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Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Dönemi Denizcilik Alanında
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baluarte sete ou oito dias sem lhe fazerem alguem nojio 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. 260v/ e no baluarte nam deyxaram ningum nem
fyzem mays que derruba-lo hu pouco por çima.

Com esta nova dos Turcos serem alevamtados de sobre Ormuz
e serem hydos para Baçora pareçao 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 oyo caravelas e dous navios outros e por capitam desta
armada Dom Amtam de Noronha seu sobrinho.

Na costa de Melimde se aferma tambem amdarem cinco galeotes
de Turcos.

(1553 memorial das novas que vieram da Imdia).

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**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.¹ 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,² grand admiral of the Imperial Ottoman fleet, and Turgut reis, famous for his privateering activities,³ 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-Din paşa Barbaros recognized the Ottoman sovereignty by 1519.⁴ In general terms, the history of Tripoli in the first half of the sixteenth century has drawn the attention of European scholars from the viewpoint of the Habsburg/Spaniard policy and the presence of the Knights of Saint John.⁵ 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.⁶

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
In 1556 the first Ottoman beylerbeyi of Tripoli, Murad Ağa, 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 Çafar paşa, and Ramađan 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. 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. 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”. More rarely, even the Moroccan ambassadors passed by Tripoli, before arriving in the Ottoman capital.

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

At the beginning of the 16th 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 Avlād Muḥammad became masters of Fezzan, certainly contributed to its Islamization and Arabization; Murzuq18 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 Ocaķları (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 (Baybakanlık Arşivi) in Istanbul and partially published. 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 (Halk Al-Wādi). 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. 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.

Local political systems, alternative to the central power, began to emerge very soon, especially since the 17th 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 (büküm) sent to the beylerbeysi 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. 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. 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 Sa‘bân, 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”. 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. The correspondence of the Porte with Tripoli in the last decades of the sixteenth century contains severe reproach 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. We can see that the people 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. 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. 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

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. 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. 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. As Svet Soucek pointed out, the special case of Piri Reis is “his uniqueness”. 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. 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 16th century, went to Tripoli, where he used to meet his spouse, at the command of three galleys and sixteen fustas.
In the chapter on Tripoli of the 1521 edition of the Kitab-i 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, Suleyman 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 (sawāhil Ṭabarabūs-garbi) in a very brilliant colourful style:

The second map (folio 289a) shows the fortress of Tripoli (qal‘e-i Ṭabarabūs-i Magrib), 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 Taqāra and the Fezzan (Fizān) are rendered with symbolic colourful depictions. The last cartographic representation shows the Libyan coastline from Tripoli (memleket Ṭabarabūs-i Magrib tabī‘ devlet ‘alīyye) east toward Egypt (folio 290a), including Taqāra, Barqa (memleket Barqa-i tabī‘ devlet misir) and the Ḥabab 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 16th century is kept at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (W. 660) and is simply defined as Walters Atlases. The work contains eight double-page charts executed on parchment, with decorative windrose 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. 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 Suleyman 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 Ağ, 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. For instance, İbrahim Peçevi Efendi reputation as a leading Ottoman historian of his time
rests upon his history (Tarihi) 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 Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abd Allāh, better known as Kâtib Çelebi or Haci Hallel (d. 1657).

In Safer 1067 (November 1656), he wrote the work Tuhfetul-kibar fi esfarîl-kibar, 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. 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 Kitâb Bahriye or Hayreddin Paşa Gazavat-ı, written by Seyyid Murâd under request of Oruç Barbaros. 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.”

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, Muhammad b. Hasan 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, Turgutçag Beg, who had previously been given the Karh 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 Hadim Murad Aga. Turgutçag Beg then directly took it from the sultan and kept it for eleven years until he was martyred in Malta. 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.

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 mabdi:

The Military Campaign of Tripoli

When it was notified that at the end of the Zilhicce of that year (November 10-20, 1588), a harici 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 Rebiililahir (February-March, 1588), Çafır 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.45

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 zemet 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.46

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.

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Piyale Paşa’nın Akdeniz Harekâtının Avrupa Siyaseti Üzerine Etkileri

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Giriş

İstanbul’un fethinden sonra “Sultanü’l-Berreyn ve’l hakanü’l-bah-reyn” unvanını kullanmaya başlayan Osmanlı sultani için artık deniz-lar de önem kazanmaya başlamıştı. Yaklaşık bir asırdır Arnavutluk dahlı Balkanlarda yurt tutan Türk nüfusunun güvenliği öne çıkarken İstanbul, Bursa, Edirne gibi çağın muazzam şehirlerinin imar edi-lip beslenmesi için Rumeli yollarının, özellikle Adriyatik’ye giden sol kolu (Vía ignatio) ve Kırmızı giden sağ kolu işler hale getirildi.1 Bu bağlamda, Eflak, Venedik, Ceneviz ve Trabzon Devleti dize getirildi. Kırmız Hanlığı’nın bağlanması, Mora ve Eğriboz’un fethi Akdeniz’e açılmak için önemişi belirti.2

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; Andrade, Crónica, Part IV, chapt. CII, p.1190. In spite of the Portuguese names, the light artillery was probably made of sâbi, sâcma, prangi, eynek (according Agoston, the eynek was used aboard ships operating in the Shatt-el-Arab (ibid., p.94). The Livro de Lusinarte d’Abreu shows also the holes of the Ottoman artillery in the sails of the Portugueses 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.
130. AGI, Indiferentes, G.1530–n’3, fol.3v."
131. AGI, Indiferentes, G.1530–n’3, fol. 3v.: "... de las ocho que quedaron las dos se perdieron en la reestiga de Danu: las cuales 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).
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

6. The most famous example is the Arab chronicle written by Ibn Ghallûn, for more details see Ettore Rossi, La Cronica araba tripolina di Ibn Ghallûm, sec. XVIII, tradotta ed annotata, Licinio Capelli, Bologna 1936. The text is as follows: "le duo galie fono de Fazin de Pau, prese per avanti da mé, et quelle novamente armate a Tripoli, sopra le quali sono el fozzo turchmani et de artelaria benissimo in ordine, fra le qual le bombarde grosse fo de la nave Contarina naufragata in ditto luogo, le qual, atrovasando sopra Capo Maxarato, se incontronero con una barza nominata la Madalena carga de formenti con homeni 50, e quella combatuta per cinque fiate con grande ocision de’ turch et non l’ayendo posuta intrometer, con l’artelaria la mandorono a fondi, et presi i homeni li hanno menati per cattivi a Tripoli", in "Sumario di una lettera di Andrea Loredam capitano di le nave armade, scrita ad Antonie suo


12. Rossi, Storia di Tripoli, cit., p. 119.


18. See, for example, the Register of Important Affairs, Mühimme Deferi (from now onwards MD), 58, sayfa (hereafter cited as s.) 53 (7 Cur., 993 / 7 May, 1585).

19. The town is situated in lat. 25° 55' 55" N. and long. 14° 7' 5" E.


21. MD, 7, s. 263 (16 Recib 975 / 16 January, 1568).

22. MD, 30, s. 338 (14 Rebi\'il-\'ābr, 985 / 1 July, 1577).

23. See footnote 42.

24. MD, 36, s. 310 (17 Safar, 988 / 3 April, 1580).


26. MD, 40, s. 156 (20 Safar, 987 / 12 October, 1579).

27. MD, 62, s. 15, s. 141 (19 Rebi\'il-\'evel, 995 / 27 February, 1587).

28. MD, 43, s. 243 (12 Safar, 988 / 22 September, 1580); MD, 36, s. 310 (17 Safar, 988 / 3 April, 1580).

29. MD, 69, s. 156. (20 Rebi\'il-\'evel, 1000 / 5 January, 1592).

30. MD, 69, s. 18 (9 Recib, 1001 / 11 April, 1593).


33. M. Paşar Emirbaşoğlu, "Cartography and Geographical Consciousness in the Ottoman Empire (1453–1730)", in Ian Manners, European Cartography and the Ottoman World, The Oriental Institute, Chicago, 2007,


37. "Al di do. Per lettere di Zenoa, di 25 agosto, et di 5, di Barbaria. Si ave, come Vitelozzo Vitelli, per nome dil ducha Valentino, à preso Piombin; et il signor Jacomo de Piana si era fuizito. Nel qual loco pocho avanti era stato Camalli, con 3 galie et 16 fuse, et fato gran danni, presi legni de' zenoesi; et poi si reduse a Tripoli, a far botino; dove si dice è sua moger, et per trovare le galie di Barbaria, le qual, di comandamento de Signoria nostra, à sier Zuan Zantani, provedador nostro di larmada, fato a rato in conserva la nave di sier Polo Calbo", Sanudo, *I Diarii*, vol. IV, a cura di Guglielmo Berchet, p. 106.


45. Ibid, p. 93.

46. Ibid, p. 98.

47. Ibid, p. 115.