



Akademik Eğitim ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi (AJESS Journal)

The Political Backgrounds of the French Occupation of Algeria (Apparent Causes and Hidden Motives)

Fransa'nın Cezayir'i İşgalinin Siyasi Arka Planı: Görünürdeki Nedenler ve Gizli Amaçlar

Haoua Henka

PhD in Modern Maghreb History
University of El Oued

henka-haoua@univ-eloued.dz

<https://orcid.org/0009-0004-0377-9184>

Faiza Mehda

Master's degree in Contemporary Maghreb History
University of El Oued

fayzamehda@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0009-0003-0190-2903>

Received: 11/01/2026 Accepted: 12/03/2026 Published: 11/08/2026

Abstract

France had been among the states that coveted Algeria since the Napoleonic period. Napoleon aspired to transform the western basin of the Mediterranean into a "French lake." Throughout the Ottoman presence in Algeria, France sought to conclude agreements and treaties and to benefit from commercial privileges, eventually reaching the wheat question and the debts attached to it. These tensions led to the so-called fly-whisk incident, the naval blockade, and finally military intervention. When the circumstances of this occupation are examined, it becomes clear that most Western and Arab historians alike have affirmed that French interest in Algeria was not born in the nineteenth century. Rather, it was the outcome of a colonial political project that had matured in the minds of French kings and emperors. Its roots go back to King Louis IX of France, who formulated a project to eliminate Maghrebi corsair activity and occupy its principal centers: Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers. For the French, this constituted the beginning of the idea of occupying Algeria. The acquisition of commercial privileges in certain Algerian ports intensified the French desire to obtain additional positions and resources. France therefore sent

Öz

Fransa, Napolyon döneminden itibaren Cezayir üzerinde hâkimiyet kurmak isteyen devletlerden biri olmuştur. Napolyon, Akdeniz'in batı havzasını bir "Fransız gölüne" dönüştürmeyi amaçlamıştır. Cezayir'deki Osmanlı varlığı boyunca Fransa, çeşitli anlaşmalar ve antlaşmalar imzalamaya ve kendisine tanınan ticari ayrıcalıklardan yararlanmaya çalışmıştır. Bu ilişkiler zamanla buğday meselesine ve bu ticaretten kaynaklanan borçlara kadar uzanmıştır. Taraflar arasında ortaya çıkan gerilimler, sözde yelpaze olayına, ardından deniz ablukasına ve nihayetinde Fransız askerî müdahalesine yol açmıştır. İşgalin ortaya çıktığı koşullar incelendiğinde, gerek Batılı gerekse Arap tarihçilerin çoğunun Fransa'nın Cezayir'e yönelik ilgisinin on dokuzuncu yüzyılda başlamadığını kabul ettiği görülmektedir. Bu ilgi, Fransız kralları ve imparatorlarının düşüncelerinde zamanla olgunlaşan sömürgeci bir siyasi projenin sonucuydu. Projenin kökleri, Mağrip'teki korsanlık faaliyetlerini ortadan kaldırmayı ve Trablus, Tunus ve Cezayir gibi başlıca merkezleri işgal etmeyi planlayan Fransa Kralı IX. Louis dönemine kadar uzanmaktadır.

exploratory missions and concluded agreements and treaties in periods of both war and peace. Once the country's strategic importance became evident, the desire to possess this rich territory was confirmed. France then began to fabricate numerous pretexts, driven by several motives, and did not refrain from the occasional use of force. It launched several campaigns that, after political and military interventions, culminated in a successful naval landing and then occupation. This research paper examines the political backgrounds of French colonialism in Algeria. The occupation emerged as the inevitable outcome of numerous causes, although it was outwardly reduced to a single political cause. Yet anyone who follows the history of the European presence in the western Mediterranean, the internal developments experienced by the French government, and France's external international position will see that the occupation represented a logical progression of events experienced by both states during that period. Keywords: France; Algeria; political backgrounds; military power; occupation.	Fransızlar açısından bu proje, Cezayir'i işgal etme düşüncesinin başlangıcını oluşturmuştur. Fransa'nın bazı Cezayir limanlarında ticari ayrıcalıklar elde etmesi, ülkede daha fazla stratejik mevki ve ekonomik kaynak edinme arzusunu güçlendirmiştir. Bu nedenle Fransa, hem savaş hem de barış dönemlerinde bölgeye keşif heyetleri göndermiş ve farklı anlaşmalar imzalamıştır. Cezayir'in stratejik öneminin anlaşılmasıyla birlikte Fransa'nın bu zengin topraklara sahip olma isteği daha açık hâle gelmiştir. Fransa daha sonra çeşitli gerekçeler üretmeye başlamış ve hedeflerine ulaşmak amacıyla zaman zaman güç kullanmaktan çekinmemiştir. Gerçekleştirilen siyasi ve askerî müdahaleler, sonuçta başarılı bir deniz çıkarması ve ardından ülkenin işgaliyle neticelenmiştir. Bu çalışma, Fransız sömürgeciliğinin Cezayir'deki siyasi arka planını incelemektedir. Cezayir'in işgali, görünürde tek bir siyasi nedene bağlanmış olsa da gerçekte çok sayıda iç ve dış etkenin kaçınılmaz sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Batı Akdeniz'deki Avrupa varlığının tarihsel gelişimini, Fransız yönetiminin yaşadığı iç siyasi dönüşümleri ve Fransa'nın uluslararası konumunu takip eden bir araştırmacı, işgalin her iki devletin söz konusu dönemde yaşadığı gelişmelerin aşamalı ve mantıksal bir sonucu olduğunu görebilir. Bu nedenle işgal, yalnızca yelpaze olayı gibi doğrudan bir gerekçeyle değil, uzun vadeli siyasi, ekonomik, stratejik ve sömürgeci hedefler bağlamında değerlendirilmelidir. Anahtar Kelimeler: Fransa, Cezayir, siyasi arka plan, askerî güç, işgal.
---	--

Introduction

During the nineteenth century, Europe constituted the center of gravity of international relations through its political and economic leadership of the world. It dominated the fate of peoples through a broad colonial movement. Following the outcomes of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, which reinforced colonial rivalry, France hastened to implement the project it had long planned: the occupation of Algeria. To achieve this, the French had to collect, investigate, and sort all published and unpublished information related to Algeria, and then construct colonial projects that finally enabled a successful military intervention in 1830 CE.

In fact, Napoleon Bonaparte was interested in all the North African regencies to the extent that he aspired to control them. However, he was particularly interested in Algeria because it contained important markets that could help develop French industry. It also possessed powerful fortifications that could become a rival force to Britain in the Mediterranean basin. For this reason, he sent his brother Jérôme in 1805 CE on a military mission against Algeria, one result of which was the release of 231 captives.

Reducing France's interest in Algeria to Napoleon's plans alone is a way of linking political events to the visible backgrounds of the French colonial project. Yet historical events show that this interest was much older, even if the conditions necessary for its realization were not yet available. Anyone who follows the many failed campaigns launched by most European states, with France at their forefront, will realize that Algeria, viewed by them as a stubborn enemy, troubled Europe through its authority and sovereignty at sea. France, whose strength had repeatedly collided with Algeria in more than one historical episode, was also the most covetous of its territory and merely waited for the appropriate opportunity. It therefore initiated political, economic, and social interventions, among others, with the aim of learning everything that this country contained. This study focuses only on political backgrounds because they constituted the direct cause of the occupation.

The following research problem is therefore posed: *What were the political backgrounds on which France relied in occupying Algeria, and were they sufficient to justify military intervention?*

To answer this question, this study addresses several axes: the political backgrounds of French colonialism in the Maghreb; an analytical reading of the apparent motives for the French occupation of Algeria; an analytical reading of the hidden motives; and, finally, the French campaign against the city of Algiers. The paper concludes with a general inference and a set of recommendations.

The objective of this study is to shed light, in particular, on the political backgrounds that drove France to occupy Algeria, which it perceived as its greatest and most formidable adversary, before moving on to the remaining countries of North Africa. These backgrounds are often denied in European narratives on the grounds that the military intervention was merely the inevitable result of restoring honor after the alleged insult suffered by the French consul, and of preserving the dignity and honor of France.

Methodology

Research Design

This study employs a qualitative historical research design to examine the political background of the French occupation of Algeria in 1830. It combines historical-documentary analysis, source criticism, chronological reconstruction, and comparative interpretation. This design is appropriate because the study seeks to explain how long-term French political and colonial ambitions developed, how they interacted with immediate diplomatic disputes, and how these factors were subsequently used to justify military intervention.

The study does not treat the occupation as an isolated consequence of the 1827 fly-whisk incident. Instead, it investigates the relationship between the publicly declared causes of the intervention and the longer-term political, strategic, economic, financial, and ideological objectives reflected in the historical record.

Research Questions

The analysis is guided by the following questions:

- What long-term political developments shaped French interest in Algeria?
- Which reasons were publicly presented to justify the 1830 military intervention?
- Which strategic, economic, financial, and ideological objectives existed behind those public justifications?
- To what extent did the fly-whisk incident constitute a principal cause rather than an immediate pretext?
- How did exploratory missions, diplomatic relations, commercial disputes, and military planning contribute to the preparation of the occupation?

Temporal and Geographical Scope

The principal geographical focus is Algeria within the wider political environment of the western Mediterranean and the Maghreb. France is examined as the principal external actor, while the Ottoman connection, European competition, and Mediterranean power relations are considered where they clarify French policy toward Algeria.

The core chronological focus extends from the late eighteenth century to the French landing at Sidi Ferruch in June 1830. Earlier developments are included selectively to trace the historical origins of French and European interest in Algeria. Particular attention is given to the French Revolution, the Napoleonic period, the Franco-Algerian debt dispute, the 1827 diplomatic crisis, the naval blockade, and the preparation and execution of the 1830 campaign.

Source Base and Selection Criteria

The research is based on a purposively selected body of Arabic- and French-language historical sources. The source corpus includes contemporary or near-contemporary travel accounts, military and political writings, historical narratives, published official texts, academic books, journal articles, theses, and studies of French-Algerian relations.

Particular evidentiary importance is assigned to sources associated with individuals who observed, investigated, or participated in the political and military environment preceding the occupation. These include Thomas Shaw's account of the Regency of Algiers, Vincent-Yves Boutin's military and topographical work, Hamdan Khodja's contemporary interpretation, and French writings concerning the 1830 expedition. Later Algerian and international scholarship is used to contextualize, compare, and critically evaluate the claims contained in these earlier sources.

Sources were included when they met at least one of the following criteria: they documented French political or military planning; addressed diplomatic relations between France and Algeria; discussed commercial privileges, grain transactions, or the debt dispute; described intelligence gathering or exploratory missions; analyzed the fly-whisk incident and naval blockade;

or provided evidence concerning the strategic and ideological objectives of the 1830 intervention. Sources without a clear connection to these questions were excluded from the central analysis.

The study relies on the published materials identified in the reference list. Where a publication reproduces or discusses an official document, the distinction between the original record and the later published interpretation is maintained. The article does not claim direct consultation of archival collections unless the relevant archival repository and reference number can be documented.

Source Criticism

The sources were evaluated through external and internal criticism. External criticism considered authorship, date, publication context, source type, proximity to the events, and the relationship between the author and the institutions involved. Internal criticism examined the purpose, intended audience, terminology, political position, factual consistency, and possible bias of each text.

French military, political, travel, and colonial writings were not treated as neutral descriptions. Many were produced within an environment that sought to collect strategic information, justify intervention, or portray Algeria through a European colonial framework. Their language was therefore analyzed as evidence of French political perceptions and legitimizing strategies as well as for the factual information they contained.

Algerian and later anti-colonial interpretations were also assessed critically. Although they provide essential counter-perspectives, their conclusions were compared with contemporary evidence and other scholarly accounts. No source was considered conclusive solely because of its national, political, or institutional origin.

Analytical Framework

The study employs a cause–pretext–motive framework. This framework distinguishes among structural conditions, publicly declared reasons, and underlying objectives.

Structural conditions refer to long-term developments that made occupation increasingly possible, including changes in European power relations, French expansionism, competition in the Mediterranean, and Algeria's strategic significance. Apparent causes refer to the reasons publicly invoked by French officials, especially the fly-whisk incident, the claim that French national honor had been violated, and the diplomatic breakdown that preceded the naval blockade. Hidden or underlying motives refer to longer-term objectives involving Mediterranean dominance, commercial access, debt avoidance, economic resources, the Algerian treasury, domestic political considerations, and ideological legitimation.

These categories are used as analytical tools rather than as assumptions established in advance. A factor is classified according to its chronology, documentary support, relationship to official discourse, and demonstrated role in French decision-making. This prevents all contributing conditions from being treated as equivalent causes.

Analytical Procedure

The analysis was conducted in four stages. First, the relevant events were reconstructed chronologically, beginning with the development of French interest in Algeria and ending with the 1830 landing. Second, statements concerning the causes and objectives of intervention were extracted from the selected sources. Third, these statements were coded according to political, diplomatic, strategic, economic, financial, military, and ideological themes. Finally, the themes were compared to identify the relationship between long-term plans and immediate events.

Evidence of continuity was sought across different periods. For example, Napoleonic intelligence gathering and military planning were compared with the preparations preceding the 1830 expedition. Similarly, the public emphasis on diplomatic honor was considered alongside evidence concerning debts, markets, strategic geography, military reconnaissance, and the state treasury.

The study also differentiates between documented historical facts, contemporary political claims, and the authors' interpretations. A statement by a French official is not automatically treated as proof of the stated motive; it is examined in relation to the official's position, audience, historical context, and consistency with other evidence.

Credibility and Triangulation

Credibility was strengthened through source triangulation. Claims were compared across different languages, periods, genres, and political perspectives. Contemporary European accounts were assessed alongside Algerian historical interpretations and modern academic research. Greater evidentiary weight was assigned to claims supported by multiple independent sources or by a combination of contemporary documentation and later critical scholarship.

Chronological plausibility was also used as a validity check. Plans or interests documented before the fly-whisk incident were treated as evidence that French ambitions preceded the immediate diplomatic crisis. However, the existence of an earlier proposal was not automatically interpreted as proof of a continuous and unchanged policy. Continuity was inferred only where later decisions, preparations, or actions showed a demonstrable connection with earlier projects.

Ethical Considerations

The study uses historical documents and published scholarly sources and does not involve living participants, personal data, interviews, surveys, or experimental procedures. Institutional ethics approval and informed consent were therefore not required. All borrowed ideas, interpretations, and historical evidence are attributed to their respective sources.

Methodological Limitations

The study is limited by the uneven nature of the available historical record. Some sources were written by officials, soldiers, travelers, or colonial commentators whose accounts reflect institutional interests and ideological assumptions. Other materials are accessible through later publications rather than original archival copies, which restricts verification of their documentary context.

The distinction between apparent causes and hidden motives also requires interpretive caution. Political decision-making rarely results from a single objective, and motives may overlap or change over time. The study therefore does not claim that every French actor pursued an identical plan or that all contributing factors had equal influence.

Finally, the research focuses principally on political backgrounds. Although economic, religious, financial, and military considerations are discussed, they are examined insofar as they contributed to the political preparation or justification of occupation. The conclusions should consequently be understood as a historically grounded interpretation of political causation rather than a complete account of every dimension of the French conquest of Algeria.

First Axis: The Political Backgrounds of French Colonialism in the Maghreb

During the nineteenth century, North African countries were exposed to one of the most dangerous colonial phases. This was due to several internal factors, represented by military weakness and cultural and scientific underdevelopment, and external factors, represented by repeated European attempts to acquire the countries of North Africa, exploit their resources, and search for new markets. These factors led to a renewed colonial tendency.

France's project to occupy Algeria formed part of its broader expansionist project directed toward the Maghreb and Africa as a whole. Occupying Algeria would facilitate the transformation of the Mediterranean into a French lake. It would also compensate France for the colonies it had lost in Europe, secure economic resources for its population and factories, and provide markets capable of reviving, developing, and strengthening its economy in competition with other European states. Within this older colonial project, France directed several plans toward the Mediterranean basin and treated Algeria as a vital base because of its important strategic location at the center of the Maghreb and as a gateway to Africa (Aamiraoui, 2003, p. 11).

Political backgrounds were among the earliest causes of collision between European states and the Maghrebi countries, especially in the context of the Reconquista and the pursuit of Andalusian Muslims. On this basis, a conflict emerged between Western European states and the Maghrebi countries under the name of a holy war. Outwardly, this appeared to have a religious background; in reality, however, the cause was purely political. European countries had begun to experience the Renaissance and its transformations, whereas North Africa, and the Islamic Maghreb in particular, suffered from political weakness, fragmentation, and social unrest. Its connection to the Ottoman state made it appear to Europe as an unconquerable competitor (Anonymous, 1913, p. 35).

Dr. Shaw states in *Voyage dans la Régence d'Alger* that no single nation could eliminate them alone; rather, the European powers would have to unite in a universal league and cooperate in a plan for their destruction. He argued that, if such plans were carried out with harmony and intelligence and if the attack were simultaneous, resistance would probably be weak or even absent. He further suggested that occupied peoples, unable to save themselves, would submit to their predestined masters and would remember with affection the unforgettable era of what he called a righteous conquest (Shaw, 1830, pp. 213, 215).

Second Axis: An Analytical Reading of the Apparent Motives for the French Occupation of Algeria

The question of European seizure and control of Algeria did not, in its overall logic, change across three centuries, despite the technological development experienced by European states. The primary desire remained the acquisition of this strategically located region and the control of the Dey's government stores. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as international conditions changed, French envoys arrived on exploratory missions with a diplomatic but clearly espionage-oriented character from the outset. Their purpose was intelligence gathering and the preparation of expansionist colonial projects. For this reason, they were officers, engineers, geographers, orientalist, and others, relying on developments in modern geography as well as on knowledge derived from earlier journeys.

France, in particular, had many motives that directed its attention toward Algeria and made it seriously consider occupying the country. Some were apparent motives, discernible to anyone following the poor political, social, and economic circumstances through which France was passing. Algeria appeared as one of the possible solutions through which France could avert internal and external difficulties and problems.

1. The French Revolution

Immediately after its outbreak in 1789 CE, the French Revolution overturned the balance of political and social power and produced new philosophical concepts and ideas. While most of the population suffered poverty and hunger, the aristocracy became excessively wealthy in many respects. Because the French were not isolated from the New World and its turbulent events, France was influenced by developments in the American colonies, particularly by Britain, which directed its attention toward purchasing French colonies in order to secure and expand its own possessions in the New World (Ibrahim & Hajim, 2018, pp. 2491–2492).

One of the results of the Revolution was that France emerged as one of the strongest powers alongside England and managed to control large parts of Europe. During the revolutionary events, and amid pressure from conservative regimes, the French governing system drew closer to the government of Algeria in order to obtain the grain, meat, leather, olives, and other supplies it needed (Aamiraoui, 1987, p. 22). Algeria also provided financial loans to help France emerge from the crisis. This rapprochement alarmed Britain, which asked the Dey of Algeria to stop providing assistance; however, the Dey continued to provide it while entirely disregarding the English proposals (Al-Khudari, 2013, p. 114).

2. The Debt Problem

French debts to the government of Algeria reached approximately thirteen and a half million French francs. Strangely, France did not seek to repay them. Instead, it pursued a more damaging course by continually submitting complaints to the Sublime Porte against Algeria through its ambassador, who did not hesitate to distort the image of Algerians before Ottoman sultans and ministers. One of the strongest motives behind the French military campaign was therefore to escape payment of the remaining debts. The debt question may be summarized through the suspicious relationship connecting the Jewish merchants Bacri and Busnach with the French consul Deval (Bouhouche, 2008, p. 87; Sidi Mohammed, 2018, p. 183). Officer Boutin acknowledged their involvement, affirming that Jews had always exerted significant influence in the country and that the misunderstanding between Algeria and France was not unrelated to them (Boutin, 1830, p. 8).

As noted earlier, the cause lay in the crisis France experienced, which produced its rapprochement with the Syrian/Algerian government. Despite the instability that marked this cooperation, relations were strengthened during the French Revolution. Algeria recognized the revolutionary government, opened commercial markets to French trade, granted financial loans to help France overcome its crisis, and supplied it with grain, especially wheat. Wheat played an important role in provisioning many regions, alleviating famine, and contributing to the French economy because of its high quality (Daachi, 2017, p. 149).

In the words of Leonard Mason (1913–2005), the establishment of French institutions in eastern Algeria for coral fishing was only a pretext; the real objective was the acquisition of wheat (Ben Saïdan, 2012, p. 107).

3. The Fly-Whisk Incident

Many historians give the impression in their works that the official pretext offered by the French authorities for invading Algeria was the famous diplomatic incident known as the “fly-whisk blow,” which occurred between Dey Hussein (1764–1838) and the French consul in Algeria, Deval, on 30 April 1827 CE (Bouhouche, 2008, p. 80). According to what was published in a Paris journal in 1831 concerning the Dey's account of the incident, he stated that he wanted to silence the consul, but the latter persisted; he then told him to leave, and when Deval did not obey, the Dey struck him with the fly-whisk. This, according to the Dey, was the truth of the matter (Doudou, 1975, p. 29; Kaddache, 2017, p. 20).

French newspapers, from the time of the incident until the beginning of 1829, blamed the French government for its slowness and hesitation in responding to the insult allegedly inflicted by the Dey on Consul Deval. Consequently, the military campaign was presented as necessary for restoring prestige and achieving justice. After centuries of patience and repeated failures by all powers, France alone was said to have been left to accomplish this dangerous mission victoriously. André Larané commented on the French landing in Algeria on 14 April 1830 by stating that French troops had undertaken a small punitive expedition to restore state prestige after a trivial impasse (Bonafont, 1880, p. 11).

The blockade began on 11 June 1827 CE. From its beginning, French intelligence services monitored the movements of Algerian ships, gathered information about them from various sources, including reports, letters, memoirs, and travel writings, and adopted military measures intended to prevent those ships from leaving or returning to the port of Algiers (Hammach, 2021, p. 95).

Third Axis: An Analytical Reading of the Hidden Motives for the French Occupation of Algeria

1. Napoleon Bonaparte's Project

The plan to occupy Algeria, and then North Africa, had matured in Napoleon's mind as early as 1801 CE. This plan would allow France to impose its control over the entire western basin of the Mediterranean. In order to make his colonial project executable, Napoleon asked all French citizens who had knowledge of foreign affairs, or who had lived in Algeria, to provide him with any information they possessed.

At the same time, he sent intelligence-oriented exploratory missions to Algeria in order to identify more precisely the country's economic, social, and political conditions, as well as its defensive and military strength. He required those sent to draw topographical maps and prepare projects for a successful invasion (Hilal, 2016, p. 38; Aamiraoui, n.d., p. 22). To succeed in his plan, he needed both pretexts and alliances. Napoleon therefore called on European states more than once to fight the countries of North Africa and eliminate the corsair activity that had flourished during the European wars between 1792 and 1815 CE. In one example, he sent a letter to Tsar Alexander I of Russia (1777–1825) inciting him to act, arguing that it was shameful for European states to remain silent about Maghrebi corsair activity. He also presented inaction as a shameful failure to restore the glory of the Roman Empire, claiming that North Africa had been Roman territory and that Europeans had always aspired to retain it, whereas it did not belong to the current powers there (*Revue des études Napoléoniennes*, 1918, p. 5).

When the Treaty of Tilsit was signed on 9 July 1807 CE, the continental war ended and peace returned to Europe. Napoleon again showed interest in Algeria within the secret agreement he concluded with Tsar Alexander I concerning the division of the world (Aamiraoui, 2003, p. 13). As a result of this stability and proposed division, he believed that the new situation had secured the conditions necessary to realize his old dream of building a vast empire on the southern shore of the Mediterranean. Thus, in 1808 CE, Napoleon once again turned his attention toward Algeria, considering that the territories under his rule no longer required protection from Algeria and that he would not accept that they continue paying tribute to it (Shaw, 1830, pp. 305–306; Bennour, 2009, p. 333).

Another reason was that Napoleon viewed Algeria as one of the most important external markets for developing the French economy. At the same time, he regarded it as one of the strongest fortresses capable of competing with Britain. This explains his premeditated conviction that Algeria had to become one of France's possessions (Aamiraoui, 2003, p. 29). He even sent a threat to Dey Mustapha, stating: "I will land eighty thousand men on your coasts, and I will destroy your country."

Because of the conflicts threatening Napoleon and his army, he did not have enough time to implement this threat. Nevertheless, he asked the French Minister of War and Colonies, Decrès, to prepare a precise military plan for occupying Algeria. Decrès gathered most of what had been written about Algeria and placed it at the disposal of Officer Boutin. He asked him to undertake an exploratory mission and prepare a colonial plan through which a military campaign could be successfully carried out under the best conditions and at the lowest possible cost (Hilal, 2016, p. 40). Through the extensive information provided to him and the field visit during which he received assistance from many parties, including access to areas prohibited to foreigners, Boutin was able to present France with a comprehensive work that became one of the sources relied upon by the organizers of the 1830 campaign.

2. The Sovereignty of the Christian Religion

Islam was treated as a "problem" by many colonial European historians because it was viewed as having caused the disappearance of Christianity in North Africa. Edward Said described this problem as the "European problematic attitude toward Islam," because the Islamic world was the only one that confronted and challenged Europe politically, intellectually, and economically. As the missionary Lawrence Brown (1940–2018), one of the leading figures of global Christian missionary

activity, stated: “The real danger lies in the system of Islam and in its power of subjugation; it is the only wall standing in the face of European colonialism.”

The Islamic sphere was also always geographically close to Europe and represented a threat in both its Arab and Ottoman forms from the end of the seventh century until the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 CE (Fekair, 2011, p. 416). Historical resentments were therefore mobilized by Western writers to attack Islam, and the effects left by the Crusades played an important role in that hostility (Mouzou, 2008, p. 22).

Thus, in European colonialism, the religious motive constituted a central foundation for advancing colonial objectives. In part of an article by the researcher Zehor Zizi, she discusses the importance of Dr. Shaw's long visit to North African countries. According to her, these lands did not arouse his curiosity as much as they served the mission entrusted to him; he was driven by a religious motive rooted in the belief that these were Christian lands seized by Muslim Arabs (Zizi, 2010, p. 22). Dr. Shaw himself included a direct comment in *Voyage dans la Régence d'Alger* concerning his firm belief in the sovereignty of Christianity over the world. He claimed that Muslims also believed this, and that for this reason they closed the city on Fridays from ten in the morning until noon for fear of the occurrence of such a catastrophe (Shaw, 1830, p. 143).

In the report of the Minister of War, Clermont de Tonnerre (1749–1830), the religious motive is affirmed as the reason why the son of Saint Louis would avenge religion and humanity in the hope of civilizing and Christianizing the indigenous population. He described the campaign as a crusade prepared by divine providence for execution by the French king (Saadallah, 1998, p. 62). Likewise, King Charles X of France declared in March 1830 CE that the decisive compensation he sought, while avenging the honor of France, would, with God's assistance, be turned to the benefit of Christianity. This was the same report submitted by the French Minister of War on 14 October 1827 CE (Bouhouche, 2008, p. 80).

3. The State Treasury

The treasury of Algeria was located in one of the rooms attached to the Janina Palace and contained large sums of money and precious objects. The rulers who succeeded one another in governing Algeria were careful not to spend from it except in rare and urgent cases. Even after it was transferred to the upper city by order of Dey Ali Khodja, it continued to contain immense wealth that was difficult to estimate. After the occupation, the French government estimated it at 150 million francs, though this estimate remains doubtful because much of its content had been stolen.

On 6 July 1830 CE, the commander-in-chief, at the headquarters in the Casbah, announced that the main aim of the campaign was to seize the city of Algiers and destroy a country whose existence had exhausted Europe for three centuries. Twenty days were indeed sufficient for this purpose, and the glory reflected upon the French name would largely compensate for the costs of war through conquest and through the treasury that would enrich the French state treasury (de Bourbon, 1930, p. 193).

This is perhaps what Don Vinet Moreno intended in the passage cited earlier. Neither the destruction of the country that had exhausted Europe nor Christianization alone constituted the cause; rather, the treasures in the treasury did as well. This explains why the French dug into floors and demolished walls during the military campaign against Algeria in search of buried treasure (Khodja, 1980, p. 264).

According to Joseph Cook's introduction to Dr. Shaw's journey, these accumulated treasures exceeded those of any other city in the world (Shaw, 1830, p. 210). Greed for the Dey's treasury was therefore one of the strongest demands behind the military aggression. The claims concerning the dignity and honor of France and the destruction of the country that had exhausted Europe were merely attempts to throw dust in the eyes.

Fourth Axis: The French Campaign Against the City of Algiers

On 31 January 1830 CE, the French Council of Ministers adopted a decision to undertake a punitive campaign against the Dey of Algeria. King Charles X signed the order mobilizing the army and the fleet, and on 7 February 1830 CE issued a royal decree appointing de Bourmont as commander of the campaign. From that date, preparations began and lasted approximately three months.

The French fleet left the port of Toulon on 25 May 1830 CE toward the city of Algiers. Because of poor weather conditions, it was forced to stop in the Balearic Islands. On 14 June of the same year, the landing took place at Sidi Ferruch. Boutin described this gulf as a peninsula extending about two nautical miles. Its coastline had no natural projections or breaks. At the level of the gulf there were two large basins, one to the west and the other to the east, both characterized by deep waters close to land, which allowed ships and vessels to anchor, especially in summer. Under favorable weather conditions, the harbor was suitable for naval disembarkation. The beach itself was sandy and did not favor the construction of fortifications or the movement of

carts and equipment. On the eastern side stood a mosque and the zawiya of the marabout, which the French campaign used as a camp and command center.

The route between Sidi Ferruch and Algiers, even with the besieging force, did not present insurmountable obstacles. There were no landward fortifications capable of resisting well-directed artillery attacks for more than three weeks. Preparations for the expedition could be completed within six months, and from the day the fleet sailed, the conquest of Algiers would require no more than two months, in accordance with the advice André Doria had given to Charles V.

Thus, the French succeeded in invading Algeria. Once the occupation had been achieved, the interest of other European states in Algeria increased, as did that of non-European powers such as Russia and the United States. Campaigns then encouraged migration to Algeria for the purpose of investing in it under the slogan: "Let the occupation be French, but let settlement be something else."

Jules Cambon (1845–1935), who headed the General Government in Algeria, argued that Algeria could not, according to the model classification of colonies, be classified either with commercial colonies or with settler colonies. It was a colony of a composite and mixed character: neither solely a settlement colony nor solely a colony of economic exploitation, but rather an extension of France that had to receive the laws, governing institutions, and administrative methods of the colonizing country.

Conclusion

As noted above in the discussion of the political backgrounds of the French occupation of Algeria, the study reached several findings, the most important of which are the following:

- European interest in North African countries was mainly rooted in the Reconquista and the pursuit of Andalusian Muslims, in addition to the Renaissance and the scientific, technological, and maritime developments that followed it, especially developments in navigation.
- The French occupation of Algeria was not caused by the fly-whisk incident. Its roots extended back to the sixteenth century, as shown by the many agreements and treaties concluded between France and the government of Algeria, the exploratory journeys that surveyed the land, collected information, and produced maps, and the secret relations maintained with rulers under the various names adopted during the Ottoman period.
- The political background of the occupation of Algeria, which involved the restoration of France's dignity and honor after the alleged insult to its consul, was a fabricated pretext used to justify occupation, especially once France knew with certainty that it was capable of penetrating the country and achieving a successful landing.

Recommendations

- It is necessary to highlight French colonial crimes by increasing conferences and seminars devoted to national commemorations, including prestigious ones, as a means of restoring consideration to the sons and descendants of martyrs and mujahidin, and of connecting history to present reality in order to strengthen the natural continuity between past and present for a better future.
- Research projects and conferences documenting the severity of colonial crimes should be intensified, since such crimes are crimes against humanity.
- Artificial intelligence techniques should be used to revive scenes, revolutions, and images so that historical representation acquires deeper meaning and becomes more developed and modern.

Declarations

Ethics Approval: This study is based exclusively on historical research and the analysis of published works, archival materials, treaties, official documents, and other publicly available sources. It did not involve human participants, animals, personal data, interviews, surveys, or experimental procedures. Therefore, ethics committee approval was not required.

Consent to Participate: Not applicable.

Consent for Publication: Not applicable. The manuscript does not contain identifiable personal information concerning any living individual.

Funding:

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

Conflict of Interest: The authors declare that they have no financial, professional, institutional, or personal conflicts of interest that could have influenced the research or its conclusions.

Data Availability Statement: No original datasets were generated or analyzed during this study. The historical evidence supporting the findings is derived from the archival documents, published sources, and scholarly works cited in the manuscript. Access to archival materials may be subject to the regulations of the institutions holding them.

Author Contributions: Haoua Henka contributed to the conceptualization, historical methodology, investigation, source analysis, interpretation, and preparation of the original manuscript. Faiza Mehda contributed to the collection and organization of historical sources, documentary analysis, manuscript preparation, and critical revision. Both authors reviewed and approved the final version and accept responsibility for the integrity and accuracy of the work.

Acknowledgments:

The authors have no acknowledgments to declare.

Use of Generative Artificial Intelligence: Generative artificial intelligence tools were used for language refinement, translation, and editorial organization. They were not used as historical sources or as substitutes for scholarly analysis. The authors reviewed and verified the entire manuscript and assume full responsibility for the accuracy of its evidence, citations, interpretations, and conclusions.

Ethical Approval

This study is based exclusively on the analysis of published texts, documentary and archival sources, and secondary literature. It does not involve human participants or animal subjects, and therefore ethics committee approval was not required. All sources are cited in accordance with academic integrity and copyright principles.

Acknowledgements

The authors thank the editors and the anonymous reviewers of the AJESS Journal for their constructive comments on an earlier version of this manuscript.

Declaration of Generative AI and AI-Assisted Technologies

The authors declare that no generative artificial intelligence (AI) or AI-assisted technologies were used in the design of the study, data collection, analyses, or interpretation of the scientific content of this manuscript. Any language-editing support was reviewed and verified by the authors, who take full responsibility for the content of the published article.

References

Arabic References

1. Aamiraoui, A. (1987). *The role of Hamdan Khodja in the development of the Algerian question (1827–1840)* (1st ed.). Dar Al-Baath.
2. Aamiraoui, A. (2003). *Algeria in travel and captivity literature during the Ottoman period: Tidna's memoirs as a model*. Dar Al-Huda.
3. Khodja, H. (1980). *The mirror* (M. Al-Arabi Al-Zubayri, Trans. & Ed.; 2nd ed.). National Company for Publishing and Distribution.
4. Sidi Mohammed, R. (2018). A comparative reading of the backgrounds and motives of the French occupation of Algeria and Tunisia. *Al-Qirtas*, 5(1).
5. Daachi, S. (2017). The journey of Bonman François Louis from Touggourt to Ghadames and its role in the commercial discovery of the Sahara. *Al-Maaref Journal for Historical Research and Studies*, 3(11).
6. Bouhouche, A. (2008). *The political history of Algeria from the beginning until 1962* (3rd ed.). Dar Al-Bassair.
7. Al-Khudari, M. (2013). Algeria during the nineteenth century through French documents. In *Proceedings of the international symposium on the Maghreb and the western Mediterranean in the Ottoman era*. Istanbul.
8. Ibrahim, N., & Hajim, A. (2018). The concept of reform among Renaissance scholars and its impact on the French Revolution: Jean-Jacques Rousseau as a model. *Journal of the College of Arts Research*, 29(113).
9. Anonymous. (1913, May). France's colonial policy in North Africa: A collection of articles translated from the magazine Al-Ahali Al-Wataniyin. *Al-Tan Newspaper*, 16.
10. Saadallah, A. Q. (1998). *The cultural history of Algeria (1500–1830)* (Vol. 2, 1st ed.). Dar Al-Gharb Al-Islami.

11. Mouzou, I. (2008). *French administrative officers in the eastern Algerian region: Ernest Mercier as a model* [Master's thesis, Mentouri University, Constantine].
12. Fekair, A. (2011). The role of the Algerian fleet in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. *Mawaqif*, 6(1).
13. Bennour, F. (2009). *French spies in Algeria (1782–1830)*. Dar Al-Waha.
14. Hammach, K. (2021). *Algeria and the Greek-Ottoman War, 1236–1243 AH / 1821–1827 CE* (3rd ed.). Publications of the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Civilization.
15. Doudou, A. E. (1975). *Algeria in the writings of German travelers (1830–1855)*. National Library for Publishing and Distribution.
16. Kaddache, M. (2017). *Algerians' Algeria: The history of Algeria, 1830–1954*. Dar Al-Umma.
17. Ben Saïdan, M. (2012). *Algeria's relations with France (1070/1170 AH–1659/1756 CE)* [Master's thesis, University Center of Ghardaïa].

Foreign References

1. Shaw, T. (1830). *Voyage dans la Régence d'Alger, ou description géographique, physique, philologique, etc. de cet État* (M. MacCarthy, Trans.). Paris.
2. Bonafont, J. P. (1880). *Douze ans en Algérie, 1830–1842*. Librairie de la Société de Gens de Lettre, Palais-Royal.
3. de Bourbon, S. (1930). *La dernière conquête du roi (Alger 1830)*. Calmann-Lévy.
4. Boutin, V.-Y. (1830). *Plan d'Alger et de ses environs d'après Boutin*. Darmet Jeune.
5. Zizi, Z. (2010). Thomas Shaw au Proche-Orient, 1721–1722: Éluclation et défense des textes sacrés. *XVII–XVIII: Revue de la Société d'études Anglo-Américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles*, 67.

Additional Sources

1. Hilal, A. (2016). *Research and studies in contemporary Algerian history (1830–1962)* (2nd ed.). University Publications Office.
2. *Revue des études Napoléoniennes*. (1918). F. Alcan.

Genişletilmiş Özet

Giriş

Fransa'nın 1830 yılında Cezayir'i işgali, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl sömürgecilik tarihinin en önemli gelişmelerinden biridir. Fransız resmî söyleminde bu askerî müdahale, çoğunlukla Cezayir Dayısı Hüseyin Paşa ile Fransa Konsolosu Pierre Deval arasında 29 Nisan 1827 tarihinde meydana gelen ve “yelpaze olayı” olarak bilinen diplomatik anlaşmazlığın sonucu şeklinde sunulmuştur. Bununla birlikte işgal sürecinin tarihsel arka planı incelendiğinde, Fransa'nın Cezayir'e yönelik ilgisinin bu olaydan ve hatta on dokuzuncu yüzyıldan çok daha önce başladığı anlaşılmaktadır.

Fransız kralları, askerî yöneticileri ve devlet görevlileri uzun bir dönem boyunca Cezayir'in siyasi durumu, ekonomik kaynakları, kıyıları, limanları ve savunma kapasitesi hakkında bilgi toplamıştır. Akdeniz'de güç üstünlüğü kurma isteği, Afrika'ya açılma hedefi, ticari ayrıcalıkların genişletilmesi ve Cezayir'in stratejik konumundan yararlanma düşüncesi, Fransa'nın uzun vadeli planlarında belirleyici olmuştur. Napolyon Bonapart döneminde bu ilgi daha düzenli bir askerî projeye dönüşmüş; keşif görevleri, topografik incelemeler ve muhtemel bir çıkarma harekâtına yönelik hazırlıklar gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Çalışmanın temel problemi, Fransa'nın Cezayir'i işgal ederken dayandığı siyasi arka planların neler olduğunu ve kamuoyuna sunulan gerekçelerin askerî müdahaleyi açıklamak için yeterli olup olmadığını belirlemektir. Araştırma, işgalin tek bir diplomatik olayın sonucu olmadığını; siyasi, ekonomik, stratejik, mali, dinî ve askerî amaçların birleşmesiyle ortaya çıkan uzun vadeli bir sömürge projesi olduğunu ileri sürmektedir.

Bu doğrultuda çalışma, Fransız sömürgeciliğinin Mağrip'e yönelik siyasi arka planını, işgal için açıklanan görünür gerekçeleri, bunların arkasındaki örtülü amaçları ve 1830 askerî harekâtının hazırlanışını incelemektedir. Böylece yelpaze olayıyla başlayan dar açıklama çerçevesinin ötesine geçilerek Fransa'nın Cezayir'e yönelik politikasının tarihsel sürekliliği ortaya konulmaktadır.

Yöntem

Araştırmada nitel tarihsel araştırma yöntemi benimsenmiş; belge incelemesi, tarihsel kaynak eleştirisi, karşılaştırmalı çözümleme ve kronolojik bağlamlandırma tekniklerinden yararlanılmıştır. Çalışmanın kaynaklarını Arapça ve Fransızca tarih

kitapları, seyahatnameler, diplomatik anlatılar, askerî raporlar, akademik makaleler, lisansüstü tezler ve dönemin siyasi gelişmelerini ele alan süreli yayınlar oluşturmaktadır. Thomas Shaw, Vincent-Yves Boutin, Hamdan Khodja ve Fransız askerî yetkililerin eserleri, döneme yakın tanıklıklar ve birincil nitelikte bilgiler içermeleri nedeniyle özellikle değerlendirilmiştir.

Kaynakların seçiminde Fransa'nın Cezayir'e yönelik siyasi, askerî ve stratejik planlarını doğrudan ele almaları; Fransız-Cezayir ilişkilerindeki anlaşma, borç, ticaret ve diplomatik krizlere ilişkin bilgi sunmaları; keşif faaliyetleri veya 1830 harekâtının hazırlanması hakkında kanıt içermeleri ölçüt olarak kullanılmıştır. Modern akademik çalışmalar ise tarihsel iddiaların karşılaştırılması ve farklı tarih yazımı yaklaşımlarının belirlenmesi amacıyla incelemeye dâhil edilmiştir.

Analiz, görünürdeki nedenler ile örtülü amaçlar arasında kurulan temel ayrım doğrultusunda yürütülmüştür. Fransız Devrimi'nin ardından ortaya çıkan iç siyasi koşullar, borç sorunu, yelpaze olayı ve Fransa'nın ulusal itibarını yeniden tesis etme söylemi görünürdeki gerekçeler kapsamında ele alınmıştır. Napolyon'un Akdeniz projesi, Cezayir'in stratejik konumu, ekonomik kaynaklara ve yeni pazarlara erişim isteği, devlet hazinesine yönelik beklentiler ve dinî-siyasi söylemler ise örtülü amaçlar çerçevesinde incelenmiştir.

Kaynaklar hazırlanma tarihleri, yazarlarının konumları, üretildikleri siyasi ortam ve muhtemel amaçları dikkate alınarak eleştirel biçimde değerlendirilmiştir. Fransız sömürge söylemini yansıtan eserlerdeki kavramlar araştırmacıların görüşü olarak benimsenmemiş; bu ifadeler, işgali meşrulaştırmak için kullanılan dönemin siyasi dili kapsamında analiz edilmiştir. Farklı kaynaklardaki bilgiler karşılaştırılarak tarihsel olaylar arasındaki devamlılık belirlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Araştırma, mevcut yazılı kaynakların kapsamıyla sınırlıdır ve işgalin bütün toplumsal ve ekonomik boyutlarını değil, esas olarak siyasi arka planını ele almaktadır.

Bulgular ve Tartışma

Araştırmanın bulguları, Fransa'nın Cezayir'e yönelik sömürgeci ilgisinin 1827'deki yelpaze olayından çok önce ortaya çıktığını göstermektedir. Bu ilginin kökleri, Avrupa devletlerinin Akdeniz ve Mağrip üzerinde hâkimiyet kurma projelerine kadar uzanmaktadır. Fransa'nın Cezayir limanlarında elde ettiği ticari ayrıcalıklar, bölge hakkında yürüttüğü keşif faaliyetleri ve farklı dönemlerde hazırladığı askerî projeler, işgal düşüncesinin uzun süreli bir devlet politikası hâline geldiğini göstermektedir.

Fransız Devrimi sonrasında Fransa'nın yaşadığı siyasi ve ekonomik krizler, Cezayir ile ilişkilerin önemini artırmıştır. Cezayir, Fransa'ya özellikle tahıl ve diğer temel ürünleri sağlamış ve mali destek sunmuştur. Buna rağmen Fransa'nın Cezayir'e olan borçlarını ödememesi, taraflar arasında ciddi bir anlaşmazlık yaratmıştır. Borç meselesinin, yalnızca diplomatik bir sorun olmadığı; Fransa'nın askerî müdahale yoluyla mali yükümlülüklerinden kurtulma arzusuyla da ilişkili olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Yelpaze olayı, işgalin temel nedeni olmaktan çok, önceden var olan sömürgeci hedefleri kamuoyuna sunmak için kullanılan doğrudan bir gerekçe niteliğindedir. Olaydan sonra uygulanan deniz ablukası ve Fransız basınında yürütülen itibar söylemi, askerî müdahaleye siyasi meşruiyet kazandırmıştır. Fransa'nın "ulusal onurunu yeniden tesis etme" iddiası, daha geniş stratejik ve ekonomik amaçların görünmez kılınmasına hizmet etmiştir.

Napolyon'un projeleri, işgal hazırlıklarının sistemli karakterini ortaya koymaktadır. Cezayir'e gönderilen keşif görevlileri; ülkenin kıyıları, askerî savunması, yolları ve çıkarma yapılabilecek bölgeler hakkında bilgi toplamıştır. Boutin tarafından hazırlanan raporların 1830 seferinde kullanılması, askerî harekâtın ani bir tepki olmadığını, uzun süreli bilgi toplama ve planlama sürecine dayandığını doğrulamaktadır.

Cezayir'in devlet hazinesi, ticari kaynakları, limanları ve stratejik konumu da Fransa açısından güçlü teşvikler oluşturmıştır. Cezayir'in işgali, Fransa'nın Batı Akdeniz'deki nüfuzunu güçlendirecek, Afrika'ya açılmasını kolaylaştıracak ve yeni ekonomik olanaklar sağlayacaktı. Bazı Fransız siyasi ve askerî metinlerinde kullanılan dinî söylem ise işgale ahlaki ve medeniyetçi bir görünüm kazandırmaya çalışmıştır. Bulgular, bu söylemin siyasi, askerî ve ekonomik çıkarlarla iç içe geçtiğini göstermektedir.

Sonuç ve Öneriler

Çalışma, Fransa'nın Cezayir'i işgalinin tek bir diplomatik olayla açıklanamayacağı sonucuna ulaşmıştır. Yelpaze olayı, askerî müdahaleyi başlatan görünür gerekçe olarak kullanılmış; ancak işgalin asıl arka planını uzun vadeli sömürgeci planlar, Akdeniz'de üstünlük kurma amacı, ekonomik kaynaklara erişim, borç meselesi, iç siyasi sorunlar ve Cezayir'in stratejik konumu oluşturmıştır.

Fransa'nın Cezayir hakkında yürüttüğü bilgi toplama faaliyetleri, keşif görevleri, topografik çalışmalar ve askerî projeler, 1830 harekâtının önceden hazırlandığını göstermektedir. Napolyon döneminde geliştirilen planların daha sonraki Fransız yönetimleri tarafından sürdürülmesi, işgal düşüncesindeki siyasi devamlılığı ortaya koymaktadır. Bu nedenle 1830 çıkarması, ani bir diplomatik krize verilen sınırlı bir karşılık değil, şartlar uygun hâle geldiğinde uygulamaya konulan kapsamlı bir sömürge projesidir.

Araştırmanın sonuçları doğrultusunda Fransız-Cezayir ilişkilerini konu alan çalışmalarda resmî gerekçeler ile uzun vadeli stratejik amaçlar arasında açık bir ayrım yapılması önerilmektedir. Diplomatik yazışmalar, askerî keşif raporları, ticaret kayıtları ve borç belgeleri farklı ülkelerin arşivlerinden karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmelidir. Fransız kaynaklarının yanı sıra Cezayir, Osmanlı, İngiliz ve diğer Akdeniz devletlerine ait belgelerin kullanılması daha dengeli bir tarihsel anlatı sağlayabilir.

Gelecekteki çalışmalar, Fransa'nın Cezayir'e yönelik planlarını Tunus, Fas ve diğer Afrika bölgelerine yönelik sömürge projeleriyle karşılaştırabilir. Ayrıca borç meselesinin mali boyutu, Fransız kamuoyunun hazırlanmasında basının rolü, keşif görevlerinin askerî harekâta etkisi ve işgal sonrasında Cezayir hazinesinin durumu bağımsız araştırmalara konu edilebilir.

Üniversitelerin ve araştırma merkezlerinin ilgili arşiv belgelerini dijitalleştirilmesi, açıklamalı belge koleksiyonları oluşturması ve genç araştırmacıların kullanımına sunması önem taşımaktadır. Yapay zekâ ve dijital beşerî bilimler yöntemleri, yalnızca doğrulanmış tarihsel verilere dayanmak ve üretilen görsel temsilleri açık biçimde etiketlemek şartıyla, haritaların, sefer rotalarının ve diplomatik ilişkilerin eğitim amacıyla açıklanmasında kullanılabilir. Bununla birlikte dijital canlandırmalar tarihsel kanıtın yerine geçirilmemeli ve kurgusal unsurlar gerçek belgelerden açıkça ayrılmalıdır.