

**TESTING THE SEA POWER THEORY BY COMPARING THE NAVIES OF THE  
OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE HOLY LEAGUE**



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**BY**

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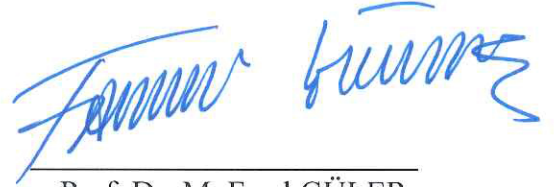
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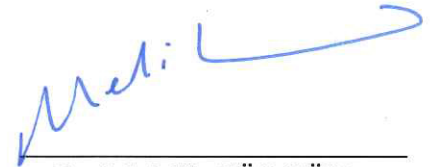
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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.



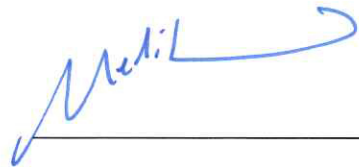
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## PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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## ABSTRACT

In this thesis study, I will compare the navies of the Ottoman Empire and Holy Alliance in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and also test the Sea Power Theory of Alfred Thayer Mahan. For the sake of such test, I will review the sea power struggles of the Ottoman Empire and Holy Alliance in the 16<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of the Battles of Preveza and Leponto to help us figure out this subject and test the theory of Mahan. In this way, I will inspect the theory with a historical perspective and thus, we will see if the points handled by Mahan are satisfactory or not in terms of the Sea Power.

**Key Words:** *Geopolitics, Ottoman Empire, Holy League, Sea Power Theory, Mediterranean.*

## ÖZET

Bu tez çalışmasında, 16. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na ve Kutsal İttifak'a ait donanmaları karşılaştırırken, Alfred Thayer Mahan'ın Deniz Hakimiyeti Teorisi'ni de test etmiş olacağım. Bu testi yaparken, 16. yüzyılda, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Kutsal İttifak'ın verdiği deniz hakimiyeti mücadelelerini, Preveze ve İnebahtı Deniz Savaşları üzerinden inceleyerek bu konuyu anlamamız ve Mahan'ın teorisini test etmemizde yardımcı olması açısından anlatacağım. Böylelikle, teoriye, tarihi perspektiften bakarak, Mahan'ın unsurlarının, Deniz Hakimiyeti için yeterli olup olmadığını görmüş olacağız.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Jeopolitik, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Kutsal İttifak, Deniz Hakimiyeti Teorisi, Akdeniz.*

*To My Father,*

*To My Mother,*

*To My Brother.*



*I thank my advisor Melih Grgn for his supports.*

*and*

*I am grateful to my father, my mother and my brother*

*for everything.*





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## INTRODUCTION

Sea Power Theory is a theorem in geopolitics and put forward by Alfred Thayer Mahan. In my research, I will compare the Ottoman Empire navy and the navy formed by the European States under the name Holy League. My research will be based on the Battle of Preveza and the Battle of Lepanto because the results vary widely in these two battles. While the Battle of Preveza was won by the dominance of the Ottoman Empire, the Battle of Lepanto was won by the dominance of the Holy League. These two opposite outcomes will help us test Mahan's theory and understand the cause of the shifting balance of power by examining the differences between the leagues formed in both battles.

I will work on the history of the Mediterranean region, taking into account the elements of marine power that Mahan seats and I will examine the Ottoman Empire and Holy League of European States, which are the great powers of the Mediterranean in the New Age, and try to determine which side has the power of the sea in the Mediterranean during the 16th century.

My research question is that "Are the elements of Mahan's theory of maritime power enough to determine the sea power?" I will research and analyze these research questions from a historical perspective. This thesis is important in terms of testing whether Mahan's Sea Power Theory, which was developed in the field of geopolitics, is sufficient to determine the sea power of the states. While making this analysis, I will use and benefit from the historical events and resources. My main source is "The Influence of Sea Power Upon History", authored by Alfred Thayer Mahan.

My research method is Historical Analysis and Document Examination to analyze this topic. When I searched for other academic theses and studies, I was unable to find other studies that investigated these topics together. In general, studies, events and topics have been studied historically, and geopolitical studies have not been done on historical events. Because of this, geopolitically, I will also compare the maritime powers of the Ottoman Empire and European States, which had advanced in maritime power in the sixteenth century, with using the six elements that Alfred Thayer Mahan's Sea Power Theory for in this thesis. For this research, I first need to explain some concepts, terms and periods.

### **Definition and Theories of Geopolitics**

I will examine these issues in terms of the concept of “geopolitics”, which emerged in the 19th century, and is the domain of international relations.

As G. Evans and J. Newnham (1998) describe that "The concept of geopolitics consists with the combination of ‘geo’, which means ‘land’ in Greek, and ‘politeia’, which means ‘politics’" (as cited in Yılmaz, 2012, p. 3). If we look at the background of the geopolitical concept, Ali Hasanov explained this topic in detail in his book which was titled ‘Geopolitics’. In this book, Hasanov describes the development of the idea of geopolitics as follows:

"The process of the shaping geopolitics as a science field in the world begins in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The work of German scientist Friedrich Ratzel is early example of geopolitical writing. The basis of political geography was laid by the German scientist Friedrich Ratzel in his Political Geography written in 1897. Approximately 20 years

after Ratzel, the geopolitical concept is considered to have benefited brought by Swedish scientist Rudolf Kjellen (1844,1922). In his book "State as a Form of Life", Kjellen has defined geopolitics as "science about the state, a mixture of geopolitical and biological structures that are constantly expanding and evolving, setting up a concrete space". According to Ratzel, the geopolitical state examines relations with the environment, the neighbors and the geographical environment in which they are primarily located, and aims to solve the problems arising from the interaction with the geographical environment. Ratzel, on the other hand, sees geopolitics as a geographically explicated politics and 'an intermediate discipline' that does not have an independent research theme, and defines more politics as an area that is close to political conditions and their analysis from a geographical point of view" (Hasanov, 2012, p. 200).

Academic geopolitics examines the structure and change of the existing order, the geopolitical codes and codes of states, and the causes of collapse and disintegration of major states through the research and re-evaluation of the geopolitical historical periods of the world. It achieves scientific results and found in scientific estimates (Hasanov, 2012, p. 202).

According to some researches, geopolitics takes place not in natural sense but rather in a political and strategic sense and with a subjective perspective of the states. Compared to Political Geography, geopolitics is a more dynamic field of science (Hasanov, 2012, p. 203).

However, there is no universally accepted definition of the geographical concept, yet. The geographical concept has been tried to be explained with various

definition since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Some scholars explain geopolitics that is related to geographical positions and lands.

For example, Karl Haushofer (1928) defines the geographical region in geopolitics as being related to the place inhabited by the state and according to Alexander Dugin (2010), geopolitics is a discipline that tackles humanity with a land factor (as cited in Yılmaz, 2012, p. 3).

Despite that some scholars explain geopolitics that is about security policy. For example, according to Nicholas J. Spykman (1942), geopolitics is the planning of a country's security policy according to geopolitical events (as cited in Yılmaz, 2012, p. 3) and there are a lot of different definitions about geopolitics in the academics. If we make a general definition of geopolitics, Servet Cömert (2000) says that geopolitics is the investigation of the relationship between political power and space (as cited in Yılmaz, 2012, p. 4). In geopolitical studies, research is conducted by collecting evidence from history and geography. Geopolitics explores the world geography, geographical structure and universal values and explores the way they behave in the world, region and country at the power and political level (Yılmaz, 2012, p. 4).

Many theories have been put forward in geopolitics. Among these theories developed in the classical geopolitics are the following:

- Land Sovereignty Theory,
  - Edge Band Sovereignty Theory,
  - Sea Power Theory, and
  - Air Sovereignty Theory
- (İşcan, 2004, p. 60).

## **Alfred Thayer Mahan and Geopolitics**

Christopher Leigh Connery (2001) introduces Mahan as;

"As an American admiral, Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan (1841-1914) is accepted as the owner of the first geopolitical theory. As a military historian in fact, Mahan has examined the history of the British Naval Forces, and set forth the principles of "Sea Power Theory" with the articles authored based on such examinations, and his work titled "The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660–1783" which was published in 1890. In his studies, Mahan used his historical observations about the rivalry of the British and French navies to overtake the global superiority, and made the definition "sea power" as the central factor of the contemporary war" (as cited in Yılmaz, 2012, p. 6).

In his works, Mahan examined the role of the naval forces in global development, and emphasized the necessity to have command of the seas in order to become a global power (İşcan, 2004, p. 65). Mahan has defined 6 effective elements in the preservation and development of the sea power which I will refer to in the next chapters of my thesis. These elements are; Geographical Location, Physical Structure of the State (this is the natural coastline of the states), Geographical Area, Power of Population, Community Structure, and Governing Structure of the State. Mahan mainly concentrated on the histories of Europe and Northern part of the Atlantic Ocean in his studies (İşcan, 2004, p. 65). It was stated by İsmail Hakkı İşcan (2004) that in his article 'Classical Geopolitical Theories and Contemporary Reflections in International Relations', the following works of Mahan in which he investigates and mentions the sea power issues have created significant effects on the development of geopolitics:



" The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783 (1890), The Influence of Sea Power Upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1812 (2 vol., 1892), Life of Farragut (1892), The Life of Nelson, the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain (2 vols., 1897), Sea Power in its Relation to the War of 1813 (1905), and From Sail to Steam (1907). In his investigations made on the histories of XVII., XVIII and XIX. centuries, Mahan has created the impression that the historical efforts worldwide are ongoing struggles for the control of the seas in general" (İşcan, 2004, p. 65).

Apart from Mahan, in the present thesis, I will investigate the Sea Power Theory in the struggles for sovereignty in the Mediterranean region in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in other words, the Battle of Preveza and the Battle of Lepanto with the Ottoman navy on one side, and the Holy League formed by the European States on the other, on the other.

### **Sea Power Theory**

Mahan suggested the Sea Power Theory by describing the Sea Power elements in his book titled "The Influence of Sea Power Upon History". Mahan begins his book by explaining the importance of sea power. According to Mahan, a state needs to have command of the seas in order to play a predominant role in the world, and for the same reason, investigating the naval history of the past will be beneficial in terms of noticing the necessity of the elements (Mahan, 2013, p. 30).

Mahan (2013) stresses the following when explaining the theory;

"Policy varies based on both the spirit of the period and the characteristic and open-mindedness of the governor; however, the history of coastal countries is determined by the conditions such as position, size, structure, and quantity and quality

of population rather than the wisdom and forward vision of the governments – these are simply called natural conditions” (Mahan, 2013, p. 41).

Although Mahan says that the history of the coastal countries will be determined by conditions such as position, size, structure, quantity and quality of the natural conditions rather than the wisdom and forward vision of the governments (Mahan, 2013, p. 41), I disagree with Mahan. I think that the leaders and commanders change the histories of countries most effectively. I think that the history of the coastal states can be invaded and colonized, even if they have fortunate position, in the absence of a mind to use these conditions, such as leaders and commanders. Mahan put forwards six elements of the Sea Power to support this theory:

### **The Elements of Mahan's Theory**

Mahan has listed the main conditions affecting the sea power of the countries as follows:

- "Geographical Positions,
- Physical Conformation, including as connected therewith, natural productions and climate,
- Extent of Territory,
- Number of Population,
- Character of the People,
- Character of the Government, including there in the national institutions"

(Mahan, 1968, p. 25) .

In his work, Mahan worked on Europe and the Atlantic Ocean. I will work on the history of the Mediterranean region, taking into account the elements of sea power that Mahan sees and I will examine the Ottoman Empire and Holy League of European States, which are the great powers of the Mediterranean in the New Age, and thus, I will try to determine which state has the power of the sea in the Mediterranean in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Because there were many states which were leader on maritime and it is hard to determine that which side was leader on the maritime power. As I mentioned above, I will try to make this determination by using the marine elements of Mahan. The reason for my election is that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century there were many developments in maritime in the Mediterranean, competition, naval battles, conquests and challenges. At the same time, I will examine the thesis of this work, which Mahan put forward and argue, “The key of the world domination is the control of the sea routes” (Mahan, 2013, p. 29).

We need to take a look at the characteristics of the Mediterranean, where the Battle of Preveza and the Battle of Lepanto took place, in order to investigate the topic in more detail:

### **The Mediterranean**

Mediterranean is the world’s largest inland sea. That is, the Mediterranean is connected to the Atlantic Ocean by the Strait of Gibraltar in the West and to the Sea of

Marmara and the Black Sea, by the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus respectively, in the East (Vella, 1985, p.169).

The reason for taking a look at the physical characteristics of the Mediterranean is that it could be helpful in understanding the importance that the states placed on the Mediterranean in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Because apparently the fact that the Mediterranean is an inland sea made it an extremely important region for many states like the Republic of Venice, Spain, Portugal, and the Republic of Genoa which have ensured vitality in trade and are effective in the Mediterranean. Thus, conflicts and battles have broken out between the states intending to have many trade bases in the Mediterranean such as the Cyprus and the Crete Island. Naval warfare in the 16<sup>th</sup> century are:

- Ottoman - Venetian War (1499 - 1503),
- Battle of Modon (1500) (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 218),
- Capture of Penon of Algiers (1529),
- Battle of Preveza (1538) (Düzdağ, 2014, p. 417),
- Battle of Ponza (1552),
- Battle of Djerba (1560) (Şimşirgil & Pazan, 2016, p. 50),
- Battle of Lepanto (1571)  
(Cezar, 2011b, p. 1235).

I will investigate the Battle of Preveza and the Battle of Lepanto which took place in the Mediterranean when investigating the elements of Mahan. Because the two battles had very different outcomes. The Ottoman Empire had a remarkable victory in the Battle of Preveza against the Holy League despite its very low power. However, the Holy League won the Battle of Lepanto despite the fact that both the Ottomans and the

Holy League virtually had the same power. We can figure out the factors which caused the two different outcomes using the elements suggested by Mahan. First of all, we need to take a look at the development of maritime in the Ottoman Empire briefly.

### **Ottoman Maritime in Mehmed the Conqueror Period**

Gaining importance after the conquest of Istanbul, Ottoman maritime is one of the Mehmed the Conqueror's principles of state after the conquest. The reason for placing emphasis on the sea power in the Mehmed the Conqueror period is the notion of 'dominating the Mediterranean ensures world domination' which is the main idea of Mahan's theory. Retired Admiral Afif Büyüktuğrul (2001) states the following on this matter;

"There is no doubt that the fact that Mehmed the Conqueror places emphasis on the seas was not merely a military objective. He knew that the Romans, Phoenicians, Carthaginian, and even the Arabs dominated continents via domination of the Mediterranean before the Ottomans" (Büyüktuğrul, 2001, p. 121).

And he interpreted Mehmed the Conqueror's objective as 'conquering the islands surrounding Anatolia and dominating the seas'. Aegean islands were being used as bases of attack and aggression against the Ottoman Empire until the Mehmed the Conqueror period in terms of not only strategically, but also economically. Coasts and seaways of the Ottomans were all under the influence of these islands. Anatolia was under some kind of an island blockade. These islands being under the ruling of the foreign states during wartimes always forced the Ottoman army to battle in both fronts,

and while the war expenditures increased, there was too much blood shed (Büyüktuğrul, 2001, pp. 121-122).

Therefore, Mehmed the Conqueror placed emphasis on the navy in addition to strengthening the Dardanelles Strait in order to protect Istanbul against dangers from the Mediterranean after the conquest, and thus, he conquered the Imbros, Lemnos, Thasos, Samothrace, Lesbos, and Euboea islands in the Aegean and the Mediterranean, and imposed tax on the Chios and Samos islands. In this way, he was able to protect the coasts of Anatolia (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p.576).

### **Ottoman Maritime in Bayezid II Period**

Erhan Afyoncu (2016) says the following about Bayezid II;

"One of the most important events of the Bayezid II period is the development of the Ottoman maritime. Although there were certain developments in the navy during the Mehmed the Conqueror period, the Ottoman maritime was essentially developed in his son Bayezid II period. Ottoman navy was more of a support force for the land forces and transportation before Bayezid II. The navy became a warfare force through the developments in this period. The navy needed to be improved in order to deal with Venice, which is one of the major sea powers in the Mediterranean. Venice's domination over Cyprus in 1489 was an unfavorable situation for the Ottomans in particular. Taking action in order to eliminate this unfavorable situation, the Sultan appointed Kemal Reis, active in the Mediterranean, to serve for the Ottoman Empire in 1495 to being with" (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 155). As stated by many historians such as İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (2016) and Mustafa Cezar (2011), a new era began in the

Ottoman navy with the appointment of Kemal Reis to serve for the Ottomans. Because Kemal Reis reorganized the Ottoman navy (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p.203). He gathered many Turkish seamen active in the Mediterranean and Africa to serve for the Ottomans. The number of shipyards has increased. Ottoman navy built larger ships. Ships named “göke” of the galleon class were seen in the Ottoman navy for the first time in this period. The ships were equipped with long-range cannons. For example; the Ottomans were able to conquer the bases of Venice in Morea owing to these development (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 155). Even more, the first appearance of the Ottoman navy in the West Mediterranean is upon Kemal Reis being sent to these waters in the Bayezid II period after the Muslims in Spain called for help (Özdemir, 19- 21 April 2006b, p. 2-95).

Bayezid II ordered a naval army to be prepared consisting of 60-70 thousand oarsmen and sailmakers while these works were in progress. This figure was more than enough for a fleet consisting of 300 ships. In conclusion, Bayezid II had a large fleet at his disposal which he could command after the end of the war (Brummett, 2009, pp. 138-139).

We need to mention Prince Korkud in the Bayezid II period because Prince Korkud made great contributions and helped the Ottoman navy in terms of maritime. In these years, Prince Korkud also helped the Turkish pirates. While the Prince was the valet in Antalya, he was saving the Turkish prisoners by paying the price to their knights in Rhodes (Uzuncarsili, 2016a, p. 231).

In short, Ottoman navy became a significant power in the Mediterranean upon serious consideration in the Bayezid II period reinforced by new ships and well management of seamen such as Kemal Reis. Bayezid II period was an era which

manifests that the Ottoman maritime was capable of training Turkish seamen comparable to European admirals (Cezar, 2011a, p.778).

### **Ottoman Maritime in Selim I Period**

The Ottoman Empire was larger than any of the European states in the Selim I period in terms of land, population, and budget. The public revenue of the Ottoman budget was 9.5 million ducats in the year of 1525 – 1526, Spain had 9 million, France had 5 million, and Venice had below 4 million ducats in the same years (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 174).

Mustafa Cezar (2011) refers to the period of Yavuz Sultan Selim;

"Although there were no expeditions in the Selim I period, it is seen that emphasis was placed on the navy, and even more, the navy was strengthened by means of building new ships. Selim I's greatest service for the Ottoman maritime was to build a large shipyard in Istanbul. It is hard to say for sure under what conditions and influences Sultan Selim I initiated the construction of Istanbul shipyard. Upon the Sultan hearing about Papa X. Leon preparing an alliance against the Ottoman Empire, it can be said that the Sultan took action in order to prevent such alliance, exercise sovereignty in the Mediterranean, extend the navy and therefore build a shipyard" (Cezar, 2011a, 779).

Thereby, Selim I improved the Ottoman naval forces in his last years by extending the shipyards and increasing their number. He understood that it was not possible to fight against the Europeans only with the land forces. His preparations in



the field of maritime paved the way for the naval successes achieved against the European states in the Suleiman the Magnificent period (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 174).

### **Ottoman Maritime in Suleiman the Magnificent Period**

Şenay Özdemir (2006) states in his speech titled Kapudan Pasha (Captain of the Sea) Hayreddin Barbarossa in the Ottoman Naval Expeditions;

"Battlefields of the Ottoman armies during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent formed around the Hungarian territories in the west and Iran-Iraq territory in the east on land, and in the Mediterranean, more particularly Aegean - Adriatic waters, and the Indian Ocean campaign in the Red Sea – Persian Gulf at sea. Wars against the Habsburg Dynasty in Hungary were relocated to the Mediterranean waters in this period. The first appearance of the Ottoman sea power, which was more active in the central and eastern Mediterranean waters, in the Western Mediterranean was due to the appointment of Kemal Reis to the said waters upon the Muslims in Spain calling for help in the Bayezid II period. The Ottoman Empire's interest in the region gained an official status after the relationship of Hayreddin Barbarossa established with the Ottoman Empire. Navies of the two powerful states encountered in the Mediterranean upon the government's conquest policy conflicting with the interests of Spain. The Ottoman Empire called the renowned pirate of the period, Hayreddin Barbarossa, to serve for the Empire in order to battle against the Spanish navy under the command of Andrea Doria, and made him the head of the navy and maritime affairs as the Kapudan Pasha (Captain of the Sea)" (Özdemir, 19- 21 April 2006b, p. 2-95).

Thus in short, we can say that it was in the Suleiman the Magnificent period that the Ottoman maritime, which was very late to be developed compared to the army, reached the level of the army. In this regard, it is possible to consider the Sultan Suleiman period as the golden age of the Ottoman maritime (Cezar, 2011a, p. 912).

Kemal Özdemir (1992) describes Hayreddin Barbarossa in detail;

"Speaking of Hayreddin Barbarossa in more detail; the most influential persona in the development of Ottoman maritime in the sixteenth century is Hayreddin Barbarossa. Originally named Hızır, Hayreddin Barbarossa became a pirate with his older brother Oruç Reis, and stayed active for a while with the help of Bayezid II's prince Korkud. Upon the reign of Selim I, pro-Prince Korkud Oruç Reis and Hayreddin Barbarossa moved to the Northern African waters from the Anatolian waters, and continue the pirate activities there. Setting up base in the Djerba island, Oruç Reis and Hayreddin Barbarossa raided the Central and Western Mediterranean. They gained power and recognition by hitting the Venetian, Genoese, Spanish, and French ships and coasts, and formed a monarchism by conquering Algeria from the Spanish in 1516. As an influential power in the Mediterranean, Hayreddin Barbarossa came to Istanbul upon the invitation of Suleiman the Magnificent, and started to serve for the Ottoman navy as the Kapudan Pasha (Captain of the Sea) upon accepting the offer of Suleiman the Magnificent" (Özdemir, 1992a, pp. 18-20).

Mustafa Cezar (2011) says that "The command of Ottoman navies by important seaman such as Hayreddin Barbarossa is one of the greatest factors behind the reasons of the development of the Ottoman navy. Just like Kemal Reis, Hayreddin Barbarossa developed the Ottoman navy with his knowledge and experience after his appointment to serve for the Ottoman Empire, and he ordered 61 ships to begin with. He added 18

ships brought from Algeria and 5 other ships seized from the pirates, and he set sail for the first time with a navy consisting of 84 ships" (Cezar, 2011a, p. 925). Hayreddin Barbarossa set sail for the first time to the Italian coasts, and thereafter he set sail many times to Tunisia, Balearic Islands, Crete, and many others. He won victories in many of them. One of the most important battles under his command was the Battle of Preveza which I will address in the next chapters.

### **Ottoman Maritime in Selim II Period**

Acceding to the throne after the death of Sultan Suleiman, Selim II renewed the peace treaties with Venice and Austria as part of the foreign policy. After securing the European borders, Sultan Selim headed for Venice due to its economic superiority by possessing Cyprus and Crete, thereby to the Mediterranean (Pedani, 2011, p. 137). We will look into the Conquest of Cyprus and the Battle of Lepanto in detail in the next chapters.

The Ottoman navy maintained its power, obtained in the Sultan Suleiman period, during the Selim II period. Piali Pasha was the Kapudan Pasha when Selim II acceded to the throne. As the first officer to be promoted to Vizier from Kapudan Pasha in this period, Piali Pasha was a good seaman. Due to the appointment of Piali Pasha, he was replaced by Müezzinzade Ali Pasha as the Kapudan Pasha. Müezzinzade Ali Pasha was a janissary chief. Therefore, he was unfamiliar with maritime. Nonetheless, there were good seamen in the navy as well. Appointed as the governor of Algeria, Uluj Ali Pasha was one of best seamen (Cezar, 2011b, p.1213). Serving in the Ottoman navy in the Battle of Lepanto, Uluj Ali Pasha saved the ships under his command. Hearing about the outcome of the war and the state of Uluj Ali Pasha, Selim II appointed Uluj

Ali Pasha as the Kapudan Pasha, and Uluj Ali Pasha worked to build a new navy (Cezar, 2011b, p. 1250).

We will look into this in more detail as part of the Battle of Lepanto.

### **Geopolitical Assessment**

As an overall assessment; Nejat Tarakçı (2009), in his book of *The Effects of Sea Power on Ottoman History*, says that there were two main objectives of the Ottoman's fight for sea superiority from a geopolitical perspective:

"- Firstly; the expansion on the land required coastal safety as well,  
- Secondly; the opportunity to conquer the political and strategic targets which are unreachable on land or costly via the sea" (Tarakçı, 2009, p. 5).

And Tarakçı (2009) adds that "We can say that the Ottoman Empire used sea power to;

- Conquer lands,
- Protect the lands against attacks from the sea, and
- Transport the army and provide support from the sea,

and by continuously holding the control over the territory, it was unable to benefit from the financial potentials offered by the trade routes of the sea and based its economy on the tax and products available on the conquered lands" (Tarakçı, 2009, pp. 125- 126).

We can look into some of the European States forming the Holy League briefly in order to compare the Ottoman Empire and European States in the Battles of Preveza and Lepanto.

### **Some of the European States Forming the Holy League**

#### **1) Republic of Venice**

Republic of Venice was in the lead among other states in terms of the size of its power and land in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries when the Italian peninsula was divided into various states. Republic of Venice placed emphasis on maritime trade upon getting richer at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and becoming aware that the public revenues can be achieved from maritime, and formed an individual navy separate from the large mercantile fleet. Republic of Venice acquired the lands apart from the homeland with the navy formed by enriched maritime trade (Cezar, 2011a, p. 1066).

Relations of the Republic of Venice with other countries were directed mainly based on the trade interests (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 456). Because as it can be seen in the relations with the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Venice sent delegates to the countries to establish peace and make deals in case its trade interests were damaged and required peace treaties as a result of the wars. Despite the peace talks between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Venice, the state joined the Holy League upon the calls of the Popes and was on the frontline against the Ottoman Empire since the lands possessed by the Venetians were under the Ottoman threat (Cezar, 2011a, p. 1067).

## **2) Republic of Genoa**

Apart from the Venetians, Republic of Genoa is another maritime country in Italy. Just like the Venetians, Genoese also earn their revenues from maritime, and strived to acquire lands in addition to their homeland. Genoese preferred a part of the Aegean and the coasts of the Black Sea for trade since the Venetians were active in the Adriatic, Mediterranean, and Aegean seas. Thus, the Genoese were colonized in the said region, and derived significant profit from the Eastern trade (Cezar, 2011a, p. 1069).

Following the conquest of Istanbul, the good relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Genoa broke down even more. The foremost reason was that the Genoese lost their colonies in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 466). Thus, the Republic of Genoa found the calls for the Holy League favorable, and joined the League.

## **3) Spain**

Cezar (2011) describes Spain as, which became the kingdom;

"There were several states in the Spain in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. These were Castile, Kingdoms of Aragon, and the Muslim Emirate of Granada. Maritime in Spain was developed in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century. Although Spain was not necessarily different from

the Republic of Venice and the Republic of Genoa, other important maritime states of the same century, in terms of ship technique, they were always more advantageous in terms of maritime due to the Gibraltar Strait and coasts in the Atlantic Ocean. And of course we should add the contributions of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile keeping pace with and taking an interest in the developing maritime. Their marriage united the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile forming the Kingdom of Spain" (Cezar, 2011a, p. 1078).

The relations between the Kingdom of Spain and the Ottoman Empire began in the Bayezid II period with Kemal Reis dispatching the Andalusia Muslims to the coasts of Northern Africa. Subsequently, discussions were made with Ferdinand, who had a significant navy in the Mediterranean, through the delegates during the Selim I period, and the delegate was granted the right to enter into a trade treaty as well (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 511). However, the Siege of Belgrade and Battle of Mohács against the German Empire in the Suleiman the Magnificent period broke down the relations due to the close relations of Spain with the German Empire. Therefore, the Kingdom of Spain also joined the Holy League, and provided substantial ship and seamen support to the League (Cezar, 2011a, p. 1080).

It was the age of geographical explorations for Spain and Portugal in the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century with the advanced technological developments in terms of maritime and the advantage of their location in the Atlantic Ocean. Geographical explorations of these two states formed a basis for the colonial policy as well. Trade in addition to the maritime capability of the Spain expanded the area of dominance (Cezar, 2011a, p. 1079).

#### **4) Portugal**

Portugal was among the most advantaged states of the Western Europe in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century in terms of maritime and maritime trade. In fact, it can be said that Portugal was the most advantaged state in terms of geography knowledge. The biggest contribution to such geography knowledge was originating from the journeys of Portuguese seafarers (Cezar, 2011a, p. 1081). İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (2016) describes the development of Portugal's maritime trade as follows; "These journeys and discoveries ensured that Portugal is developed in maritime trade. Therefore, they acquired many colonies mainly located in the Indian Ocean. By way of these colonies, Portugal did not allow other states to engage in trade in the Red Sea via Egypt. Subsequently, after settling in Baghdad and Basra, Portugal encountered with a rival that has blocked the trade routes with the Ottoman Empire, Syria, Egypt, and Arabian Peninsula. Therefore, Portugal failed even though they attempted to burn the Ottoman navy in the Suez. These incidents caused conflicts between the two states and Portugal joined the Holy League by accepting their call prior to the Battles of Preveza and Lepanto" (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 513).

#### **5) Papal Government**

One of the states located in Italy possessing considerable amount of land was the State of the Church governed by the Popes. The essential importance of the State of the Church was no doubt due to its influence on the Christian World rather than the size of its land. Popes like Paul III and Pius IV who had the aim to spread Christianity called



out to the Christian World and played a vital role in forming the Holy League during the Battles of Preveza and Lepanto that broke out in the Sultans Suleiman the Magnificent and Selim II periods of the Ottoman Empire (Cezar, 2011a, p. 1078).

After looking into the period of the Ottoman Empire Sultans and the general size of the European States forming the Holy League, we can now move to investigating the Battles of Preveza and Lepanto in the same way. Investigating the Battles of Preveza and Lepanto will be beneficial in terms of geopolitics and strategy as well as testing the elements of Mahan. Moreover, I will mention the navies of the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League formed by the European States in detail when discussing these battles.

### **Events Paving the Way for the Battle of Preveza**

Hayreddin Barbarossa set sail for the coasts of Italy after entering the service of the Ottoman Empire. He raided the city of Reggio in the Strait of Messina, and afterwards, Santa Lucca in the coasts of Italy. The third place raided by Hayreddin Barbarossa was the Italian Citraro castle. The Ottoman navy burned down 18 ships in the port of Citraro, and subsequently destroyed Spina Lunga. After hitting the coasts of Italy, Hayreddin Barbarossa suddenly moved to Tunisia. Mustafa Cezar states in his book titled 'Mufassal Osmanlı Tarihi (Mufassal Ottoman History)' that the reason underlying Hayreddin Barbarossa's hitting the coasts of Italy is to force Andrea Doria to a war and conceal the attack on Tunisia in particular (Cezar, 2011a, p. 925). In the end, Hayreddin Barbarossa acquired the Tunisian lands and subordinated to the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire at the end of 1534 (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 372).

The facts that Tunisia has entered the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, Ottomans are now getting closer to the Western Black Sea, and providing advantage to the Ottomans in terms of dominance in the Mediterranean, disturbed the European States. Thus, the Christian Naval Forces formed by the Germans, Maltese, Spanish, Portuguese, Napolitan, and Genoese set off for Tunisia, ruled by the Ottomans, on 29 May 1535 with 300 ships and 24 thousand soldiers under the command of Andrea Doria (Cezar, 2011a, p. 927). Christian forces made land despite the 1-month long defense of Hayreddin Barbarossa, and took back Tunisia (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 373). In response, Hayreddin Barbarossa set sail for the Mediterranean, and directly headed for the Balearic Islands under the rule of Spain. He raided and destroyed the port of Mahon in the Mallorca island followed by the city of Palma, and headed for Algeria afterwards (Cezar, 2011a, p. 929). Later, in 1537, Ottoman navy entered the Adriatic Sea as a large force and proceeded up the shores of Italy (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 374).

Andrea Doria was in the city of Messina of the Sicilian Island, which is very close to the coasts of Italy, while Ottoman Navy was moving towards the coasts of Italy. However, despite the closeness, Andrea Doria did not confront the Ottoman navy, and the Ottoman navy was able to proceed to the vicinity of Otranto under the command of Hayreddin Barbarossa without any danger. Ottoman forces made land and raided Otranto and its surroundings, and took various prisoners (Cezar, 2011a, pp. 932-933). While the Ottoman navy was active in the vicinity of Otranto, Andrea Doria had also set sail and encountered an Ottoman fleet of 12 ships near the Paxos island. Some of the ships in the Ottoman fleet sank as a result of the battle which took an hour and a half. Following this incident, Suleiman the Magnificent ordered the siege of Corfu Island. Corfu Island, ruled by the Republic of Venice, was under artillery attack from the land and the sea. However, bad weather conditions forced Sultan Suleiman to stop

the siege (Cezar, 2011a, p. 933). Nonetheless, the battle with the Venice was not over as Sultan Suleiman returned to Istanbul. Hayreddin Barbarossa proceeded to hit the coasts of Cephalonia island located in the mouth of Gulf of Corinth with 60 galiots and 30 galleys from the navy. Destroying the island ruled by the Republic of Venice, the Ottoman fleet moved to the Southeast, and sieged the castles of Malvasia and Napoli di Romania located in the Mora Peninsula for a very long time (Cezar, 2011a, p. 934).

Subsequently, following the conquest moves to the Sporades and Cyclades located in the Mediterranean, Hayreddin Barbarossa moved to south to extend the siege to the Crete. Crete Island was also under the rule of the Republic of Venice. Sieging the island under the command of Hayreddin Barbarossa, Ottoman navy obtained a large sum of war booty, and took 15 thousand prisoners (Cezar, 2011a, p. 936).

As a result of these sieges in the summer of 1538, Ottoman navy sieged 25 islands ruled by the Republic of Venice, dominated 13, and shook down 12 of them (Cezar, 2011a, p. 937).

### **Battle of Preveza (1538)**

Battle of Preveza began by the Holy League States attacking Preveza upon the discomfort caused by the raids of the Ottoman navy. Successive campaigns of Hayreddin Barbarossa, such as the aforementioned sieges, burning down the Spanish ships surrounding the Mallorca islands in the Mediterranean under the Spanish ruling and taking the Spanish prisoner, subsequently moving to the Adriatic sea, raiding the Corfu Island ruled by the Republic of Venice, caused the European States to take action

and the Pope call for the Holy League (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p.374). This expansionist policy aimed by the Ottoman Empire referred to the conquests of the islands ruled by the Republic of Venice which are located near today's Greece. Pope Paul III was attempting to form a Christian alliance against the Ottoman Empire. Eventually, the following states joined the Pope's call, and formed the alliance called the "Holy League":

- "Republic of Venice
- Duchy of Mantua
- Spanish Empire
- Portuguese Empire
- Papal States
- Republic of Genoa
- Order of Saint John"

(Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 375).

Holy League states began their preparations without being noticed by the Ottoman Empire, and ultimately completed the preparations and decided to gather in the Corfu Island. States with renowned naval forces of the period such as German Empire reigned by Charles V, Portugal, Republic of Venice and Pope gathered their navies. However, even though the venue was set, there were two different views in terms of the target to be attacked. While Charles V and others agreeing with his opinion suggested to conquer Algeria, the home of the pirates; Venetians suggested to go to the Corfu Island which was recently conquered by the Ottomans (Cezar, 2011a, pp. 937-938).

Admiral Marco Grimani commanded the Pope fleet (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 376), Admiral Alessandro Condalmiero and Vincenzo Capello commanded the Venetian fleet, and Admiral Andrea Doria commanded the Spanish and Genoese fleet as part of the Holy League Navy (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 204). Kapudan Pasha Hayreddin Barbarossa, Seydi Ali Reis, Salih Reis, Turgut Reis and Sinan Reis was commanding the Ottoman Empire Navy (Uğurluel, 2017, p. 40).

### **Raid of Preveza**

Cezar (2011) describes Raid of Preveze as follows;

"Venetian navy arrived first to Corfu which was mutually agreed as the gathering place of the Holy League navy. Papal Navy arrived in Corfu quite a while after the Venetians. The imperial navies representing Germany, Spain, and Austria were able to arrive in Corfu by 22 September due to prolonged preparations. Papal navy commander Admiral Grimani believed that it was unnecessary to wait for the others to arrive in Corfu without making any movement, and traveled with his navy consisting of 83 ships to Preveza ruled by the Ottomans, and gave assault on 13 August 1538. Hüseyin Şah Bey, the governor of Karlıeli sanjak (Aetolia-Acarmania) covering Preveza and its vicinity attempted to push back the assault on one hand, and sent messengers to the Sultan on the other. Messengers sent by Hüseyin Şah Bey caught up with Suleiman the Magnificent during the Moldavia expedition crossing the river Prut" (Cezar, 2011a, p. 938).

Uzunçarşılı (2016) describes the war as follows;

"Admiral Grimani's navy landed troops and bombarded the city from the land side while edging in with the port of Preveza and bombarding the city castle from the sea. Walls of Preveza on the sea side were in ruins since they were not as strong as the walls on the land side. When Hüseyin Şah Bey went out of the castle and walked up to the enemy soldiers on land as the enemy was planning to thrust into the city based on the ruins, Holy League soldiers were immediately forced to recoil to their ships. Although Admiral Grimani landed soldiers for a second time following the intensified bombardment from the sea side and increased ruins under these circumstances, Ottoman soldiers commanded by Hüseyin Şah Bey repelled the enemy. Thus, the five-day long raid of Preveza under the command of Admiral Grimani was prevented" (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 376).

Upon hearing the Holy League and the raids of the league in Corfu, Hayreddin Barbarossa proceeded to Corfu to support the Ottoman troops taking care not be raided (Cezar, 2011a, p. 939).

We can take a break from the course of events and look into the ship and soldier counts of the Ottomans and the Holy League.

When we look to historical sources, Mustafa Cezar (2011) mentions in Volume II of his book titled 'Mufassal Osmanlı Tarihi (Mufassal Ottoman History)' that "the ship and soldier counts of the Holy League, also known as the Christian Alliance, are shown as merely 166 galleys in the European sources, and the reason of doing so was to justify their defeat. Almost all Turkish sources, particularly Celalzade and Katip Çelebi, mentions that the Christian navy consisted of: 52 Spanish, 30 Papal, 70 Venetian, 10 Maltese galleys, and 162 other various galleys and sailboats and 140 galleons owned by the Spanish, Portuguese, and Venetians" (Cezar, 2011a, p.940).

İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (2016) compares the soldiers and navies of both sides as follows:

“On 25 September 1538, the Holy League navy commanded by Andrea Doria moved to south from Corfu; the navy consisted of 162 galleys and 140 ships making a total of 302. These ships were loaded with 2500 cannons and 60.000 soldiers (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 377)”.

Although the high number of the Christian navy, it is said that the navy under the command of Hayreddin Barbarossa consisted of 122 ships, 102 of which was owned by the empire, and 20 by the pirates (Cezar, 2011a, p.940).

Returning to the war, Erhan Afyoncu describes the disputes in the war as follows; "There were disputes among the Holy League navy. Andrea Doria was made the commander of the navy despite the objections of the Venetians. There were disputes in the target selection as well. While the Venetians supported to occupy the Ottoman lands in the East, the Spanish supported to occupy the Western Mediterranean lands. Unable to reach a mutual agreement, the Holy League decided to destroy the Ottoman navy in the first plan, and act as the occasion requires. Hearing about the enemy navy's movements and the attack on the fleet consisting of 20 ships commanded by Salih Reis near Crete, Hayreddin Barbarossa arrived at the port of Preveza with the Ottoman navy" (Afyoncu, 2016, pp. 203-204).

Yaşar Yücel and Ali Sevim (1991) describe the events during the war as follows in their book "The Three Rulers of the Classical Period: Fatih, Yavuz, The Magnificent";

"The Holy League was also in Preveza as Hayreddin Barbarossa arrived. A commander from the Holy League navy suggested conquer Preveza by landing soldiers by reason of the fact that it was impossible to proceed against the Ottoman navy and bombardment from the castle, however, Andrea Doria rejected the proposal by saying that 'he has no doubt that the Turks are aware of the soldiers on land'. On the other hand, Hayreddin Barbarossa had discussed the situation by gathering the commanders even before the Holy League arrived in Preveza. Upon insurances in the discussion, Hayreddin Barbarossa decided to land some soldiers, and gave the required orders to the shipmasters. It was the right decision to land soldiers because the ships sent from the Holy League navy for scout took fire from the Ottomans and forced to go back. However, some of the galleys from the Holy League navy bombarded the Ottoman soldiers from the sea causing a fair amount of damage. Thereupon, the two sides started fire battle. Rowboats of the Holy League were forced to retreat behind the galleons in the present of the artillery fire of the Ottomans, and eventually Andrea Doria was forced to fall back. Thereupon, Hayreddin Barbarossa returned and left the port by taking the landed soldiers and the cannons onboard, and began following the ships of the Holy League navy at midnight after deploying the ships in battle order. The wind was in favor of the Holy League, and this was against the Ottoman navy since the rowboats of the Ottomans were weak against the enemy barks. However, the Holy League ships were becalm due to windbreak. Under these circumstances, Andrea Doria decided to continue to fight against the Ottomans in the meeting held with the commanders of the Holy League navy. Hearing about the fact that towards the morning the Ottoman navy was en route, the Holy League proceed to battle. Ottoman navy commanded by Hayreddin Barbarossa inflicted defeat on the Holy League navy. The reason for this was the battle maneuver of Hayreddin Barbarossa. This maneuver was aimed at



destroying the enemy ships which losing mobility due to windbreak. The applicable maneuver for the Holy League due to large number of enemy ships is to surround some of the galleon type Ottoman ships and make maneuvers which will eliminate the attempts of covering with fire. These maneuvers prevented the ships of the Ottoman navy from sustaining damages and ensured that the war is won" (Yücel&Sevim, 1991, pp. 189-190). Holy League forces commended by Andrea Doria retreated following the battle of the Holy League and Ottoman navies, and the Ottoman Empire won the Battle of Preveza (Uzuncarsili, 2016a, p. 378).

### **Aftermath of the Battle of Preveza**

When we look into the political and military outcomes of the Battle of Preveza; Preveza opened the whole Mediterranean to the Ottoman sovereignty. Winning the Battle of Preveza meant that the Ottomans have increased sea power in the Mediterranean. However, the obstacles of Crete, Cyprus, and Malta prevented the Ottomans from ruling over the whole Mediterranean as they desired (Tarakçı, 2009, p. 50).

Not one Ottoman ship sunk at the end of the war. However, there were 400 martyrs and 800 injured. The Holy League navy suffered 13 sunken ships, and 36 ships and 3000 soldiers from the Holy League navy were taken captive (Uzuncarsili, a, p. 379).

Republic of Venice sustained the most damage among the Holy League states formed by the incentive of Pope Paul III. Because the Republic of Venice lost many of its islands as I've mentioned before and with the defeat of the Holy League in the Battle

of Preveza, the Republic was unable to recover the lost islands. Considering such points, the Republic of Venice initiated the peace talks with the Ottoman in April of 1539. As a result of many efforts and Venetian delegates arriving in Istanbul, a Peace Treaty was concluded between the Ottomans and the Venetians on 20 October 1540 (Cezar, 2011a, p. 947). Cezar (2011) gave the provisos of treaty in his book of 'Mufassal Osmanlı Tarihi (Mufassal Ottoman History)' as follows;

"The primary terms of the treaty were:

- Venetians will abandon their last castle in Morea, Napoli di Romania, to the Ottomans,
- Venetian government will pay 300 thousand ducat gold to the Ottomans as war compensation,
- Nadin and Urana fortresses on the Dalmatian coast will be surrendered to the Ottomans,
- Venetians will recognize the Ottoman domination over the islands in the Aegean sea acquired by the latest expeditions of Hayreddin Barbarossa" (Cezar, 2011a, p. 948).

### **Battle of Lepanto (1571)**

Before moving to the Battle of Lepanto, it is beneficial to look into the Conquest of Cyprus, which is one of the main reasons of this war. Because Cyprus has a significant location for both the Ottoman Empire and the European States, the Republic of Venice in particular.

### **Conquest of Cyprus**

Ahmet Şimşirgil and İbrahim Pazan (2016) tells the conquest of Cyprus as follows;

"In June 1569, a Venetian ship intercepted one of the ships on the Nile near Alexandria, and took ninety Muslims as prisoner. Likewise, it is heard that a large Ottoman transport vessel with the treasurer of Egypt onboard was captured and the treasurer was murdered. Taking courage from these highly profitable heists, two months later, Venetian pirates attacked several ships on the Nile in the same region. However, the governor of Alexandria interfered with seven galleys, and captured one of the escaping Venetian ships. This incident proved that under no circumstances the Venetians, who made a peace treaty at the end of the Battle of Preveza, were to be trusted. As a matter of fact, Selim II has documented the incident and sent a diplomatic note to the Venice regarding the pirates as soon as he was informed about the incident. The diplomatic note called attention to the facts that the pirate ships raiding the merchant and pilgrimage ships sailing in the Mediterranean were harbored in Cyprus, the repeated complaints did not achieve any results, and the Venice is incapable of preventing misconducts on the island located far from the center, and notified that the island shall be abandoned to the Ottoman Empire as collateral should they wish to maintain the peace. This proposal was rejected by the Venetian senate" (Şimşirgil&Pazan, 2016, p. 84).

Upon understanding that the Ottoman Empire will proceed to Cyprus, Venetians asked for the help of the Vatican in particular and other European states as well. The news that the Pope will help the Venetians spread over the Europe in May 1570. Pope

Pius II called the rulers in Europe to serve their duties in the name of Christianity, and prepared the Papal forces. The alliance formed for the Battle of Preveza was once again reviving. In addition to the Venice and Vatican, Spain would join the army formed against the Ottoman Empire. Venice was unable to get any help while the Ottomans were conquering Cyprus in the summer of 1570 because the alliance talks were still in progress. The Holy League was unable to formed even when Nicosia was conquered at the end of 1570 (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 219).

### **Holy League**

Crowley (2008) describes it as follows;

"The parties concluded a historical document on 25 May 1571 in Sala de Concistoro, Vatican. The formation of the Holy League was officially announced on 7 June in Venice in front of a huge crowd. A solemn mass was held at the St. Marco Church with the participation of Doge of Venice. The alliance was both defensive and offensive in its perceived nature, and it was not only indicating a war against the Ottomans, but also targeting the extensions in Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripoli, which was an important aspect for Philip II, the King of Spain" (as cited in Tarakçı, 2009, p. 89). Hammer (1966) summarizes this alliance as follows; "The subject of the agreement was to form a powerful alliance against the sea power of the Ottoman Empire" (as cited in Tarakçı, 2009, p. 89).

Crowley (2008) tells that "According to Pope Pius V, conquest of Cyprus Island by the Ottomans disconnected Europe from the Middle East. This made it difficult for the European States to do business in the Middle East. For these reasons, an eternal

alliance was formed in 1571 between the Pope, King of Spain, the Knights of Malta, and the Republic of Venice to attack and defend against the Ottoman Empire and the states under the Ottoman Empire (as cited in Tarakçı, 2009, p. 89). Afif Büyüktuğrul (1972) lists the items of the agreement as follows;

"The main terms of the agreement concluded by the Alliance in Rome were as follows:

- Alliance forces shall consist of 200 Galleys, 100 ships, 50.000 infantry, and 9.000 cavalry,

- Battle readiness shall be completed in March annually, and the entire fleet shall be ready for sea at a port to be determined,

- Should the Ottomans to attack any base of the alliance, the navy shall interfere with such Ottoman campaign entirely or partially as necessary,

- Four representatives of the alliance shall meet annually in Rome in the winter months; and subsequently meet again in the spring,

- Papal government shall allocated 12 Galleys, 3.000 soldiers, and 260 cavalry,

- War expenditures shall be divided into six, and Spain shall pay three shares, Venice shall pay two shares, the Papal States shall pay one share,

- In case the Pope is unable to pay his share, then Spain shall pay three fifth of the war expenditures, and Venice shall pay the remaining part,

- Venetians shall temporarily provide the Pope with 12 equipped Galleys; and the Pope shall equip such galleys with soldiers at his own cost,

- In case the war expenditures exceeds the estimated costs, the states shall pay the surcharges proportionally,

- Wheat and foods of the alliance shall be supplied with certain agreements to be concluded over quantity and price,

- In case the Ottoman Empire navy attacks Spain, the alliance navy shall immediately interfere entirely or partially as necessary,

In case the Ottomans attack the Roman beaches (Ostia), the alliance shall take the same action,

- In case the coasts of Venice are attacked by the Ottomans, the alliance shall take the same action,

- A council shall be formed within the alliance by participation of the representative of the three states, and the resolutions taken by two thirds majority of such council shall be deemed as the resolution of the alliance,

- Don Juan d'Austria shall be the commander in chief of the Joint Navy and the land forces which will implement the resolutions of the alliance, and Marcantonio shall take over the command in case of any situation inhibiting Don Juan d'Austria from performing his duties,

- All ships shall raise the alliance flag in case the alliance navy organizes combined operation,

- Kings and emperors of France, Portugal, and Rome shall be entitled to join the alliance,

- Other Christian states shall be invited to join the alliance,

- Obtained war booty shall be divided to the states in proportion to their contribution to the war expenditures,

- The land recovered from the Ottomans shall be returned to the previous owners, and only Tunisia, Tripoli, and Algeria shall be returned to the King of Spain,

- Neutrality of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) shall be recognized,

- The Papal States shall act as an arbitrator in disputes which may arise between the alliance states,

- None of the states shall enter into a separate peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire without the consent of the alliance" (as cited in Tarakçı, 2009, pp. 89-90).

The vessels of the Holy League navy called Galley in this agreement are a type of old Mediterranean ship steered using sails and roars. They are called "Galere" in the Ottoman Turkish and defined as a ship class with flat bottoms steered in the Mediterranean using sails and roars (Düzdağ, 2014, p. 441).

The following states are gathered under the name Holy League as part of this agreement:

- Republic of Venice
- Kingdom of Spain
- Kingdom of Sicily
- Papal States
- Republic of Genoa
- Grand Duchy of Tuscany
- Duchy of Savoy
- Duchy of Urbino
- Knights of Saint Lazarus
- Order of Saint Stephen

(Uzunçarşılı, 2011b, p.16)

Knowing that the Christians will engage in such kind of activities pursuant to the agreement, Ottoman administrators took precautions prior to the Cyprus expedition to break up the alliance likely to be formed. In 1569, a very extensive capitulation agreement was concluded with France. The purpose of granting such capitulations is to

reduce the power of an alliance against the Ottomans in Europe at the time of Cyprus expedition (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 220).

Ottoman navy including Kapudan Pasha Müezzinzade Ali Pasha, Piali Pasha, and Lala Mustafa Pasha set sail to conquer Cyprus. Piali Pasha and Kapudan Pasha Müezzinzade Ali Pasha were entrusted with the task of transferring the land forces to the island and protect them against the threats from the sea. Upon conquest of Nicosia after the fifty-day siege, castles such as Paphos and Limassol surrendered. Subsequently, Larnaca, also known as Tuzla by the Ottomans, was conquered. Thus, Cyprus island was conquered excluding the single most important center of Famagusta which cannot be conquered (Şimşirgil&Pazan, 2016, pp. 86- 87).

### **Battle of Lepanto (1571)**

Afterwards, as the Holy League arrived in Cephalonia, they learned that Famagusta was also conquered by the Ottomans. After a short hesitation, the Holy League navy decided to confront the Ottomans in Lepanto (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 22). Thus, the naval warfare took place in the Gulf of Corinth upon deployment of the Holy League to Lepanto. This place was transforming into Central Greece with the Northern part of Morae and the Southern coast of Aetolia-Acarnania. Gulf of Corinth was invaded from the West (Uzunçarşılı, 2011b, p. 18).

Afyoncu (2016) describes the council of war as follows;

"Upon the news that the Crusaders have arrived, commanders of the Ottoman navy assembled a council of war. As an experienced seaman, Uluğ Ali Pasha took the floor in the meeting and said that "the Lepanto Strait is a safe location, and the Crusaders will not be able to pass". He advised that the Ottoman navy shall not leave



the gulf due to its defects. Uluj Ali Pasha was an experienced seaman who has engaged in pirate activities for many years in the Mediterranean. However, Kapudan Pasha Müezzinzade Ali Paşa, who was not of seaman origin, opposed to this opinion and stated that the Sultan has ordered to fight the enemy. However, as Uluj Ali Pasha said, the Ottoman navy was in a very good location, and it was very difficult for the enemy navy to penetrate due to the northeaster blowing from the west of the gulf as well as the castles in the strait. Due to lack of experience on the sea, Müezzinzade Ali Pasha has removed the navy from a strategically superior location and transferred to another location 55 kilometers in the west with no advantage. Uluj Ali Pasha told the kapudan pasha that it is more advantageous to fight in the open sea instead of shallow waters, and the soldiers would make attempts to run to the coast if they fought close to the land. However, Müezzinzade Ali Pasha declined the second proposal of the experienced seaman. Course of events would prove Uluj Ali Reis right" (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 222).

Ottoman navy was positioned with Kapudan Pasha Müezzinzade Ali Pasha and Serdar Pertev Pasha in the center, Governor of Alexandria Mehmed Bey on the right, Beylerbey of Algeria Uluj Ali Pasha on the left, and with a small support fleet in the back. Holy League navy was positioned with Don Juan d'Autriche in the center, Giovanni Andrea Doria on the right, Venetian Agostino Barbarigo and Marco Quirini on the left, and Spanish commander Santa Cruz Markisi Don Alvaro commanding the support fleet of the navy, and renowned seamen such as Papal commander Colonna, Venetian commander Sebastiano Veniero were located in the center (Cezar, 2011b, p. 1244).

A major part of the Ottoman navy was destroyed in the Battle of Lepanto due to the aforementioned strategic mistakes made by the Ottoman navy. Afyoncu (2016) describes Uluj Ali Reis as follows; "Only Uluj Ali Reis was able to save 30 ships with

the maneuver he made taking advantage of the nightfall. 190 Ottoman ships were either sunk or possessed by the Holy League navy. 20 thousand soldiers, hundreds of Ottoman Admirals and commanders including the Kapudan Pasha Müezzizade Ali Pasha became martyrs. 3845 were taken prisoner by the Holy League. Holy League navy suffered a few losses. The league only lost 15 galleys and 8 thousand soldiers, and had 21 thousand injured" (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 223).

After winning the Battle of Lepanto, Holy League states retracted to the Corfu island and found out that there 13 more galleys sailed for help, and thereupon, they discussed whether to continue the war or not. Although the Venetians proposed to conquer the Aya Mavra island, the motion was not accepted and the navy disbanded upon mutual disagreement (Uzunçarşılı, 2011b, p. 21).

One of the reasons why the Ottoman navy was defeated at the Battle of Lepanto was the giant ships of the Holy League navy. 6 newly built heavy galleons owned by the Venetians was capable of firing from all sides of the ship with 50 cannons onboard. Holy League soldiers were armored and equipped with rifles called harquebus. Weighing up to nine kilograms, harquebus rifles were capable for shooting up to 400 meters. Ottoman navy was not as equipped in terms of rifle, and was able to respond with archers (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 223- 224).

### **Aftermath of the Battle of Lepanto**

As a result of the overwhelming defeat sustained by the Ottoman Empire, most of the ships were captured, 20.000 Ottoman soldiers were martyred, 3845 were taken

prisoner, and 200 ships sunk. Holy League Navy sustained 8.000 deaths, 21.000 injured, and 15 sunken ships (Black, 2006, p.116).

Uzunçarşılı (2011) tells the outcome of the war as follows;

"The troops under the command of Uluj Ali inflicted defeat on the Holy League troops, however, he withdrew the ships under his command from the battle field upon the defeat sustained by the Ottoman navy in the center and on the other side. Although the Venetian and Spanish ships of the Holy League navy pursued the rest of the Ottoman navy, they stopped the pursuit and withdrew due to a conflict among themselves. Thereupon, Uluj Ali Pasha returned to Istanbul with 87 ships without losing any of his ships, and informed Selim II, who was staying in Edirne at the time, about the situation. Thus, Selim II awarded Uluj Ali Pasha the rank of Kapudan Pasha (Grand Admiral) for his success" (Uzunçarşılı, 2011b, p.20).

Assessing the outcome of this battle from the perspective of the Europeans, the probable risk of invasion of Crete, Malta and other islands and Italy was eliminated since a major part of the Ottoman navy was destroyed (Tarakçı, 2009, p. 103).

After looking into the Ottoman naval history and the Battles of Preveza and Lepanto investigated to test the elements introduced by Mahan, we can now investigate the elements of Mahan on the basis of these battles.

### **Investigating the Sea Power Elements of Mahan**

Mahan (2013) sums up the elements in six items. Three of them are related to the inherent advantages or disadvantages of the states. These elements are;

1. Geopolitical Position
2. Physical Structure
3. Territory

The remaining three elements are related to the people, society, management or state. These elements are;

4. Population
5. National Character
6. Character of Government (Mahan, 2013, p. 41).

### **1) Analysis of First Element: Geopolitical Position**

Analyzing the first element suggested by Mahan, Mahan begins to explain the element of Geographical Position as follows:

“If a nation is as settled as so that it has no need to defend itself from the land nor expand by land, they will turn to the sea as a purpose in comparison to a nation with borders on land (Mahan, 2013, p. 41).”

In other words, as seen in the case of the Ottomans, after conquering Istanbul and reaching the Mediterranean coasts from land, Ottoman Empire strived to develop its navy for the purposes of defending itself against the attacks from the sea and establishing dominance on seas. As mentioned by Mahan in the element, Ottoman Empire realized such development only after settling on the conquered lands, and maintained activities such as building shipyard and ships and training soldiers for the navy as I've mentioned above in order to guarantee its dominance on the said lands and safeguard its position.

When we look at the aforementioned naval history of the Ottomans divided into Sultan periods, we can see that the Ottoman maritime has developed from Mehmed the Conqueror period into an advanced stage of building ships and shipyards particularly in Bayezid II period.

Tarakçı (2009) interprets this situation as follows;

"Following the conquest of Istanbul, Ottoman Empire found itself in an intense sea commerce operating in the north and south direction. Straits were conquered, however, northern and southern coasts of Mediterranean belonged to other states. There were two strategic materials transported from the Black Sea and Egypt to Europe: wheat and lumber. Venetians and Genoese engaged in such businesses. As the true owner and ruler of the East Mediterranean, Republic of Venice was a powerful state ruling over Cyprus, Crete, all Aegean islands, and the entire Greece of today and the Adriatic" (Tarakçı, 2009, p. 5). This was the first important factor for the Ottoman Empire to develop its navy and proceed to the seas. In other words, as mentioned by Mahan, the geographical position makes the state to develop its naval forces or expand its lands a necessity.

Palmira Brummett (2009) says that "It is not possible to explain such shipbuilding and development of the navy merely by the necessity to fight the Venetians. Although the peace with the Venetians until 1502 and 1517 conquest of Cairo were typically characterized to be maintained on a basis of mutual distrust, it was amicable in general. However, Bayezid II initiated the policy of expanding at seas since such peace prevented the threat against the Ottoman palace from its biggest enemy in the Mediterranean. Such policy could have positioned the Ottomans as the superior state in terms of sea power in the territory. The French and the Spanish were struggling

to become the dominant sea power in Western Black Sea during the same period. Portugal gained control of the Indian Ocean; and the Rhodians remained as a stationary but ineffective threat in the coasts of Anatolia" (Brummett, 2009, p. 138).

This situation forced the Ottoman Empire, that has not shown much development in terms of sea power, to develop itself in terms of maritime due to its position.

Mahan also mentioned the advantage of being geographically close to the enemy or the target to be attacked as part of the element of geographical position. We can look into this aspect in the matter of Conquest of Cyprus. As I've mentioned above in the Conquest of Cyprus part, the facts that the Republic of Venice being disadvantageous due to its position very far from the Cyprus island and the Ottoman Empire being advantageous due to its position close to the island, changed the course of events between the two states. Because one of the reasons behind the Republic of Venice losing Cyprus was that the state was unable to deploy support forces in a short time due to its remote position. In situations like these, we can conclude how important the Geographical Position of the countries is and as mentioned by Mahan in the element, 'Geographical Positions providing advantage to the countries is a necessary element for the countries to become sea powers'.

## **2) Analysis of Second Element: Physical Structure**

Analyzing the Physical Structure, the second element suggested by Mahan, Mahan describes the element as follows:

“The seaboard of a country is one of its frontiers; and the easier the access offered by the frontier to the region beyond, in this case the sea, the greater will be the tendency of a people toward intercourse with the rest of the world by it. If a country be imagined having a long seaboard, but entirely without a harbor, such a country can have no sea trade of its own, no shipping, no navy (Mahan, 1968, pp.30-31).”

And Mahan (1968) continues that “Numerous and deep harbors are a source of strength and wealth, and doubly so if they are the outlets of navigable streams, which facilitate the concentration in them of a country's internal trade; but by their very accessibility they become a source of weakness in war, if not properly defended” (Mahan, 1968, p.31).

Mahan also mentions that the large number of ports safeguarded as required is a source of power and wealth, and their value would be doubled provided that they are positioned on navigable watercourses in a way that improve the domestic trade of a country. However, their easy accessibility would be a source of weakness at the time of war in case they are not well defended (Mahan, 2013, p. 48).

The case of Cyprus island would be a good example. Because the Ottoman Empire acquired the Mediterranean coasts of Northern Africa by conquering Syria and Egypt, and Cyprus was closely located to Syria and the coasts of Anatolia. The facts that Cyprus island was close and the island had a port frequented by merchant ships were important reasons for the Ottomans to conquer Cyprus (Uzunçarşılı, 2011b, p.10). In conquest of Cyprus, the fact that the Venetians was unable to send the navy and defend Cyprus due its remote location away from Cyprus, i.e. unable to safeguard the ports as mentioned in Mahan’s element, caused a weakness and the Ottomans conquered Cyprus.

Furthermore, we can look into the decision of Müezzinzade Ali Pasha in the Battle of Lepanto preferring to be positioned close to the coast and declining Uluj Ali Pasha's advice to wait in the Gulf of Lepanto. Indeed Uluj Ali Pasha's suggestion could have hold the Holy League navies off the Battle of Lepanto which is hard to penetrate, and ensure that the Ottomans survived the battle with few losses. However, Kapudan Pasha Müezzinzade Ali Pasha's idea of taking a position close to the coast caused the Ottoman Empire to sustain major loss (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 223).

As seen in this element of Mahan, the states must have the required 'Physical Structure' and take precautions based on such structure in order to become a sea power and maintain such power.

### **3) Analysis of Third Element: Territory**

The final inherent condition which ensures that a country is developed as a sea power and has an influence on the sea power of a country apart from its habitants is the "Extent of Territory". This could be addressed relatively in a shorter way. What needs to be considered as to the development of the sea power is not the square mile of the country, rather the coastal length being a source of power or weakness depending on the under- or overpopulation provided that the geographical and physical conditions are the same (Mahan, 2013, p. 56). Mahan (2013) explains this with an example;

"A country is like a fortress; the garrison must be proportional to the ramparts. A more recent example could be seen in the American War of Independence. If the South had a sufficient number of population for war and a sea power proportional to



other resources, length of its coasts and large number of bays would be the elements of a major power" (Mahan, 2013, p. 56).

Here Mahan states that the length of the coasts and the large number of bays would be beneficial for the South in becoming a sea power provided that it had sufficient sea power.

When we look into the development of the Ottoman Empire navy, which the subject of this thesis, with respect to providing the forces to defend the coasts and lands as mentioned by Mahan; we can see that the Ottomans attempted to provide the high number of population to defend the coasts and ports as part of maritime developments during the Mehmed the Conqueror period and in the Bayezid II period in particular. Bayezid II ordered a naval army consisting of 60 – 70 thousand oarsmen and sailmakers in order to develop the navy (Brummett, 2009, p. 138). Although this figure is more than enough for a fleet of three hundred ships, it substantially met the population power mentioned in Mahan's element. Subsequently, renowned seamen such as Kemal Reis and Hayreddin Barbarossa were taken to the service of the Ottomans and trained seamen in order to provide such maritime population.

Likewise, states such as the Republic of Venice and Kingdom of Spain, which were quite developed in terms of sea power, were in the Holy League navies. Moreover, the Holy League navy was extremely crowded with the support of Pope. The Holy League had 60 thousand soldiers just for the Battle of Preveza (Uzunçarşılı, 2016a, p. 377).

This would justify Mahan's element in terms of defense, however, the large number of soldiers wouldn't make up for the strategic mistakes as seen in the Battle of Preveza, and could lead to defeat no matter what. In other words, the population could

merely be a secondary element in naval warfare. As seen in the case of Battle of Preveza, the strategy adopted could eliminate the population advantage.

Although the third and fourth elements seem to be different due to their names, they are virtually the same. While Mahan mentions the extent of the territory in the third element, he may create confusion by attributing what's important to the existence of the population which will defend the territory. Because we think that he would talk about the advantages of the extent of the territory as the name of the element suggests. However, Mahan mentions that the population, which will defend the territory, is more important than the extent of the territory, and attributes the element to the population. Therefore, we've looked into the population as mentioned by Mahan in the third element instead of the territories of the Ottoman Empire and the European states.

#### **4) Analysis of Forth Element: Population**

Mahan mentions population in the fourth element just like in the third element. Mahan states that the extent of the territory is unimportant while mentioning it in the third element, he states that the existence of population which will cover and defend the territory is more important. He mentions once again in the fourth element that the quality and characteristics of the population is important rather than the number of the population.

Nonetheless, when we take a general look into the populations of the Mediterranean countries in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as mentioned in Braudel's (2017) work

titled “Mediterranean”, and assuming that "Spain had a population of 8 million, Portugal 1 million, France 16 million, and Italy 16 million, we can say that they had a total population of 38 million people. It is possible to estimate the population of the Ottoman Empire as 8 million excluding the Asian territories. That leaves us with the Northern Africa. Generally estimating a population of 2 or 3 million for this territory, we would achieve maximum number of 22 million people for the nations living under the Ottoman reign in the coasts of Mediterranean for the Islamic World. In this case, the total population of the Mediterranean would be 60 million people" (Braudel, 2017, Volume II, pp. 83-84).

However, the qualified population mentioned in the Mahan’s element is rather population of the countries that is included in the sea power. The Ottomans were capable of forming a navy equipped with a remarkable amount of firepower from scratch since they were able to acquire lumber, shipbuilding materials, and manpower easily. However, failure to find trained crew for the ships was a chronic issue for the Ottomans (Brummett, 2009, p. 142). As I’ve previously mentioned in the third element section, the number of soldiers reached up to 60 – 70 thousand in Bayezid II period, and likewise, the sea power population of the Holy League navies reached up to 60 thousand soldiers when we take a look into the Battles of Preveza and Lepanto (Brummett, 2009, pp. 138-139).

It seems when we take a look into the aforementioned naval history of the Ottomans that they achieved qualified sea power population in Bayezid II period with the support and efforts of Kemal Reis and Prince Korkud as I’ve mentioned in the third element. Afterwards, shipyards built in the Selim I period and the ships built in such shipyards played an important role in the development of the Ottoman navy. Likewise, taking successful seamen such as Hayreddin Barbarossa to the service of the Ottomans

in Suleiman the Magnificent period ensured that the Ottoman maritime gained qualification and advanced even more (Cezar, 2011a, p. 925). These developments continued until the defeat of Lepanto sustained by the Ottoman navy in Selim II period.

### **5) Analysis of Fifth Element: National Character**

The other element is the National Character where Mahan explores the effects and appropriateness of the National Character on the development of the sea power. Mahan (2013) says, "predisposition to commercial activities should be a determining characteristic of countries that were once great at sea provided that the sea power is truly based on a peaceful and widespread trade" (Mahan, 2013, p. 59).

It is possible to give the pirate attacks in the Mediterranean as an example of this element. These attacks were targeted at the merchant ships of the states, and damaged the states financially. Just like the Venetians, as a precaution, the Ottomans were busy preventing the coasts from being plundered and safeguarding the ships engaging in maritime commerce against the pirates deployed in the Rhodes and Cyprus and throughout the Anatolian coasts. An Ottoman fleet patrolled Aegean almost always against such attacks (Brummett, 2009, p.144). Such precautions caused additional financial costs for the Ottomans. For this reason, there was always a conflict in the Mediterranean.

As another example for this element, we can see from the aforementioned historical developments that the peace that Mahan mentions occurred between the Ottomans and Venice between the years of 1502 and 1517 (Brummett, 2009, p. 138). However, despite the amicable relations between the said dates, plunders and raids in

the Mediterranean disturbed the relations, prevented the states to be in peace, and paved the way for the Battle of Preveza in 1538 and Battle of Lepanto in 1571. Example for Mahan's element was possible only for a very short while, at least during the period investigated.

### **6) Analysis of Sixth Element: Character of the Government**

Mahan (2013) explains the sixth and final element as follows: "Efforts of the government and its institutions should be investigated in order for a country's sea power to be developed" (Mahan, 2013, p. 60).

Mahan (2013) continues to explain;

"Having said that, it should be taken into account that the characteristics of the governments, their institutions, and the administrators appointed at various times have very apparent influence on the development of the sea power. It should be taken into account that various characteristics of a country and society make up the inherent characteristics of such nation. Performance of a government allows for reasonable practice of the determination in the life of a person or history of a nation which leads to success or failure based on such performance being skillful, energetic and determination or vice versa" (Mahan, 2013, p. 61).

As explained by Mahan, we can see in the Ottoman Empire and the European States that we've investigated the naval histories thereof that the decisions and the performances of the administrators have an impact on the history of nations. For example, following the great efforts of Mehmed the Conqueror after the conquest of Istanbul by the Ottoman Empire, the sea power and the navy came a long way in

Bayezid II period, and with even more advancements in Selim I period, they contributed to the expansionism and expansion of the territories in Suleiman the Magnificent period.

French historian Nicolas Vatin (2004) mentions that "Bayezid II as the pioneer of Ottoman maritime politics in particular. It is understood that Bayezid II realized the importance of sea power after acceding to the throne. He not only had a large number of ships built, but also tested new kinds of ships and moreover, interestingly strived to resolve one of the main issues of the Ottoman maritime: **the attempt to resolve the lack of skilled labor.** Indeed, Bayezid II is the first Sultan who has decided in 1495 to pardon the crimes of Muslim maritime raiders (pirates) and take them into the service of the Ottoman Empire starting from the renowned Kemal Reis. Bayezid II has developed and implemented various maritime strategies by using the naval raids on one hand against the Spanish forces on the rise, and designing real combined land-naval operations just like in the Cilicia expedition of 1488 on the other" (as cited in Tarakçı, 2009, p. 14).

In addition to these elements, the element of 'Strategic' shall be included in the elements of Mahan as part of the sections in which I've mentioned the historic period above. Because when we take a look at the history, especially the strategic rights and wrongs made in the Battles of Preveza and Lepanto caused the states to suffer great losses or win the war. It is possible to give the strategic rights and wrongs made in the Battles of Preveza and Lepanto as examples. As seen in the sections in which I've explained the battles; although the Ottoman Empire navy had far less ships and soldiers compared to the Holy League navy after the Battle of Preveza, the tactic applied by Hayreddin Barbarossa during the battle making use of the wind and the location resulted in the Ottoman Empire coming out the Battle of Preveza victorious, and likewise, the

decision adopted in the Battle of Lepanto by Müezzinzade Ali Pasha who has applied the wrong strategy by declining the proposal of Uluç Ali Pasha which could possibly bring the victory to the Ottoman Empire has caused the Ottoman Empire to conclude the Battle of Lepanto with great loss.



## CONCLUSION

To sum up all of these briefly, we can see that the geographic positions of the countries and their political attitudes based on their geographic positions are both important aspects throughout the history. It is extremely important to set forth the concept of geopolitics in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and teach as a science today. Since the concept of Geopolitics is the policy implemented by the countries based on their geographical positions (Defay, 2005, p. 13), the theories suggested in this field of science help us investigate the behaviors of the countries.

First of all, to sum up the first element of Mahan; Mahan states that a country may turn to the sea provided that its lands are wide enough that there is no need to defend or expand them from the land. From this point of view, we can see by investigating the periods of Ottoman maritime that the Ottomans finding themselves in a maritime commerce operating in the North and South directions (Tarakçı, 2009, p. 5) after the conquest of Istanbul and making efforts to develop the maritime operations are both very good examples of Mahan's element.

As for the second element, Mahan states that the ports owned by a state may be the source of force and wealth. However, he adds that easy accessibility of such ports and bays are sources of weakness in case they are not properly safeguarded. As an example for these statements, we can see that the Ottoman Empire has conquered the Cyprus Island owned by the Republic of Venice as a result of Venice's failure to send more support troops for the defense of the island which is located far from Venice. Here, the remote geographical position of Venice to Cyprus was a disadvantage and Venice lost their land.



As another example; we see that the Ottoman Empire was defeated in the Battle of Lepanto with great loss as a result of the strategic mistake made by the Kapudan Pasha Müezzinzade Ali Pasha by not considering the recommendations of the experienced seaman Uluj Ali Pasha (Afyoncu, 2016, p. 222).

Mahan argues the importance of acreage under the name of ‘Extent of Territory’ and it would be advantageous to have a population to defend the territory in the third element called “Territory” (Mahan, 2013, p. 56). Due to such defense aspect, it is seen that Bayezid II period of the Ottoman Empire’s history of naval developments is highly appropriate for this element. Because the power required to defend the borders mentioned by Mahan was available in Bayezid II period and other periods, many important commanders were recruited to the service of the Ottomans and supported by great efforts as I’ve explained in the foregoing chapters. The element of strategy reappears in this aspect. We can see in the Battles of Preveza and Lepanto that the strategy implemented in the sea power in addition to the number of ships and soldiers is very important as well.

Mahan mentions the fourth element, i.e. population, which resembles to the third element in terms of content rather than the name. Mahan actually means the necessity of qualified population by mentioning population. In other words, he states that qualified and trained soldiers are required so that the state can exercise its power. Incentives of Ottoman Sultans in training qualified mariners by recruiting experienced seamen such as Kemal Reis and Hayreddin Barbarossa, who were pirates in the Mediterranean, are good examples for this element.

Mahan states in the fifth element that the determining characteristics of the states that were previously great powers at sea are their amicable behaviors (Mahan,

2013, p. 59). However, such peaceful environment was not possible except for certain periods of 16<sup>th</sup> century in which there were plenty of rivalry and conflicts, and the period from 1502 to 1517 during which the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Venice have concluded a peace treaty (Brummett, 2009, p. 138). Because there were many conflicts due to pirate attacks to state-owned merchant ships which I've previously mentioned when explaining this element.

Mahan mentions in the sixth element that the developments and efforts in maritime affect the success and history of the states and nations as seen many times in the aforementioned periods. I've given the efforts directed at the Ottoman navy in the Bayezid II, Selim I, and Suleiman the Magnificent periods as example.

To conclude the entire topic, we can see that the elements of Mahan are extremely on-point aspects in determining the sea power of a state. However, we can see when the look into all of these historical incidents that the histories of the states are affected by the experiences of the leaders and the Admirals commanding the navies as well as the strategies implemented by the seamen in addition to these six elements.

Cezar (2011) describes Ottoman navy; "Efforts of Bayezid II and Selim I on the navy during their respective periods play an essential role in Ottoman maritime reaching the level in the period of Suleiman the Magnificent. Ottoman navy made important progress in terms of quantity and technical aspect during the periods of both sultans, and moreover, seamen at the level of the renowned European Admirals (such as Andrea Doria) were seen in the Ottoman Empire. Kemal Reis from Bayezid II period is one of the most renowned seamen. The contribution and services of Kemal Reis in the trainings of the seamen have led to a development in Sultan Suleiman period maritime which must be certainly mentioned. Building of the Golden Horn shipyard

(Imperial Arsenal) and addition of many new ships to the navy in Selim I period after Bayezid II period were both valuable moves added to the maritime in Bayezid II period" (Cezar, 2011a, p. 912). Recruiting a successful seaman such as Hayreddin Barbarossa in Suleiman the Magnificent period to the service of the Ottoman Empire helped the Ottoman navy to win through the conflicts and battles in the Mediterranean (Cezar, 2011, Cilt II, p. 914). Based on these outcomes, we can see that even though the Ottoman Empire made late progress compared to the European States in terms of navy technology and development, the navies of both sides are at a level allowing for battles in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Based on all of these, we can say that the Sea Power Theory, which is a theory of the Geopolitics, suggested by Alfred Thayer Mahan, sets forth the important elements which are effective in states' becoming sea powers. However, we can conclude that it is also important for a state that has all of these elements and advantages to have an appropriate strategy and implement such strategy properly.

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