



Memoirs of Khair al-Din Barbarossa Its Truth, Importance and Historical Value Gökçen KALKAN*

Özet

Hatırat genel olarak tarihçilerin ve araştırmacıların tarih araştırmaları yaparken dayanabilecekleri en önemli kaynaklardan birisi olarak kabul edilmektedir. Çünkü hatırat bizim diğer geleneksel kaynaklarda oldukça nadir karşılaşılabileceğimiz çok değerli tanıklık ve bilgilere sahiptirler. Ancak hatırat sahipleri genellikle kelimenin tam anlamıyla bir tarihçi olarak değerlendirebileceğimiz kişiler değildir. Dahası hatırat sahibi son derece rahat bir tarzda kendi hafızasında kalan olayları derleyip kaydeden kişidir. Bu yönüyle bu hatırat genel olarak sahipleri tarafından profesyonel bir yazar tarzıyla yazılmış eserler olmaması son derece tabiidir. Hatırat yazarları sadece tanık oldukları olayları veya başkalarından duyduğu haberleri olduğu gibi kaydetmiş olan kişilerdir.

Hatırat, milletler ve halkların tarihlerini yazarken önemli kaynaklar olmalarına rağmen taraflı, kişisel ve hatta naristik olmaları yönüyle eleştiriye maruz kalmaktadırlar. Bu durum, hatırat sahiplerinin genellikle kendilerini olayların merkezine yerleştirmeleri ve kendilerini olayların gelişme sürecinde etkili bir figür olarak yerleştirmeye çalışmalarını yüzündendir. Hatırat bu gözle incelendiği zaman yazarlarının genel olarak başkalarını görmezden geldiklerini fark edebiliriz. Bu yönüyle hatıratların zaman zaman objektif olmaktan uzak olduklarını söylenebilir.

Barbaros Hayrettin'in kişisel hatıratının şekillenme süreci Cezayir'deki Osmanlı yönetiminin ilk safhalarıyla eş zamanlıdır. Barbaros Hatıratını yakından incelediğimiz zaman bu hatıratın Osmanlı Tarihi ve Cezayir'deki ilk dönem Osmanlı hâkimiyeti ile alakalı başka hiçbir kaynakta bulamayacağımız çok kıymetli bilgi ve detaylara sahip olduğunu açık bir şekilde anlamamız mümkündür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Anılar, Olaylar, Barbaros, Cezayir, Osmanlı Devleti.

Barbaros Hayreddin'in Anıları, Gerçekliği, Önemi ve Tarihsel Değeri

Abstract

Personal memoirs are among the most important sources that researchers and historians rely on in writing history. This is because it includes information, testimonies and details that we rarely find in other traditional sources. This is because the memoirist is usually not a historian in the strict sense of the term. Rather, it is usually a personality that contributed to the making of the events that appear in the memoirs. Also, the notes were not written or dictated by their author in his capacity as a professional writer; Rather, he does so in order to testify to the events that he experienced. Whether he saw it himself, contributed to its making, or heard it from someone who was a witness to it.

Despite the importance of memoirs in the history of nations and people, they are criticized for being subjective, personal, and sometimes even narcissistic. This is when its author makes himself the centre of events and depicts him as the most influential in the events he narrates. In view of this, we find that he often ignores the role of others in making events, so the memoirs for this reason and others lack objectivity and impartiality.

Whatever the evaluation of Khair al-Din Barbarossa's personal memoirs were, they are among the few ones that dated the first phase of the history of the Ottoman rule of Algeria in its early stages. By looking closely at these memoirs, we find that they are rich as far as matter, information and details are concerned and that are rarely found in other sources that talk about this important stage in the history of the Ottoman Empire and the history of Algeria in the first stage of Ottoman rule.

Key words: Memoirs, Events, Barbarossa, Algeria, The Ottoman Empire.

* Dr. TİKA Cezayir Koordinatörü. gokcenkalkan@hotmail.com

ORCID : <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1395-2396>.

Bu makaleyi şu şekilde kaynak gösterebilirsiniz / To cite this article (APA):

Kalkan, G. (2023). Memoirs of Khair al-Din Barbarossa Its Truth, Importance and Historical Value. *Küllüye*, 4(2), 398-411. DOI: 10.48139/aybukullu.1322767.

Makale Bilgisi / Article Information:

Geliş / Received	Kabul / Accepted	Türü / Type	Sayfa / Page
30 Ağustos 2023	27 Eylül 2023	Araştırma Makalesi	398-411
30 August 2023	27 September 2023	Research Article	

Introduction

His name was "Khidr", and he was known by the nickname "Barbaros"¹ (Turan, IA/V, p. 65), meaning the one with the blond beard. Sultan Selim I called him "Khairuddin" (Turan, 1992, IA/V, p. 65; Kazıcı, 1997/XI, p. 328; Uzunçarşılı, 1988/II, p. 368). He was born around 1472 on the island of Medellin, after his brother Aruj Reis (Turan, 1992, IA/V, p. 65; Kazıcı, 1997/XII, p. 328).²

He engaged in trade in his youth with a ship that traded between Selanik and Agriboz. After his brother Aruj's survival from being captured by the Rodhesian knights,³ Khairuddin joined him in Tunisia, where they agreed with their Prince Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn-al-Hassan-al-Hafsi to grant them the port of La Goutelette to make it their base. In return, they paid him a fifth of the booties they hold (Kazıcı, 1997/XI, p. 329).

Khairuddin began organizing his raids on the coasts and ships of Spain, Venice, France, the Pope, and Genoa, in addition to his raids on the commercial and military ships of all European countries that do not have a peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire or other Islamic countries. As a result, he obtained enormous spoils and caused chaos in all the countries along the southern coast of the Mediterranean.

He participated with his brother in the attempts to recover Bejaia in many of their successful raids. He was thus, with his brother, laying the foundations for building the Algerian state during the period that lasted 300 years (Muradi, 2013, p. 69).

The notables of Algeria pledged allegiance to Khairuddin as their ruler after the martyrdom of his brother Aruj, but the Spanish danger that threatened Algeria pushed him to convince the notables of the necessity of seeking help from the Ottoman Empire (Anonymous, 1934, p. 41).

In the year 1519, (al-Tamimi, 1976, p. 95-101)⁴ the people sent a delegation on their behalf, headed by Haji Hussein, representing Khair al-Din Barbaros, and accompanied by Sheikh Abi al-Abbas Ahmed bin al-Qadi, representing the people of the city of Algeria, to meet with Sultan Selim. They asked him to protect their country by annexing it to the Ottoman Empire.

Sultan Selim received the delegation well, agreed to the request of the dignitaries of Algeria, and sent a royal decree confirming his acceptance of their

¹ Europeans gave this title to him and his brother Oruj for his beard.

² Professor Zia Qaziji mentioned that the two brothers Aruj and Khairuddin entered the service of the Shahzada Qarqud. However, what is indicated by the incidents is that Urooj, who entered the service of the aforementioned Shahzada. As for Khair ad-Din, he joined his brother in Djerba. See: Kazıcı, 1997/XI, p. 329.

³ Professor Zia Qaziji mentioned that the two brothers Aruj and Khairuddin entered the service of the Shahzada Qarqud. However, what is indicated by the incidents is that Urooj, who entered the service of the aforementioned Shahzada. As for Khair ad-Din, he joined his brother in Djerba. See: Kazıcı, 1997/XI, p. 329.

⁴ Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, No:6456 .The document is preserved in the archives of الجزائر إلى السلطان سليم الأول في ١٥١٩ Topkapı Palace.

offer and his agreement to appoint Khairuddin as general-governor of Algeria at the rank of Baylarbay, based on their desire, as stated in their petition. The Sultan attached his decree to send the Sultan's robe and the Ottoman flag (Derac, 2011, p. 16, 17, 26, 32; Akgündüz, 1997, p. 14-18; Uzunçarşılı, 1988/II, p. 368).⁵ He authorized Khairuddin to gather as many volunteers as he wanted from Anatolia. Thus, Algeria became a province of the Ottoman Empire, and the sermon was read from then on in the name of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I.

Khair ad-Din confronted the military campaign against Algeria led by the King of Sicily, Hegode Mongada, in 1519 (Uzunçarşılı, 1988/II, p. 368). He also managed to seize the cities of Qal, Bouna (Annaba), and Constantine. But he was forced to leave the city of Algeria after the revolution led by Ibn al-Qadi under the instigation of the Sultan of Tunisia in the year 1524. He resorted to Jijel, but he was able to restore the city of Algeria again after three years (Muradi, 2013, p. 109).

Khairuddin organized thirty-six campaigns against Spain, during which he was able to save thousands of Andalusian Muslims and settle them in Algeria (Barbaros Hayreddin, 2013/II, p. 47). The city of Algiers flourished thanks to the skill of the Andalusians, who transferred their arts and industries to it, and thanks to the spoils that were reaped from the sea invasions. Khair al-Din Barbarossa was also able to expel the Spaniards completely from the Albinion Castle, which they occupied outside the city of Algiers, in the year 1529.

In the year 1534, Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent appointed him captain of Darya and Baylarbay over Algeria. He repaired the shipyard at Istanbul and prepared a fleet of eighty ships to raid Reggio, Sperlonga, Fodi, and other towns along the southern Italian coast. Then he seized Tunisia after the flight of its sultan, Moulay al-Hasan. However, the Spanish Emperor Sherlkan managed to occupy Tunisia and restore Moulay Hassan to the throne in 1535. In 1538, by order of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, Khairuddin seized 20 of the islands located in the Aegean Sea and annexed them to the Ottoman Empire.

The European kingdoms were terrified of the raids launched by Khairuddin on their coasts, islands, and ships. Charles V concluded a truce with the King of France, Francis I, and its kings called for a great Crusader alliance in which Spain, the papacy, Venice, and Portugal all participated. They prepared an expedition of 600 warships and support vessels and handed its command to Andrea Doria (Muradi, 2013, p. 47-51).

Khairuddin prepared to confront the Crusader coalition with a fleet of 122 ships, then clashed with them in a major battle in Preveze Bay, which ended in a heavy defeat for the Crusader alliance and Khairuddin's seizure of 36 ships and 2175 prisoners. One of the most important results of this battle was the Ottomans' control over the Mediterranean (Lütfi Paşa, 2018, p. 368; Peçevi, 1964/I, p. 213; Hammer, 2017/V, p. 202-204; Uzunçarşılı, 1988/II, p. 374-9; Gökbilgin, 2019, p. 96-98; Turan, DIA/V, p. 66-7; Chalabi, 1934, p. 81-84).

In 1541, Emperor Charles V himself led a major campaign against Algeria to wash away the shame of the defeat at the Battle of Preveza, but his campaign

⁵ For the circumstances surrounding the sending of the Algerian delegation to Istanbul, see: Derac, 2011, p. 26, 32.

suffered a crushing defeat, in which the Spaniards lost most of their fleet. The French King Francois I asked the Ottoman Empire to intervene on the side of France in its war against Spain, so Khairuddin led in 1543 a fleet of 110 ships, with which he seized the city of Nice in August of the same year (Uzunçarşılı, 1988/II, p. 386-387; Chalabi, 1934, p. 100).

After a full life of jihad and conquest, Khairuddin Barbarossa died in July 1546, and was buried in the soil he prepared himself on the Besiktas coast in Istanbul (Lütfi Paşa, 2018, p. 393; Chalabi, 1934, p. 89).

The Name of the Book and the Reason for its Writing

Khairuddin Barbarossa did not give a title to his memoirs, and there is also no unified name for the copies scattered in various libraries. Rather, the researchers have noted that they have many names, which were put by the scribes or those who owned those copies. Thus, we notice that some of the copies had the name "Fath-Nama" written on them, meaning "The Message of Expansion" (Brockelmann, 2012, p. 456-457; Necib Asım, 1911, p. 23, 233-234), and some of them were called "Fath Nama'a Khairuddin," meaning "The Message of Expansions of Khair ad-Din." Some of them are called "The Conquest of Algeria," meaning "The Message of the Conquest of Algeria," while some of them have the name "The Invasions of Khairuddin Barbarossa" or "The Invasions of Khairuddin Pasha" which is the most famous and widespread name.

As for the reason for writing the memoirs, it is necessary to point out that Khairuddin Barbarossa did not write them but dictated them to his companion in the naval jihad, the poet Sayyid Ali Moradi (Yurdayın, 1963, p. 453-466). It was mentioned in the memoirs that Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent sent him a royal order instructing him to write a book for him. In those memories, he mentioned how he and his brother Arouj got out of the island of Midelly, how they conquered Algeria, and how they expelled the Spaniards from there. Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent ordered him to mention in his book the raids that he and his brothers made at sea as well. And when he finished it, he sent the book to him to be kept in his private Office (Barbaros Hayreddin, 2013/II, p. 27-28).

Based on this, it is clear why researchers disagree over whose notes these are. Whoever looked at its dictates attributed it to Khairuddin, and whoever looked at its author attributed it to Sayyid Moradi. As was the custom of many authors in that period, it is possible that neither Sayyid Moradi nor Khairuddin wrote their names on those memoirs. And if that is the case, it is natural for the scribes or the owners of those manuscripts to give them names, each as he judges appropriate.

There is no doubt that the lack of a unified name for the notes contributed greatly to the confusion of the matter for the researchers, many of whom went on to believe that it belonged to an unknown author who they could not find. Added to this confusion, the scribes interfered and acted in the text because of poor handwriting, or because some pages of the book were lost, or some lines, paragraphs, or sentences were dropped from the original text. In the view of some of them, it was necessary to intervene to amend the text. Naturally, this leads to an increase in the difference between copies and their incoherence.

Content and Topic of the Book

At first glance, the researcher thinks that this book is an autobiography in which Khair al-Din Barbarossa talks about himself, his family, his children, and his private life, as it is the custom in autobiographical books and personal notes. However, the browser of the notes notices that they are almost completely devoid of reference to personal and family related matters with Khairuddin, except for what was related to the course of events that he experienced. Rather, the author of the memoirs directly begins to narrate the events that swept him and his brothers to storm the world of maritime jihad. And he continues to narrate the events and their development from the island of Medelli - the birthplace of the Barbarossa brothers then, stop for a while in the Rhodes peninsula, where Oruj was a prisoner of the Knights of St. John, to move after that to the Sultan of Egypt and enter Oruj in his service before he ends up docking on the island of Djerba, where his brother Khairuddin joins him. So, they decided to contact the Hafsid sultan in Tunisia, who persuaded him to allow them to anchor in the port of La Goulette, and to take it as a base for their jihad, provided that they pay him a fifth (Barbaros Hayreddin, 2013/II, p. 46)⁶ of what they get from the spoils, and sell what exceeds their needs in the markets of Tunisia.

From Tunisia, the naval jihad operations followed, reaching their climax with stability in Algeria and that were followed by the accompanying of rebellion and disobedience movements, which were led and incited by local leaders, under the instigation of the Spaniards and the sultans of Bani Zayyan in Tlemcen and Bani Hafs in Tunisia. During that, Khairuddin was narrating in precise detail his naval invasions against Spanish ships and coasts, or those affiliated and allied with them in addition to the campaigns of the Spaniards on the Algerian anchors (Chalabi, 1934, p. 27-30).

Khair al-Din did not neglect talking about the development of his relations with the Ottoman Empire, and declaring his affiliation to the Ottoman Sultan as the caliph of the Muslims, and that led to the convergence of visions and political positions between him and the caliph and this loyalty culminated by appointing Khair ad-Din as Commander-in-Chief of the Ottoman fleet, holding the title of Captain of Sea (Pakalın, 1993, p. 182), which is the highest military rank in the Ottoman Navy. Khair ad-Din proved his high eligibility and competence in commanding the Ottoman fleet, by achieving a brilliant victory in the Battle of Preveze on the Italian coast in the year 1538. That battle was between the Ottoman fleet and the Crusader alliance led by the Genoese sailor Andrea Doria. Thanks to this victory, the Ottomans were able to impose their control over the Mediterranean for more than thirty years.

Khair ad-Din talked a lot about the attempt of the emperor Charles V to wash away his shameful defeat in Preveza, by stripping a large campaign under his leadership to invade and occupy Algeria in the year 1541, taking advantage of the absence of Khair ad-Din and once again was defeated by Hassan Pasha bin Khair ad-Din, who was his deputy in Algeria. This defeat prompted the Spanish king to

⁶ This is what all the sources and studies that talked about this agreement say. However, Khair ad-Din mentions in the memoirs that they agreed with him to pay him the price of their spoils, not the fifth.

retire from politics, and to remain in a monastery to die a few months later from high feeling of oppression, as indicated by Khair ad-Din in his memoirs.

Shortly after this campaign, the memoirs almost stop at listing the incidents that followed, because Khair ad-Din had returned to Istanbul and hadn't come back to Algeria only for once, in the year 1543 to lead a naval campaign on France, but he did not refer to it in his memoirs because he had finished its dictation very early.

Scientific and Historical Value of These Memoirs

There is no doubt that these memoirs are extremely important in terms of their historical value, as they are original and essential sources for that stage. They were Khair ad-Din's testimony to the events of his era that he made himself, and he contributed to making war and peace decisions between the Ottoman Empire and Spain and its European allies. Regardless of the subjective element in these memoirs and the absence of an element of neutrality in the narration of events, this does not diminish their great importance in conveying many subtle particles that we rarely find in other historical sources (Muradi, 2013, p. 185-189).

In addition to the chronology of the events and their accurate details that Khair al-Din narrated in his memoirs, we note that they included historical information that is very rare and is hardly found in other Arab, Turkish, or foreign sources that dealt with that era. Among them, for example, are the ones in which he talks about his desire to invade America after consulting the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha on this subject when he met him in Aleppo (Pakalın, 1993, p. 68), and his mockery of Andrea Doria when he commented on his attempt to occupy Algeria by saying that he was wrong thinking that Algeria is like the new World (Pakalın, 1993, p. 206), and that he can exterminate the Algerians and eradicate Islam, as his ancestors did with the American Indians. This gives the reader the impression that Khair ad-Din was aware of the massacres committed by the Spaniards in newly discovered America and that the country they reached was on a new continent while the Spaniards were still under the illusion that they had reached India.

The memoirs have also shown one of the most important objectives of the Ottoman Empire's wars against Spain, which is the desire of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent to invade and re-conquer Spain (Pakalın, 1993, p. 159) when he summoned Khair ad-Din to Istanbul for this purpose to consult him on this matter, before he changed his mind and replaced him by appointing Khair ad-Din Barbaros as commander-in-chief of the Ottoman fleet.

Khair al-Din also refutes in these memoirs the idea that he imposed himself as a ruler and Sultan over Algeria, which Western researchers have been spreading, while the reality of events, as stated in the memoirs, shows that Khair al-Din accepted the mandate of Algeria based on the many and urgent entreaties of notables and scholars of the city of Algiers and others who used to send delegations begging him to come to them and take charge of its governance himself (Pakalın, 1993, p. 119-156). This is because the people were not satisfied with submitting to anyone but him. They have rejected Ibn al-Qadi's mandate in Algeria, just as the people of Tlemcen before them who have rejected the mandate of its Zayani sultan, who became a puppet in the hands of the Spaniards. Khair al-Din had no choice but to submit to the pressure of scholars and notables and accept that he be ruler of

Algeria. This testimony undoubtedly mutes the voices that did not stop repeating shamelessly the story of Turkish colonization of Algeria!

Khair al-Din also mentions in his memoirs very precise details about the nature of the relationship between the Ottoman authority, which he represented in Algeria, and the religious and political leaders in Algeria, and how both groups were dealt with during crises. He explicitly states that the people's attitude towards the Turks fluctuated between loyalty and hostility, and the extent to which they were affected by the propaganda that was spread by his opponents among the local leaders in order to turn the people against him. Undoubtedly, these details are very important because of Khair al-Din's synchronism with them on the one hand and his participation in them on the other. This gave the memoirs a double and more special importance as they relate to local history during the first phase of the Ottoman presence in Algeria.

Such accurate and very important information is rarely found in the traditional Arab, Turkish or Western historical sources that lived or marked the history of that period except those that relied on memoirs to convey this information, such as: The Masterpiece of the Great in the Sea Voyages by, the writer Chalabi, or Khair al-Din Barbaros by Reda Saifi, or the luminous flower in what happened to Algeria when the infidel soldiers raided it, or the invasions of Arouj and Khair al-Din by the unknown author published by Nour al-Din Abd Alkader later (Chalabi, 1934, p. 27).

Bibliographic Data for the Memoirs and the Place of Their Manuscript Copies

This work is classified in Turkish literary writing within what is known as "Ghazawat-nama" i.e., the books of "epics". They are books that chronicle the conquests and battles fought by the Ottomans on land and sea. This type of writing moved from Arabic and Persian literature to Turkish literature in Anatolia during the 12th century AD and spread widely beginning from the 14th century, so that it occupied great importance in historical studies because of its relation to the Ottoman land and sea conquests.

This writing aims to mobilize the morale of the nation and the fighters to push them to unite around the jihad movement that the Ottomans were leading against the Byzantines in Anatolia first and then against the Christian world in Europe.

It is noticeable that the book that Khairuddin dictated to Sayyid Ali Moradi combined literary narration and historical writing. Thus, it gained special importance in the field of literary and historical studies. And since it was distinguished by this privacy, it is not surprising that it is widely spread among people, until they have been circling in groups in popular cafes, listening to them from a good reader (Gallotta, 1988, p. 127-150).

Joseph von Hammer (1774-1856) is the first Western orientalist to realize the importance of those memoirs, as evidenced by the fact that he used them in the third part of his valuable book named History of the Ottoman Empire⁷ in which he stated

⁷ The book was originally written in German and has been translated into both ancient and modern French and Turkish.

that he benefited directly from them and declared that he kept a copy of it in his private library. He also indicated that there are two other copies in the Vatican Library (Hammer, 1989/V, p. 1280).

According to Hammer, Khair al-Din Barbarossa dictated his book to a person named Sinan Shawish. This information, or claim, was passed from Hammer to other Western researchers for many years. In addition to the versions referred to by Hammer and others, there are many other versions, for example:

A copy of the book mentioned in London, British Museum No: 2798.

A copy in Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah referred to by Hilmi al-Dagestani in his index under No. 34/8830, but he did not mention the name of the author of the book (Fihrist, 1306, p. 169).

An organized copy of the same book in the same library referred to as: Fath Namaha Khair al-Din Pasha (Fihrist, 1306, p. 212).

In 1911, the historian Najib Asim wrote an article in which he mentioned the existence of an organized but incomplete copy of the memoirs in the library of the Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Rawan Koshko, under No. 1291. This copy deals in detail with the life of Khair al-Din Barbarossa from his birth until the Nova Campaign (1539). He indicated in this article that it was written by the poet Sayyid Ali Moradi (Asim, 1911, p. 232-8).

Boresli Muhammed Taher indicated in an article he published in 1923 in the third part of his book: "Othmanli authors," meaning: "Ottoman authors." This was while talking about the aforementioned copy of the organized memoirs, where he indicated that there is a scattered copy in the Khalis Effendi Library (Tahir, 1342, s. 63). Then he mentioned in his additions that he added to his book at a later stage when he talked about the book "The Conquest of Usturgon and Estonian Belgrade" attributed to Sinan Shawish: that Qastamoni Hassan bin Ali wrote a book entitled: "The History of Jazair or the Battles of Khair al-Din Pasha" (Tahir, 1342, p. 180).

However, it is unfortunate that Bourisli Muhammad Taher did not give any other bibliographic information about the book under study. Then it became clear later that Qastamoni Hassan bin Ali was not the author of that copy but only its copyist. And that copy is currently in the Istanbul University Library within the collection of Khalis Effendi and registered under No: 2639.

Copy of the National Library of Paris under No. 1186.

Another copy in the Escorial Library in Madrid under No: 1663. But there is no name of the author. It was referred to by Levi Provencal in the year 1928 among the Arabic manuscripts (Blochet, 1928/III, p. 194-5).

Plochet mentioned in the index of Turkish Manuscripts in the National Library of Paris, which he published in the year 1932, the existence of a manuscript copy written by Syed Moradi. It is noticeable that the copy mentioned by Plochet is the same one that Babinger referred to when

referring to the book on the history of the conquest of Shiklosh, which he indicated bears the number: A.F 75.

Berlin Library copy under No. 1751 (Gallotta, 1988, p.134).

As for the manuscripts found in Istanbul, the first to be referred to by Western researchers is L. Forrer in 1940, when he indicated that there are four copies in the Istanbul University Library bearing the following numbers: 94, 2459, 2490, 2639.

Bouresli Muhammad Taher had referred to two of them before. The two bearing numbers are 2490 and 2639. Forrer explained that Qastamoni Hassan bin Ali was not the author of the manuscript but only a copyist. He argued that copy No. 2490 bears the name of its author, who is Sayyid Ali Moradi. And therefore what Babinger indicated that Hussein Shawish is the author of the prose version of the memoirs is not true.

As for the organized copy, the historian Najeeb Assem indicated that it was also authored by Sayyid Moradi based on copy No. 1292, and the copy found in Rawan Kushku, which bears No. 1292, which deals with the events up to the Battle of Preveza that took place in the year 1538. This copy is also found in the library of Istanbul University under No: 2475, and deals with the events until the Nova conquest that took place in the year 1539.

The author of the index of Turkish Manuscripts in the Vatican Library, Ettore Rossi, indicated that the invasions of Khair al-Din Barbarossa were not written by Sinan Shawish. And that this error was raised by Hammer and repeated by the researchers who came after him. This was confirmed by Ağa Sırrı Levent in his book, which he published in 1956, entitled: "Gazavâtnâme." (İz, 1964, p. 74)

This opinion was supported by the Turkish researcher and historian Hüseyin Yurdaydın in his article "Al-Muradi and its Effects" (Yurdaydın, 1963, p. 453-466). He mentioned that Sinan Shawish was nothing but the bearer of the sultan's firman to Khair al-Din in the year 1533, and then he returned back to Istanbul.

As for the writer of the invasions, i.e. al-Muradi, he was the companion of Khair ad-Din in all his campaigns, and he supported his opinion that the four copies in the libraries of Istanbul are all written on them as being written by Sayed Ali Al-Muradi. As for the composed versions, Al-Muradi stated that he composed them himself, and accordingly, both the prose and the composed versions are authored by Al-Muradi and no one else.

Studies Done About Memoirs

These notes drew the attention of historians and researchers working in Ottoman history and the Ottoman Navy from an early age, and they benefited from them in preparing their studies. These include, for example:

- مجموعہ سی، استانبول 1326ھ/ أنجمنی باشا، تاریخ عثمانی نجیب عاصم، غزوات خیر الدین ص 233- 238، 1911م، 1-4، ص

H. De Grammont, *Le R'azuat est-il L'Oeuvre de Kheireddine Barberousse*, Villeneuve sur Lot 1873.

H. G. Yurdaydın. *Murâdî ve Eserleri*, *Bellekten*, XXVII-107, Ankara 1963, VII, p. 453-466.

Svat Soucek, *Sources dealing With the Barbarossa Brothers*, *Journal of Southeast European Studies*, II, 1972, p. 63-72

Aldo Gallotta, *Gazavât-ı Hayerddin Paşa di Seyyi Murâdi*, *Studi Magrebini*, XII, Napoli 1983.

Mehmet Özkan, *Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa'nın Türk Denizcilik Tarihindeki Yeri*, Ankara, 1997. (Master's Thesis, Türkiye).

Gülşah Oktay, 18. Yüzyıla Ait Bir Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa Gazavatnamesi Üzerinde Sentaks İncelemesi, Ankara, 1997. (Master's Thesis, Türkiye).

The Turkish researcher Fahri İz studied these conquests from a literary point of view briefly in his book called *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nesir* (Prose in Old Turkish Literature), where he tackled that in a special chapter of the aforementioned book (İz, 1964, p. 550-560). In his book *Türk Edebiyat Tarihi* (History of Turkish Literatur) (Bombacı, 1968, p. 355-356), he demonstrated the significance of these invasions.

Sources that mentioned the memoirs, relied on and quoted from them

It is not surprising that a source of this importance attracts the attention of Turkish researchers and others, and they make it a source of their historical subject matter. Examples of sources that benefited from the notes are:

1. *كاتب جلبي، تحفة الكبار في أسفار البحار* In the chapter he devoted to: talking about Algeria, the author mentioned that he conveys what he writes briefly from the memoirs of Khair al-Din Barbarossa. However, by examining what was reported by Chalabi, it was noted that he didn't rely only on the memoirs rather, he benefited from other sources the fact that there existed historical and geographical errors which were not in the memoirs.

2. *بربروس رضا سيفي، خير الدين* A translation of Hyereddin:

Barbarossa's life in Ottoman Turkish. It was written at the beginning of the twentieth century and printed in the twenties of the last century. Its author relied entirely on the memoirs of Hyereddin Barbarossa, without indicating that. However, by comparing what was mentioned in the memoirs and what was stated in this book, it becomes clear to the reader that it is a process of copying the book, so that it appears as if it is a new author.

3. Joseph Hammer, *Ottoman History*. Encyclopedic book on the Ottoman Empire. It was written in German and then translated into many languages, including Turkish and French. In a big part of it, his author relied on Hyereddin's memoirs when dealing with the history of

the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent legal age concerning the events that took place in the western Mediterranean.

4. An unknown author, *The Conquests of Aruj and Hyereddin*. It was published by Nouredine Abdul Qadir. Regardless of the point of view that considers this book to be a translation of a lost copy of the memoirs of Khyerreddin Barbarossa, or untrustworthy translation of it; This book relied heavily on the memoirs and their correspondence between the sequence of events.

Translations of the Book

Western historians and scholars recognized the importance of these notes very early. For this reason, they translated it into their languages. Others also made it the starting point for a new book, the content of which matches what was mentioned in the memoirs to a large extent. The following are examples of translations and books that relied on the memoirs:

The Spanish translation, which is the oldest translation of the memoirs of Khair al-Din Barbaros. Where the book was translated for the Spanish King Philip II around the year 1578. This was in the *Memorial Journal Historico Espanol*, VI. It is located in the Palermo Municipal Library under the name: “La vida y Historia de Hayereddin Barbaroxa”.

From Spanish it was also translated into Italian by Luidigi Alcamora under the name *La Bita e la Storia di ariadino Barbarossa* and was published in two volumes in Palermo between 1884 and 1887.

Some researchers believe (Gallotta, 1988, p. 127-149) that the late translation published in Spanish and Italian is the Arabic translation.⁸ In the period between 1788-1790, the French orientalist Fanto Reddy Parady found a manuscript talking about the battles of the Barbarossa brothers, so he translated it into French. Then the book remained translated and not published until S. Rang and F. Deniz published it in two volumes in 1837.

According to the information mentioned by Hammer, Parady, because he did not find the author of the book that he translated into French, and because he was not aware of the existence of the invasions of Hyereddin Barbarossa, he thought that the book he translated dates back to one of the Arabic annals that date back to the 16th century.

In the year 1857, A. Berbrugger confirmed Parady's assumption Where he was sure that the book that the latter translated based on the Arabic version in the Algiers Library, which bears the number: 942, is a translation of the original Turkish version. And he compared it with the

⁸ It is not known precisely if there is an Arabic translation of the memoirs, but it is believed that the book marked: *The Battles of Arouj and Khair al-Din*, whose author is not known, relied mainly on one of the manuscript copies of Barbaros' memoirs. Nouredine Abdel Qader published it in Algeria in 1934. The publisher of the book did not confirm or deny this claim. This version was the basis for the European translations mentioned.

information provided by Hammer about the book of invasions, the subject of the study.

During the period between 1883-1895, J. Desallan published the index of Arabic manuscripts at the National Library in Paris. During that, he gave an introduction to a manuscript entitled: "The Biography of the Mujahid Khair al-Din Barbaros,"⁹ and mentioned that it bears the number: 1878. He also indicated that it dates back to the 17th century. Then S. Rang, and F. Deniz translated it into French and published it (Salane, 1883-1895, p. 338).

In the year 1884, O. Houdas, and R. Basset investigated and published an Arabic manuscript copy that talks about the life of Hyereddin Barbaros, it was found in the library of the Zaytouna Mosque (Houdas-Basset, 1884, p. 68).

In the year 1890, R. Basset published the Arabic version preserved in the Algerian National Library, bearing No. 942/1622 with its French translation (Houdas-Basset, 1884, p. 171-214). As Bassi points out, the Arabic version was translated by someone named Khoja. And this person was holding the position of the Hanafi mufti, and his name was Muhammad bin Ali al-Kulogli al-Jaza'iri. And that this translation was done in the 18th century. R. Bassey confirmed that the copy in the library of the Mosque of Zitouna is the same as the one in the Algerian National Library.

In addition to the aforementioned translations, the book was also translated from Turkish into Hungarian by Joseph Thury under the name: Török Történitirok and published in Budapest in 1896 in two parts.

In the year 2010, Dr. Mohamed Darradj translated the edited version of the memoirs of Hyereddin Barbaros into Arabic, and published it several times in Algeria. The last one was in Istanbul in 2021.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that in view of the great attention given to the memoirs of Khair al-Din Barbarossa, this indicates their great scientific value as a major source that preserved accurate details of the incidents dating back to the first half of the history of the Ottoman presence in North Africa and the efforts made by the Ottomans to establish their presence in Algeria, until they were finally able to make it an advanced base to protect the Islamic coasts in the entire North African region. Accordingly, it is necessary to use the historical information that appeared in the memoirs to write the Ottoman history in the area in general and the history of Algeria during the period that the memoirs dealt with and to return to it to compare its notes with others in other sources to know the various aspects of the historical incidents related to this region during the period covered by the notes.

⁹ Dr. Abdullah Hammadi recently published it in Algeria. He, too, was unable to prove or deny the original from which this book was translated, with his assertion that it is a translation of a lost and unknown Turkish original. It is the same opinion held by Nouredine Abdelkader, who previously published the book based on the copy in the Algerian National Library.

Sources and References

Arabic Sources and References

المصادر والمراجع العربية والمعربة

1. سيد علي مرادي، مذكرات خير الدين بربروس، تهذيب يلماز أوزتونا، ترجمة محمد دراج، شركة الأصالة للنشر والتوزيع، الجزائر ٢٠١٣
- Sayyid Ali Muradi, Muzekkirat Khairuddin Barbaros, Tehzib: Yılmaz Öztuna, Translation: Muhammed Derradj, Shariket al-Asaala wat-Tavzic al-Dzezair, 2013.
2. عبد الجليل التميمي، "رسالة أهالي الجزائر إلى السلطان سليم الأول في ١٥١٩"، المجلة التاريخية المغربية، العدد ٥٧، السنة ١٩٧٦، ص ٩٥-١٠١
- Abduljalil at-Tamimi, Risala Ahali al-Dzazair, İla as-Sultan Selim al-Avval fi 1519, Al-Jumla at-Tarihiyya al-Magribiyya, Vol. 7, 1976, pp: 95-101.
3. فهرست الكتب التركية المحفوظة بالكتب خانة خديوية المصرية، القاهرة ١٣٠٦هـ/١٨٨٨، ص ١٦٩
- Fihrist, al-Kutub al Turkiyya al-Mahfoza al- Kutubkhane-i Khidiviyya al Misriyya al-Cairo, 1306H/1888 AC, p. 169.
4. كاتب جلبي، تحفة الكبار في أسفار البحار، إستانبول ١٩٣٤
- Katip Chalabi, Tuhfat al-Kibar fi Asfar al-Bihar, Istanbul, 1934.
5. مجهول، غزوات المجاهد خير الدين بربروس، تحقيق ودراسة عبد الله حمادي، دار القصبية، الجزائر ٢٠١٦
- Anonymous, Gazavat al-Mucahid Khairuddin Barbaros Tahkik ve Derasat Abdullah Hammadi, Dar al Kasaba, Dzezair, 2016.
6. مجهول، غزوات عروج وخير الدين، دراسة وتحقيق، نور الدين عبد القادر، المطبعة الثعالبية، الجزائر ١٩٣٤
- Anonymous, Gazavat Oruc wa Khayruddin, Derasat ve Tahkik Nuraddin Abdulkadir, al Matbaa al Saalbiyya al Dzazair, 1934.
7. محمد دراج، "تأسيس إيالة الجزائر"، مجلة عصور، مخبر البحث التاريخي، مصادر وتراجم، كلية العلوم الإنسانية والحضارة الإسلامية، جامعة وهران، السنة ٢٠١٠-٢٠١١، العدد ١٦-١٧، ص ٢٦-٣٢
- Muhammed Derradj, T'e'sis İyala al-Dzazair Madzalla Asoor Historical Research Laboratory, Civilization University of and Islamic Sources and Translations, Faculty of Humanities, Wahran, 2010-2011, Vol: 16-17, p. 26-32.

Ottoman and Turkish Sources and References

- نجيب عاصم، تاريخ عثمانى أنجمنى مجموعته سي، إستانبول 1 تشرين أول، ١٣٢٦، ٤/ ٢٣٣-٢٣٨
- Necib Asım, Tarih-i Osmani Enjumani Majmuasi Istanbul, 1, Tashrin-i avval, 1326, 4/233-238.

Research Works

- Bebrugger, A. (1857). *Les Epoques Militaires de la Grande Kabylie*, Alger. Creative Media Partners.

- Blochet, E. (1928). *Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Escurial*, Paris. E. J. Brill.
- Blochet, E. (1932). *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs de la Bibliotheque National*, Paris. Bibliotheque National.
- Bombacı, A. (1968). *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, İstanbul. Paradigma Akademi Yayınları.
- Bursalı Ahmet Tahir, (1342/1923). *Osmanlı Müellifler*, C. 3. İstanbul. Matbaa-i Amire.
- Gallotta, A. (1998). Seyid Murâdi Gazvât-ı Hayreddin Paşa Adlı Eseri. Çev.: Mahmut H. Şakıroğlu, *Erdem*, S. 10, Ankara, Ocak. 127-164.
- İz, F. (1964). *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nesir*, İstanbul. Osmanlı Yalçın Matbaası.
- Kazıcı, Z. (1997). *İslam Tarihi*, C.XI, İstanbul. Kayıhan Yayınevi.
- Necip Âsim (1326). Gazvât-ı Hayreddin Paşa, *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası*, Cüzü: 4, 1 Teşrin-i Evvel, İstanbul. 233-238.
- Pekalın, Mehmet Z. (1993). *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, İstanbul. MEB Yayınları.
- Turan, Ş. (1992). Barbaros Hayreddin Paşa, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, C.V. 65-67.
- Yurdaydın, H. (1963). Murâdi ve Eserleri. *Bellekten*, Ankara, S. 27/107. 453-466.

Çatışma beyanı: Makalenin yazarı, bu çalışma ile ilgili taraf olabilecek herhangi bir kişi ya da finansal ilişkileri bulunmadığını dolayısıyla herhangi bir çıkar çatışmasının olmadığını beyan ederler.