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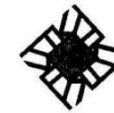
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**TÜRK TARİH KURUMU**

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baluarte sete ou oyto dyas sem lhe fazerem alguu nojo e no cabo deles chegou o dyto geral de toda armada e nam podemos sofrer o combate o capitam se entregou por a partydo com cincoemta portugueses o qual lhes nam foy guardado e os poseram todos ao remo /fol. 260vº/ e no baluarte nam deyxaram ninguem nem fyzeram mays que derruba-lo hu pouco por çima.

Com esta nova dos Turcos serem alevantados de sobre Ormuz e serem hydos para Baçora pareço ao vyso-rei nam dever hyr sua pessoa nem armada que levava na qual se fez huua muy grande despesa e todavia por ser necesario socorrer Ormuz mamdou quatro galeões e oyto caravelas e dous navios outros e por capitam desta armada Dom Amtam de Noronha seu sobrinho.

Na costa de Melimde se afyrma tambem amdarem çinco galeotes de Turcos.

(1553 memorial das novas que vieram da Imdia).

## Ottoman Ambitions on Tripoli and Lybia in The First Half of the XVI Century

Nicola MELIS

*University of Cagliari*

The events related to the Ottoman conquest of North Africa, by hand of the Barbarossa brothers and their successors, are well known.<sup>1</sup> More specifically, for what we want to cover in this article, the historiography regarding the Ottoman conquest of Tripoli in 1551, is very rich. The conqueror of the city, Sinan *kapudanpaşa*,<sup>2</sup> grand admiral of the Imperial Ottoman fleet, and Turgut *reis*, famous for his privateering activities,<sup>3</sup> considered Tripoli as a potential main naval base for the imperial fleet to consolidate the Ottoman presence in the Mediterranean in the context of the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict. In Ottoman chronicles and documents the facts related to Northern Africa began to be recorded especially after Khayr al-Dīn *paşa* Barbaros recognized the Ottoman sovereignty by 1519.<sup>4</sup> In general terms, the history of Tripoli in the first half of the sixteenth century has drawn the attention of European scholars from the view-point of the Habsburg/Spaniard policy and the presence of the Knights of Saint John.<sup>5</sup> No matter how useful their contributions were, they totally ignored the Ottoman perception of and interests on Tripoli and the region around it. For the period before 1519 only a few sources, mostly European, exist. But sources other than European should be taken into consideration.<sup>6</sup>

The presence of Anatolian, probably Turkish-speaking pirates in Tripoli, is already reported in Italian sources by the late fifteenth century. A Venetian document dated September 1497 refers of

Turkmen seamen trained in the use of firearms aboard two Tunisian ships supplied in Tripoli.<sup>7</sup> According to a deputy of Genoese *Signoria*, writing a letter to the Tunisian ruler in January 1498, a ship (*navilio*) from Genoa was caught around Bona by two galleys (*galee*) armed in Tripoli by Turks (*turchi*) and Moors (*mori*).<sup>605</sup> A Renaissance literary man from Southern Italy, Galateo, wrote in those years that Tripoli was “a refuge for the Turks who pillage the Christian shores”.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, at that time, Tripoli was considered a rich city, even more than Tunis, full of merchandise and traders from everywhere, including Turks.<sup>9</sup> An anonymous Spanish writer, referring to the conquest of Tripoli in 1510, reported that a Venetian Colonel, Girolamo Vianello, who greatly knew Tripoli, entered the town to check if Ottomans were there.<sup>10</sup> A year later, a Venetian consul in Palermo revealed that the Turks menaced the Tripolitanian seashores and in 1512 they even arrived in front of Tripoli.<sup>11</sup> Also in subsequent years Tripoli suffered several attacks by Turkish corsairs.

What “Turchi” means in European texts is hard to tell. In those sources the word “*turco*” (“*turc*”, “*turk*”, “*turcho*” etc.) is generally used for a Muslim of any ethnic origin, perhaps coming from Eastern Mediterranean, but we can’t exclude Arabs, Balkan Muslims, Maghribis and even Berbers! On the other hand, “*Moor*” (*moro*) is often used to indicate a possibly dark-skinned Muslim of Maghribi, Indian, etc. origin. In this respect, Portuguese literature appears probably with a richer characterizations to describe the Ottoman other than Muslims from the Islamic world outside the Ottoman empire.<sup>12</sup>

In about forty years of Christian domination (1510-1551), both Habsburg and Hospitaller, the authority of the European governor of Tripoli did not extend outside the city walls. Just fourteen kilometers east of Tripoli, there was Taġūra, a city which served as the headquarters of the local Arab resistance, combined with the forces of the Turkish corsairs under the command of a Khayr al-Dīn *paşa*’s a lieutenant, called himself Khayr al-Dīn.<sup>13</sup>

In 1556 the first Ottoman *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Murad Aġa, died and was succeeded by the famous Turgut Ali, who was capable to repulse successfully another expedition against Tripoli sought by the Grand Master of Malta. Turgut actually died at Malta on 23 June 1565, succeeded by Yahya Paşa, or, according to other sources, by another renowned corsair called Uluç Ali, Turgut’s lieutenant, who later became *kapudanpaşa* and died in 1587. Little is known of the Turkish governors who followed; their names were Ca’far *paşa*, and Ramađān *paşa*, killed in 1584. In this concern, official archival documents of the Turkish state archive can be useful.

Since ancient times, Tripoli was a trading place, a crossroads of sea and caravan routes.<sup>14</sup> Its position at the meeting-point of three traditional routes led respectively from Tripoli, from the Sudan via Fezzan, and from Egypt. Therefore, during Ottoman time, the city was an intermediary outpost between the very core of the Empire and the most remote areas of the Islamic Africa (*dār al-islām*). Kanem-Bornu was one of these areas.<sup>15</sup> As G.B. Martin wrote in his pioneering work on Bornu-Ottoman relations, some forty years ago, “Bornu and the Ottoman *vilayet* of Tripoli, had from about 1577 to some later date, about 1590, a common frontier”.<sup>16</sup> More rarely, even the Moroccan ambassadors passed by Tripoli, before arriving in the Ottoman capital.<sup>17</sup>

In XVI century, Ottomans named “Ṭarabūlūs” all the province, including Barqa, where they extended their rule later. Even in Arabic Ṭarabūlūs could be used to designate all the country from the Tunisian borders until the Egyptians ones.

At the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century south of Tripoli, the negro domination declined as a result of the wars of Kanem against the Bornu and the long dynastic struggles. When the Awlād Muḥammad became masters of Fezzan, certainly contributed to its Islamization and Arabization; Murzuq<sup>18</sup> was made the capital of the country, and remained so until the last century, being also an important caravan centre and a stopping-place for pilgrims from the west on their way to Mecca. When the Ottomans occupied Tripoli, they didn’t attempt

immediately to establish their authority in Fezzan; it happened only in 1577-8. But for the most part they were compelled to recognize Fezzan's *de facto* independence, in return for payment of tribute in gold and negro slaves by the Awlād Muḥammad.

The Province of Tripoli, together with those of Algiers and Tunis, were situated on the western frontier of the Mediterranean and were known as the *Garp Ocakları* (the Western corps) of the Empire. The conquest of the Maghribi provinces turned their Mediterranean shores into a zone of permanent combat (*derya-yi gaza*). According to the 'Ayn 'Ali's note, in 1609 in the Ottoman empire there were 32 provinces. Tripoli was an exceptional case, not being divided into *sancaks* (like other North African provinces of the Empire).

#### Ottoman Archival Sources For the History of Ottoman Tripoli In Early Modern Age

One of the most important sources for establishing the Ottoman view-point about Tripoli is the archival series of "Registers of important affairs" (*Mühimme Defterleri*), kept in the Turkish State Archive (*Başbakanlık Arşivi*) in Istanbul and partially published.<sup>19</sup> For most of the second half of the sixteenth century, starting from 1554 and recorded in chronological order, these registers contain copies of all kinds of official documents issued by the Ottoman government. Thanks to these sources we have original information on the functioning and malfunctioning of the Ottoman system established in the province. We can also have a look to the validity of Ottoman political decision makers about their political and religious convictions.

Tripoli, as the other North African Ottoman dominion, was far remote from Istanbul. The Arab tribes energetically resisted to the Ottomans, who were disunited against them. It is the question of the Ottoman conceptions of periphery and center of the Empire, an issue that it is beyond the declared scope of this paper.

In January 1568, a decree from Istanbul ordered the governor of Tripoli to ensure the safety and the order of the province with respect to people of Tağūra, that were plotting to join the enemy in order to support them in the reconquest of the island of Jerba and of the fortress of La Goletta (Ḥalk Al-Wādī).<sup>20</sup> In July 1577 imperial instructions given to the governor ordered him to bring under Ottoman control the rebellious Bedouins living between Egypt and Tripoli, in an area called "*White Mountain*": They didn't respect Ottoman sovereignty and maintained friendly relations with the Christian enemy.<sup>21</sup> It is also true that there are examples of an Islamic solidarity between the newcomers and the Muslim indigenous people. For example, when Turgut paşa was the governor of Tripoli, he embarked in the siege of Malta, where he died. His body was taken to Tripoli together with his five galleys and he was buried there, according to his will.<sup>22</sup>

Local political systems, alternative to the central power, began to emerge very soon, especially since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. At that time the rulers of the provinces of all North Africa paid formal allegiance to the Ottoman Sultan, sending him money and ships, when needed for the fleet, but in fact were politically autonomous of central control. An order (*hüküm*) sent to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli in April 1580, instructed him to establish a system of tax collection according to the tradition of the various cities and towns of the province of Tripoli.<sup>23</sup> As it was for all the Arab provinces under Ottoman authority, there was a continuity that Ottoman administration took over from Arab predecessors, as claimed by André Raymond. Notwithstanding, there was also a new administrative trend depending on the Ottoman conception of sovereignty. If studied in relation to other Arab cities, Tripoli and its surrounding area give demonstration of a certain coherence to the Tripolitanian area as a whole. Through an extensive use of the archival sources we discover that Tripoli, like the other Maghribi regencies, was subjected to a general process of Ottomanisation.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, due to the study of the first registers we have a better understanding of a province unknown and considered as peripheral, that was capable to maintain its local identity, other than that based upon the strict Ottoman paradigm.

In fact, on their arrival in North Africa, the Ottomans did not speak Arabic and were not prepared to rule the territories they were totally ignored. Indeed, they had Anatolian or Balkan leaders with a mainly military vocation and have no political or intellectual skills to exercise power over an unknown Arab population.

Among the African provinces, Tripoli was possibly the least significant, for it was become a province poor in industry and resources. As stated in a letter dated 12 October 1579 (20 *Ša' bān*, 987) and sent by the governor of Tripoli to the Ottoman capital, "*the number of boats and ships in Tripoli decreased; moreover, they are now incapable of conducting business with Rumelia and Egypt*".<sup>25</sup> During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the geographical limits of the province of Tripoli were gradually redefined, after several losses were made to its original territory, in favour of the Tunisian province. Ottoman authorities took decisions on the basis of the petitions presented to them by the dignitaries and the local population of Tripoli.<sup>624</sup> The correspondence of the Porte with Tripoli in the last decades of the sixteenth century contains severe reproof of some members and Tripolitanian officials for having committed abuses. On September 1580 a certain Mustafa was required to control the expenditures of Haydar Paşa, governor of Tripoli, because his conduct was not transparent.<sup>26</sup> We can see that the population of Tripoli, had delegated a group of notables who went to Istanbul for complaining against the exactions committed by the new governor and his men.<sup>27</sup> With respect to that time, there was a very firm attitude taken by the central government working to foster peace and social justice and Ottoman reprimand any officer who committed injustices. The concerns of central government were to gain regular and accurate information about the Christian adversary, the indigenous population and the local administrators and to act accordingly.<sup>28</sup> In 1587, when Hasan ağa was governing Tripoli, the Knights of St. John tried once again to put troops ashore in support of local insurgents against the Ottoman government. The years between 1590 and 1610 saw a series of Ottoman governors busily engaged in suppressing revolts in Tripoli and its environs.

### Ottoman Tripoli in Geographical Sources<sup>29</sup>

The history of Ottoman cartography is closely related to the political expansion of the Empire which naturally could be achieved through current knowledge of geography.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, it may be useful to discuss illustrated Ottoman sea charts of the sixteenth century from a historic point of view, seeking to establish the degree of the city knowledge through the study of their illustrations.<sup>31</sup> As claimed by specialists of cartography, sixteenth-century documents easily reveal the tradition of illustrating portolans which dates back to the Middle Ages, but decoration seems to have increased in the sixteenth-century maps and portolans.

The main Ottoman sources for documenting Tripoli before Ottoman conquest are two editions of Piri Reis' *Kitab-ı Bahriye* ("Book of navigation"), that marked an important stage in the history of Ottoman cartography.<sup>32</sup> As Svat Soucek pointed out, the special case of Piri Reis is "*his uniqueness*".<sup>33</sup> It is an essential source for the visual study of Ottoman Tripoli, situating it in a comparative perspective with other Arab cities of the Ottoman world.<sup>34</sup> The *Kitab-ı Bahriye* is a work of portolan charts and texts covering the entire Mediterranean and it is very important even as a visual source. Piri Reis firstly acted as a corsair, later as an Ottoman navy commander. He produced two versions of the "Book of navigation", the first dated 1521 and the second 1526. The Book consists of a text and a chart for each chapter, which is more detailed than the standard charts included in portolans of the time.

In his work, the detailed representation of town of Tripoli seems largely based on his own personal observations. The Book clearly demonstrates the Ottoman presence in the area of Tripoli during and before the Christian conquest, as proved even by European sources. For example, the famous Venetian diarist Marin Sanudo wrote that on 25 August, 1501 Piri Reis's uncle, Kemal Reis ("Camalli" in the text), the corsair serving the Ottoman empire at the turn of 16<sup>th</sup> century, went to Tripoli, where he used to meet his spouse, at the command of three galleys and sixteen *fustas*.<sup>35</sup>

In the chapter on Tripoli of the 1521 edition of the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, Piri Reis describes the way the inhabitants of the city would have asked his uncle, Kemal Reis, to be their new governor on behalf of the Ottoman sultan, Süleyman the Magnificent. In the 1526 edition of the Book, anyway, they would have given to Kemal Reis a letter for the Sultan, asking for Ottoman aid and a governor from Istanbul. In fact, this did not occur because the Habsburg took Tripoli while Kemal was on the way to the Ottoman capital: It happened on 25 July, 1510. As Svat Soucek noted, “*the two accounts are not necessarily mutually exclusive; the second written specifically for the sultan, is more diplomatic*”.

Taking into consideration a copy of the work preserved at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, based on the later expanded version and made mostly in the late seventeenth century, it contains three sea charts showing Tripoli and its coastlines. The *folio 286b* represents the coastline of Tripoli (*sarwāḥil Ṭarabūlūs-ğarb*) in a very brilliant colourful style:

The second map (*folio 289a*) shows the fortress of Tripoli (*qal'e-i Ṭarabūlūs-i Maghrib*), the most impressive of that portion of coast, and the surrounding area. Visual way depicting Tripoli leaves no doubt about the importance of the town within the context of the Trans-Saharan commercial and trade networks. In particular, the city of Tağūra and the Fezzan (Fizān) are rendered with symbolic colourful depictions. The last cartographic representation shows the Libyan coastline from Tripoli (*memleket Ṭarabūlūs-i Maghrib tābi' devlet 'aliyye*) east toward Egypt (*folio 290a*), including Tağūra, Barqa (*memleket Barqa-i tābi' devlet mısır*) and the Ğabal Qariyān. Benghazi is depicted as a small settlement. Tobruk is one of the few points where sailors gathered water supplies. These centers are marked with tents, to emphasize the essentially nomadic Bedouin Arab local populations.

There are other sixteenth century atlases with paintings of Ottoman production. These atlases, contrary to that composed by Piri Reis, are not typically Ottoman, being based on European models.

Significant towns and ports are rendered as symbolic images with tiny towered buildings in the midst of trees painted in bright shades of green. One of these atlases from 16<sup>th</sup> century is kept at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (W. 660) and is simply defined as *Walters Atlas*.<sup>36</sup> The work contains eight double-page charts executed on parchment, with decorative windroses and elaborate illustrations of towns. Four of the maps show the Mediterranean, Aegean, and Black seas. Tripoli is represented in a chart (*folio 7a*) illustrating the central Mediterranean with Tunisia, Italy and the Adriatic Sea. The view of Tripoli, like for the other important cities in the charts, come closer to the Matrakçı Nasuh's tradition of topographical painting.<sup>37</sup> The various geographical names are written in black *nasta'liq* script.

The relations between the views of town, fortresses and mosques in Ottoman historical manuscripts of the Süleyman era with those painted in the sea charts are evident and bring to mind the possibility for artists and cartographers to contribute to the making of illustrations.

Since 1551 Tripoli, under the government of Murat Ağa, became the hegemonic centre of what corresponds, roughly, to present Tripolitania, but extended its authority into Sahara, up to the Fezzan. Another direction of expansion is westward. There the southern Tunisia was often referred by Ottoman sources as being under the authority of Tripoli, at the expenses of the Ottoman province of Tunis. As stated by Ottoman archival documents, the continuous fluctuations of their territorial authority, caused tensions between Tunis and Tripoli, both with no defined borderlines. Even the local populations lamented this state of things.

### Ottoman Chronicles As a Source for the History of Tripoli

Ottoman chronicles are equally a valuable source for the study of Tripoli in the early Ottoman age. Ottoman historiography reached its peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are many chroniclers who deserve to be mentioned.<sup>38</sup> For instance, İbrahim Peçevî Efendi reputation as a leading Ottoman historian of his time



rests upon his history (*Tarîhi*)<sup>39</sup> which is one of the principal sources for Ottoman history, for he was a close observer of many events. But in our case study, the most important author is certainly the famous scholar called Muştafâ b. 'Abd Allâh, better known as Kâtib Çelebi or Hacı Halife (d. 1657).

In *Safer* 1067 (November 1656), he wrote the work *Tuhfetü'l-kibar fi esfari'l-bihar*, a history of Ottoman maritime warfare in Turkish divided in two parts: The first is a history of Ottoman maritime campaigns from the establishment of the Ottoman Empire to 1067/1656, while the second is a systematic description of naval affairs.<sup>40</sup> It includes all the events referring to the Ottoman conquest of Tripoli from the Knights of Saint John.

It is also based on other important and well known sources for the study of the Ottoman sea warfare in the early sixteenth century, like the *Kitabı Bahriye* or *Hayreddin Paşa Gazavat-ı*, written by Seyyid Murâd under request of Oruç Barbaros.<sup>41</sup> According to Kâtib Çelebi's account, Seyyid Murâd was: "a person who had been with him [Hayreddin paşa, N.d.A.] on those expeditions and who had the ability to write transcribed what he saw and what the paşa told him, and all this was written down as a book and then sent to Sultan Süleyman Han. A summary of those narratives has been told here."<sup>42</sup>

Kâtib Çelebi describes the events which determined the Ottoman conquest of Tripoli by hand of Sinan paşa:

After Mehmet paşa, Rüstem paşa's brother, Sinan paşa, became the captain and went to conquer Tripoli. Tripoli was previously in the hands of the Hafs family, who were the rulers of Tunisia, but since the nineteenth king of that dynasty, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan was greatly indulged in drinking and entertainment, Spain had taken advantage of the situation and around nine hundred and sixteen (1510 A.D.) had seized the Vahran, Bicaye and Tripoli castles. Tripoli remained in the hands of Spain for forty-two years. As its conquest was the wish of the sultan, Turgutça Beg, who had previously been given the Karlı ili, had, through some means gone to Maghreb and had stayed

there for two years. After supplications were made for him, under the skills and guidance of the mentioned Ghazi, in nine hundred and fifty eight (1551 A.D.), Captain Sinan paşa went there with one hundred and fifty galleys and besieged it and seized it after a battle. Even though the province was promised to Turgut Beg until he died, Sinan paşa gave it to Hadım Murad Aga. Turgutça Beg then directly took it from the sultan and kept it for eleven years until he was martyred in Malta.<sup>43</sup> [...] Then, when the conquest of Tripoli became necessary, Sultan Süleyman Han, even though he was offended, spared him reluctantly and with a call order, he sent him a copy of the Qur'an and a gold sword. When Tripoli was conquered, it was said that the rank of governor-general for that was to be given to him and it would be his province until he died. Captain Sinan paşa attacked with the fleet and through Turgut's guidance, Tripoli was conquered. As the province was given to someone else, the Beg became annoyed; he weighed the anchor and sailed out towards North Africa. When they saw him, the other captains also followed him because they had been ordered to obey him. Sinan paşa was left alone and with Turgut Beg's permission, he returned. Many captains convinced him to return after begging him for that and brought him back to the government offices.<sup>44</sup>

But the information we have from Kâtib Çelebi major work is not limited to events related to the conquest year. In fact, he offers some notice, which appears as taken by official documents, regarding a false *mahdi*:

### The Military Campaign of Tripoli

When it was notified that at the end of the Zilhicce of that year (November 10-20, 1588), a haricî named Yahya son of Yahya appeared in Tripoli with the assertion that he was the caliph of the Mehdi and attacked the castle with several thousand soldiers and then killed Ahmed paşa of İstanköy who was the Governor-General of Algeria in Rebiülâhir (February-March, 1588), Cafer paşa became a commander and the captain that was mentioned above organized a raid with fifty galleys and sufficient soldiers in nine hundred ninety-

eight (1590 A.D.), then he killed him and saved the country from his evil acts and brought his head.<sup>45</sup>

Besides, the chronicle offers also some details on the characteristics of the Ottoman rule as enforced in some parts of the Arabian land, including Tripoli, that are described as follows:

most of the zeamet and timar holders give money [in exchange for going on military campaigns]. Apart from these, the provinces of Tripoli [the one in North Africa], Tunisia, Algeria and Kafa are also linked to the office of the captain. They protect their provinces. They participate in military campaigns when necessary. They provide three-four thousand soldiers, so the soldiers for naval wars total ten thousand. However, most of these are calculations [on paper] and others are similar to this.<sup>46</sup>

To sum up, in this short article we have attempted to provide some indication about the utility that the Ottoman sources may have for the history of Tripoli in the sixteenth century even before Ottoman conquest.

## Piyale Paşa'nın Akdeniz Harekâtının Avrupa Siyaseti Üzerine Etkileri

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### Giriş

İstanbul'un fethinden sonra "Sultânü'l-berreyn ve'l hakanü'l-bah-reyn" unvanını kullanmaya başlayan Osmanlı sultanı için artık denizler de önem kazanmaya başlamıştı. Yaklaşık bir asırdır Arnavutluk dâhil Balkanlarda yurt tutan Türk nüfusunun güvenliği öne çıkarken İstanbul, Bursa, Edirne gibi çağın muazzam şehirlerinin imar edilip beslenmesi için Rumeli yollarının, özellikle Adriyatik'e giden sol kolu (Via ignatio) ve Kırım'a giden sağ kolu işler hale getirildi.<sup>1</sup> Bu bağlamda, Eflak, Venedik, Ceneviz ve Trabzon Devleti dize getirildi. Kırım Hanlığı'nın bağlanması, Mora ve Eğriboz'un fethi Akdeniz'e açılmak için önemliydi.<sup>2</sup>

XVI. yüzyıl başında Portekiz'in Hindistan'ın önemli limanı Bombay'ı ele geçirerek bu taraftaki Müslüman tüccarları bölgeden çıkarması Osmanlıları da ilgilendiren önemli bir gelişme oldu. Şam ve Halep ile Bursa arasında işleyen önemli bir ticaret vardı ve bu ticaret Anadolu ile Arap kentlerini, dolayısıyla da okyanusa açılan dünyayı birleştiriyordu. Portekiz kuvvetlerinin Memlükler zamanında özellikle baharat ticaretine vurduğu darbe Osmanlılar için de ciddi bir tehdidi. Portekiz, Kızıldeniz ve Hindistan kıyıları arasında ticaret yapan baharat yüklü zengin Müslüman gemilerini yakmıştı.<sup>3</sup> Bu hareket aynı zamanda İslam'ın kutsal yerlerinin tehdit altına girmesi anlamına geliyordu.

126. Agoston, *Guns*, p.78-81.
127. AGI, *Indiferentes*, G.1530 –n°3, fol.3v°. These pieces are of the culverin and falconet's types. As Gabor Agoston states (*Guns*, p.94), "as for Ottoman shipboard artillery, here too the overwhelming majority of guns consisted of medium-and small-calibre pieces". See also Couto, *Década Sexta*, Liv.X, chapt. XX, p.547; Andrada, *Crónica*, Part IV, chapt. CII, p.1190. In spite of the Portuguese names, the light artillery was probably made of *sabi*, *saçma*, *prangi*, *eynek* (according Agoston, the *eynek* was used aboard ships operating in the Shatt-el-Arab (ibid.,p.94). The *Livro de Lisuarte d' Abreu* shows also the holes of the Ottoman artillery in the sails of the Portuguese *naos* and galleons.
128. The list with the galleys new names and their captain's names has been registered by Couto, *Década Sexta*, Liv.X, chapt.XX, p.547.
129. The captain of Bassein, Francisco de Sá, and the captain of Chaul, Juan de Mendocça: AGI, *Indiferentes*, G.1530 –n°3, fol. 3v°. The Portuguese followed the Ottoman fleet until Surat: Andrada, *Crónica*, Part IV, chapt.CVII, p. 1190; AGI, *Indiferentes*, G.1530 –n°3, fol.3v°.
130. AGI, *Indiferentes*, G.1530–n°3, fol.3v°: "(...) *quedo una galera por hazer mucha agua la qual los Moros de la t(i)/erra entregaron a Francisco de Sa sin artilleria porque los Turcos la/ escondieron (...)*".
131. AGI, *Indiferentes*, G.1530–n°3, fol. 3v°: "(...) *de las ocho que quedaron las dos se perdieron en la rrestinga/ de Danu las quales fueron quemadas por los nuestros por no ser para pro/vecho (...)*". Seydi 'Ali carefully avoided Diu, one of the major maritime bases of the Portuguese in India (together with Bassein and Chaul).
132. Seyydi 'Ali Re'is, *Le miroir*, p.61.
133. Ibid,p. 63.
134. Casale, *The Ottoman Age*, p.102, doesn't mention the episode of Surat telling only that the galleys were dismantled in Daman.

### Ottoman Ambitions on Tripoli and Lybia in The First Half of The XVI Century

Nicola MELIS

1. Svat Soucek, "The Rise of the Barbarossas in North Africa", in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 3, 1971, p. 238-250; Raman Chalak, Jacques-Robert Katan, Yvette Katan-Bensemoun, *Le Maghreb. De l'empire ottoman à la fin de la colonisation française*, Belin Sup, Paris, 2007.
2. For details on the position of *kapudanpaşa* Elizabeth Zachariadou (ed.), *The Kapudan paşa his office and his domain: Halcyon Days in Crete IV, a symposium held in Rethymnon, 7-9 January 2000*, Crete University Press, Rethymnon, 2002.
3. Nicolas Vatin, "L'Empire ottoman et la piraterie en 1559-1560", in Zachariadou, *The Kapudan paşa*, cit., p. 371-408.
4. Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure Of Power*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, New York 2002, p. 65.
5. Salvatore Bono, *I corsari barbareschi*, prefazione di Renzo De Felice, ERI, Torino, 1964; idem, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo: cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio*, Mondadori, Milano, 1993; Manuel Fernández Alvarez, *Política mundial de Carlos V y Felipe II*, CSIC, Madrid, 1966; Renato Lefevre, "Tripoli sotto i Cavalieri di Malta: Carlo 5. e la cessione di Tripoli all'Ordine Gerosolimitano", in *Mediterranea: rivista mensile di cultura e di problemi isolani*, 3, 1935, p. 39-44.
6. The most famous example is the Arab chronicle written by Ibn Ghalbūn, for more details see Ettore Rossi, *La Cronica araba tripolina di Ibn Ghalbun, sec. XVIII, tradotta ed annotata*, Licinio Capelli, Bologna 1936.
7. The text is as follows: "le duo galie forno de Fazin de Pau, prexe per avanti da' mori, et quelle novamente armate a Tripoli, sopra le qual sono el forzo turchomani et de artelaria benissimo in ordine, fra le qual le bombarde grosse fo de la nave Contarina naufragata in ditto luogo, le qual, atrovandose sopra Cavo Maxarato, se incontrorono con una barza nominata la Madalena carga de formenti con homeni 50, e quella combatuta per cinque fiate con grande ocision de' turchi et non l'avendo posuta intrometer, con l'artelaria la mandorono a fondi, et presi i homeni li hano menati per cativi a Tripoli", in "Sumario di una letera di Andrea Loredam capitano di le nave armade, scritta ad Antonio suo

- fradello, data in nave a di 22 avosto, et risposta a di 15 septembrio 1497", cfr. Marino Sanuto, *I diarii (MCCCCXVI-MDXXXIII)*, dall'autografo Marciano Ital. cl. VII codd. CDXIX.CDLXXVII, Vol. I a cura di F. Stefani, Regia deputazione veneta di storia patria, a spese degli editori, Venezia, 1879, p. 772.
8. See "Lettera della Signoria al Re di Tunisi" (dated— 24, January, 1498): "Pietro Paolo de Fiesco e compagni: li quali, corno già havemo scripto a la Maestà vostra, siando stati presi cum uno navilio e mercantie in quello existente in le marine de Bona da due galee patronizzate per Turchi, armate revera in la cita vostra de Tripoli da Mori e Turchi, sono stati consignati in mane de dicto Re", Emilio Marengo, *Genova e Tunisi, 1388-1515*, in *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria*, 32, p. 198 (document n. XVII).
  9. "[U]n ricovero de' Turchi che depredano i lidi cristiani", Antonio de Ferrariis detto Galateo, "Elogio al Re Fernando", in Idem, *Varii opuscoli di Antonio de Ferariis detto il Galateo tradotti dal latino*, vol. III, Tip. Garibaldi, Lecce, 1868, p. 108.
  10. Ettore Rossi, *Storia di Tripoli e della Tripolitania dalla conquista araba al 1911*, ediz. postuma a cura di Maria Nallino, Istituto per l'Oriente, Roma, 1968, p. 112-113.
  11. Nardo Naldoni, "La dominazione spagnuola a Tripoli", in *Atti del Primo Congresso di Studi Coloniali*, vol. II, Firenze 1931, p. 274-297
  12. Rossi, *Storia di Tripoli*, cit., p. 119.
  13. Salih Özbaran, "In search of another identity: the 'Rumi' perception in the Ottoman realm", in *Eurasian Studies*, Volume I Number 1, 2002, p. 115-128.
  14. Rossi, *Storia di Tripoli*, cit., p. 129.
  15. B. G. Martin, "Kanem, Bornu, and the Fazzan: Notes on the political history of a trade route", in *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1969, p. 15-27; François Renault, "La Traite des Esclaves Noirs en Libye au XVIIIe Siècle", in *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 1982, p. 163-181..
  16. On Ottoman-Bornu relations, see the major contribution by Cengiz Orhonlu, "Osmanlı-Bornu Münâsebetlerine Âid Belgeler", *Tarih Dergisi*, 23, 1969, p. 111-31.
  17. B. G. Martin, "Mai Idris of Bornu and the Ottoman Turks, 1576-78", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4 1972, p. 472.
  18. See , for example, the Register of Important Affairs, *Mühimme Defteri* (from now onwards MD), 58, *sayfa* (hereafter cited as s.) 53 (7 *Ca.*, 993 / 7 May, 1585).
  19. The town is situated in lat. 25° 55' 55" N. and long. 14° 7' 5" E.
  20. For instance, see the registers published with facsimile by the Turkish State archives, for example: Murat Şener et al. (haz.), *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975-976/1567-1569)*, T.C. Başbakanlık, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara 1999; Binark et al. (haz.), *12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978-979/1570-1572)*, T.C. Başbakanlık, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara 1996. Sahillioglu, Halil (haz.), *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H. 951-952 Tarimli ve E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*, IRCICA, Istanbul, 2002.
  21. MD, 7, s. 263 (16 *Receb* 975 / 16 January, 1568).
  22. MD, 30, s. 338 (14 *Rebi'ul-âhır*, 985 / 1 July, 1577).
  23. See footnote 42.
  24. MD, 36, s. 310 (17 *Safer*, 988 / 3 April, 1580).
  25. Robert Mantran, "Le statut de l'Algérie, de la Tunisie et de la Tripolitaine dans l'Empire Ottoman", in *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Nord Africani*, Facolta di Scienze Politiche, Cagliari 1965, p. 3-14.
  26. MD, 40, s. 156 (20 *Sa'bân*, 987 / 12 October, 1579).
  27. MD, 62, s. 15, s. 141 (19 *Rebi'ul-evvel*, 995 / 27 February, 1587).
  28. MD, 43, s. 243 (12 *şaban*, 988 / 22 September, 1580); MD, 36, s. 310 (17 *Safer*, 988 / 3 April, 1580).
  29. MD, 69, s. 156. (20 *Rebi'ul-evvel*, 1000 / 5 January, 1592).
  30. MD, 69, s. 18 (9 *receb*, 1001 / 11 April, 1593).
  31. For a wide view of Ottoman cartography and illustrations of towns and places see J. B. Harley, David Woodward et al. (eds.), *The History of Cartography. Volume Two, Book One. Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, The University of Chicago, Chicago-London 1992.
  32. For more details see Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010, p. 9-12; Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World*, Cornell University Press, London, 1997, p. 87-118.
  33. M. Pınar Emiraloğlu, "Cartography and Geographical Consciousness in the Ottoman Empire (1453-1730)", in Ian Manners, *European Cartography and the Ottoman World*, The Oriental Institute, Chicago, 2007,

- p. 95-107.
34. “Les portulans et les cartes de Pîri Re’îs, écrivain nautique ottoman”, in *Bulletin du Comité Français de Cartographie* (CFC), 184, 2005-06, p. 31-55; Svat Soucek, “Islamic charting in the Mediterranean” in Harley, Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, cit., p. 265-279; idem, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus: The Khalili Portolan Atlas*, Nour Foundation, Azimuth Editions, Oxford University Press, London 1996; Thomas D. Goodrich, “Supplemental maps in the *Kitab-ı Bahriye* of Piri Reis”, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 13, 1993-94, p. 117-141. For a digital reproduction of Walters Museum copy, see *Walters Ms. W.658, Book on navigation*, see <<http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W658/>> (last visit, 11, February 2012).
  35. Svat Soucek, “About the Ottoman Age of Exploration”. Review of Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 27, 2010, p. 318.
  36. Günsel Renda, “Representations of towns in Ottoman sea charts of the sixteenth century and their relation to Mediterranean cartography”, in Gilles Veinstein (éd.), *Soliman le magnific et son temps. Actes du Colloque de Paris. Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais 7-10 mars 1990*, La Documentation Française, Paris, 1992, p. 279-297.
  37. “Al di do. Per letere di Zenoa, di 25 agosto, et di 5, di Barbaria. Si ave, come Vitelozo Vitelli, per nome dil ducha Valentino, à preso Piombin; et il signor Giacomo de Piano si era fuzito. Nel qual loco pocho avanti era stato Camalli, con 3 galie et 16 fuste, et fato gran danni, presi legni de’ zenoesi; et poi si reduce a Tripoli, a far botino; dove si dice è sua mojer, e per trovare le galie di Barbaria, le qual, di comandamento di la Signoria nostra, à sier Zuan Zantani, provedador nostro di liarmada, fato a rato in conserva la nave di sier Polo Calbo”, Sanudo, *I Diarii*, vol. IV, a cura di Guglielmo Berchet, p. 106.
  38. Thomas D. Goodrich, “The earliest Ottoman maritime atlas: The *Walters Deniz Atlasi*”, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 11, 1986 (1988), p. 25-50; Svat Soucek, “The ‘Ali Macar Reis atlas’ and the *Deniz Kitabı*: Their place in the genre of portolan charts and atlases”, in *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 25, 1, 1971, p. 17-27. For a digital reproduction of the Atlas, see *Walters Ms. W.660, Maritime atlas*, <<http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W660/>> (last visit, 28, March 2012)
  39. Silahi Matrakçı Nasuh was one of the most famous painter of the period of Suleyman the Magnificent (926-74/1520-66). For further details see Hüseyin G. Yurdaydin, “Matrakçı Nasuh”, *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. XI, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İstanbul, 1995, p. 143-145.
  40. M. Mehdi İlhan, “An overview of the Ottoman archival documents and chronicles”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 27, 44, 2008, p. 21-40.
  41. Peçevî İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevî Tarihi*, Hazırlayan Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, Ankara, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1999.
  42. Kâtib Çelebi, *The Gift to the Great Ones on Naval Campaigns*, edited by İdris Bostan, T. C. Başbakanlık Denizcilik Müsteşarlığı, Ankara 2008.
  43. Nicolas Vatin, “Comment êtes-vous apparatus, toi et ton frère? Note sur les origines des frères Barberousse”, *Studia Islamica*, nouvelle édition, 1, 2011, p. 103-131; Aldo Gallotta, “Il “*Gazavât-ı Hayreddin Paşa*” di Seyyid Murâd”, *Studi Magrebini*, 13, 1981. Hammer made use of it. There are also various contemporary translations in European languages. For example, a Spanish manuscript from 1578 written by an Ottoman slave, then translated back into Italian and published in the 1880s. An Arabic version, found, in Algiers in 1788-1789, translated in French and published in 1837 by Sander Rang Et Ferdinand Denis (*Fondation de la Régence d’Alger. Histoire des Barberousse*, 2 vol., Paris, 1837), who thought it was an original Arabic text of the sixteenth century due to a Barbarossa ‘s friend, see Nicolas Vatin, « À propos de la captivité à Rhodes d’Oruç Re’îs dans les *Gazavât-ı Hayrû-d-dîn Pasa* », in Ugo Marazzi (ed.), *Turcica et islamica. Studi in memoria di Aldo Gallotta*, Università degli studi du Napoli “L’Orientale”, Naples, 2004, t. II, p. 995-1011.
  44. Kâtib Çelebi, *The Gift to the Great Ones*, cit., p. 74.
  45. Ibid, p. 93.
  46. Ibid, p. 98.
  47. Ibid, p. 115.
  48. Ibid, p.142.