Islamism, might have wished to make trouble in a German colony but the loose ties among the Qâdirî groups would make this effort impossible.²¹⁴ In short, the Uwaysîya branch of the Qadiriye played a significant role both teaching whom Islamic values and resisting against the colonial powers. Certain relations between the leader of the order and the Zanzibar sultans could be the sign of its political meaning in Zanzibar.²¹⁵

²¹¹ İhsan Süreyya Sırma, II.Abdulhamid'in İslam Birliği Siyaseti (Istanbul, 1985), 46

²¹² For his picture see Appendix 4.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 478.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 484.

²¹⁵ This brotherhood, like many other brotherhoods all over the continent, had also important place in the massive conversion into Islam in the coastal region, in the inner Tanganyika, and in Congo at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning decades of the twentieth centuries. For more information see also B. G. Martin, *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth Century Africa* (London, 1976).

Apart from the religious movements against the colonial activities, there were some important uprisings in the region. The Maji Maji rebellion (1905-1907)²¹⁶ was one of the most famous of the local insurrections against the German harsh administration system. The main reasons were the implementation of the head tax of 1898 which was levied on entire adult Africans in the colony and a high level of violence while collecting taxes. It started in July 1905 in Kilwa and spread rapidly throughout the region with the attacks against entire foreigners, including missionaries, administrators, and their Swahili/Arab clerks.²¹⁷ The interesting thing with this revolt is that it was a spontaneous uprising with no previous planning and central leadership. And thousands of local people were killed in this rebellion. Yet, the Maji Maji rebellion became an important inspiration for the later generation of the national movements.²¹⁸

There were also some attacks against the missionaries in Zanzibar. According to the news in *Tamimi* newspaper dated 25 Kanunisani 1889, some Zanzibari Arabs killed the German missionaries including a female member.²¹⁹ Another document, which can be seen as the reaction of the local people against the European invasion informs that a Somali tribe undertook an opposition against the Europeans. The same document also reports that Carl Peters who was responsible for the German territorial acquisition in Zanzibar was also killed.²²⁰ Germany's precaution against these attacks was to increase the number of war ships in the coast.²²¹ Germany also

²¹⁶ The Maji Maji was the name of the magic water. The Africans washed their bodies with this magic water to move the bullets of the Germans.

²¹⁷ Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa* (New York: 1995), 340

²¹⁸ Shillington, *History of Africa*, 340.

²¹⁹ Y.PRK.TKM 14/35, 23 CA 1306/1889.

²²⁰ Y.PRK.PT 5/108, 13 RA 1307/1889; and Y.PRK.PT 6/17, 30 RA 1307/1890.

²²¹ HR. SYS 17/64, 21 Z 1889.

sent some military officials to the region through two Australian ships called Llyod and Amphitrite.²²²

Abdulrazak Gurnah's novel²²³ on Zanzibar reflects the local people's view about the Europeans. It is stated wherever a Zanzibari people goes, they found that Europeans already went there. Their soldiers and officers who claimed that they were in Zanzibar to save the people from the enemies occupied everywhere. They are buying the best lands without paying any money. Moreover, they are forcing the people to work for them. The first thing a European did was to construct a jail for the people who did not obey them. They also built churches to serve in order to make Zanzibar people to convert into Christianity. Then they establish trade networks to control the economic activities in Zanzibar. It is also interesting to note that Europeans are recognized as dangerous snakes whose spits are full of poison. Some of the Zanzibar people believed that they are returned to life through the breath of their friends after they died.²²⁴ The picture which has been drawn by Gurnah about the Europeans seems to indicate that Europeans' concrete behaviours caused the Zanzibar people to recognize them as semi-human unchallenged creatures. The logic of the Maji Maji rebellion which has been stated above can be understood better in this sense. In other words, magic water, Maji Maji, could be realized only way to fight against the strong enemies.

²²² HR. SYS 18/7, 8 RA 1890.

²²³ There is a discussion about making use of the novels as a source for history. In 'Faulkner's South: Is there truth in Fiction?', it is said that novels show not the facts of the age, but the mind of the novelist, not social conditions, but attitudes toward social conditions. In short, novels can be useful in understanding the opinions of an age; they may not be reliable guides about the condition of the age. Lois Ferleger and Richard H. Steckel, "Faulkner's South: Is there truth in Fiction?", *Reconstructing History*, ed. E. Fox-Genovese and Lasch Quinn, (New York, 1999), 362.

²²⁴ Abdulrazak Gurnah, *Cennet*, (Istanbul, 1998), 62.

To sum up, it can be said that the Zanzibar people did not welcome the Europeans nicely. This, I believe, was not directly based on the religious differences between the Zanzibar people and the Europeans. The opposition was rather a political act and found supporters from different classes of the society. The ruling class, ulama, and ordinary people all were disturbed by the European colonialist activities in Zanzibar.

5- The relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers on Zanzibar

In this section, I will analyze the sources to understand how the colonial powers acted in the case of the local uprisings in the Zanzibar Sultanate. In other words, this section will draw our attention to the colonial policies in order to settle the disputes down. Several documents show us that the colonial powers were aware of the tension among the local people. In this case, their most important policy seems to be finding some mediators between themselves and the Zanzibar people. A lot of archival documents say us that the Caliphate status of the Ottoman Empire was an important tool for them. In other words, the Ottoman Empire's prestige over the Muslim population of the region became a useful instrument for them to convince the local people.

The importance of the Caliphate in the international politics was firstly discovered by Britain toward the end of the eighteenth century, which was the stage of establishing its authority in India during this period. When England realized that the Indian Muslims respected the Ottoman Empire as the Caliph of the Islamic world, it concluded that this certain feeling of the Indian people could properly be

addressed to the British interests.²²⁵ In this sense, Britain wanted Selim III to send a letter to Sultan Tipu,²²⁶ the leader of the Meysur Sultanate which was located in the southern India, advising the sultan not to fight against Britain. Selim III's letter to the sultan partly reflected the wishes of Britain.²²⁷

In the case of the Zanzibar Sultanate, especially Germany resorted to this policy. When Germany planned to settle its authority over the Muslim people of Zanzibar, it demanded the Ottoman Empire to declare that Germany was an ally of the Ottoman Empire.²²⁸ Once Von Rechenberg, the German Protectorate governor, considered that if the German East Africa was declared Dâr al-Islâm by the Ottoman Empire, the favorable position of Germans could be strengthened in East Africa. In this sense, he suggested that this could be accomplished through Marshall von Bieberstein, the German ambassador, to Constantinople. The ambassador made a conversation with Hanafi Shaykh al-Islam and the Fetwa Emini (an Ottoman official who issued decrees on the religious questions). Then, he reported that the Ottoman ulema claimed that a place might be called Dâr al-Islam if there were no restrictions on Muslims on the exercise of their religion and as long as the Caliph (Abdulhamid II) was mentioned in the Friday khutba.²²⁹ Rechenberg states that the name of Abduhamid II and that of Seyyid Berkash had been mentioned in Mosques in East

²²⁵ Azmi Özcan, "İngiltere'de Hilafet Tartışmaları (1873-1909)", *Hilafet Risaleleri*, ed. İsmail Kara, (İstanbul, 2003), I: 63.

²²⁶ For his picture see Appendix 6.

²²⁷ Y. Hikmet Bayur, "Tipu Sultanı ile Osmanlı Padişahlarından I. Abdulhamid ile III.Selim Arasındaki Mektuplaşma", *Belleten* XLVII (1948): 619-654.

²²⁸ Y.PRK.BŞK, 10/83, 25 Ş. 1303/1886.

²²⁹ Martin, "Muslim Politics and Resistance to Colonial Rule: Shaykh Uways B. Muhammad Al-Barawi and the Qadiriya Brotherhood in East Africa", 484.

Africa until just before 1900.²³⁰ Moreover, he also says that the German rule in East Africa does not signify any limitation on the Islamic beliefs.²³¹ It seems that Rechenberg wanted East Africa under the German Colonial rule to be accepted as the land of Dâr al-Islâm.

As can be deduced from the archival materials in the Ottoman archives, the Ottoman Empire developed two different approaches for the claims of the European powers in general and Germany in particular. The first of them was that the Ottoman Empire kept sending envoys to Zanzibar who could undertake mediatory duties between Europeans and the local people.²³² The second approach was that the Ottoman Empire considered the demands of the European powers as an extension of their colonial policies²³³ and recognized them as a big danger for Islamic world or *Câmi'atü'l-İslâmiye*. It thus followed very carefully their activities in the region. It even recognized them as a danger also for its own presence in Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the North African provinces.²³⁴

Another instance of the German policy was a case in which the German chief translator brought a message from Chancellor Bismarck to Abdulhamid II.²³⁵ This message tells that Germany obtained the control of the Eastern coast of Africa and established the German East African Company. Moreover, it created a police force in Zanzibar to maintain security in the region but Germany was undecided to employ

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 484.

²³¹ Governor von Rechenberg wrote these statements after Rumeliza who was an important figure in the Qadiriye tariqa in Zanzibar struggled hard to establish a revolt against the Germany in Zanzibar. Martin presented the Rechenberg's attitude towards the member of tariqa by making use of the Tanzania State Archives. See *Ibid.*, 483.

²³² YEE, 127/7, 12 L 1308/1891.

²³³ Y.PRK.ASK, 14/64, 26 Ş 1306/1889; see also Y.PRK.HR, 11/51, 11 RA 1306/1889.

²³⁴ Y.PRK.HR, 11/51, 11 RA 1306/1889.

²³⁵ Y.A. Hus., 160/130, 20. 2. 1296/1879.

his own soldiers in this police force because it did not want to interrupt the internal affairs of the Zanzibar sultanate. In this sense, Germany wanted the Ottoman Empire to send some Sudanese from Istanbul to be employed in Zanzibar as officials in the police force.²³⁶ The Ottoman Empire informed Germany that the Ottoman Empire could accept this only under the condition that the Zanzibar Sultan wanted these Sudanese.²³⁷ It seems that the Ottoman Empire was aware of the fact that it could have lost its prestige in the eyes of the Muslims all over the world if it accepted the request of Germany.

The documents have shown us that the colonial powers in Zanzibar were aware of the increasing opposition against them, carried by the local people. Their policy toward this situation, which we have concentrated on through this section, was the Ottomans to be a mediator between the Europeans and the Zanzibar people. Their demand from the Ottomans may be an important sign of the Ottoman prestigious position in the eyes of the Zanzibar people. The next chapter will analyze whether or not the Ottomans themselves were aware of this important statue.

²³⁶ There was significant amount of Sudanese in the Ottoman Empire who were transferred from Sudan and Sub-Saharan region through network of the slave trade. Sudanese in Istanbul whom Bismarck wanted to employ in Zanzibar were most probably from a group of those slaves. For a related document (Y.A. Hus. 222/46, 1306.6.17) and its full transcription see Appendix 14.

²³⁷ Y.A.Hus. 222/27. For its full transcription see Appendix 15. For its original text and a summary in English see Appendix 22.

III. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE ZANZIBAR SULTANATE (1880-1907)

The history of the formal relations between the Zanzibar Sultanate and the Ottoman Empire began during the 1877-1878 Ottoman- Russian wars. The Ottoman Empire had started loosing its prestige during the wars, and wanted to establish certain relations with the Muslim people all over the world. Abdulhamid II (1876-1908) had at the beginning wanted to get in touch with the Muslims who lived in Russia. Moreover, the Muslim people who were under the colonial powers in India²³⁸ and Africa²³⁹ were also included in this network. The term Pan-Islamism might be introduced here as a keyword to describe the activities of Abdulhamid II all over the world. I will seek if there was any attempt of Abdulhamid II in realizing the Pan-Islamist ideas in our case, the Zanzibar Sultanate. Besides, I will remark the main motives and elements in the nature of the relations between the Zanzibar Sultanate and the Ottoman Empire. Although the sixteenth century Ottoman admiral Piri Reis and Ali Beg visited East African coast before, the first formal relation between the Ottoman Empire and the Zanzibar Sultanate was realized during the reign of Bu Saïd Dynasty in Zanzibar.²⁴⁰ It was the reign of Sultan Berkash (1870-1888) in Zanzibar

²³⁸ Azmi Özcan, *Pan-İslamizm: Osmanlı Devleti, Hindistan Müslümanları ve İngiltere* (İstanbul, 1992). This book intends to present the relationship between the Sultan Abdulhamid II and the Indian Muslims who were under British Colonial Empire in late nineteenth century.

²³⁹ Cezmi Eraslan, "II.Abdulhamid Devrinde Osmanlı Devleti Dahilinde ve Afrika Kıtasında İslam Birliği (Pan-İslamizm) Faliyetleri" (MA Thesis, İstanbul University, 1985). Eraslan devoted the final chapter of his study to the Ottoman relations with the African Muslims who were under the rule of the colonial powers.

²⁴⁰ Bilge, "Bû Saïd Hânedanı", 6: 339-340.

and Abdulhamid II (1876-1908) in the Ottoman Empire. Abdulhamid II paid a special attention to the Muslim sultanate of East Africa especially after the Turco-Russian war in 1877-78. Eraslan claimed that Abdulhamid II wished to gain the friendship of Zanzibar Sultanate.²⁴¹ It seems that the first movement came from the Ottoman side to establish the friendship. According to the Ottoman archives, these friendly relations went on until the first quarter of the twentieth century.

1- The reign of Berkash (1870-1888)

Sultan Berkash²⁴² is an important figure in the history of the Zanzibar Sultanate. As Farsi puts it, he was not only Harun Resid of Zanzibar but also their Ma'mun.²⁴³ Farsi implies that Berkash attempted to improve Zanzibar by constructing public buildings and providing various utilities to the Zanzibar town including especially water. He also challenged the British dominance to regain the political independence. His aim was to maintain the unification of the divided Omani Kingdom of Bu Saïd dynasty.²⁴⁴ On the other hand, he was harsh to those who did not follow his Ibadhi beliefs and imprisoned several members of the learned elite in Zanzibar.²⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that he ironically supported the development of Sunni orders in Zanzibar such as the Uwaisiya branch of Qadiriye. This is possibly related with the role of the order in the organization of the opposition against the Colonial powers as it has been discussed before.

²⁴¹ Eraslan, "II.Abdulhamid Devrinde Osmanlı Devleti Dahilinde ve Afrika Kıtasında İslam Birliği (Pan-İslamizm) Faliyetleri", 127.

²⁴² For his picture see Appendix 2.

²⁴³ Abdul Sheriff, "Mosques, Merchants and Landowners in Zanzibar Old Stone Town", 283.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 282.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 283.

Berkash also used to visit Europe²⁴⁶ and developed countries. A document in the Ottoman archives tells us that he also went to Egypt after returning from Europe.²⁴⁷ Eraslan states that the period during which Berkash visited Europe and some other countries coincided with the emergence of the so called Pan-Islamism. Sultan's aim at traveling the different places was to learn about the developments occurred in the other parts of the world.²⁴⁸ But we do not have any document to claim it. At that time, the Ottoman Empire was able to find an opportunity to step for constructing a friendship with Sultan Berkash. It was the season of pilgrimage in 1877 that Sultan Berkash prepared to go to Hecaz in order to practice his religious duty. From a document we learn that Abdulhamid II ordered to Halid Pasha, the Hicaz wali or governor, to organize a special ceremony in honor of Sultan Bergash which suited with the greatness of the Ottoman Caliphate.²⁴⁹ Sultan Berkash was also welcome in Egypt with a great sincerity. Then he went to Mecca where the Hicaz wali charged several men to perform whatever he needed.²⁵⁰ The Hecaz *wali* also prepared a convenient flat for the sultan.²⁵¹ The same document also tells us that expenditures done for Sultan Berkash should be kept under record to inform the *Maliye Nezareti* or Ministry of Finance in Istanbul. At the end of his visit, the wali

²⁴⁶ Emily Reute (Salme Said) who was the sister of Sultan Berkash mentioned about the visit of Berkash to England in the spring of 1875. For more information see Emily Reute, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar* (USA, 2000), 267.

²⁴⁷ YEE 84/121 1 ZA 1294/1877.

²⁴⁸ Eraslan, "II.Abdulhamid Devrinde Osmanlı Devleti Dahilinde ve Afrika Kıtasında İslam Birliği (Pan-İslamizm) Faliyetleri", 127.

²⁴⁹ The Ottoman officials in Hecaz welcomed some other Zanzibar Sultans during the pilgrimage season. For the full transcrip of the document see also Appendix 9

²⁵⁰ The Zanzibar Sultan Ali b. Hamid also went to Mecca and welcomed by great sincerity. For the full transcription of the text see Appendix 9.

²⁵¹ Y.A.Hus 160/130, 20.2.1296/1879.

presented the *Mecidi Nishan* to Sultan Berkash²⁵² Thus, by means of this hospitality, the Ottoman Empire made a kind start to its relations with the Zanzibar Sultanate.

In the following years, Abdulhamid II took a further step in the development of the relations with Sultan Berkash. He sent Emin Efendi, who was capable of speaking Arabic fluently, to Zanzibar. He was thus, the first Ottoman official in Zanzibar. He took with him an Arabic letter and the *Nishan* to present to Sultan Berkash. The document itself explains the reason for this visit and *Nishan* as the possible contribution of the *Nishan* and the *Name-i Humayun* to the development of the Islamic Unity or *Câmi'atü'l-İslâmiye*. When Sultan Berkash had received the *Nishan* and the letter, he sent back his own letter to Abdulhamid II in which Sultan Berkash used very complimentary words to the Ottoman Sultan.²⁵³ Then he thanked for the *Nishan* and presented his respects to the Ottoman Empire.²⁵⁴

I would like to ask why it was so important for Abdulhamid II to contact with Sultan Berkash. The reason(s) might be that the Zanzibar Sultanate was the most important Muslim sultanate in East African coastal region. Moreover, it was under the danger of colonial powers. It seems to me that the Sultan and the Caliph Abdulhamid II firstly, wanted to the Zanzibar Sultan to know that the Caliph was following the developments closely. Secondly, Abdulhamid II might want to enlarge his network of mental boundaries by making use of his Caliph statue. In this sense, his activities in the Zanzibar Sultanate were quite convincing. We should remember

²⁵² YEE 84/121, 1 ZA 1294/1877.

²⁵³ Nefhanıyla ribaz-ı muhbis ve vararın mu'tar olacağı ve nüsmasıyla ezhar-ı ihlas ve ethavun-u intifah edeceği selam ra'yesi üzerine yemin ve ihsanı besat eden ve 'adl-i ve ihsanı ifaz eyleyen, sa'adet necaş devlet-i Osmaniye ve memleket-i hakaniye-i mu'azzam ve sultan-ı mükerrerem hazretlerine. See Y.PRK.NMH 1/58, 20 CA 1296/1879.

²⁵⁴ Y.PRK.NMH 1/58, 20 CA 1296/1879.

that even the European powers expected the Ottoman Empire to have a intermediary role in the Zanzibar Sultanate.

In the following cases, I have exampled the content of the relations between the Zanzibar Sultanate and the Ottoman Empire.

2- The reign of Khalifa b. Sa'îd (1888-1890)

i. The Visit of Shükrü Beg to Zanzibar in 1889

Khalifa b. Sa'îd (1888-1890) succeeded Sultan Berkash in 1888. Abdulhamid II sent Shükrü Beg²⁵⁵ to Zanzibar to convey his message of celebration to the new sultan Khalifa b. Said. The Ottoman envoy kept a detailed account of his visit to Zanzibar. He said that he arrived there in twenty-four days. In the late nineteenth century, traveling from Istanbul to Zanzibar took a long time but he did not mention the route of his travel. A possible route can be as following. Firstly one had to go to Alexandria then could reach to Massawa, one of the Red Sea ports, by passing through The Suez. After going south in the Red sea, Bab'ul Mendebe opened up to the Indian Ocean and finally to Zanzibar.²⁵⁶ This road may have possibly taken about a month if there was no quarantine in any port city. Otherwise it could take more than a month as in the case of Hafız Mahmud Efendi who was a trader. Once he wanted to

²⁵⁵ A document also mentioned about an envoy, Mehmed Beg. His visit to Zanzibar coincided with the envoy Shükrü Beg's visit. It may be possible that Mehmed Beg and Shükrü Beg was the same person. Y.A. Hus., 220/41 16-4-1306. For the full text of the document see also Appendix 13. Khalifa b.Sayed informed Andulhamid II that he received the letter through the envoy Muhammed Beg. For the original copy (Y. PRK.TKM 13/58 24 S 1306) of the telegram see Appendix 27.

²⁵⁶ Y.PRK.AZN 2/23, 9 L 1301/1884.

bring coconut from Zanzibar to Istanbul, he had to wait for a long time in Alexandria because of quarantine.²⁵⁷

In the case of Shükrü Beg, it was not given any information regarding whether he moved from Yemen or Istanbul. He wrote his letter in the third day of his arrival to Zanzibar. He informed the Zanzibar officials about the reason for his visit to Zanzibar saying that he was sent there by the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II carrying his letter to the new Sultan. But at that time, the sultan of Zanzibar was not in Zanzibar but in his summer house. The officials sent a telegraph to Khalifa b. Said informing that the Ottoman envoy arrived in Zanzibar. Sultan Khalifa also sent a telegraph quickly and ordered his servants to take care of the Ottoman envoy in a good manner. They prepared a flat for him that was considerably big and its rooms were furnished with the royal pleasure.²⁵⁸ There were servants and cooks in the flat as well as two guards waiting in front of the door. Sükrü Beg said that they had

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ Shükrü Beg did not specify where he had exactly stayed during his visit in Zanzibar. On the other hand, the term 'Royal pleasure' which was used by Shükrü Beg, implies that it was a rich and distinguished house. Emily Reute describes the style of these houses as following: 'Persian carpets or very fine and soft matting cover the floors; the thick, whitewashed walls are divided from floor to ceiling into several partitions by deep recesses; these recesses are again subdivided by shelves of wood, painted green, forming a kind of open cabinet. Upon these shelves are symmetrically ranged the choicest and most expensive objects of glass and china. To an Arab nothing can be too costly to decorate these shelves; a handsome cut glass, a plate beautifully painted, or an elegant and tasteful jug, may cost any price. The bare and narrow walls between the recesses are carefully concealed by large mirrors reaching from the low divans to the ceiling; these mirrors are generally expressly ordered from Europe. As a rule, pictures are prohibited to a Mohemetan as imitations of Divine creation: of late, however, they are tolerated now and then. Clocks, again, are in great favor everywhere, and some houses contain quite a rich collections of them; they are placed above and in pairs on each side of the mirrors. The walls of the gentleman's room are decorated with costly weapons from Arabia, Persia and Turkey.' Reute, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*, 20.

dinner about two o'clock.²⁵⁹ Then, two royal officials came to the flat in order to present a gift from the Sultan Khalifa b. Sa'id. It was a bunch of rose covered with leaves of banana. On Monday, some officials came and told that the Sultan Khalifa b. Sa'id sent a message to inform that he would be back after Tuesday. Moreover, the Sultan also sent a horse for Shükrü Beg to tour around the city.²⁶⁰ Two days later, the servants informed Shükrü Beg on that Sultan Khalifa b. Sa'id arrived at his palace and he could accept him. Then soldiers took Shükrü Beg and brought him to the palace.²⁶¹ According to his narration, the Sultan's palace was protected by 400 men. Furthermore, two slaves with bald heads were waiting in front of the door.²⁶² Then Shükrü Beg entered the palace with prays to Sultan Abdulhamid II.²⁶³ They referred to the greatness of the Ottoman Sultan as he was the shadow of God in earth. He was

²⁵⁹ Here ezânî clock was used. It is designed according to the movements of Sun. When sun sets down it shows at 12 o'clock.

²⁶⁰ Riding horse was also common among the royal family. Reute stated that all children above the five years age had riding lessons twice a day, early in the morning and in the evening. She also recorded that the boys got permission to choose a horse from the royal stud, while the girls received large white donkeys from Masqat which were often more expensive than horses. Reute, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*, 3.

²⁶¹ Although Shükrü beg did not indicate which palace of the Zanzibar Sultan he visited, the picture at Appendix 3 presents one of the most important palace of the Zanzibar Sultan at this period.

²⁶² Shükrü Beg did not specify which palace he went to see Sultan. As it can be understood from Reute's account there were mainly five palaces in which the members of the royal family lived. She presented a great number such as a thousand of people lived in a palace. This was mainly because of the great numbers of slaves employed in the palace. Reute, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*, 4.

²⁶³ "Zıllullah fi'l-alem velinimet ---miz Padişahımız Efendimiz hazretlerinin alem-i nusret tevamları keşide olunmuş olduğu halde abd-ı nacizanemi mahz-ı Sultan'us-selatin ve hakan'ul-havakin halife-i ruy-ı zemin Şevketlü kudretlü azimetlü padişah-ı alempenah ve şehriyar Farukcah Efendimiz hazretlerinin efrat-ı vird-i muhazenetlerinden bir ihtiram-ı fevkalade olmak üzere selamladılar", Y.A. Hus., 220/41 16-4-1306. See Appendix 13.

responsible to protect all the Muslim community and was powerful and strong. Then Shükrü Beg entered into the palace and saw two groups of soldiers and the official bands at the entrance. Some men were standing next to the Sultan, who were bold and wearing black clothes which were decorated with silver thread. Their heads were covered with dynastic turban.²⁶⁴ They were also carrying daggers whose handles were decorated with silver. Shükrü Beg said that he was so excited to be in front of the Sultan. He had not been sent with this kind of duty. He said that he was afraid of making a mistake in front of the Sultan. Then he presented the *Name-i Humayun* to the Sultan. The Sultan of Zanzibar raised it above his head. Then Shükrü Beg kissed the Sultan's hands and prayed for the goodness of him.²⁶⁵

ii. The visit of Abdulkadir Efendi to Zanzibar in 1889

Abdulhamid II sent another envoy, Abdulkadir Efendi to Zanzibar in the same year. The main motive of sending an envoy to Zanzibar might be an extraordinary situation at this time. It can be claimed that the intense colonial activities in Zanzibar had alarmed Abdulhamid II. He might want to be aware of the political developments in Zanzibar. The European powers especially the British and Germans had occupied the eastern coast of Africa through the big trade companies and this

²⁶⁴ Reute devoted a remarkable chapter of her memoirs about the toilet and fashion in Zanzibar in late nineteenth. She said that Zanzibar had no manufacture of any kind, therefore most of the clothing materials were imported from foreign countries. She said that rich people had gold brocades of many patterns. Moreover, all clothing were hand-made. All dresses rejoice in a uniformly simple cut, alike for women or men. They were differed in materials and their decoration. Reute, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*, 82.

²⁶⁵ Y.A.Hus., 220/38, 16.4.1306/1889.

situation disturbed the local people. We can see it from several documents showing the degree of this tension between the local people and the European powers.

Abdulkadir Efendi, the chief of the Beirut trade court with his fluent Arabic and other foreign languages might be a mediator between European powers and Zanzibar.²⁶⁶ However, the documents tell us that European powers did not like the Ottomans to send an ambassador to the region. They could know that the Ottoman Empire as the Caliph of the Islamic world had more influence on Zanzibar. In this sense, Abdulkadir Efendi took an important place in European press. The *Deba* newspaper²⁶⁷ which had been published in France was one of them. In its issue dated as April 24th 1889, a letter was publishede shedding light on the reason why the Ottoman Empire sent an envoy to Zanzibar. It reported that Germany had decided to act according to her own interest. However, it could cause a tension among the local people who could be provoked easily against Germans. Under this situation, Germany wanted help from the Ottoman Empire asking that the Ottoman should declare that Germany was an alliance power. Empire

The French newspaper *Deba* claimed that if the Ottomans had sent an envoy there to help the Germans, it could have led the Ottomans to loose its prestige in the eyes of the Muslims in Zanzibar as well as all over the world. This claim was denied by the Ottoman officials saying hat Abdulkadir Efendi was not sent there for the German interest. The Ottoman Empire was an independent state and had a right to develop her own policies. Moreover, since the Ottoman Empire was the Caliphate of

²⁶⁶ *Irade*, 87811, 1306/1889. For the full transcription of the document see Appendix 12.

²⁶⁷ The original name of the newspaper is *Journal Des Dél Des Débats: Politiques Et Littéraires Et Littéraires*. This is written as *Deba* in the archival documents. Y.A. Hus. 204/82 1306.8.23, For its full transcription see Appendix 16.

the Islamic world, she had to take care of the Muslims all over the world, and this should not have concerned any foreign state.²⁶⁸

3- Mehmed Rüşdi and His Visit in Zanzibar

Mehmed Rüşdi was sent to Zanzibar by the Wali of Yemen to convey Abdulhamid II's letter to the Zanzibar Sultan, Sayyid Hamed b. Thuwain (1893- 1896).²⁶⁹ We do not have any document to learn what was written in the letter. It might be realized as an important sign of the Abdulhamid II's continuing policy toward Zanzibar. He stayed nine days in Zanzibar and kept a detailed account about the socio-cultural and political situation in Zanzibar.²⁷⁰ He wrote on the people of Zanzibar in terms of their cultural and ethical values. Moreover, he explains the geographical location of Zanzibar, its productions and its state administration. He also commented that Zanzibar people are not in the level of civilization that may lead them to do agriculture and farming in a good manner. He also said that the language of the state is Arabic. However, some of the officials in the state administration know English and French. We can understand it from the languages of the archival materials in the Ottoman archive. Some of them were written in the Arabic next to the others which were written both in French and in English. But I can hardly say anything about which language/s were used most in the official corresponds. On the other hand, I think, the Arabic was predominantly used during the reign of Sultan Berkash who was a devoted Muslim and have the pan-Islamic ideas through the inlands of Africa.

²⁶⁸ Y.A.Hus., 224/82, 23.8.1306/1889.

²⁶⁹ It is not indicated which sultan was at the throne during Mehmed Rüşdi's visit. If the visit after 1893, it coincided with the period of Sultan Hameed. (1893-1896)

²⁷⁰ Mehmed Rüşdi, "Zengibar Hakkında Malumat-ı Mufassala".

However, for the later periods, corresponds were generally done in European languages such as English.

Mehmed Rüşdi stated that the eighty percentage of the population was Muslim and most of them were belong to the Sunni sect. It is interesting enough for me to note that although the Zanzibar Sultan belonged to the Ibadiyya sect, the khutbe was read by the name of the Ottoman Khalifa who belonged to the Sunni Sect. This shows similarity with the fact that the Zanzibar Sultans also supported the Sunni brotherhoods. As I have stated before, it was mainly to obtain certain unification against the colonial powers. I argue that the Zanzibar Sultans permitted the khutbes in Friday mosques to be read by the name of the Ottoman Caliph, because, they needed a political unification against the Europeans.

Another thing which Mehmed Rüşdi cited in his book was that the European ambassadors did not like an Ottoman envoy who visited Zanzibar. He also emphasized that the European influence had gradually been increasing in the region and, hence, took attention on the necessity of sending an Ottoman committee of ambassador to Zanzibar.²⁷¹

It seems that to me that the content of Mehmed Rüşdi's record on Zanzibar differed from the account of Shükrü Beg in the sense that Shükrü Beg mostly tended to report his personal experiences. On the other hand, Mehmed Rüşdi presented information of the general situation of Zanzibar. I can say that he kept such a record as if he was a member of a geography society and responsible to introduce the place in which he visited. In this sense, his record should have contributed a great deal to the Abdulhamid II's information on Zanzibar.

²⁷¹ *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü*, 312.

4- The Special Telegraphs from the Zanzibar Sultans to Abdulhamid II

The endeavors of Abdulhamid II to establish a friendly relationship with the Zanzibar Sultans created a state tradition. In other words, a form emerged in the nature of the relations. One of these forms was that Zanzibar Sultans sent telegraphs to the Ottoman Empire to inform about the changes in the Zanzibar throne. As an example, the Sultan Sayid Ali b. Said (1890-1893) sent a telegraph, dated February 2nd 1890, to notify Abdulhamid II about his succession over the throne after his elder brother had passed away. He emphasized that the Zanzibar Sultanate needed the Ottoman Empire as an alliance and a protector.²⁷² Thereupon Abdulhamid II sent the congratulation letters to Ali b. Said and informed that the mutual relations between the Ottoman Empire and Zanzibar would go on.²⁷³

The above mentioned telegraph, at the first glance can be evaluated as an important sign which shows the degree of the mutual relations between Sayyid Ali b. Said and Sultan Abdulhamid II. On the other hand, there was another telegraph which was sent by the next Zanzibar Sultan, Hamid b. Muhammed (1896-1902) who also used almost the same manner in his writing.²⁷⁴ In other words, the language of these telegraphs seemed to be stereotype. Did it mean that these telegraphs could not be a sign for the degree of the mutual relations between them? Whether the answer of

²⁷² Y.PRK.NMH 4/64, 26 C 1307/1890. For its original text and a summary in English see Appendix 30.

²⁷³ Y.PRK.NMH 7/23, 24 RA 1314/1896 (For its original text and a summary in English see Appendix 31); Y.PRK.NMH 1324/1906; YEE 36/57, 6 R 1327/1909; Y.PRK.NMH 10/96, 1326/1908; and Y.PRK.NMH 1/58, 20 CA 1296/1879.

²⁷⁴ Y.PRK.NMH 4/64, 26 C 1307/1890. For its original text and a summary in English see Appendix 30.

this question is positive or negative, we are using the telegraphs here not only an evidence of the strong relationship between the Ottoman State and the Zanzibar Sultanate. On the contrary they are only one of the evidences together with the other forms of relations which had been mentioned above as well as the visit of Zanzibar Sultan in Istanbul. It is not easy to claim it since there were other forms of relations which had been mentioned above as well as the visit of Zanzibar Sultan in Istanbul.

5- The Visit of the Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Ali B. Hamid, to Istanbul in 1907

The Zanzibar Sultan Seyyid Ali B. Hamoud sent a telegram to Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1906. He said that he had an operation due to an illness from his throat. He also added that he would like to visit the Sultan as soon as he recovered.²⁷⁵ In the next year the Sultan came to Istanbul in 1907²⁷⁶ after he visited some other European countries. Since he was coming from Europe, he travelled by orient express. The Ottoman ambassador in Paris informed that he planned to leave Paris on Monday night.²⁷⁷ Therefore, it is frequently ordered that whatever necessary to make his journey easier should be done.²⁷⁸ A document also gives information about the reason of his visit in Istanbul. It says that he came to Istanbul to present his gratitude to Abdulhamid II.²⁷⁹ He stayed in a flat which was prepared for the sultan in Pera

²⁷⁵ Y. PRK. NMH. 10/34 1324/1906

²⁷⁶ Ahmed Hamoud Al-Maamiry (1832-1964), Omani Sultans in Zanzibar.

²⁷⁷ Y.A.Hus. 515/139, 27 § 1325/1907; see also Y.A.Hus, 523/129, 19. 6. 1326/1908.

²⁷⁸ Y.A.Hus. 515/139, 27 § 1325/1907; Y.A.Hus: 523/129, 16.6.1326/1908.

²⁷⁹ Y.A.Hus. 523/100, 16.6.1326/1908.

Palas Hotel in Istanbul.²⁸⁰ Moreover, Abdulhamid II gave a feast for the honor of the Zanzibar Sultan. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ottoman Empire also attended to this meal.²⁸¹ Sultan Seyyid Ali b. Hamid had presented some *Nishans* to some of the Ottoman officials during his visit.²⁸² We do not know exactly how many days the Sultan spent in Istanbul. But as we can understand that, he did not stay for a long time.²⁸³ He sent a special telegraph to Sultan Abdulhamid II when he came back to Zanzibar. He thanked to the Ottoman Sultan for his hospitality. He also added that he had to leave Istanbul earlier than he wanted. But he promised to compensate it by visiting Istanbul one more time following year with his uncle who was emir of Muscat.²⁸⁴ The expenditures done during his visit with the European envoys were kept under record as 78 *bin* 18 *kuruş* that was taken from *Hazine*. The detailed information about the expenditures were stated in the document such as how much money paid to the servants of Zanzibar Sultan etc.²⁸⁵

I can comment that the Sultan's visit to Istanbul was the most visible sign of the mutual relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Zanzibar Sultanate. Although we do not have any information what the Sultans talked when they were together, the visit, itself seems very meaningful.

²⁸⁰ *İrade-Hususiye*, 978/ 75, 24 N 1325/1907 (Fot its original text and a summary in English see Appendix 23) and *İrade Hususiye* 891/132 29 § 1325/1907 (Fot its original text and a summary in English see Appendix 24), *İrade Hususiye* 883/108 28 §. 1325/1907 (Fot its original text and a summary in English see Appendix 25).

²⁸¹ *İrade-i Hususiye*, 585/61 20 C 1326/1908.

²⁸² Y.A.Hus 523/53, 9.6.1326/1908.

²⁸³ Y.A.Hus: 523/129, 16.6.1326/1908.

²⁸⁴ Y:PRK:TKM 51/36, 25 § 1326/1908. For its original text and summary in English see Appendix 28.

²⁸⁵ Y.MTV. 308/134, 22 RA 1326/1908.

6- The Committee of Hilal-ı Ahmer in Zanzibar in 1913

Italy occupied Tripoli in North Africa and declared war against the Ottoman Empire in 1911. The Ottoman Empire which was engaged in the disorders in Balkan region could not send enough soldiers to Tripoli.²⁸⁶ However, the Italian occupation in North Africa alarmed the Muslims all over the world. In India, *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti'ne Yardım Komitesi* was established in November 2nd, 1911. The main aim of this committee was to stop the war and to help the Ottoman Empire. A group of doctors were sent to Tripoli by this committee.²⁸⁷

The numbers of the committees were increased in India as well as some other parts of the world. In Zanzibar, for instance, an agent of *Hilal-ı Ahmer* committee was established. Its aim was to collect some money in order to help people in Tripoli. The Ottoman Empire gave *Nishan* to the people who worked under this committee in Zanzibar.²⁸⁸ Moreover, people of Zanzibar were also aware of the Hicaz railway construction and they wanted to make any contribution.²⁸⁹

As it has been presented above, the content of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Zanzibar Sultanate was an extensive one. I can see that the intensity of the relations increased during the reigns of Sultan Berkash and Khalifa b.Said. The main reason for that seems to be the colonial activities in the region and the Ottoman response to it. The colonial activities in the region warned the Ottoman Empire and it followed the developments very closely. The Ottoman Empire

²⁸⁶ For more information on Tripoli war see also Y.A.Baydur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, I-II, (Ankara, 1983).

²⁸⁷ Özcan, "İngiltere'de Hilafet Tartışmaları (1873-1909)", 202.

²⁸⁸ MV 230/119, 26 Z 1331/1913. For the full transcription of the related document see also Appendix 11.

²⁸⁹ Ahmed Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras: Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar* (İstanbul, 2000), 326-327.

recognized the colonial activities as a danger not only for the Zanzibar Sultanate but also for the future of all the Muslims, *câmi'atü'l Islamiyye*.²⁹⁰ Besides of these reasons, the Zanzibar Sultanate and the local people also contributed to develop this relationship. They realized the Ottoman Empire both as a Caliph of the Muslim world and as a Muslim superior power against the colonial powers. These twofold interests make us call this relationship between them 'mutual'.



²⁹⁰ Y.A.Hus 222/27, 6 C 1306/1889. For its full transcription see Appendix 15. For its original text and a summary in English see Appendix 22.

IV. THE OTTOMAN VIEW ON ZANZIBAR

In this chapter, I will mainly focus on the Ottoman people and their different views on Zanzibar; suggesting that they were aware of the Zanzibar lands from the sixteenth century onwards. Of course, by ‘Ottoman people’, it is not intended to refer to a unique definition. Here, it refers to the people who actually lived in the Ottoman territories, from the Balkan region to the Arabian lands.

The Ottoman sources consulted for this study may provide us a picture about the social and cultural reflection of the term Zanzibar in the minds of these Ottoman people. From these sources, we may find some answers for the following questions: Where was Zanzibar according to the Ottomans? Was it the lands of the exotic objects like India that was the land of wonderful perfumes, spectacular soft silks and elephants etc.? What did they think about the people who lived in Zanzibar lands? Was it so much unknown to the Ottoman people, as what would be for some people in Turkey today?

1. Zanzibar as portrayed in the Ottoman archival sources

The Ottomans knowledge on Zanzibar depends on several factors. The geographical closeness to Zanzibar for instance, should be the first factor among the others. One who lived in the Eastern and the Arabian provinces of the empire, most probably, had larger capacity on the knowledge of Zanzibar than those who lived in Anatolia and Istanbul or Balkan region. The active trade network in the Indian Ocean brought together so many merchants and traders into the close contact. The one who was coming from Far East came to face to face with the one who was coming from the Arabian Peninsula as well as Persia in the Eastern shores of the African continent. Zanzibar in this sense was the prominent center for the traders and merchants from

the early sixteenth century onward. The products of the interior such as slave and ivory were brought to the Zanzibar and then they were transported into the different places through this highly active trade network. Especially the Eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire were actively engaged in the slave trade²⁹¹ in Zanzibar. The slave demand of the Eastern provinces was satisfied by the slave market in Zanzibar which was one of the three most important slave trade networks of the Ottoman Empire until the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁹² Some of the Ottoman ships bought slaves in Zanzibar and sold them by the expense of date (hurma) and some other kinds of staffs in Basra.²⁹³ In this sense, the Ottoman people of the Eastern provinces might possibly think of Zanzibar as the source of slave trade.²⁹⁴

Zanzibar as a significant place in the Indian Ocean mercantile world was also the source of from which the provincial administrators of the Ottoman Empire had ordered precious gifts for the Ottoman sultans. Osman Nuri Pasha, the commander and Wali of Hicaz ordered a certain amount of white ambergris, tile and Chinese silk for Abdulhamid II.²⁹⁵ Another document tells that the Hicaz Wali presented ivory with length of 2.5 meters, Chinese dishes which had been specially ordered from Zanzibar for the Ottoman Sultan. The wali also stated that those gifts were sign of his

²⁹¹ Y.A.Hus 230/68 Ra 22 1307. This document indicates that Iran also had an important place in the Eastern slave trade network. Iran Shah was also invited to Brüksel Conference in which the abolishment of the slavery was extensively discussed in Brüksel in 1890. For the full transcript of the related document see also Appendix 8.

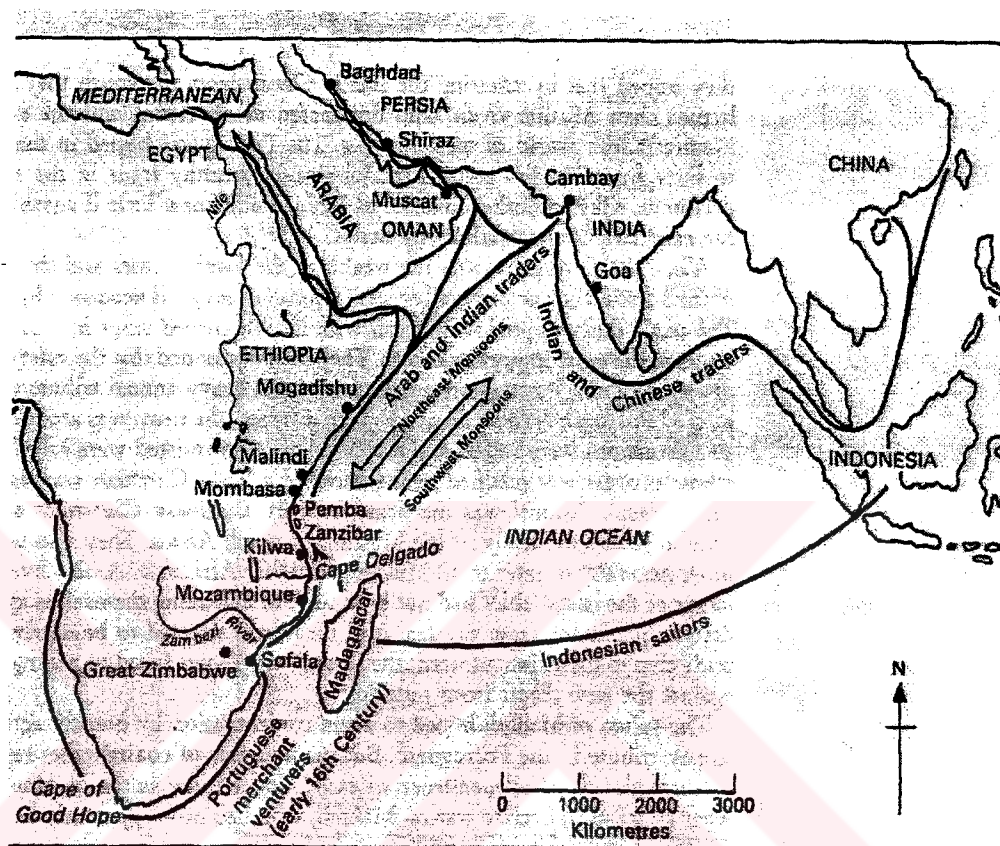
²⁹² Ehud R. Toledano, *Osmanlı Köle Ticareti*, trans. Hakan Erdem, (İstanbul, 2000), 18.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁹⁴ Young claimed that he saw an escort of slave who were going to be transported through the sea in his visit to Zanzibar and Swahili Coast. He also added that those lands were also the source of ivory by saying that 'Slaves are bought at one hand, ivory with the other.' E. D.Young, "On a Recent Sojourn at Lake Nyassa, Central Africa" *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 21/4 (1876-1877), 228.

²⁹⁵ Y.PRK.UM 6/28, 11 M 1301/1884.

affection to the Sultan and hoped that he would like them.²⁹⁶ In these examples, it can be claimed that Zanzibar was recognized as the lands of exotic objects, precious gifts etc. The image of India in our minds²⁹⁷ shows the similarity with the image of Zanzibar in the past.



9.3 Indian Ocean trading networks: tenth to sixteenth century

Figure 4: Indian Ocean trading network

(Source: Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa* (New York: 1995), 131.)

²⁹⁶ Y.PRK.UM 81/70, 8 CA 1326/1908.

²⁹⁷ A thousand year ago, a Persian-sea captain, Buzurg ibn Shahriyar retired to write his memoirs. He called his book *The wonders of India*, yet he did not limit himself to describing the civilisation of Hindus. Hall says that only a single copy of text survives, in a mosque in Istanbul. This account which was compound of many fantastical anecdotes about mermaids, giant snakes which swallowed elephants, two-headed snakes was a source of information for the image of India. (Hall, *Empires of the Monsoon: A History of the Indian Ocean and Its Invaders*).

The above documents could also inform us that the Eastern and the Arabian provinces played an intermediary role to introduce Zanzibar to the Ottoman center. In this respect, I can point out a resemblance between the facts that in diplomatic sense, the official correspondences with Zanzibar were also done through the intermediaries who were mostly from the Arabian lands of the Empire and in social sense; Zanzibar was introduced to the center through the Ottoman people who were originally from the Arabian provinces of the Empire. However there was an interesting case showing that there could be sometimes any need of intermediaries. In other words a direct interaction could take place. In such cases, the mobility of the people seemed to be an important factor to increase the knowledge on Zanzibar.

Hafiz Mahmud Efendi was originally from Aleppo but lived in Zanzibar.²⁹⁸ He was 35 years old and engaging with trade for 21 years in Zanzibar, Sudan, Alexandria, Egypt, Yemen, and Hecaz. Before he came to Istanbul, he sent two hundreds sacks of coconut to Istanbul. His aim was to sell them in a good price there. He came to Istanbul from Zanzibar via the Red Sea trade route. He left Zanzibar for Massawa, and then he went to Alexandria and finally reached to Istanbul. When he arrived in there, he learned that most of the coconuts, unfortunately, were spoiled while they were waiting under the quarantine in Alexandria. Therefore he made a loss of 160 Turkish liras and earned only 65 Turkish liras from these coconuts. He spent 300 liras in order to buy socks, handkerchief, umbrella, and some other staffs to carry off Zanzibar.²⁹⁹

He had five brothers; one of them lived in Zanzibar. The other two lived in Aleppo. His eldest brother lived in Egypt. Hafiz Mahmud Efendi knew how to speak Arabic and Swahili, which was commonly spoken in Zanzibar as well as he could

²⁹⁸ Y.PRK.AZN 2/23, 9 L 1301/1884, p. 1.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

understand the accent of the languages which were spoken in Ethiopia and Sudan. However, he did not know any European languages.³⁰⁰ Hafiz Mahmud Efendi was a devoted Muslim³⁰¹ and belonged to the Qadiriye order, which was one of the most prominent religious orders in Zanzibar in the late nineteenth century.³⁰²

After three months of his arrival in Istanbul, he was taken under observation and interrogated by the police officials through the translator Mehmed Abdi Efendi. He was suspected to be a propagandist of the caliphate ideas of the Mahdi movement in Sudan. In other words, the Ottoman officials questioned him in order to understand why he came to Istanbul, for trade activities or any aim propaganda for the Mahdist movement in Sudan?³⁰³ This way shows us that it was unusual for the

³⁰⁰ Y.PRK.AZN 2/23, 9 L 1301/1884, p. 4.

³⁰¹ It is interesting to note that traders in East Africa played an important role for the islamisation of the region. Islam made its first impressions through commercial exchanges between Africans and Muslims. Pouwels claimed that the holy war, jihad never became an important instrument of conversion or enforcement in East Africa as it was in other places. Randall L. Pouwels, "The East African Coast c. 780 to 1900 C.E", *The History of Islam in Africa*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels, (USA, 2000), 251-271.

³⁰² The development and the role of the Qadiriye order in Zanzibar have been discussed before. Here, it can be said that it undertook a political role during the colonial period in Zanzibar. For more information about the Qadiriye brotherhood in Zanzibar see Martin, "Muslim Politics and Resistance to Colonial Rule: Shaykh Uways B. Muhammad Al-Barawi and the Qadiriya Brotherhood in East Africa", 471-486.

³⁰³ Sirma presents that the Ottoman Empire had close contact with the Islamic movements in Africa. Abdulhamid II supported tariqas against the colonial powers. For more information about the Islamic movements in North Africa see also İhsan Süreyya Sirma, *II. Abdülhamid'in İslam Birliği Siyaseti* (İstanbul, 1985), 45-59. Martin seems to support this claim and make a quotation such as 'It is worth of noting that some of the Baghdad Qadiris of the Kaylânî family, such as the *naqîb al-ashrâf* Salman b.Ali (1843-95), father of Uways's teacher, Mustafa b.al-Sayyid Salmân, were on very close terms with Abdulhamid II. Salmân visited the Sultan at least twice in Istanbul to be decorated with the Mejdidi Order, first class, and other medals. Near the end of his life, Selmân was made

Ottomans to see a trader from Zanzibar. In this sense, they asked him some questions. One of them was that which of the cities were closer to Zanzibar? Istanbul or Alexandria and Egypt? At first sight, this question seems to indicate the ignorance of the Ottoman official about Zanzibar. However, we can understand from the structure of the following questions that the officer was actually sure about the geographical place of Zanzibar and wanted to emphasize the unreasonable act of the merchant to carry on the trade activity between Zanzibar and Istanbul. In the following questions, officer asked why Hafz Mahmud Efendi wanted to buy socks, handkerchief and umbrella from Istanbul while they were also readily available in Alexandria and Egypt.

After the officer questioned Hafiz Mahmud Efendi, he concluded that trading between such distant places was not a reasonable act. There could be some other reasons for Hafiz Mahmud Efendi to come to Istanbul. Then he asked questions about the network of Hafiz Mahmud Efendi during his presence in Istanbul: Where Hafiz Mahmud Efendi was staying in Istanbul; who was Hafiz Mahmud Efendi meeting with; who were his friends; what were they talking about when they came together; how were they communicating, in which language? And, Hafiz Mahmud Efendi answered the questions respectively. He said that he stayed some time in the apartment of Emin Beg, also a merchant, in *Aksaray* and paid him daily. He also stayed in the house of Subashı Süleyman Beg in *Beglerbegi* for a day. He spent three days in Cerrah Mehmed Efendi's house in *Aksaray* during the month of Ramadhan. The officer was especially stuck with the name of Cerrah Mehmed Efendi and asked

kaziasker of Anatolia, then Rumelia. ('Abd al-Karim 'Allâf, *Baghdâd al-Qadîma*, 199.). Thus, it is just conceivable that the Sultan might have tried to use the tariqa for Pan-Islamic purposes.' See Martin, "Muslim Politics and Resistance to Colonial Rule: Shaykh Uways B. Muhammad Al-Barawi and the Qadiriya Brotherhood in East Africa", 484.

what they talked about when they got together. He answered that they did not talk about a certain subject but generally talked about the situation of Sudan.³⁰⁴ The officer again asked whether Hafız Mahmud Efendi offered to take Cerrah Mehmed Efendi away somewhere or not. Thereupon he said that Cerrah Mehmed Efendi wanted to go to Sudan as a surgeon and a circumciser, but this was his own wish but not offered by him. Even though the document does not include what they were specifically talking about Sudan, I would suggest that the political developments in Sudan such as the development of Mahdi movement which flourished in 1880's could be a very possible topic during the conversation.³⁰⁵

The content of the questions may indicate uncertainties about Hafız Mahmud Efendi's visit in Istanbul. The distant between Zanzibar and Istanbul were pretty long; it was not available for coconut trade. Thus, the officials concentrated on the other possibility. Moreover Hafız Mahmud Efendi's network of relations increased this possibility. However, at the end of the interrogation, they set him free.³⁰⁶

2. Personal accounts on Zanzibar

There is another case that also introduced Zanzibar to the Ottomans without any intermediary. As noted above, the mobility of the people played a significant role. Piri Reis, a very well known sixteenth century Ottoman admiral, in his book titled *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* devoted a remarkable part to the lands of Zanzibar.³⁰⁷ Piri Reis introduced the Zanzibar lands to the Ottomans as early as 1554. He made very interesting descriptions about the Eastern African shores. The lands of Zanzibar,

³⁰⁴ Y.PRK.AZN 2/23, 9 L 1301/1884, p. 5.

³⁰⁵ Kadir Özköse, *Muhammed Senûsi: Hayatı, Eserleri, Hareketi* (İstanbul, 2000), 110.

³⁰⁶ Y.PRK.AZN 2/23, 9 L 1301/1884, p. 9.

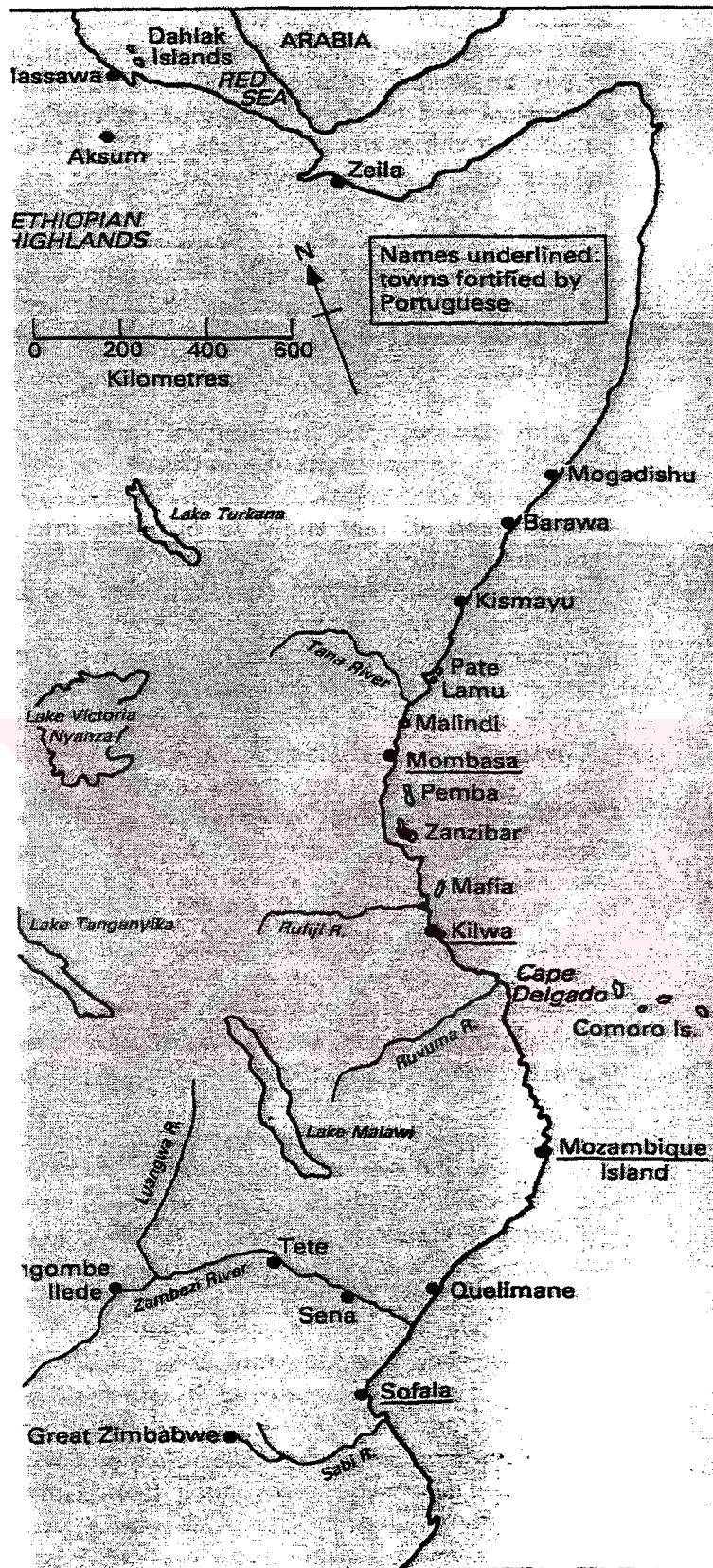
³⁰⁷ Piri Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, trans. Fevzi Kurdoğlu ve Ali Haydar Alpogut, (İstanbul, 1935)

starting from the Cape Guardafui to Cape Delgado such as Mogadishu, Kismayu, Lamu, Malindi, Mombassa, Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia occupied a substantial place in *Kitab-ı Bahriyye* with the attractive narratives on the geographical and natural environment as well as the cultural descriptions of the people who lived there.

Concerning the geographical and natural environment, he pointed out that Zanzibar was the land of black people in the coastal region as its name could suggest, noting that the name of the sea of Zenc is derived from that word of Zencibar³⁰⁸. One of the biggest cities in the coastal area was the city of Mogadishu, which is the capital city of today's Somalia. According to the narrative of Piri Reis, Mogadishu was a rich city to which the Portuguese ships carried remarkable amount of gold to their countries. They also took gold-embroidered cloth (*sırmalı kumaş*) from Mogadishu. Ivory and ebony as well as amber trees were some of the important products of Mogadishu. Piri Reis also mentioned about huge elephants, two-legged rhinoceros as well as wild buffalos whose bodies were larger than those of the water buffalos in Mogadishu.

Zanzibar, a tiny island was described as a part of the Comoro Islands in the account of Piri Reis like the island of Pemba. While he was describing the shores of Zanzibar, he said that it is the place in which the fragrant amber tree is there. Piri Reis also tried to find out the source of that amber in Zanzibar. He asked the question of how people could extract it.

³⁰⁸ Piri Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, 171.



† Swahili city-states and the Portuguese: fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

Figure 5: The Swahili cities that were visited by Piri Reis.

(Source: Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa* (New York: 1995), 133.)

Some of the people said that there was an unknown island that is inhabited by bees. These bees make honey on the rocks of the island for them to eat. People said that this honey melts in the heat and flowing falls into the sea and sinks. This honey solidifies in the seawater and is driven by the waves of the seas as far as the land.³⁰⁹ However, this was never seen by the eyes of men; though many things were said about this subject.³¹⁰ Piri Reis was stuck with the source of amber and kept explaining the other possibilities such as the amber could be the excrement of fish. Moreover, he heard some tales on that people described it as sea cotton.³¹¹

The island of Pemba was recorded as 'Peyenye' in the account of Piri Reis. Its vineyards and gardens were several amounts and one could become lost inside of them. He also stated that all the women in this island are so beautiful that breaths of seamen were taken away when they see them.³¹² The beauties of these women provoked the sailors and they could leave all their goods and valuable belongings for those women. The island was also related as a place of pleasure.³¹³

Concerning the cultural descriptions of the lands of Zanzibar, Piri Reis recorded that the referred area was the land of Blacks who were mostly Muslim and belonged to the Shafi School. There were also some tribes which lived inside of the

³⁰⁹ Belville, an English explorer provided information on Zanzibar sea. For a detailed account see also Alfred Belville, "A Trip Round the South End of Zanzibar Island", *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 29/1 (1875-1876), 70.

³¹⁰ Piri Reis, *Kitáb-ı Bahriye*, 171.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 171.

³¹² Holl quotes a Swahili saying on the coast. According to this, 'The men on horseback in Mombasa and the women in Malindi.' This meant that one city had better warriors, while the other had the more beautiful women. Hall, *Empires of the Monsoon: A History of the Indian Ocean and Its Invaders*, 169.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 187.

continent were unbelievers and were all destined for Hell. The language of the people was an entirely different one. The island of Zanzibar was also described as the place of Muslim people in his account. Kitâb-ı Bahriye which can be cited as one of the most important sources for the African Historians shed light on the geographical, natural and social environments of East African shores. The way he describes the places shows that his aim was not a simple narration of whatever he saw during his travel, but to teach on Africa in a very organized manner. When we read his account on the lands of Zanzibar, we may possibly think that they were the places of black people, wild animals³¹⁴, rich gold sources, mysterious perfumes of amber trees. Moreover, the term 'the land of pleasure' for the island Pemba sounds so similar with the terms which were used by the Europeans to describe the Eastern World, including most of the Ottoman lands.³¹⁵ The mention about the gold-embroidered clothes and amber trees with wonderful perfume may remind us India. In this sense, the account of Piri Reis was useful source of information for the lands of Zanzibar. It helped the Ottoman people to learn about Zanzibar and create an image of Zanzibar in their minds. On the other hand, it became useful source for the historians of today

³¹⁴ Piri Reis did not mention waqwaqs, a flightless bird in Swahili lands. Hall depicted the myth of waqwaq as it was a bird which laid a huge egg may have grown into something far more extravagant in the course of retelling. For detailed informatin see Hall, *Empires of the Monsoon: A History of the Indian Ocean and Its Invaders*, 23-29.

³¹⁵ It is interesting to note here that an European explorer who visited swahili lands including Zanzibar mentioned a plant in the region. He said that ' Gekar, a tree produces a resin which like gum mastic is used for chewing . It is not an article of commerce but is sometimes brought through Egypt to Marseilles, where it is cleaned and perfumed and then exported to Eastern Harems to beautify the teeths.' The way he explained the usage of Gekar plant show the image of Europeans on the Eastern world. See Rigby, "Mr. J.M.Hildebrant on His Travels in East Africa", 447.

to understand the reflection of the idea of Zanzibar in the minds of the Ottoman people.

As stated above, the personal interest could play a key role to have an image of Zanzibar in the minds of the Ottoman people. For example, Sheikh Galip, who was one of the most significant names in eighteenth century Ottoman poetry, refers to Zanzibar in three couplets of his masterpiece titled *Hüsni-i Aşk*. This work could be a meaningful tool for a historian who would like to understand the place and image of Zanzibar in the minds of the Ottomans. Here, one must be careful in using a literary work because it may not reflect the ideas of all people.

Sheikh Galip used the term Zanzibar in a couplet³¹⁶, to refer a place in which Lover (Ashık) walked around with his broken heart and the black fate. He used 'Zanzibar' to indicate the degree of suffer of the lover that caused him to go to such a distant place. It is also important to note that the reason why Zanzibar was chosen here is that the fate of the lover is black. The color of black represents sorrow and unlucks.

In another couplet,³¹⁷ the term Zanzibar was resembled to the black mole of the beloved. The degree of the beauty of her black mole was taking the lover's mind away. The peace and the order of the lover's soul were destroyed by the beautiful black mole of the beloved. In the couplet it is said that the beautiful black mole of the beloved is causing disorder in Zanzibar and Sudan. It can be said that the element of

³¹⁶ Tayy eyler idi dil-i figar-ı

Âyine içinde Zengibâr'ı (Yaralı gönlü aynanın içinde Zengibar'ı dolaşmaktaydı) couplet no 568.

³¹⁷ Hâl-i siyehi belâ-yı sâman,

Şuriş-dih-i Zengibar u Sûdân (Siyah beni, düzen ve asayişin düşmanı idi; hem Zengibar'a hem Sudan'a kargaşalık veriyordu) couplet no 467.

blackness and actually the beauty of the black mole of the beloved were compared to the blackness and the beauty of Zanzibar and Sudan.

In the last couplet in which Zanzibar took place³¹⁸ in the divan of Sheikh Galip, the term Zanzibar was used to refer to the black fate of the lover. It means that the element of blackness was used as a resemblance between Zanzibar and the unluckiness of the lover.

I would like to note that the Divan of Shaikh Galip is a good example for making use of the literary sources to understand the history better. The way Sheikh Galip used the term Zanzibar in his couplet is a key for a historian to get a picture of the past. In this example it may provide us some clues to understand the Ottoman view on Zanzibar of course, the element of the blackness and the mysterious beauty of Zanzibar were the factors of the resemblance in the divan of Sheikh Galip. It is also interesting to see that a poet of eighteenth century who was one of the leading figures of his time was aware of such a far distant place so called Zanzibar to a degree of using it in his poetry. The main reason would be that the Zanzibar lands were predominantly known and visited by the Persians who were also the dominant elements in the Classical Ottoman poetry. This possibility gets stronger when the origin of the word of 'Zanzibar' is taken into consideration in the sense that it was derived from the Persian word of Zanji-bara referring as 'the coast of the Black people'.

Another literary source is a novel which I hope to provide information about the Ottoman view on Zanzibar. The reason why I used a novel in the present study³¹⁹

³¹⁸ Bak bak felek-i siyâh-kâre

Ayine götürdi Zengibâr'e (Hele şu günahkar feleğin işine bir bak ki, Zengibar'a ayna götürüp duruyor.) couplet no 1334.

³¹⁹ For making use a novel as a historical source see also footnote 222.

is that Mizanî Mehmed Murat had a reference about Zanzibar in his novel in 1892³²⁰ It is questioned how the Zanzibar term was used in the novel and what it referred according to the writer. The novel presents a story of a young man, Mansur Beg who was born in Algeria from a Caucasus origin mother³²¹ and a Turkish father. His father was from Ibn-i Galip family who established a prominent principality in Algeria before the French invade in North Africa. The Ibn-i Galip principality had ruled in the south of Algeria for two centuries. When the French armies started to occupy North Africa, the Ibn-i Galip principality organized an anti- colonial community against French powers.³²² Their notable resistance became famous all over the African continent.³²³

Some of the members in the family were killed in the war which was carried against the French powers. Mansur's father was one of them. Then Mansur was taken under the protection by his uncle who constituted a friendship with French colonial powers. His uncle sent Mansur to France for his education. During his education in France, he often thought of if bringing back the old shiny days of his family in Algeria. According to Mansur, the only possibility to put this idea into practice was

³²⁰ Mehmed Murat, *Mansur Bey* (İstanbul, 1972).

³²¹ It is interesting to note here that there were also Caucasus origin women in Zanzibar. They were brought from Caucasus especially for the Harem of Zanzibar Sultans. Reute, a Zanzibarian princess converted into Christianity, explains in her memoirs that her mother was also a Caucasus origin by birth. She was taken into her father, Said bin Sultan's possession when she was a quite child, probably at her seven year age. Reute says that her mother cast her first tooth in palace in Zanzibar. Reute, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*, 5.

³²² Triand presented a nice chapter on the French Colonial rule and the uprising against it. For more information see also Jean-Lois Triand, "Islamic in Africa under French Colonial Rule", *The History of Islam in Africa*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels, (USA, 2000), 169-189.

³²³ Mehmed Murad, *Mansur Bey*, 26.

the pan-Islamist ideas of Abdulhamid II. He believed that if all Muslims came together under the Ottoman Caliphate, Africa in which the colonial powers occupied most of the Muslim lands could be rescued. He was then 25 when he decided to come to Istanbul, as he thought as the center of the Caliphate. He was so excited to be in Istanbul, when he was in France, he used to dream about being in Istanbul one day.

The above summarization gives us information about the ideas of the main character of the novel. It is important to note that the author of the novel actually reflected his own life into the novel. Mansur Beg is representing author himself. The personality, beliefs and ideas of Mansur Beg was exactly fit with the author himself. In this sense, making use of this literary source does not refer only to a simple narrative of an author but also a true life story of an Ottoman person who lived at the second half of the nineteenth century. In this sense, our analysis of Mansur Beg; will be an analysis also for the Ottoman society of the period.

This young pan-islamist man, Mansur Beg was stuck with the ideas of bringing all Muslims under the Ottoman Caliphate. He thought that the salvation of the Muslim lands in Africa was possible only through the unification of the Muslims under the Ottoman Caliphate. He believed that an effective organization under the Caliphate could enlarge the borders of the Ottoman influence in every Muslim lands of Africa. According to him, Tripoli, Zanzibar and the area stretching toward the Central Africa would be under the direct influence of the Caliphate. At this point, it is seen that Mansur Beg included Zanzibar within the Pan-Islamist map. This situation which could be extracted from the novel exactly fits with the political situation which has been described in the previous chapter. Mansur Beg also claimed that Africa had gained more importance especially after the opening of the Suez

Canal.³²⁴ This should be taken into consideration by the Ottoman officials for whom Africa, from Tripoli to Zanzibar had occupied an important place in their politics.

The term Zanzibar mainly refers to a part of the lands of muslims in the minds of the pan-Islamist young man in the novel. The personal background of Mehmed Murad, his family background in North Africa may be an important factor for Mehmed Murad to mention Zanzibar in his novel. Moreover it is also meaningful to show the fact that Zanzibar as the most important Muslim Sultanate in East Africa was in the agenda of Mansur Beg and perhaps other pan-Islamist young people of the period.

Another important source of information about the Ottoman image on Zanzibar was the geography books and the travel accounts of the nineteenth century. Since they have been discussed in detail at the beginning of the study, here they are analyzed only to their stresses on Zanzibar. Most of these books were written during the reign of Abdulhamid II in order to get information about the Muslim people of East Africa. The travel account of Ömer Lütfi³²⁵ in which includes Ebubekir Efendi's letters at the end of the book includes valuable descriptions on Zanzibar. Ebubekir Efendi was sent to South Africa to teach the Islamic values there during the reign of Abdulhamid II.³²⁶ Some of his letters were also periodically published in *Mecmua-Funûn*. Ebubekir Efendi mentioned about Zanzibar as a place, populated by Muslims and under the control of the Masqat Imam.³²⁷ In another letter, he provided detailed information about Zanzibar and the other islands which were under the Zanzibar

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 180.

³²⁵ Ömer Lütfi, *Ümid Burnu Seyehatnamesi* (İstanbul, 1875). This book has been translated into today's Turkish by Hüseyin Yorulmaz (İstanbul, 1994).

³²⁶ For more information see Uçar, *Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar: 140 yıllık Miras*.

³²⁷ Uçar, *Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar: 140 yıllık Miras*, 92, 94.

Sultanate.³²⁸ His letters were important tools to introduce Zanzibar into the agenda of the Ottoman people in the late nineteenth century. On the other hand, his letters were also meaningful for today's historian to understand the image of Zanzibar in the mind of an Ottoman Ulama, Ebubekir Efendi. While he was describing Zanzibar, the first thing he pointed out was the Islamic nature of Zanzibar and the islands of Bunyase, Lamu, Geluh, Âm, Siv, Penbe which were under the control of Zanzibar Sultanate. Ebubekir Efendi also mentioned that the son of the Sultan, who was born from an Ethiopian mother, was at the throne at that time. Moreover, he was so successful to take control the inlands of the African continent which was at the distance of a month to Zanzibar. It is interesting to note that the above information which were provided by Ebubekir Efendi were meaningful also for the historians of East Africa who seeks to discover the boundaries of Zanzibar of the late nineteenth century. The above mentioned sultan who had been ruling over the inlands of Africa was Sayyid Majid Bin Said B. Sultan (1856-1870). He was introduced as a quite intelligent and reliable person by Ebubekir Efendi. He also provided information about the origin of the Sultan Sayyid Said's mother as an Ethiopian woman. This piece of information can lead us to think about the immense mobility of the people in East Africa. There were some reasons for this mobility such as the trading activities in the Indian Ocean including the slave transportation, and the demand for the Islamic learning in the Arabian Peninsula and the main Islamic learning centre in North and West Africa. This high mobility in East African context caused the emergence of a culture of mixture which included Arabs, Persians and Africans in Zanzibar at the same time.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 99.

Ebubekir Efendi also mentioned about the historical background of Zanzibar by talking about how the sultan of Masqat managed to conquer Zanzibar. The important point here is not the information provided by Ebubekir Efendi but how he acquired this information. At this point his own words such as ‘Acizane tahkikatıma göre’, could be evaluated as his personal inquiry on Zanzibar and its history. He also appreciated the endeavor of the Zanzibar sultanate to keep contact with far distant countries and establish commercial and the social relations with them. Ebubekir Efendi took a lesson from the policy of the Zanzibar Sultanate for the name of the Ottoman Empire. He emphasized the importance of establishing relations with the people of Zanzibar and Africa in general who were populated largely by Muslims. He added that the Ottoman Empire as the Caliph of the Muslims all over the world should contact with those people.

The view of an Ottoman scholar, Ebubekir Efendi on Zanzibar seems to be stuck with the Islamic nature of these lands. As it can be deduced from his letters he actually aimed to introduce the Zanzibar lands to the Ottoman people. Moreover, he wanted the Ottoman Empire to remember its responsibility over the Muslim people in Zanzibar. The Ottoman travelers and geographers also warned the Ottoman Empire to remember its responsibility over the African people.

Mehmed Muhsin’s work titled *Afrika Delili* was one of the most comprehensive geographical accounts written on Africa in 1894. The main emphasize of the book was to warn the Ottoman Empire against the colonial activities of the European powers in the African continent. In the chapter of where Zanzibar was described, the writer mentioned about the geographical boundaries of Zanzibar, its historical background and the relationship with the European powers. Those were important to increase the Ottoman People’s knowledge on Zanzibar.

Mehmed Rüşdi's account on Zanzibar³²⁹ also contains valuable information on the history of Zanzibar, its people and culture. He stated that most of the people in Zanzibar were Muslim and belonged to Sunni sect. Although the Zanzibar Sultan belonged to Ibadhiya sect, the juma hutba was read by the name of the Ottoman Sultan. The Muslim population spoke the Swahili, but The Arabic was the official language in Zanzibar. Some of the officials could speak French and English. This can be seen as a sign of the European influence in the state administration. Mehmed Rüşdi observed that the Zanzibar people were not in the level of doing agriculture. It is not know what his measure was to reach such a conclusion, but it seems that he disagreed with the fact that there was a remarkable development in clove production in Zanzibar at the middle of the nineteenth century.³³⁰

3. Public accounts on Zanzibar: The Ottoman Journals and Newspapers

Another important source of information about the Ottoman image on Zanzibar was the Ottoman periodicals such as journals and newspapers. In Tercüman Newspaper, dated to 1912, it was provided some information on Zanzibar Sultans. It also published the pictures of Sultan Seyyid Ali and sultan Said.³³¹ It can be asked why an

³²⁹ Mehmed Rüşdi, *Zengibar Hakkında Malumat-ı Mufassala*, İstanbul Üniversitesi, TY, 5052.

³³⁰ Oliver and Fage, *A History of Africa*, 149.

³³¹ *Tercüman Gazetesi*, No.40, 19 Şaban 1330, 20 Eylül 1912, 1, column 3. "Zengibâr Hakimleri: Afrika'nın Şark cihetinde Arap Emirliklerinden Zengibâr Emirliği vardır. Daha doğrusu var idi. Çünkü bütün Afrika ile beraber Avrupalıların tasarrufuna geçmiş bulunuyor. Özü var, hükmü yok. Zamana emirlerinden terk-i saltanat eden ve makama geçen diğerlerinin resimleri bunlardır." It can be summarized as that there was a Muslim Emirate in the eastern shores of Africa. They were originally Arabs. This sultanate was taken under the control of Europeans like most of the African continent. Moreover, the newspaper provided pictures of the Zanzibar sultans.

Ottoman newspaper mentioned about Zanzibar. The reason might be the fact that it wanted the Ottoman people to be aware of the situation in Africa. It described Zanzibar as an emirate which was controlled by European powers. In *Sebilürreşad*, there were separate sections on each part of the African continent. It provided information about the developments which took place in the African continent. It was mentioned about the construction of an Islamic Institution in East Africa, Mombasa. It was said that the Zanzibar Sultan donated 100 sterling for this institution.³³²

I have also figured out that the Ottoman Empire followed the news in the foreign press through its ambassadors in Europe. The most related news were translated into the Ottoman Turkish. It was paid attention to the news about Zanzibar. One of the most attractive of this news was published in French newspaper, *Signal* in 1883.³³³ This news provides a quite attractive portrait of the Zanzibar palace life and eating habits. A French high rank soldier was invited to the Royal house for a feast. Then he wrote a letter to one of his relatives in France to describe what he had experienced in this special feast. This letter was translated into the Ottoman Turkish and kept in the Prime Ministry Archives.

The French soldier wrote that they entered into the large arena in the Zanzibar City center. There were several Zanzibar people who were staring at them. They walked toward the palace and Sultan welcomed them by smiling. They entered the palace. The *selamlık* apartments were at the back side of the palace. At the right side, there were *harem* sections.³³⁴ Several soldiers were watching those *harem*

³³² Kilisli Mehmed Kıdeyş, "Afrika'da İslamiyet", *Sebilürreşad* 3/63 (1949).

³³³ YEE 42/36, 10 L 1300/1883. For the full transcript of the documents see also Appendix 10.

³³⁴ In the Islamic architecture, the plans of the houses were done by paying regard on the privacy of the women. In this sense, the most typical principle of these houses was to have different sections for women (*Haremlik*) and men (*Selamlık*). The Zanzibar palace

apartments. He said that there were some balustrated rooms in which numerous wild animals such as tiger, lion and wild cat lived in. He reported that there was a room in the *harem* section in which could open to the above mentioned room of the wild animals. This room was so special for the Sultan that was more sacred than the mosque for the sultan. He could punish the people who intended to enter this room without the permission. The punishment was to be thrown to the lions.

The French said that they walked around the palace. Since it was already known that guests would take a tour in the palace, all rooms were emptied by women. Those places were furnished by wonderful oriental stuffs which could take the visitor's breath away. Reute described that there were Persian carpets on the wall.³³⁵ The guests were invited to *limonluk*.³³⁶ He said that there were old and long trees which had amazing smell in the garden. The perfumes of those trees were so strong that one of the guest fainted.

Concerning the menu of the feast, the French said that there were more than forty-five different foods. He did not describe the meals but Reute provided detailed information about their mostly preferred meals. She says that there was always rice, dressed in different ways. Of meat and poultry, mutton and fowl were liked most. They also liked fish besides and Eastern bread and all kind of sweets and dainties.³³⁷

was also organised according to the Islamic tradition. In this sense, the 'harem' word above does not refer to what is mostly used for the place of the concubines and women in the palace. Here it exactly refers to the palace rooms which were close to the public meetings. For the detailed description of 'Harem' section in architectural sense see also Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, (İstanbul, 1993), I, 742.

³³⁵ Reute, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*, 19.

³³⁶ It refers to the place where people could rest under the lemon trees in the palace garden. It is like pergola.

³³⁷ Reute, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*, 56.

Moreover, at least thirty different fruits were offered them. There were frizzed sheep. They were not cut into piece and served like that. Reute said that the Zanzibar meals were cooked according to the Arab as well as Persion and Turkish manner.³³⁸ Concerning drinking, the French said that almond syrup and a sour drink were served. The French commented that since they were Muslim, they did not drink any alcoholic drink. Reute presents some information about drinks. She said that they were not taken during the meal but after them. Sherbet or sugard water were the most preferred drinks. The French did not give any detail about how they had feast. In other words, did they eat at the table or at the *sefra*, round table? Reute says that they had two meals a day. One is about nine a.m. All members of the royal family met in the great salon to kiss the Sultan's hand before the meal. The dishes were arranged and placed by the enunchs on the long *sefra*. It was made of wood, and looks somewhat like a billard-table. It runs round its sides. She adds that although there were some foreign furniture such as chairs, coaches, tables, they generally took their meal according to the Eastern fashion, and sat down on the floor upon the carpets. The sultan always took his place at the upper end of the *sefra*.³³⁹

The above mentioned document has presented very interesting information on the eating habit of Zanzibar. Thus we could guess a portrait about the daily life in the Zanzibar palace. It leads me to think that there were certain similarities between the Ottoman eating habit³⁴⁰ and the Zanzibar's. There are certain similarities both in the meal itself and how the way it was eaten.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 55.

³⁴⁰ For more information on the Ottoman eating habits see also Stefanos Yerasimos, *Padişah Sofraları*, (Istanbul,2002)

As shown in this chapter, the Ottoman view on Zanzibar depended on several factors. The matter of distance seems to be one of the most significant one. Since Zanzibar was not a close place to the Ottoman center, the relatively closer lands to Zanzibar such as the Eastern and the Arabian lands of the Empire had larger capacity of the knowledge on Zanzibar. Another important factor could be the mobility of the people. In this category, merchants and religiously motivated people could have larger capacity of the knowledge on Zanzibar. The personal peculiarities of a person may also play a key role on having larger information on Zanzibar. A statesman, merchant, scholar, geographers, a poet possibly had larger chance to know about Zanzibar.

The most important difficulty which I realized in this chapter was to define who the Ottoman people were. I have made its scope clear in terms of geographically by indicating that the term has referred to the whole people who actually lived under the Ottoman realms, from the Balkan region to the Arabian provinces. On the other hand, I have fallen into difficulty to define the term in terms of their social statuses. Here, it can be asked who reads Piri Reis' account, Sheikh Galip's couplets, and the novel of Mehmed Refki. Yet, the sources used in this chapter make it impossible to include all these people's view on Zanzibar. This is, in fact beyond the scope of this study. This chapter has shown us Zanzibar was introduced as the lands of precious gifts, a distant place, and the lands of black people, amber trees, ivories and slaves.

CONCLUSION

The present thesis has questioned the term '*Afrikâ-yi 'Osmânî*' which frequently appears in the Ottoman documents in *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* in Istanbul. When this term first revealed to me, I immediately questioned whether it refers only to a geographical region or it has some other implications but I have first tried to understand it within the Ottoman geographical boundaries in Africa.

The Ottoman rivalries with Portuguese powers in Red Sea ports starting from the sixteenth century onward, the establishment of Habesh province by Özdemir Pasha in 1555, the Ottoman activities in Swahili lands carried by Piri Reis and Ali Beg and the Hatt-ı istiva province in 1876 have shown us that the Ottoman geographical boundaries in African continent can not be limited only to the North Africa. It seems that the boundaries tended to cover an extensive area including Horn of Africa and East Africa.

In addition to the geographical boundaries, several archival materials in *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* have shown to me that the Ottoman Empire had certain relations with the local sultans in the continent starting from the sixteenth century onward. The Zanzibar Sultanate which had never been included into the Ottoman geographical boundaries was one of the most important of these Muslim sultanates. Apparently, the content of the interactions between these two powers in late nineteenth century has changed the definition of our term, '*Afrikâ-yi 'Osmânî*'. In this sense, it has been argued that the Zanzibar Sultanate was included within the '*Afrikâ-yi 'Osmânî*', not geographically, but socially, culturally, and religiously.

Some particular sources used in this study have yielded that it was the Ottomans who first attempted to establish a relationship with Zanzibar. And, it has

been suggested that the 'Caliphate' could have been the main motive for the Ottomans to contact with the Zanzibar Sultanate. This argument has also been supported by the fact that the Ottomans who lost one fifth of its population and two fifth of its entire territory after 1877-78 Russo-Ottoman war gave special importance to the Muslim population all over the world. As discussed by Deringil, Abdulhamid II emphasized the role of the caliphate as a new bid for unity against an increasingly hostile Christian world.³⁴¹ For the Zanzibar Sultanate, the contact with the Ottomans was essential and that could provide their support against the colonial powers. Yet it has been questioned here why the Ottomans could really support it, and whether their support was effective. Eraslan has claimed that the Ottoman interest in Zanzibar as powerful as to delay the colonial occupation of the European powers in Zanzibar.³⁴² However, the documents used in this study give us no information that could approve Eraslan's argument.

On the other hand, our sources have shown that the Ottomans were against the colonial activities in general in Zanzibar; they saw it as a dangerous not only for Zanzibar people but also for all Muslims in the World. However, as the documents suggested the Ottomans did not undertake an effective intermediary role between Europeans and Zanzibar Sultanate. The reason may have been that the Ottoman Caliph was anxious about losing its prestigious position in the eyes of Muslim World.

It has been illustrated that the Ottomans followed the developments in Zanzibar through two ways. One of them was to send envoys to Zanzibar. And, these

³⁴¹ Selim Deringil, 'The Ottoman Response to the Egyptian Crisis of 1881-82', *The Ottomans, the Turks, and World Politics: Collected Studies*, (Istanbul, 2000), 10

³⁴² Eraslan, "II. Abdulhamid Devrinde Osmanlı Devleti Dahilinde ve Afrika Kıtasında İslam Birliği (Pan-İslamizm) Faliyetleri", 130.

played an important role for the Ottomans to get information about the developments in Zanzibar. For the Ottomans, the accounts of these envoys could, of course, be the direct source of information about Zanzibar. They also used the European accounts, periodicals and books to follow the developments in Zanzibar. Mehmed İzzet's book called *Yeni Afrika*,³⁴³ for example, included some chapters from the famous traveler Stanley's last book. Moreover, the French soldier's letter which was published in *Signal* in 1883 and later translated into Turkish. It was quite useful document to get an idea about the royal feastings and the eating habits in Zanzibar.³⁴⁴ In addition to these, the Ottoman ambassadors in European capital cities reported what was going on in Europe about Zanzibar. There were numerous archival documents which were sent by the Ottoman ambassador. They provide information about the discussions in European assemblies about Zanzibar,³⁴⁵ the conferences held in Europe concerning the colonial activities in Zanzibar,³⁴⁶ as well as the news in the famous European presses such as *Signal*, *Gazette National*,³⁴⁷ *Voltaire*, and *Deba* about Zanzibar.³⁴⁸

This study has also questioned the Ottoman view on Zanzibar in order to develop a better way of understanding the nature of their relations. Our sources have shown that the Ottomans became familiar with Zanzibar as early as in sixteenth century. Although it is not possible to mention about a continuous relations, the Ottomans were aware of Zanzibar. In this sense, it has been discussed the possible factors that could play role in increasing the Ottomans knowledge on Zanzibar, such as the geographical closeness and the personal mobilities. Moreover, it has been

³⁴³ Mehmed İzzet, *Yeni Afrika*.

³⁴⁴ YEE, 42/36, 10 L 1300. See Appendix 10.

³⁴⁵ Y.PRK.PT, 6/58, 5 ZA 1307.

³⁴⁶ Y.A.Hus 230/68, 22.3.1307. See Appendix 8.

³⁴⁷ Y.PRK.TKM 5/67, 16 R 1300.

³⁴⁸ Y.PRK.TKM 14/6, 14 R 1306.slowng them down

analysed the terminology used to describe Zanzibar. Most interesting ones were distant land, color of black, the lands of mysterious gifts and amber trees. These words may have also been analysed to see the mentality concerning period and the region. We know through the Ottoman account on Zanzibar, Rüşdi's account that the khutbe in Friday mosque was read for the Ottoman sultan in Zanzibar until early twentieth century. This information might have referred that the Zanzibar people knew the Ottomans as the Caliph. However, it was not possible to learn about the Zanzibar view on the Ottomans. Did Zanzibar people know about the Ottomans? If the answer is positive, what they knew? How did they get information on Ottomans? In order to answer these questions, one definitely need to use the Zanzibar sources.

This thesis, of course, may remain incomplete without the direct archival sources in Zanzibar. However, I have tried to show in this thesis that there are Ottoman archival sources to provide comparative material to undertake further studies on this topic. I have also tried to extend the boundaries of the Ottoman contact with African socio- cultural life for the period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

BAŞBAKANLIK OSMANLI ARŞİVİ, İSTANBUL

Hariciye Nezareti Belgeleri-Hariciye Siyasiye

HR. SYS 17/64, 21 Z 1889.

HR. SYS 18/7, 8 RA 1890.

İradeler

İrade Hususiye 883/108 28 Ş. 1325/1907.

İrade Hususiye 891/132 29 Ş 1325/1907,

İrade, 87 811, 1306/1889.

İrade-Hususiye, 978/ 75, 24 N 1325/1907 and

İrade-i Hususiye, 585/61 20 C 1326/1908.

Mısır İradesi, 1303, 16 Zilkade 1304.

Mısır İradesi, 1337.

Mühimme Defterleri

Mühimme Defters, 6/256, 13 Rebiülevvel 973

Mühimme Defters, 6/257, 13 Rebiülevvel 973/1565.

Mühimme Defters, 6/258, 13 Rebiülevvel 973/1565.

Meclis-i Vukela Mazbataları

MV 230/119, 26 Z 1331/1913

Sadaret Resmi Maruzat Evrakı

Y.A.Hus., 222/27.

Y.A.Hus., 222/69, 29.6.1306/1889.

Y.A.Hus., 160/130, 20.2.1296/1879.

Y.A.Hus., 523/53, 9.6.1326/1908.
Y.A.Hus., 523/129, 19. 6. 1326/1908.
Y.A.Hus., 515/139, 27 Ş 1325/1907;
Y.A.Hus., 523/100, 16.6.1326/1908.
Y.A.Hus., 220/38, 16.4.1306/1889.
Y.A.Hus., 221/30, 12.5.1306/1889.
Y.A.Hus., 224/82, 23.8.1306/1889
Y.A.Hus., 484/54, 9.12.1322/1905.
Y.A. Hus., 221/35
Y.A. Hus., 222/20.
Y.A. Hus., 204/82 1306.8.23
Y.A. Hus., 230/2, 1307.3.1

Mütenevvi Maruzat Evrakı

Y.MTV. 308/134, 22 RA 1326/1908.

Yıldız Parakende

Y.PRK.ASK, 14/64, 26 Ş 1306/1889;
Y.PRK.AZN 2/23, 9 L 1301/1884
Y.PRK.BŞK, 10/83, 25 Ş. 1303/1886.
Y.PRK.HR, 11/51, 11 RA 1306/1889.
Y.PRK.HR., 12/4, 4.3.1306/1889.
Y.PRK.NMH 1/58, 20 CA 1296/1879.
Y.PRK.NMH 10/96, 1326/1908
Y. PRK.TKM 13/58 24 S 1306
Y.PRK.NMH 1324/1906;
Y.PRK.NMH 4/64, 26 C 1307/1890.
Y.PRK.NMH 7/23, 24 RA 1314/1896;
Y.PRK.TKM 24 1 1309/1891
Y.PRK.TKM 13/58 1306/1889
Y.PRK.TKM 14/35, 23 CA 1306/1889.
Y.PRK.TKM, 14 R. 1306/1889.
Y:PRK:TKM 51/36, 25 Ş 1326/1908.

Y.PRK.PT 5/108, 13 RA 1307/1889;
Y.PRK.PT 6/17, 30 RA 1307/1890.
Y.PRK.PT 6/57, 5 ZA 1307/1890
Y.PRK.PT, 6/58, 5 ZA 1307/1890.
Y.PRK.UM 6/28, 11 M 1301/1884.
Y.PRK.UM 81/70,8 CA 1326/1908.

Yıldız Esas ve Sadrazam Kamil Paşa Evrakı

YEE 36/57, 6 R 1327/1909;
YEE 42/36, 10 L 1300/1883.
YEE 84/121 1 ZA 1294/1877.
YEE, 118/139, 20 RA 1302/1885
YEE, 118/31, 8.R.1302/1885.
YEE, 118/41. 1 RA 1295/1878;
YEE, 118/43, 13 N 1297/1880;
YEE, 118/45, 17 Z 1301/1884.
YEE, 127/7, 12 L 1308/1891.

Mektub-ı Kalemi, 1064

Tercüman Gazetesi, No.40, 19 Şaban 1330, 20 Eylül 1912

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Akdağ, Mustafa, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İctimai Tarihi*, I-II, (Ankara, 1971).
- Al-Mu'ayyad, Azm-Zâde Sadık, *Habeş Seyehatnamesi* (Istanbul, 1904).
- Baydur, A., *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, I-II, (Ankara, 1983).
- Bayur, Y. Hikmet, "Tipu Sultanı ile Osmanlı Padişahlarından I. Abdulhamid ile III. Selim Arasındaki Mektuplaşma", *Belleten* XLVII (1948): 619-654.
- Belville, Alfred, "A Trip Round the South End of Zanzibar Island", *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 29/1 (1875-1876).
- Benett, Norman R., *A History of Arab State of Zanzibar* (London, 1978).
- Berney, K. A. ed., *International Dictionary of the Historic Places* (Chicago and London).
- Bilge, Mustafa L., "Bû Saîd Hânedanı", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1992), 6: 339-340.
- Browne, E. G., "Pan-Islamism Lectures on the History of Nineteenth Century", ed. F. A. Kirkpatrick, (Cambridge, 1904), 306-310.
- Brummet, Palmira, *Ottoman Sea Power and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (New York).
- Burton, Richard F., *First Footsteps in East Africa* (Köln, 2000).
- Chittick, Neville, "Kilwa and the Arab Settlement of East African Coast", *The Journal of African History*, 4/2 (1963), 179-190.
- Chittick, Neville, "The Shirazi Colonisation of East Africa", *The Journal of African History* 6/1/3 (1965).
- Collins, Robert O., *Eastern African History* (New York, 1990).

- Cooke, James J., *New French Imperialism 1880-1910: The Third Republic Colonial Expansion* (Great Britain, 1973).
- Deringil, Selim, "The Ottomans in East Africa: A tribute to Cengiz Orhonlu", *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History*, (Istanbul, 1990), 189-197.
- Devellioğlu, Ferit, *Osmanlıca Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lugat* (Ankara, 2000).
- Dozel, Emeri Van, "The Turks of Habesh Eyaleti in a Yemenite Source, 1650", *Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları 7. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Halil İnalcık ed., (Ankara, 1994).
- Ebu Zehra, Muhammed, *İslam'da Siyasi ve İtikadi Mezhepler Tarihi* (İstanbul, 1983).
- Eraslan, Cezmi, "II.Abdulhamid Devrinde Osmanlı Devleti Dahilinde ve Afrika Kıtasında İslam Birliği (Pan-İslamizm) Faliyetleri" (MA Thesis, İstanbul University, 1985).
- Ergin, O. N., *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, I-II, (Istanbul, 1977).
- Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname: Mısır, Sudan, Habeş (1672-1680)* (Istanbul, 1938).
- Ferleger, Lois and Richard H. Steckel, "Faulkner's South: Is there truth in Fiction?", *Reconstructing History*, ed. E. Fox-Genovese and Lasch Quinn, (New York, 1999).
- Freeman-Grenville, G.S. "Zanzibar", *ET2* (Leiden, 2000), 449.
- Goffman, D. *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge, 2002.)
- Gurnah, Abdulrazak, *Cennet*, (Istanbul, 1998)
- Hall, Richard, *Empires of the Monsoon: A History of the Indian Ocean and Its Invaders* (London, 1996).
- Hollingsworth, L. W., *Zanzibar Under the Foreign Office 1890-1913* (London, 1953).

- Holt, M., "Sultan Selim I and the Sudan", *The Journal of African History* 8/1 (1967): 19-23.
- Holt, M., *A Modern History of Sudan* (New York, 1966).
- Hughes, A. J., *East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda* (Baltimore, 1969).
- İhsanoğlu, Ekmeleddin ed., *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi* (İstanbul, 2000).
- Ingham, Kenneth, *A history of East Africa* (London, 1962).
- Işıksal, Turgut, "Arşivlerimizde Osmanlıların Suveyş Tersanesi ve Güney Denizleri Politikasına İlişkin En Eski Belgeler", *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, 13: 54-61.
- Jones, A. H. M. and Elizabeth Monroe, *A History of Abyssinia* (Oxford, 1935).
- Kavas, Ahmed, "Afrika'nın Sömürgeleştirilmesi Öncesinde Rabih B. Fazlullah'ın Kurduğu Son Bilâdu's-Sudan Devleti ve Fransa'yla Mücadelesi", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları XX* (2000), 9-35.
- Kavas, Ahmed, "Büyük Sahra'da Gat Kazası'nın Kurulması ve Osmanlı-Tevarik Münasebetleri", *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3 (1999), 171-195.
- Kavas, Ahmed, "Doğu Afrika Sahilinde Osmanlı Hakimiyeti: Kuzey Somali'de Zeyla İskelesinin Konumu (1265-1334/1849-1916)", *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 5 (İstanbul, 2001), 109- 134.
- Kavas, Ahmed, "Harar", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul, 1997).
- Kavas, Ahmed, "Kuzey Afrika'da Bir Osmanlı Nesli: Kuloğulları", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları XXI* (İstanbul, 2001), 31-68.
- Kavas, Ahmed, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Afrika Kıtasında Hakimiyeti ve Nüfuzu, Osmanlı Siyaset", 421-430.
- Kavas, Ahmed, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Müslüman Harar Emirliği'yle Münasebetleri ve Hristiyan Habeşistan (Etiyopya) İmparatorluğu ile Yakınlaşmasına Etkisi",

- Pax-Ottomana, Studies in Memoriam Prof.Nejat Göyünç*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, (Haarlem-Ankara, 2001).
- Keddie, N. R., "Pan-Islamism as Proto-Nationalism", *Journal of Modern History*, IXL (1969).
- Kieran, J.A., "The Origins of the Zanzibar Guarantee Treaty of 1862", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 2/2 (1968), 147-166
- Kilisli Mehmed Kıdeyş, "Afrika'da İslamiyet", *Sebilürreşad* 3/63 (1949).
- Kirkwood, Kenneth, "Britain and Eastern Africa", *Britain and Africa* (Baltimore, 1965), 148-181.
- Knappert, Jan, *East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda* (London, 1987).
- Lofchie, Micheal F., *Zanzibar: Background to Revolution* (New Jersey, 1965).
- Marsh, Z. A. and G. W. Kingsnorth, *An Introduction to the History of East Africa* (Cambridge, 1966).
- Martin, B. G., "Arab Migrations to East Africa in Medieval Times", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 7/3 (1974), 367-390.
- Martin, B. G., "Mai İdris of Bornu and the Ottoman Turks 1576-78", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* III/4 (1972), 470-490.
- Martin, B. G., "Muslim Politics and Resistance to Colonial Rule: Shaykh Uways B. Muhammad Al-Barawi and the Qadiriya Brotherhood in East Africa", *The Journal of African History* 10/I/3 (1969).
- Martin, B. G., "Notes on Some Members of the Learned Class of Zanzibar and East Africa in the Nineteenth Century", *African Historical Studies* 4/I/3 (1971).
- Martin, B. G., "Turkish Archival Sources for West African History", *African Studies Bulletin* 10/3 (1967), 59-65.
- Martin, B. G., *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth Century Africa* (London, 1976).

- Medlicott, W.N. *Bismarck and Modern Germany* (New York, 1965), 34-99.
- Mehmed Muhsin, *Afrika Delili* (Cairo, 1316/1898) and Mehmed İzzet, *Yeni Afrika* (Istanbul, 1887).
- Mehmed Murad, *Mansur Bey* (Istanbul, 1972, first publishing in 1892).
- Mehmed Rüşdî, *Zengibar Hakkında Malumat-ı Mufasssala* (Istanbul Üniversitesi, TY-5052).
- Mughul, M. Yakup, "Portekizli'lerle Kızıldeniz'de Mücadele ve Hicaz'da Osmanlı Hakimiyetinin Yerleşmesi Hakkında Bir Vesika", *Belgeler*II/3-4 (Ankara, 1965), 37-50.
- O'Fahey, R. S., "Sudanese (And Some Other Sources) for Eritrean History, A Bibliographical Note: Sudanic Africa", *A Journal of Historical Sources*, 12 (2001), 131-142.
- Oliver, Roland and J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa* (London, New York, 1978).
- Ömer Lütfi, *Ümid Burnu Seyehatnamesi*, trans. Hüseyin Yorulmaz, (Istanbul, 1994, first publishing in 1875).
- Orhonlu, Cengiz, "16. Asrın ilk yarısında Kızıldeniz Sahillerinde Osmanlılar", *Tarih Dergisi*, 12/16 (Istanbul, 1962), 1-24.
- Orhonlu, Cengiz, "Osmanlı-Bornu Münasebetine Aid Belgeler", *Tarih Dergisi* 23 (1969).
- Orhonlu, Cengiz, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti* (Ankara, 1996, first publication 1974).
- Özbaran, Salih, "A Turkish Report on the Red Sea and the Portuguese Power in the Indian Ocean (1525)", *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion: Studies on the Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands During the Sixteenth Century* (Istanbul).

- Özbaran, Salih, “The Ottoman Expansion on the Southern Seas”, *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion: Studies on the Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands During the Sixteenth Century* (Istanbul), 81.
- Özcan, Azmi, “İngiltere’de Hilafet Tartışmaları (1873-1909)”, *Hilafet Risaleleri*, ed. İsmail Kara, (İstanbul, 2003), I.
- Özcan, Azmi, *Pan-İslamizm: Osmanlı Devleti, Hindistan Müslümanları ve İngiltere* (İstanbul, 1992).
- Özköse, Kadir, *Muhammed Senûsî: Hayatı, Eserleri, Hareketi* (İstanbul, 2000)
- Öztürk, Levent, *Etiyopya’da İslamiyet I: Asr-ı Saadette Habeşistan’la Münasebetler* (İstanbul, 2001).
- Philip’s New World Atlas* (London, 1991)
- Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, trans. Fevzi Kurdoğlu ve Ali Haydar Alpogut, (Istanbul 1935)
- Pouwels, Randall L., “East African Coast c. 780 to 1900 C.E”, *The History of Islam in Africa*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels, (USA, 2000), 251-271.
- Reute, Emily, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar* (USA, 2000).
- Rigby, C. “Mr. J. M. Hildebrant on his Travel in East Africa”, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 22/VI/6 (1877-1878):446-453.
- Rotberg, Robert I., *A Political History of Tropical Africa* (New York, 1965)
- Schimede, H.Ahmed, *Emin Paşa, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi IX* (1994): 117-119.
- Shaw, Stanford J., “The Ottoman Archives of Istanbul”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6 (1975), 94-114.

- Shaw, Stanford J., "The Yıldız Palace Archives of Abdülhamid II", *Archivum Ottomanicum* III (1971), 211-37.
- Sheriff, Abdul, "Mosques, Merchants and Landowners in Zanzibar Old Stone Town", *Urbanism in Islam: The proceedings of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam* (Tokyo, 1989), 4: 250-290.
- Sırma, İhsan Süreyya, *II.Abdülhamid'in İslam Birliği Siyaseti* (İstanbul, 1985).
- Toledano, Ehud R., *Osmanlı Köle Ticareti*, trans. Hakan Erdem, (İstanbul, 2000).
- Triand, Jean-Lois, "Islamic in Africa under French Colonial Rule", *The History of Islam in Africa*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels, (USA, 2000), 169-189.
- Trimingham, J. Spencer, *Islam in East Africa* (Oxford, 1964).
- Uçar, Ahmed, *140 Yıllık Miras: Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar* (İstanbul, 2000),
- Young, E. D., "On a Recent Sojourn at Lake Nyassa, Central Africa" *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 21/4 (1876-1877).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1



Figure 6- The Zanzibar Sultan Khalifa b. Said, The English Bombardement in Zanzibar.

(Source: Kevin Shillington, History of Africa (New York: 1995), 314.)

APPENDIX 2

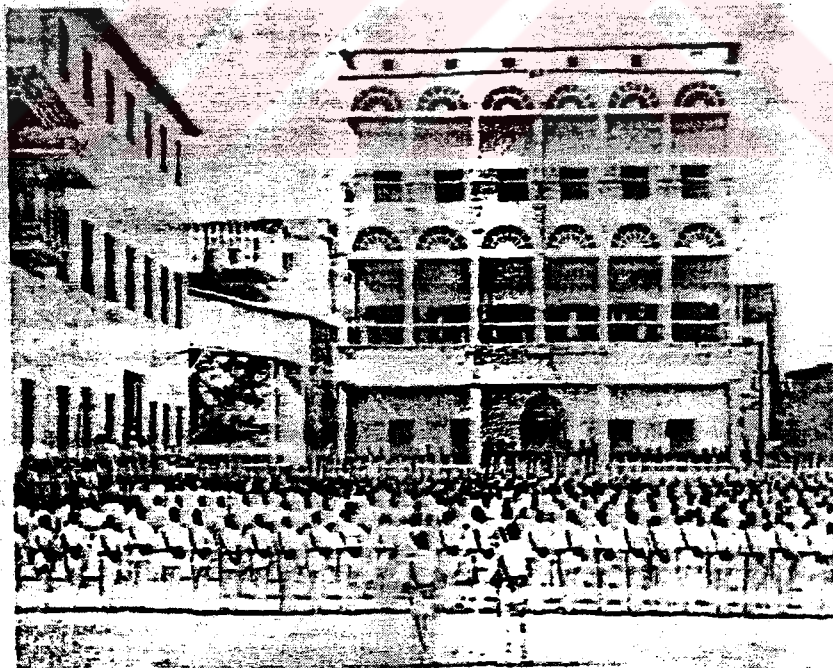


Sultan Bargash bin Saïd, brother of Salme

Figure 7- Sultan Bergash b. Said

(Source: Emily Reute, Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar (USA, 2000).)

APPENDIX 3



House of Wonders, Palace of the Sultan

Figure 8- Palace of the Sultan, Beyt al-Acâib.

(Source: Emily Reute, Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar (USA, 2000))

APPENDIX 4



Muhammad bin Khalifa Barwani (Rumaliza)

Figure 9- Rumaliza, one of the famous leaders in Zanzibar fighting against the Colonial Powers, 1866.

APPENDIX 5

African Lakes Company
ivory warehouse, 1904



Figure 10- Ivory Merchants

(Source: Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa* (New York: 1995), 253)

APPENDIX 6



Figure 11- Indian Tipu Sultan, 1799.

(Source: Richard Hall *Empires of the Monsoon: A History of the Indian Ocean and Its Invaders*, (London: 1996).

APPENDIX 7

Y.A.Hus 484/54 1322 Z 09

Zengibâr ve Pemba adalarında üserâ-yı zencîyenin ahvâline dâir resmi bir raporu hâvî olarak Afrika gazetesi tahtında neşr ve parlemanto îzâsına tevzi' edilen küçük bir mecmu'nın kendilerinkini mezkûr raporda üserânın ----- hakkında İngiltere hükümeti tarafından sâdır olan emirnâme-i ahkâmından isti'fâ'dan bâlâ müttene' her türlü ihtiyâcâtı dâreste olarak taht-ı esâretde yaşamayı hevâyic----- te'mîn edilmeksizin kendilerine teklîf olunan serbestîyetden münbais muhâzî----- ettikleri beyân olunmakta olunmasına nazaran münderecâtdan şâyân-ı ehemmiyet buyurulacağını -----Londra sefâret-i seniyyeseinden alınan tahrîrât ile raporun hülâsa-yı tercümelerini hariciyye nezâret-i celîlerine ol babdaki tezkîresiyle beraber 'arz ve takdim kılındı efendim.

Sad-ı a'zam Ferit

Melfûf mecmûada münderic raporun hûlasât-ı tercümesidir.

Penbada hamân-ı esâret kalmamıştır. Esir olanlar yalnız zâhiren esir olub yoksa hakîkâtda serbestdirler. Atıknâmeler istihsâli için yalnız mürâcaatın kâfi olduğu burada herkesce ma'lûmdur. 1903 senesinde 196 erkek ile 231 kadın ve 21 çocuk olmak üzere 448 kişi atıknâmeler istihsâli için mürâcaat eylemişlerdir. El-yevm----- esbâb-ı ma'îşe -----tedârîki husûsunda mevcûd olan müşkülâta nazaran Zengibâr üserâsı bir âilenin himâyesinde geçirilen esâreti hâl-i serbestîye tercih ederler. Burada esâret müveccibe-i zîl ve âsâr değildir. Esirler ekâbir konaklara mensûbiyetle müftehârdırlar. Bu da üserâsı ----- istihdâm olunan hudâm(?)'ın hukuk ve imtiyâzâtına mâl olmakla beraber daha rahat ve müreffeh bulunuyorlar. Üserâ istihdâm eden zevât bunlara vefatlarında ba'zı emlâk ve -----terk ve hîbe etmek sûretiyle esbâb-ı mu'ayîşelerini te'mîn ediyorlar.Esirler hastalık vesayir mevâtî' esnâsında işlerine bakamazlarsa bile efendilerinin kendilerini besleyeceklerinden emindirler. İşte bu esbâbe binâen atıknâmeler istihsâli için mürâcaat eyleyenlerin adedi yevmen ----- etmektedir. Efendiler esirlerini ----- ediyorlar. ----- üserâ hiç bir vakit böyle bir -----bulunmazlar.

APPENDIX 8

Y.A.Hus 230/68 1307 Ra 22

Üserâ-yı zenciye ticâretinin men'î ilgâsı için Bürüksel'de ictimâ'ı mükerrer olan konferansa Londra kabinesiyle-----edilen da'vete Şâh hazretleriyle Zengibâr emirinin dahî icâbet eylemiş olacağını hâvî ---- Belçika sefâretinden verilen takrîr tercümesi manzûr-u âlîye buyurulmak için hâriciyye nezâret-i celîlelerine 'arz ve takdîm kılındı.

Ma'ruz -u çâker kimesnedir ki, üserâ-yı zenciye ticâretinin men'î ve ilgâsı için Bürüksel'de ictimâ'ı mukarrer olan konferansın yevm-i ictimâ'ı teşri'n-sânî-i efrençiyesinin on sekizinci gününe tehîr olunduğuna ve ol babda ba'zı ifâdâtı ve ma'lûmata dair Bürüksel sefâret-i seniyyesinden vârid olan tahrîrât ile mekfûfenin ve cânib-i hükümet-i seniyyesinden bu babda i'tâ buyurulacak cevabın sür'ât-ı mümkîne ile tebliği iltimâs-ı müttehız Belçika sefâretinden ahz olunan takrîrin tercümeleri 29 - ----- 1307 tarihli tezkire-i çâkerî ile takdîm kılınmışdı.Mezkûr konferansa Londra kabine ----- edilen dâ'vete Şâh hazretleriyle Zengibâr emirinin dahî icâbet eylemiş olacaklarını hâvî bu kere sefâret-i müşarûn ileyhin ----- verilen takrîrin tercümesi dahi ----- 'arz u kesîr olunmuş olmağla emr-ü fermân hazrer-i -----

Hâriciyye nâzırı.

APPENDIX 9

Y.MTV 240/2 1320 ZA 10

Zengibâr Hâkimi hazretleri ----- Cidde'den ----- ederek Mekke-i Mûkerremeye gidip dün akşam mahal-i mübârekeye vâsıl oldu.Müşârû'n-ileyh kable'l-hâc Medine-i münevvereyi ziyâret arzusunda bulunduğundan bir kaç gün Mekke-i mûkerremede oturup belde-i zâhireye azîmet edeceği cihetle suret-i sâlimen azîmeti için ber mûceb-i irade-i seniyye için teshîlât-ı lâzime icrâsı edeceğine emârât-ı celîleyle tebliğ olunduğu ve mahal-i mübârekde bulunduğu müddetçe dahî hakkında hürmet ve riâyet olunan ----- hadım ve muhâfız -----tebligât-ı icrâ kılındı.Berâ-yı ma'lûmât ma'rûzdur.



APPENDIX 10

YEE 42/36 1300 L 10

Zengibâr mâlikânesine misâfir olan Fransız zabitanına verilen ziyâfet ve ikrâma dâir 1883 Ağustos 14 târîhli Signal gazetesinde mûnderic bendin tercümesidir.

Zengibâr havâdis-i surnâmesiyle alafranga 14 Ağustos 1883 târîhli Signal gazetesinde mûnderic bendin tercümesidir.

Geçenlerde ----- azîmet eden Fransız filosu zâbitânından bir zâtın Zengibârdan mürûrlarında Zengibâr Hâkimi tarafından mezkûr filo ----- memleketde mûkîm Fransız tebaa-yı ----- keşîde olunan ziyâfete dâir akrabâsından yerine irsâl edildiği mektûbtan bir fıkra.

Zengibâr şehrinin sarây meydânına dâhil olduk. Bu meydân mustatîl-i şekl-i vasi' bir meydan olup arka tarafı saray-ı selamlık ve cihet-i yemînî harem dâireleri ve cihet-i yesârî esâtîn emîri ve cihet-i râbi'ası sahil-i bahr ile muhâddiddir. Harem dâiresinin kapısı önünde dâimen bir mikdâr asker nöbet beklemektedir. Mezkûr kapı kurbinde parmaklıklarla mesdûd odalar olup iş bu odalarda kaplan ve yaban kedisi ve andız vesâire gibi manzarası insana müceb-i atmiyânân olmayan bir takım hayvanât ve haşeyât mevcuddur. Arslanları sadâ-yı dehişte fermanları işidilmemek üzere harem dâiresi dâhilinde bir mahal-i mahsûs olûb Zengibâr Hâkiminin nazar-ı gayretinde belki cami'-i şerîfden daha mukaddes olan iş bu dâireye dûhûlû mütecâsir olanları makâm-ı ta'âmda mezkûr arslanlara attıkları mervîdir. Zengibâra ----- ahâliye bir vesîle-yi tenzîre olduğundan temâşâmız için tekmîl-i halk sokaklara dökülmüşdü ve Zengibâr Hâkimi sâlif-üz-zikr harem dâiresinin büyük kapısı bitişiğinde müttehiz-i istikbâl olub kemâl-ı nezâketle mütebessim olduğu halde ----- cümlemiz ile mesâfî etdi. Haylice konuşan bir zât yandan çıkarak büyük bir salona dâhil olduk. Bu salon ile civârında bulunan odalar ziyâretimiz münâsebetiyle bi-t-tab'nisvândan tahliye edilmişdi. Mezkû salon şark ma'mûl'tından bir takım aksâm ve eşya-yı nefis ile hayrân-ı efzâ ve nazar-ı pîrâ sûretde mefrûş û mîzân idi. Bir müddetçede anda ârâmdan sonra limonluğa geçildi. Tahmînen altmış metre tavîlinde olub derûnî bir çok kokulu eşcâr ve ----- ile memlû olan iş bu mahalde gayet mükemmel ve ----- bir mâideten -----, ----- hasbe'l-iklim şâh mûser idi kendin insana adeta baş ağrılığı ve baygınlık vermekte idi. Hatta içimizden birine fenâlık gelmekle salona götürdüler. Ziyâfetde kırk beş nev'idin mütecâviz ta'âm ve otuz nev'idin ziyâde yemiş var idi. Koyun vesâire misullû ba'zı hayvanları bütün olarak büryan etmişler ve sofraya

öylece götürmüşler idi. Fakat bu kadar et'âmı eklemeye de kadrin olmadığından götürdükleri gibi getirdiler. Evm-i ziyâfet ---- perhîz günü olan bir cum'aya tesâdüf eylemiş olduğu cihetle bir çok etli yemeklerin birisini ----- etmesi ----- içinde bulunan ----- rahiplerinin zevâtlarına gitmediyse de onlar da ----- mecâz olan şeylerle telâfi-yi mesâfât etdiler. Lâkîn en fenası islâmlar için meskerât-ı harem ettiğinden --- -- şarâbın nakdân-ı -----, ----- olan şarâba bedel biri bâdem subyası ve diğeri bir nev'i ekşice -----,-----, Ta'âm dondurmaya hitâm bulub bu ise ----- mûceb-i memnûniyyet oldu.



APPENDIX 11

MV 230/119 1331 Z 26

Osmanlı Hilâl-ı Ahmer Cem'iyyeti nâmına cem'-i i'ânet için gayret-ı sebk eden Afrikâ-yı cenûbi hilâl-ı Ahmer komutanlarına mensûb Zengibâr Hilâl-ı Ahmer Cem'iyyeti Yûsuf Ali Faremçi Efendileri ve Zengibâr Hilâl-i Ahmer Cem'iyyeti a'zâsından Tayyib Ali -----ye Osmanlı nişân i'tâ' olundu.

Y.PRK.BŞK 14/55 1306.Ra.10

Berlin Sefaret-i seniyyesinden bugün bab-ı aliye telgrafla bildirilmesi vechile Almanya Devleti İngiltere ile müttefikken Zengibâr sevahilini Abluka altına alıp esir ticaretini şediden men edeceğini ve bahr-ı ahmer ve bahr-ı sefid sevahilinde kain memalik-i şahanede dahi ticaret-i mezkurenin külliyyen meni hakkında tedabir ittihaz olunmuş, devlet-i müşarun ileyha tarafından hükümet-i seniyyeye teklif edileceği muhakkaktır.binaenaleyh bahr-ı ahmerde ve ale'l-husus Trablusgarp ve Bingazi vilayetlerinde bu sebepten naş-ı ecnebi müdahalesine bir güne mahal kalmamak üzere barren ve bahren ihtiyatlı bulunmaktığımızı ihtiram edeyü

14 Teşrinisani 88

Tevfik

APPENDIX 12

İrade 1306 No: 87 811 Dahiliye

Zengibâr'a sefaret-i fevkalade ile izam olunacak Abdülkadir Efendiyle vesairenin izamlarına dair.

Devletli efendim hazretleri Rehin-i alem-i ali olduğu üzre bir vakitten beri tesis-i ticaret maksadıyla Zengibâr taraflarında dolaşmakta olan ecnebiler ile ahali-i mahalle beyninde ülfet ve emniyet hasıl olmadığından dolayı vuku'a gelen kıtal ve münâferet cihetiyle zikr olunan ecnebilerin mensub oldukları devletler tarafından Zengibâr hükümeti hakkında icra-yı tazyikat olunmakta bulunan ve esir ticaretinin men'i vesilesiyle Zengibâr sevahili abluka edilmiş olup cihet-i cami'atül islamiyet ve husûsa-i zat-ı şevketmeab cenab-ı Padişahi olan kemal-i şefkat ve merhamet iktiza-yı hikmet ihtivasınca bu hale nezd-i mekarim vefd-i hazret-i hilafetpenahiye nazar-ı bi-kaydi ile bakılamayacağından ahval-i mahalliye hakkında ahz-i malumat-ı sahiha ile tedabir-i lazıme mübaderet ve inde'l-icab düvel-i müşarun ileyh nezdinde icra-yı vesadet olunmak üzre oraya bir sefaret-i mahsusa ve fevkalade i'zamı müktezi görünerek bunun için dirayet ve ehliyet ile munsarıf ve lisan-ı Arabi ve ecnebiye vakıf olan Beyrut ticaret mahkemesi reisi saadetlü Abdülkadir Efendinin memuriyeti ve zabıtan-ı askeriyeden münasip ve müstaid bir zatın dahi refakatine tayini hakkında emr u ferman isabet-i beyan-ı hazret-i şehriyari her ne vecihle şeref-müteallik buyrulur ise hükm-i celili infaz olacağını beyanıyla tezkire-i müşaveri terkim kılındı efendim 17 Cumadiye'l-ahir 206 ----- Sadrazam Kamil

APPENDIX 13

Y.A. Hus., 220/41 1306 4 16

Taraf-ı eşref-i hazret-i mülukaneden Zengibâr hakim-i ceditine hitaben şeref-tasdir buyurulan name-i hümayun-ı şevket-makrun hazret-i hilafetpenahinin isaline memur izzetlü şükri Efendi tarafından varid olan bir kıta mektub-ı hususinin kısmen suretidir.

Bu mebayiddan hareketim gününden itibaren yirmi dört günde Zengibâr'a muvasılat-ı müyessergerde-i hazret-i izzet oldı ki el-yevm-i muvasılatımın üçüncü günüdür. Misafir bulunduğum mahalde iken canib-i celil-i hilafetpenahiden Zengibâr hakimine bir kıta name-i hümayun getirmiş olduğumu hükümete haber gönderüp derakab Zengibâr hakimi sayfiyede bulunduğu cihetle telefon vasıtasıyla kendülerine haber verilmiş olmasından heman mabeyncilerinden birini ----- hatır ve rasime-i hoş-amedî zımnında nezd-i kemterime i'zam buyurmuş ve ben de şanımin ----- ve kudretim taalluk eylediği mertebeden hakim-i müşarun ileyh hazretlerine hak-na-hakk abidanemizde şeref-vakî olan ----- teşkirat ve tahmidat li-ittihâs ile mukabele eyleyerek gelen memur avdet etti. Yarım saat mürur etmeksizin memur-ı muma ileyh daha bir takım memurlarla gelerek ba-irade-i acizleriçün hazırlanmış olan haneye azimet eylemekliğimi beyan etmeleriyle oradan kalkup üç odası tefriş olunmuş koca bir eve geldik. Uzatmayalım misafir olduğum şu hanede hizmetçiler aşçılar kapusu önünde iki nefer nöbetçi asker mevcut idi. Akşam oldu. Yemek yedik. Saat ikiye karib bir zamanda muma ileyh mabeyncî ile hakimîn serkatib-i hakim-i müşarun ileyh tarafından gönderildişini beyan ile nezd-i -----ye teşrif buyurdular. Ve hakim hazretleri tarafından hediye olmak üzere bir muz yaprağı içinde sarılı bir deste gül ihsan buyurdular. şu lütfâ da -----ğ münasiple ifa-yı teşekkürat eyledikten sonra ne memuriyetle gönderilmiş olduğumu katib-i müşarun ileyh istifsar eyleyerek acizler de Zengibâr hakimi devletlü faziletlü Said Halife hazretleri tarafından ka'id kürsi'yi'l-hükümet olduklarına dair atebe-i felek-mertebe-i cenab-ı hilafetpenahiye keşide edilen telgrafnameye cevaben isdar buyurulmuş olan name-i hümayun şevket-makrun Cenab-ı Zıllıllahiye getirmiş olduğumu söyledim bunun üzerine avdet ettiler. Ertesi günü daha diğer memurlarla evvelki gelenler gelerek hakim azretleri taraflarından selam edildişini ve bu günkü Salı gününden ----- suret-i resmiyede kabul olacağımızı ve teferrüc için mükemmel bir araba ile bir de esb göndermiş olduklarını beyan ettiler. Artık ben de ardı arası kesilmeyen şu lütuflara karşı bitmez tükenmez teşekkürler eylemekten başka çare bulamadım.

Hasıl-ı kalam el-yevm saat üçte nezd-i çakerime bir takım memurlarla teşrifatçı gelerek hakim hazretleri daire-i mahsusalarına teşrif buyurmuş olduklarından bahisle acizlerini kabul buyuracaklarını söylediler. Oradan mutantan bir surette bizi aldılar. Daire-i mezkureye dört yüz adım mesafeye takarrub edinceye kadar iki keçeli ahali asar-ı ibtihac ve ----- ile Allah Sultan Hamit Han hazretlerine nusret ihsan eyleye duasıyla ve bundan sonra daire-i mezkureye dahil oluncaya kadar iki tabur asker ve iki bando mızıkacı iki taraflı safa beste-i selam oldukları ve dairenin alem çekilmeye mahsus direğinde zıllullah fi'l-alem velinimet ----miz Padişahımız Efendimiz hazretlerinin alem-i nusret tevamları keşide olunmuş olduğu halde abd-ı nacizanemi mahz-ı Sultan'us-selatin ve hakan'ul-havakin halife-i ruy-ı zemin Şevketlü kudretlü azimetlü padişah-ı alempenah ve şehriyar Farukcah Efendimiz hazretlerinin efrat-ı vird-i muhazenetlerinden bir ihtiram-ı fevkalade olmak üzere selamladılar. Badehu daireye dahil olduğumuzda iki keçeli yakaları önleri etekleri sırma ile işlenmiş siyah cübbeli ve beyaz uzun entarili ve başları sarılı ve bellerinde gümüş kabzalı hançerler ve ellerinde seyflerle siyah ve üç kat nerdibanın güza iki tarafında yine belleri hançerli elleri kılıçlı evlad-ı arabdan bir takım adamlar selam durmuş oldukları halde büyücek bir divanhaneye çıktım. Sonra bu ana kadar böyle memuriyetle bir tarafa gitmediğim için kalbimin helecanını ve bir münasebet olmayacak ef'al ve harekatda bulunmamaklığım için gönlümün ----- tarif edemem. Şu divanhaneye çıktığımda toplar atılmağa başladı. Ben de ba-der dest-i tazim ve tekrim almış olduğum name-i hümayun-ı şevketmakrun ile gitmekte iken yanımda bulunan tercüman işte halife hazretleri geliyor dedi. Yanına takarrüb eylediğimde name-i hümayunda mevcut olan tuğra-yı garra-yı Osmaniye üç defa kemal-i edeb ile telsim eyleyüb kendilerine teslim eyleyerek usulleri vechile hakimin ellerini takbil eyledim. Hakim hazretleri name-i şevket allameyi ibadi-i tazimlerine alarak baş üzerine vaz' eyledikten sonra etrafında bulunanlardan birine verdi. O da tazimle alıp bilmem nereye gitti. Hasılı hakim elimden tutup yavaş yavaş padişahımıza dualar eyleyerek gayet büyük iki yüze karib kim bilir vüzerası vükelası olacak bir takım zatlar iki taraflı vaz' olunmuş sandalyelerde önlerinde ayakta duruyorlardı. Hakim bunlara selam vererek zatına mahsus olan fevkalade müzeyyen bir sandalyeye oturdu. Ve acizlerine ve hazırına hitaben oturmaklığımızı işaret eylemesiyle kaffesi oturdularsa da bendeniz oturmadım tekrar ayağa kalkıp kolumdan tutarak oturmaklığımı işaret eylemesiyle emre itaat vacibe-i zimmettir diyerek oturdum. Kahve ve badehu şerbetler içildi. Badehu tab'ı nacizanemi istifsar buyurdular. Memuriyetimizi ve Dersaadet'ten mi

veyahut Hicaz'dan mı geldiđimi sual eylediler. Bendeniz de Hadire tahrirat mdr olduđumdan bahisle makam-ı sadaret-i uzmadan ----- vilayet-i celilesine řeref-varid olan emirname-i ----- ifa-i řeref-zuhur eden name-i hmayunu zat-ı -----lerine ----- isale vilayet mřarun ileyh ---- memur olmuř olduđumu arz eyleyip “zeyt” diyerek mukabele buyurdular. Ne kadar křkler var ise tarafından emir verilmiř olduđundan gidip grmekliđimi emr eylediler. Beyan-ı teřekkrle ellerini takbil eyledim. Ve yarın henz ikamet eylediđi křkte ziyafete azimetimi tenbih buyurdular. Buna da teřekkr eyledim. Bunun zerine isti'sal-i msaade eyleyip yerime avdet eyledim. İnřallah bundan sonraki vukuatı da yazarım. 18 ----



APPENDIX 14

Y.A. Hus. 222/46 1306 6 17

Devlet-i aliyede bulunan Sudanlıların Zengibâr'da polis hizmetinde kullanılmak üzere verilmiş ise de Alman sefirinin böyle bir tedbiri ----- yolundaki ifadesine dair

Besmele

Bab-ı Ali

Daire-i Sadaret Amedegi Divan-ı Hümayun

Zengibâr'da polis hizmetinde kullanılmak üzere memalik-i şahanede bulunan Sudanlılardan birkaç yüz nefer tedariki mümkün olup olmayacağına dair Almanya baş tercümanının sefiri namına vuku bulan istimzaç ve ifadatı üzerine bu husus için Zengibâr hakimi tarafından istidayı müsaade-i seniyye olacak olur ise atebe-i ulyaya arz edilebileceği tebliğ olunacağı fi 6 Cemadiye'l-ahir 1306 tarihli tezkire-i hususiye-i tenaderi ile maruz-ı huzur kılınmıştı. Bugün Almanya sefiri nezd-i aciziye gelerek bu suret-i hükümeti merbuası tarafından dahi tasvib edilmiş ise de şimdilik bu tedbire müracaat lüzum görülmediğini ve mamafih bu babdaki millet-i mesanik şüpheyle mevkii itibara alınmasından dolayı beyan-ı memnuniyet olunmuş olacağını ifade etmiş ve bir de "Nunsikin" Dersaadet'e geldiği birince istihbar olunarak Bab-ı Aliyye ve itkan-ı müselles aleyhinde bulunan böyle bir adamın buraca kabulü fevkalade tesiri mucib olduğundan bahisle ve kavmin saray-ı hümayunuma girmiş ve gazetesinden beş nüshasına abone olunmuş olunacağı sirayeti Bab-ı aliyye hakkında olan itimadı terhin eyleyeceğini beyan etmiş üzerine merkum da Dersaadete gelişinde ne zat-ı şevketiyyete Efendimiz hazretlerinin ve ne de Bab-ı Alinin bir gün haber ve malumatı olmayıp hatta merkumun istabında geleceğini bilip Hak pay-ı Hümayun-ı şahaneye arz-ı malumat etmeyenlerin sonra vakiası işbirar asaya dai olmakla beraber makam-ı atebe-i ulyayı mülukhaneye yüz sürmek arzusunu izhar etmiş olduğu halde taraf-ı eşref-i Hazret-i şehriyariden red eylemiş olduğu ve gazetesinden beş nüshasına abone olunduğunun aslı olmayıp bu gazetenin ibtida-i zuhurunun neşriyatına kesb-i malumat olunmak için Hariciye Nezareti celilesi tarafından bir nüshasına abone olunduğu ve merkum muayyen Bab-ı Ali hakkında tashih-i meslek görülmesine intizar olunması lazım geleceği sefir-i müşarun ileyhe münasip suretle beyan edilerek avdet etmiş olacağından sami-i seniyye-i mülukaneye arz-ı mütemennadır efendim. 18 Cemadiyel Ahir 1306 6 şubat 1304 Sadrazam Kamil

APPENDIX 15

Y.A. Hus. 222 /27

Zengibâr'da polis hizmeti görmek ----- gönderilmesi, Bab-ı Ali Daire-i Sadaret Amedeyi Divan-ı Hümayun

Malum-ı ali olduğu üzere Almanya devleti ile Zengibâr hakimi beyninde hasıl olan muvafakat üzerine Zengibâr hükümetinin Afrika kıtasında vaki savahilinin idaresi ol havalide tesis-i ticaret maksadıyla teşkil eden bir Almanya şirketine bazı şerait ile havale olunmuş ve umur-ı zabıtaya ait vezâifin şirket-i mezkûre tarafından ifası dahi cümle-i şeraitten bulunmuş idi. Dünkü gün Almanya baş tercümanı nezd-i aciziye gelerek Zengibâr'da Almanya şirketi garbiyesine ihale olunan sevahilin zabıt vezâifi muahhiren Almanya devleti tarafından mansub ehliyetli bir komişere havale edilmiş ise de polis hizmetini yerlilere gördürmek kabil olamayacağı anlaşıldığına ve Devlet-i müşarun ileyha Almanya'dan polis ve jandarma irsaliyle Zengibâr Hükümetinin umur-ı dahiliyyesine müdahale etmek arzusunda bulunmadığına binaen memalik-i şahanede bulunan Sudanlılardan polis hizmetine elverişli birkaç yüz nefer tedarik ve istihdamına dair müsaade-i seniyye-i Hazret-i şehriyariye nailiyyet mümkün olup olmadığından istihracı hakkında Mösyö Radovic Berlin'den telgrafname aldığıнын beyanıyla olbabda olan mütalaa-i senaduri sefiri namına istifham ve şimdiye kadar Almanya devleti ----- celile-i Hazret-i şehin şahiden hiçbir şey talep etmemiş olduğundan bu babdaki iltimasının isafına müsaade-i seniyye-i Cenab-ı tacidari deri buyurulması halinde buna adem-i nailiyyet-i Mösyö Radovicin nezd-i hümayunuma mülukhanede haiz itibar-ı kafi olmasına delalet edeceği cihetle sefir-i müşarun ileyh devlet-i metbuasına karşı pek nazik bir mevkide bulunacağını ilaveten ima eylemiş ve olunan istizaha cevaben şirket-i mezkûrenin idaresinde bulunan mahallere rusumat tahsili ve umur-ı zabıtaya aid vezâif-i kaffe-i Zengibâr hakiminin namına icra olunduğu tercüman muma ileyh tarafından beyan kılınmış olunmasıyla re'yi hasaneme göre Almanya devletinin Zengibâr sevahilini abluka tahtına aldığı şöyle bir zamanda buralardan devlet-i müşarun ileyhaya adam verilmesi inzar-ı ehl-i İslam'da hoş görünmeyeceğinden münasib olmayıp şu kadar ki Zengibâr hükümetinin cihet-i camia-i İslamiyece makam-ı muallay-ı hilafet-i kübraya irtibatı olduğundan hükümet-i müşarun ileyhanın kuvvet-i ----- zabıtasının tanzim için buralardaki Sudanlılardan öyle birkaç yüz kişi tedarikine müsaade-i seniyye-i Hazret-

i Hilafetpenahi şayan buyurulması hususu Zengibâr hakimi tarafından istida olunacak olur ise bu suret-i atebe-i ulya-yı mülûkaneye arz kılınabileceği tercüman-ı muma ileyhe ifade olunmuş oluna. Hakpay-ı hümayun-ı şahaneye arz-ı mütemennadır efendim.

6 Cemadiyel Ahir 1306 26 Kanuni Sani 1304 Sadrazam Kamil



APPENDIX 16

Y.A. Hus. 204/ 82 1306 8 23

Bab-ı Ali Daire-i Sadaret Amedeyi divan-ı hümayun

“Deba’nın Zengibâr’dan olup neşr eylediği bir mektupta zat-ı Hazret-i padişahiyi Almanya Zengibâr’dan kendi menfaatına müsait harekete karar verdirmiş ise de bu suret-i politikaca tehlikeli olduğundan başka zat-ı hazret-i padişahi bu vecihle Müslümanlar nezdinde teveccühü umumilerini gaib edebilecekleri beyan olunuyor” diye Paris’ten hevas-ı keşide olan 23 Nisan sene 89 tarihli telgrafnamenin suret-i manzur-ı ali olarak taraf-ı eşref-i Hazret-i Penahileri Zengibâr’a bir sefir-i fevkalade izamının kendi menfaatlarına dahi muvafakatı cihetle Fransa hükümetince asla düçar-ı iğraz olmamış iken bu tesbiti Fransa evrak-ı havadisinin başka yolda tevil ve tefsiriyle na-münasip neşriyatta bulunmalarına igma-ı aynı edileceşinden Dersaadette tab ve neşr olunan gazetelerin bu havadisi neşr etmemeleri için iktiza edenlere serian tenbihat icrasıyla beraber havadis-i mezkurenin Fransaca da tekzib ettirilmemesi ve şayet Cenab-ı Saltanat-ı Seniyyeden Zengibâr’a sefir izamında mahzur-ı melhuz ise ol babdaki kararın tehir-i icrası mümkün olduğundan buna dair murafaa-i acizenin arzı emru ferman buyuruldu şu meblaşı tezkere-i hususiyye-i aliyyeleri olundu. Zikr olunan telgrafnamenin sureti bugün Bab-ı Alice görülmesi üzerine men’i neşri maksadıyla tevkif ettirildiği misüllü Fransaca tekzib ettirilmesi de Hariciye Nezareti celilesine tavsiye kılınmış. Ve müteakiben nezd-i aciziye gelen Fransa sefareti baş tercümanı bu havadisten bahs açınca beni Canib-i Saltanat-ı Seniyyeden Zengibâr’a sefir-i fevkalade gönderilmesi tasavvuru Almanya’nın menafiine hizmet için olmadığı şöyle dursun bu tesbitin Almanyaca nahoş bile görüldüğü tercüman-ı muma ileyh tefhim olunmuş idi. Hakikat halde esas kararın nimet-i benimtemik? şevketmeab Efendimiz hazretlerinin hususa-i zat-ı hümayunları olan sıfat-ı mukaddese-i hilafet icab-ı alince oralar ahali-i islamiyesinin lede’l-hace muhafaza-i hukukı ve menafii maksadına mübteni olarak bunun da ecanibden hiçbir devletin politikasına ciheti talik olmadığından ve her devlet kendi hukuku veya memafi-i mahsusasının mukteziyatına göre harekette muhtar olduğundan sefirin izamında bir günah be’s ve mahzur görülememiş ise de ol babda irade-i seniyye-i Hazret-i Hilafetpenahi her ne vecihle şerefsunuh ve sudur buyurulur ise hükm-i celiline tevfik-i hareret olunacağı derkardır efendim.

Fi 23 şaban 1306 ve 12 Nisan 1305 Sadrazam Kamil

APPENDIX 17

Y.A. Hus. Dosya 230 / 2 Tarih 1307 3 1

Bab-1 Ali Nezaret-i Umur-1 Hariciye Tercüme Odası

Hariciye Nezaretine 6 Teşrini Evvel sene 89 tarihli Almanya sefaretinden varid olan takririn tercümesidir.

Haşmetli Almanya imparatoru ve Prusya Kralı hazretlerinin fevkalade murahhası olan muharrer imza hükümeti metbuasından olduğu emir üzerine hususat-ı atıyye-yi Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye Hariciye Nazırı Devletli Paşa Hazretlerine iş'ar ile ----- fahr eyleyen.

Mafiya ve Samu adalarıyla sahil-i gurbunda kain diğer Cezayir-i Sağire dahi dahil olduğu halde on derece yirmi sekiz dakikadan itibaren arz-ı cenubide iki derece on dakikaya kadar bila fasıla mümted olan Zengibâr sahili o sulara bulunan Almanya ve İngiltere donanmaları tarafından fi 2 Kanun-ı Evvel sene 88 tarihinden itibaren abluka altına alındığı geçen Kanun-ı Evvelin dokuzunda Hariciye Nazırı Devletlü Paşa Hazretlerine iş'ar olunmuştu. Mezkur abluka Almanya, İngiltere ve İtalya Donanmaları komutanlarının beyanname-i müşterekleriyle şehir-i halin birinci günü vakt-i zuhurda ref' edilmiştir. Muharrer imza Almanya'nın resmi gazetesi olan "Bizinharrgar" nam gazete ile şehir-i hal efrenginin birinci günü neşr olunan beyannamenin metnini devlet matbuasından aldığı emri üzerine Hariciye Nazırı Devletlü Paşa hazretlerine lefen irsal ve bu vesile ile tecdid-i te'minat-ı ihtiramkariye ibtidar eyler.

Melfuf-1 beyannamenin tercümesidir.

Afrika-yı şarki sularında Almanya ve İngiltere donanmaları kumandan ve amiralleri "İstafina" nam İtalya harb sefinesi kumandanı muharririn imza düvel-i metbualarımızdan olduğumuz emr üzerine ve haşmetli Zengibâr hakimi namına olarak işbu beyanname ile şurasını ilan ederiz ki iki derece on dakika ile on derece 28 dakika arz-ı cenubide vaki sevahilde edevat-ı harbiyye idhalatı ve üsera ihracatı hakkında cari olan ve 9 Teşrini Sani 88 tarihinde ilan olunup 2 Kanun-ı Evvel 88 tarihinde mevkii icraya vaz' olunan muhasara-yı bahriyye seksen dokuz senesi Teşrin-i Evvelin birinci günü vakt-i zuhurdan itibaren ref' edilmiştir.

İstafina nam İtalya sefinesi kumandanı Verselli

Almanya donanması Başkumandanı namına Kurt Suaris

İngiltere donanması Kontor Amirali Karamaet

APPENDIX 18

Y.A. Hus. 230 / 2 1307 3 1

Zengibâr sahillere teris olunan bahr muhasarasının kaldırıldığı hakkında
Alman sefareti takririnin kaldırıldığına dair.

Babı Ali

Daire-i Saadet

Ammedeyi Divan-ı Hümayun

Makar-ı ma Zengibâr sevahilinde tesis edilen muhasaray-ı bahriyenin bugün ref
olunacağına dair Almanya sefaretinin takriri ile melfufi tercümeleri manzur-ı ali
buyurmak için Hariciye nezaret-i celilesinin tezkeresiyle mean arz ve takdim
kılınmış ve bahriye nezaret-i celilesine malumat verilmiştir efendim.

Fi Rebiul Evvel 1307 Fi 14 Teşrini Sani 1305 Sadrazam Kamil



APPENDIX 19

Bab-1 Ali

Daire-i Hariciye

Mektub-1 Kalemi

Adet 1064

Huzur-ı melalim vufur Hazret-i Sadaret penahiye maruz-ı Çakerkemineleridir.

Zengibâr sevhilinde tesis edilen Alman müstemlikatı üzerine Zengibâr ile eyalat-ı müvacire ahali-i asiyesinden mürekkep müsella firkalar tarafından yerli esir ticaretinin tahtı kumandasında olarak hücum edilmesi üzerine İngiltere ile ittifaki hamil olduktan sonra muhasara-i bahriyyenin o sularda bulunan Alman ve İngiliz donanmaları tarafından ilan olunduğunu şamil Almanya sefaretinden i'ta olunan takririn tercümesi 6 R 1307 tarihli tezkere-i çakeri ile takdim kılınmıştı. Muhasara-i mezkurenin ref' olunduğu ol babda neşr olunan beyannamenin gönderildiği meşarı sefaret-i müşarun ileyhadan bu kere dahi i'ta olunan 6 Teşrin-i Evvel sene 89 tarihli takrir ile melfufunun tercümeleri dahi lefen takdim kılınmakla emr u ferman Hazret-i veliyyül emrindir.

26 Safer 1307 9 Teşrini Evvel 1305 Hariciye Nazırı

APPENDIX 20

Y.A. Hus. 221/ 35

Bab-1 Ali

Nezaret-i Umur-ı Hariciye

Tercüme Odası

Zengibâr sahillerinin abluka altına alınması hakkında İngiltere ve Almanya tarafından ittihaz olunan karara, İtalya'nın da iştirak ettiğine dair. Hariciye Nezaretine 7 Kanun-ı Sani sene 89 tarihli italya sefaretinden varid olan takrirlerin tercümesidir.

Zengibâr sevahilinin Almanya ve İngiltere donanmaları tarafından abluka altına alınması hakkında devleteyn-i müşarun ileyhima canibinden bi'l-ittifak ittihaz olunan karar üzerine İtalya hükümeti dahi usulü ve nizamı vechile ablukayı bade'l-ilan buna iştirak eylemesi için “Doğali” nam beylik harb sefinesi kumandanına emir vermiştir. Keyfiyyeti Zat-ı Ali-i Asitanelerine iş'ar ile beraber İtalya resmi gazetesinin ablukanın ilanını havi olan fi 19 Kanun-ı Evvel 1888 tarihli nüshasını lefen irsal ediyorum. Beyan-ı hal tecdid-i teminat-ı ihtiramkariye vesile ittihaz kılındı.

Melfuf ilannamenin tercümesidir.

Zengibâr Hakimi nezdinde mukim İtalya Konsolosu tarafından şehri halin beşi tarihli Hariciye Nezaretine irsal olunan telgrafnameye nazaran “Dogali” nam İtalya binlik harb sefinesi kumandanı “Mafya” ve “Lamu” adaları ile sahil kurbunda kain diğer Cezayir-i Sağire dahi dahil olduğu halde arz-ı cenubide iki derece on dakikadan itibaren on derece yirmi sekiz dakikaya kadar olan Zengibâr sahili şarkiyyesinin abluka altına alındığını ilan eylemiştir. Muhasara-i bahriyye yalnız üzeray-ı zenciye ile esliha ve mühimmat-ı harbiyye ticareti hakkında caridir. Muhasara-i bahriyye İngiltere, Almanya donanmaları tarafından Kanun-ı Evvelin ikinci günü vakt-i zuhurda “Dogali” nam İtalya harp sefinesi tarafından dahi kumandanın beyannamesini müteakip ilan kılınmıştır.

APPENDIX 21

Y.A. Hus. 222/20

Zengibâr meselesinden dolayı müstemlekelere mahsus mesarîfın Alman Parlementosunca kabul edildiğine dair.

Hariciye nezaretine 16 Kanun-ı Sani sene 89 tarihli Berlin Sefaret-i Seniyyesinden varid olan 15 numaralı tahriratın tercümesidir.

Bab-ı Ali

Nezaret-i Umur-ı Hariciyye

Tercüme Odası

Geçen Kanun-ı Evvelin yirmi altısı tarihli ve iki yüz doksan yedi numaralı tahrirat-ı acizaneme zeyl olmak üzere şurasını arz ve iş'ara müsaraat ettirmeye parlementonun dünkü içtimasında bir takım mübahasat-ı ıedide vuku bulmuş ve bu mübahasata Prens Bismark dahi iştirak etmiştir. Afrika-yı şarki ve cenubide vaki Almanya müstemlikatına mahsus mesarîfa dair vuku bulan mübahare esnasında fırka-i muhalefe tarafından birçok sualler irad olundu. Prens Bismark cevabında Almanya müstemlikat politikasına müteallik layihanın dürüst tetkik ve tezekkür olacağı ve gariben parlementonun tasdikine havale kılınacağı cihetle bu mesele hakkında şimdiden mübahareye girişmeyeceğini bilbeyan mesarîf-ı mezkurenin icrası lüzum-ı mutlak hükmünde bulunduğunu teyit etmiştir. Badehu esaret aleyhine ittihaz olunan tedabire dair birkaç mebus tarafından vuku bulan suale cevaben Prens Bismark şimdilik işin daha ilerisine varamayacağını ve bu babda yapılan şeyleri kafi addeylediğini beyan etmiştir. Elhasıl mesarîf-ı mezkure kabul ve tasdik olunan binaen aleyh layiha-i mebhuse Almanya Parlementosuna tebliğ olunur olunmaz bunu zat-ı aliy-i asifanelerine irsalinde tecviz-i kusur etmediğim derkardır. Emr u ferman Hazret-i men leh'ul-emrindir.

APPENDIX 22

Y. A. Hus. 222/27 1306 6 6

This document informs us that Germany established a commercial company in Zanzibar. They also constituted a police force in the region. They wanted the Ottoman Empire to send some of the Sudanese to Zanzibar to be employed in this police force. Here Germany aimed that Zanzibar people would not come against this police force if it was supported by the Ottoman Empire who was the Caliph of the Islamic world. The Ottoman Empire did not accept to send those Sudanese to Zanzibar. It was said that it could be against the Islamic world, cāmi'atū'l-islāmiyye.



معلوم علی اولیٰ فی اوزرہ المانیہ دولتیہ زنگبار عالمی بیتہ علی اولیٰ موافقت اوزرہ زنگبار حکومت
آفریقہ نظم شدہ واقع سواہلیک ادارہ سی اولیٰ البیدہ تا سبب تجارت مقصدیہ تکلیف ایدہ بر المانیہ شرکتہ بدو
شرایط بلہ ہوالہ اولیٰ و امور ضابطہ بہ عاشد دفعہ نفعی شرکت مذکورہ طرفندہ ابقی دفعہ جملہ شرائط
بولیہ ایدہ دولتی کومہ المانیہ با سہ نجات ترو عجزی بہ جملہ رک زنگبارہ المانیہ شرکت شرقیہ عالم اولیٰ
سواہلیک ضابطہ دفعہ نفعی مؤخر المانیہ دولتی طرفندہ منصوب اہلیہ بر قومبرہ ہوالہ ایدہ یس بر یس خدمتی
بر لورہ کورہ در ملک قابل اولیٰ جہ فی المانیہ طرفندہ و دولت ماریہ المانیہ بر یس و زنگبارہ ایدہ ایدہ زنگبار
حکومتک امور داخلہ سہ مداخلہ ایدہ ارز و سندہ بولندیہ بنا ز ممالک شہانہ دہ بولندیہ سودا بولندیہ بولندیہ
خدمتہ الیہ یس بر قاج بوزنقرندہ و خدمتہ دائرہ ماعدہ سہ خدمتہ شہر باری بہ تا طبیعت حکمہ اولیٰ اولیٰ
اندر جہ خدمتہ موسو رادویج بر لندیہ بر طرفہ اقامہ الدینک بیتہ اولیٰ البیدہ اولیٰ البیدہ لندیہ شہری
نامہ استفادہ و سہدی بہ قدر المانیہ دولتی ایدہ فی جملہ خدمتہ شہر ایدہ ہی بر یس طلب انجمنہ اولیٰ البیدہ
بویاک کے المانیہ اسعادتہ ماعدہ سہ جناب نا جہادی در یس بولندیہ عالمی عدم تا طبیعت موسو رادویج
نزد ہجوزہ مالکاتہ ہا تر اغیار کاخ اولیٰ البیدہ دولت ایدہ جملہ خدمتہ ماریہ دولت منوبہ سہ قارہ شہر نا
بر موقعدہ بولندیہ عدادہ ایما ایدہ و اولیٰ البیدہ استیضام ہوا بہ شرکت مذکورہ ملک ادارہ سندہ بولندیہ جملہ
سوماسہ فیصلہ و امور ضابطہ بہ عاشد دفعہ نفعی کاخ زنگبارہ مالکک نامہ اجرا اولیٰ البیدہ ترجمانہ ماریہ طرفندہ سہ
فانجہ اولیٰ البیدہ رائی خالصانہ کورہ المانیہ دولتیہ زنگبارہ سواہلیک ایلو فہ فی المانیہ سولہ بر نہ ماعدہ بولندیہ
دولت ماریہ آدم و بولندیہ دفعہ رائل اسلامہ غوسہ کورنہ جملہ مہ مناسب اولیٰ البیدہ سولہ کورہ زنگبار
حکومتک جہ جامعہ اسلامہ مقام معادی خلافت کرایہ ایدہ ایدہ اولیٰ البیدہ حکومت ماریہ ملک قومہ



ضابطہ سہ تنظیم ایدہ بورا لورہ کے سودا بولندیہ ایدہ بر قاج بوزنقرندہ ماعدہ سہ خدمتہ خلافتیہ
تا بامہ بولندیہ خصوصی زنگبارہ ماریہ طرفندہ استعاضا اولیٰ البیدہ اولیٰ البیدہ بولندیہ عبادی مالکاتہ عومہ
قلہ بیدہ جملہ ترجمانہ ماریہ افادہ اولیٰ البیدہ خدمتہ خطیہ ہی ہوا بہ شہانہ یہ عجزی خدمتہ رافع

امامیہ و ایدہ بولندیہ
صدر اعظم
کاکس

IRADE HUSUSI 978/75 24 N 1325

بلد و سرکاری محکمات
بائیں کثافات را بر وی

7.14

[illegible]

150

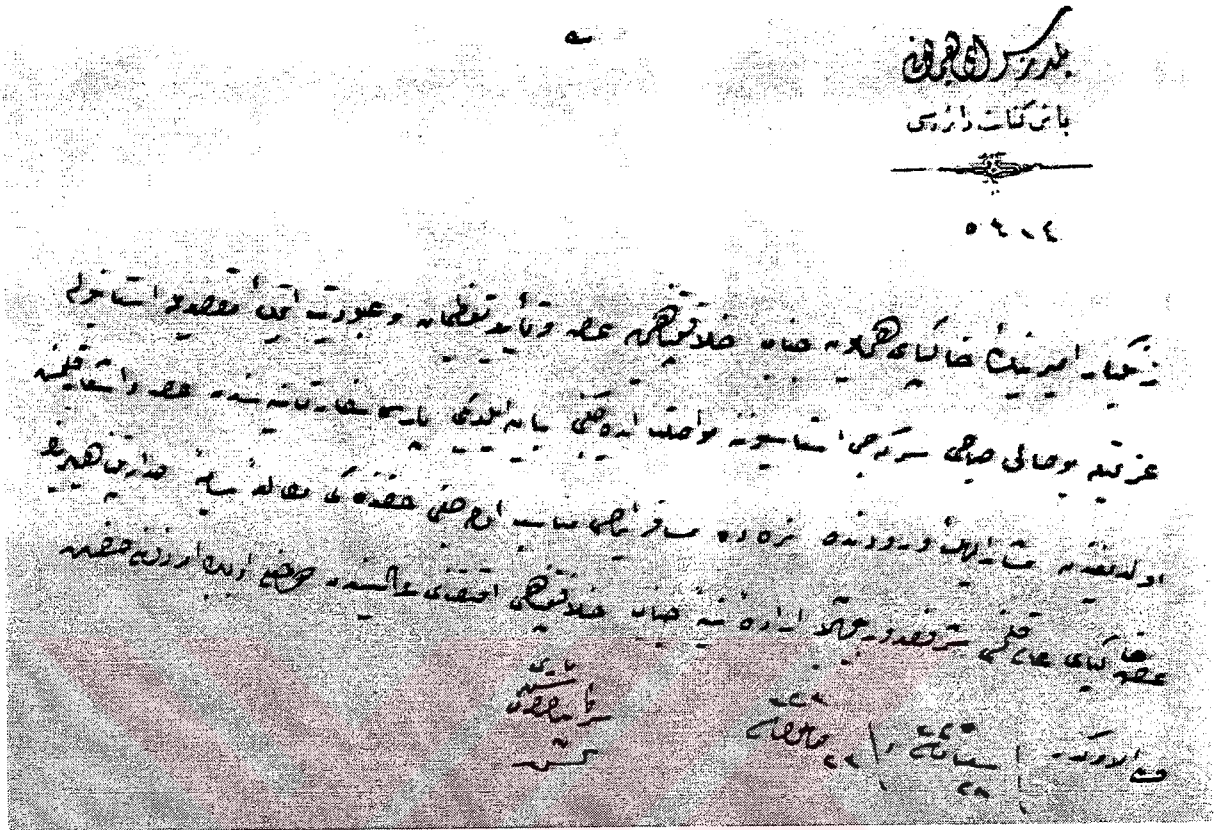
IRADE HUSUSI 891/132 29 § 1325

IRADE HUSUSI 891/132 29 § 1325

This document informs us about that the Zanzibar Sultan will come to Istanbul to present his gratitude and respects to the Ottoman Sultan. It is also said that a room should be prepared for his residence in Pera Palace Hotel.

APPENDIX 25

IRADE HUSUSI 883/108 28 Ş 1325



This document informs us about that the Zanzibar Sultan will arrive to Sirkeci Train Station in the Tuesday morning. The officials are waiting the Ottoman Sultan to decide where the Zanzibar Sultan will stay in Istanbul.

Y. PRK.PT 5/75 8 RA 1307

برای بهر چه در نزدیکی هیئت و نه در نزدیکی هیئت

برکار یافتن زنجیر و زین به مرتبه عدومند بنیاد و طریق کتات در این
نیوز به رسیده هر قدر که نظر فدا شود

۱- چرخه سیم

153

Y. PRK.TKM 13/58 24 S 1306

Y. PAK. FORM 15/36 2-13 1900

Le 30/10 1888
N° d'arrivée
Reçu de l'Etat
Région
Réception
L'Etat n'accepte aucune responsabilité à
Signature de l'employé
De Zanzibar

Le 30/10 1888
Transmis par
Commencé à
Fin
Signature de l'employé
De Papabia

N° de dépôt	Nombre de mots	Groupe	Date de dép.	Heure	Minutes	Matin ou soir	Vols	Indications non taxes
m	22		30/10	2 h 10	S			per

His Majesty Sultan
Abdul Hamid
Constable

We are heartily pleased to receive
your Majestys letter through
envoy Mahommed Bey.

Chalifa bin Sayed

زنگنه و ده ، خندق به سه ، اوضاعه خاکیای معانی صوای حرفی

حداقیقہ مرسل | لکھنؤ دارالعلوم

تغرافنامہ ملک زنجیہ

سفر محمد باک واسطہ سے اخذ اولیائہ مکتوب معالی السلوب جناب خلد قباہیرہ رطوبہ

ضوء العاده سرور اولیٰ الغفر معروفه

مذہب حق تعالیٰ تعالیٰ

APPENDIX 28

Y. PRK.TKM 51/36 25 C 1326

The Zanzibar Sultan sent a telegram to the Ottoman Sultan to present his pleasure about his visiting in Istanbul. He used the term emir-ul-mü'minin, the leader of the Muslims for Abdulhamid II.

3

سنة 1306 في 25/11/1906
 وصول نومردى
 d'arrivée
 دقيقة ساعت
 h. m. du
 ارسال
 Réexpédié
 مأمورك امضائى
 Signature de l'Employé
 De pour

نومردى
 25/11/1906
 Transmis par
 دقيقة ساعت
 h. m. du
 بدأ بخار
 Commencé à
 ختام بخار
 Final à
 مأمورك امضائى
 Signature de l'Employé
 عن الى

TELEGRAMME

L'état n'accepte aucune responsabilité
 à raison du service de la télégraphie

اشارات مخصوصه	طريق	روز وباش	دقيقه	ساعت	محل تاريخى	غروب	عدد كلمات	محل نومردى
indications non taxées	Voies	Matin ou soir	Minutes	Heures	Date du dépôt	Group	Nombre de mots	N° du dépôt
			50	8	24		146	1906

S. M. T. le Sultan Emir el-
 umminine fil des Khans de Constantinople
 Je désire remercier S. M. T. pour
 l'accueil si chaleureux que S. M.
 T. a accordé dans la capitale de
 l'Empire de S. M. T. Je n'ai pas de
 mots remercier suffisamment
 S. M. T. pour l'hospitalité que S. M. T.
 a montrée par son bon accueil
 avec hospitalité que S. M. T. a
 touchée comme témoignage de
 l'amitié de S. M. T. Je regrette indi-
 vinement que les circonstances de
 empêchent d'accepter l'hospitalité

نشرات مخصوصه	طریق روز و یا شب	دقیقه	ساعت	محل تاریخ	گروه	عدد کلمات	محل نومبر و سی
Indications non taxés	Voies	Minutes	Heures	Date du dépôt	Groupe	Nombre de mots	N° du dépôt

باریکته سلفه سوله و طوفان و صبا
 صبه خود را طوبای طوفان و صبه و صبا
 کوریک و طوبای طوفان و صبه و صبا
 باریک و طوبای طوفان و صبه و صبا
 اسباب صبه و طوبای طوفان و صبه و صبا
 طوبای طوبای طوبای طوبای طوبای طوبای
 ری باریک و طوبای طوبای طوبای طوبای
 مائولایه و صبه و طوبای طوبای طوبای

Y.PRK TKM 4/2 9 M 1298

از عباد و سید فضل است : داد و داد تو عربی که اینده از محمد :

سید الشہداء

[illegible]

APPENDIX 30

Y.PRK.NMH 4/64 26 C 1307
The Original Document

Le 17/2 1890

N° d'arrivé

h. m. du

Réexpédié

Signature de l'employé

De Zanzibar



Le 17/2 1890

Transmis par

h. m. du

Commencé à

Fin

L'Etat n'accepte aucune responsabilité à raison du service de la télégraphie.

Signature de l'employé

De Zanzibar

اشارات مخصوصه	طريق	روز و شب	دقيقه	ساعت	على تاريخي	عروب	عدد كلمات	على نومروي
Indications non lates	Voies	Matin ou soir	Minutes	Heures	Date du dépôt	Group	Nombre de mots	No du dépôt
	Soir	45	3		17/2		59	nil

His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey
Constable

by the will of god my brother
Seyyid Khalifa is dead and i have
to inform your Majesty that i have
succeeded him as Sultan of Zanzibar
i trust that your Majesty will
allow afford me your friendship
and support and i pray that
god may preserve your Majesty

Ali ben Said

(Continued)
Its Translation into French

et Sa Hautesse le Souverain de Zanzibar.

J'ai reçu votre télégramme M'annonçant
votre avènement au trône de Zanzibar à la
suite de la mort de votre Auguste Frère Seïd
Haïfè. Je vous exprime toutes Mes félicitations
et tout en priant Dieu d'étendre sur Vous
Sa protection. Je puis Vous assurer des sentiments
de sympathie qui M'animent envers Vous
et qui parviennent de Nos liens naturels.

Its Translation into Ottoman Turkish

۵
تقدیر نامه
(انگلیزجه)

عنه مبارک باد

زنگبارده ۱۷ شوال ۱۲۹۰

بر مقتضای تقدیر الهی بزرگوارم سیدعلیقلی ارجاعی ایستاد
بر مقتضای تقدیر الهی بزرگوارم سیدعلیقلی ارجاعی ایستاد
بر مقتضای تقدیر الهی بزرگوارم سیدعلیقلی ارجاعی ایستاد
بر مقتضای تقدیر الهی بزرگوارم سیدعلیقلی ارجاعی ایستاد
بر مقتضای تقدیر الهی بزرگوارم سیدعلیقلی ارجاعی ایستاد

تبریز
سید

۵

طرف اسراف حضرت خلافتنا هیدر زنجبار حاکنه
تلفرافنامه دهی یوده موده سی

برادر افخمی سید ضیفه نه وقوع ارتحالیه زنجبار تحت حکم اینه صعود اید کلرینه دار تلفرافنامه
فحیمه لرین الهم بریکات خالصانه می بیاه اید برابر صوره حمد اینه محفوظ اولدرین تمن اید
وهکونیه بینده کی رابطه طبعیه اقتضا بنج آه بانه نزاید صب ومولایه دولت اید ه ملک اماره
ضیه ضواهرانه ملک ابرازنده کرد طویله جفتی بیاه ایدرم

The Ottoman Sultan replied to the telegrams of Ali b. Said (1890-1893), the new Sultan of Zanzibar. He congratulated him for succeeding the throne in the Zanzibar Sultanate. He also stated that the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Zanzibar Sultanate would continue during his reign too.

APPENDIX 31

Y.PRK.NMH 7/23 23 RA 1314

This first document is the translation of the telegram which was sent by the new Sultan of Zanzibar, Sayyid Hamoud bin Muhammad (1896-1902). He informed the Ottoman Sultan about his succeeding throne in Zanzibar Sultanate. Moreover he said that the former relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Zanzibar Sultanate would continue.

The second document is the Ottoman Sultan's reply to the telegram. Abdulhamid II congratulated the new Sultan and said that he also had the same wishes in continuing the former relations.

بزرگوار
 بان کتابت دارایی

زنگبار حکم ازده کلده تفوقه زجره

اذنه الیه اید برادرم وفات ایدرکنده زنگبار حکم ایفای مت الیه استخوف ایدرکنده
 عومه ایدر و حقه معادنت و مناسبات و درکارهای هنرینک و درم ایچ حکم ایدر ایدر
 زان شوکت سات ملوکانه لری صوره صمدینک بولندینک جناب حقه نم ایدرم
 زنگبار ایدر
 امضا
 حمود بن محمد

بزرگوار
 بان کتابت دارایی

طرز اشراف حقه یاد شریجه زنگبار حاکم حقه کشیده بویوده تفوقه ایدر

صوف

برادر و اولاد ضیاع ایدر اوزرینه زنگبار حاکم مقامه نمود ایدرکارهای شرفه تفوقه زجره
 ایدرم زان ایدر زنگبار صمدی بایه ایدر درر حقه و اولاده که حیه و درکارهای زجره
 ابلاغ و صوره صمدینک بولندینک جناب حقه نم ایدرم | ۲۰ مه ۱۳۱۴

مقامه ایدر
 قوری قوری
 حوب و حوب
 حوب و حوب