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B. G. MARTIN

GHŪMA BIN KHALĪFA,
a Libyan rebel, 1795-1858¹

Nineteenth-century Libya was the scene of many political changes and disturbances, many of them prolonged and widespread. One of the most far-reaching in its effects was the takeover in May 1835 of the old Qaramanli régime in Tripoli by the Ottoman Turks, inaugurating the so-called "Second Ottoman Period."² The appearance of an Ottoman fleet and the landing of Turkish troops

¹I would like to dedicate this article to 'Ali Mustafa al-Misurati, who first fostered my interest in Ghūma and his rising.

²For an exhaustive treatment of the career of Ghūma bin Khalifa, other Arab resisters, and the activities of the Turkish occupiers themselves in the second Ottoman period in Libya, materials from the Libyan Archives at Tripoli are indispensable. As it seems difficult to go there, I have relied on three main sources and some secondary ones for this short article.

'Ali Mustafa al-Misurati's book on *Ghūma, Fāris al-sahrā', saḥna min ta'rikh Libyā, 1795-1856*, Tripoli, 1960 ("Ghūma, horseman of the desert; a page from Libyan history, 1795-1856") is very useful and contains a lot of information about the Mahāmid tribe, their homeland in the Nafusa Range, with poetry by Ghūma, many indispensable details about him, and some letters of his to Turkish officials. Misurati claims that he has more letters to, from, or about Ghūma, which he plans to publish. If he has published them, I am not aware where they have appeared.

A second source of great utility is the unpublished "Minor Field thesis" of Allen Streicker submitted to Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois, in 1973. It is entitled "Government and Revolt in Tripoli Regency, 1795-1855." It is 111 pages long and includes a good treatment of Ghūma and other matters, based on European documents and sources. It also includes reports from the U. S. consuls in Tripoli over this time, taken from the National Archives in Washington, which give very valuable information and unique historical insights. I have used it extensively.

An article for *Majallat al-Buhūth al-Ta'rikhiya* ("Historical Research Review"), volume VII, 1985, pp. 167-191, published at Tripoli by Al-Fatih University, is of great importance. By Muḥammad Amḥammad al-Ṭuwayr or Ṭuwayyir, it is entitled "Al-Intifādāt al-Waḥāniya didd al-Hukūmat al-'Uthmāniya fi 'ahd al-Wālī Muḥammad Amin Bāshā (1842-1847) fi Tarabulus al-Gharb," ("Nationalist risings against the Ottoman Government in the time of the Wali Muhammad Amin Pasha at Tripoli (1842-1847)"). From this article, it appears that Tuwayyir wrote an M.A. thesis at al-Fatih University in 1981, called "Thawrat al-Shaykh Ghūma al-Mahmudi fi Iyalat Tarabulus al-Gharb, 1835-1858" ("The revolt of Shaykh Ghūma al-Mahmudi in Tripoli Province, 1835-1858"); also that there is a thesis by 'Umar bin Isma'il, 'Al-Tatawwur al-siyasi wa'l-ijtima'i fi Libiya, 1835-1882" ("Social and political development in Libya, 1835-1882"), a Ph.D. thesis for 'Ayn Shams University, Egypt, 1972, including material on Ghūma.