

## **OTTOMAN-SPANISH ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: RIVALRY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN**

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### **ABSTRACT**

From the beginning of the sixteenth century, Ottoman and Spanish Empires came up against each other in the Mediterranean. Spain wanted to get access to Sudanese gold via the bases it established in the North African coast, and by gaining sovereignty over the Mediterranean to control the East-West trade and wheat supply which is vital for her. The westward progress of Ottoman State in the Mediterranean and conquest of Egypt brought the encounter of the two parties. Thus, a century long rivalry began. The rivalry not only continued at military area but also at political and economic arena. Both parties banned trade with the rivals. However, the trade between the two worlds preserved its continuity thanks to the intermediary states. Through Venice, French, British, Dutch, Geneva, under Toscana flag, via the European harbors like Marseilles, Livorno and Genoa the trade between the parties persisted. While these European ports were delivering the products demanded by Spain and supplied by Ottomans to the peninsula, they were also accomplishing the heading of American silver to these regions.

### **INTRODUCTION**

The economic relations between Ottoman and Spanish states followed a specific course within the regional and international conditions of the time, though being not very intense. The claim of world sovereignty on both states put these states at each end of the Mediterranean into rivalry with each other. As Ottomans consider themselves as the sovereign and protector of the Islamic world, they acted in their political, military and economic enterprises by taking this into consideration. While trying to maintain the order in the territories they seized and preserving the continuity of social and economic life at the one hand, they made effort to expand towards new areas. The expansion of Ottoman State at the East and the West had not been accomplished solely with the concern of capturing new territories. There were economic objectives beside political and religious concerns in their expansive policies. As a matter of fact, they directed their progress towards the places that would provide the maximum benefit economically and would help them to preserve the wealth they own. When looked at the direction of the conquests, this concern can clearly be seen. Ottoman progress has been maintained towards important commercial centers, roads and ports.

In the early 16th century, the Spanish Kingdom that maintained the integrity of Iberian peninsula, embarked the conquest movement in the Mediterranean by the acclamation of Carlos V as the Holy Roman Emperor as the defender of Catholicism and with the desire to establish the world empire. The basic motive behind the conquering acts of Spain was to attain the treasuries and valuable goods of the East. In fact the motive drove the European societies to geographical explorations and discoveries. In that period, Spanish wanted to control the trade traffic between the East and the West through establishing sovereignty over the Mediterranean, since the importance of American wealth and riches had not been discovered yet. While trying to become firmly established in the European Coasts and the islands of the Mediterranean thanks to the lands acquired by inheritances on the one hand, they were making effort to establish bases in the North African coasts that would bring them the control of the Mediterranean and the gold of Africa. In this way, by arriving at the Eastern Mediterranean, they would attain sovereignty in the Eastern trade routes.

Ottomans' westward and Spain's eastward progress brought the two states face to face shortly. Two parties emerging as rivals in the Mediterranean entered into a competition and struggle that would last three centuries though with changing pace. The first stage of the struggle, took place in the 16th century through which both parties launched naval wars and made great efforts to attain superiority. We can call this century as the century of rivalry. In the 16th century the economic relations were weak. Because of the battles between the two parties, economic and commercial relations had been banned. Trade has only been enabled by intermediary states, ports or cities or through smuggling and piracy. Even though there have been peace making or direct contact attempts from time to time, these attempts all remained fruitless. In this century, there occurred big naval battles between Ottoman State and Spain and its allies. The victorious side in the Mediterranean was the Ottoman Empire. In the first quarter of the 16th century, the Ottoman State was imposing its superiority in the Mediterranean.

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However at the end of the century, despite the victory they had in Lepanto, Spain and its allies delegated the superiority to the Ottoman Empire and could not exploit this victory politically and economically. Ottoman State on the other hand, endeavored for increasing the security of the trade routes in its territories. It tried not only to preserve its economic activities with the treaties signed and *ahidnâmes* (imperial pledges) granted, but also tried to weaken its rivals. The battles could not totally cut the economic relations between the two worlds. Trade and commerce continued at the two ends of the Mediterranean though being made indirectly. Despite the fact that some historians and scholars claimed that Muslims' progress tore apart the two sides of Mediterranean and as a result of geographical explorations and discoveries directed the route of trade to the Ocean and put the Mediterranean trade into depression, this thought has already been proved inaccurate.

Today many scientists do not accept that Muslim progress, Ottoman expansion and geographical discoveries led to the breaking of relations in the Mediterranean world. Just the opposite, the relations between the Islamic world and the Christian European world had always continued. In this study, beginning with the continuity of the relations, economic relations of Ottoman and Spanish Empires will be discussed. Here it is important to emphasize that the studied period is the era when there existed no direct relationship between Ottoman and Spanish states. Therefore, rather than positive relations, there is a sort of situation based on rivalry and struggle. Besides rivalry the contact through indirect channels perpetuated. In this regard, the study focuses on the rivalry and struggle between two parties, the causes and the outcomes of this rivalry. At the same time though within rivalry, the continuity of economic-commercial relations is displayed.

#### ***MEDITERRANEAN WORLD AT THE END OF 15th CENTURY***

The rising states in the Mediterranean from the 16th century onward are the Ottomans in the East and the Spaniards who announced Holy Roman Empire in the west. The emergences of two states are similar to each other. The rising of both states stems from the convenient political social and economic conditions rather than coincidences. These two states, entered into a sometimes escalating sometimes chilling military, political and economic conflict which would last until 18th century. In the memories of both societies mostly fights, wars and especially the naval battles has taken place. The first emphasized issue when talked about Ottomans and Spain it is particularly the ruthless struggle of the parties with each other especially during the 16th century. Despite the fact that wars and rivalry had been engraved to the memories of both parties, economic activities have prolonged its continuity through direct or indirect ways.

The interest of Ottomans and Spaniards for the Mediterranean goes back to quite early times. Both states had the effort to establish superiority in the Mediterranean for a long time. The activities of Ottomans in the Western Mediterranean go back to the era of Sultan Muhammad the Conqueror. Nonetheless, an Ottoman army under the command of Gedik Ahmed Pasha captured Otranto by an attack to the southern Italy. (Hess, 2010). Ottoman state strengthened its naval activities by officially appointing Kemal Reis to its service. The Ottoman navy emerged as one of the most powerful navies of the Mediterranean after the reforming activities of Kemal Reis and specific attention of Beyazıt II. The Ottoman-Venetian wars of 1499-1502 constitute an important place on the display of the success of the navy in the early 16th century. The triumph of the Ottomans has a great value with respect to constituting an initiation for the control of Mediterranean or superiority in the Mediterranean. (Arıkan, 1995) With this triumph Ottomans grasped the opportunity to get access to the routes of western Mediterranean.

Spain took the step to realize the union of Iberian Peninsula after the marriage of queen of Castilla Isabella and the king of Aragon Ferdinand. In 1492, with the capture of Granada where was hosting the last Muslim state in Europe and the union with Navarra Kingdom in 1512, the union of peninsula have been sustained. Carlos I enthroned as the emperor of Holy Roman Empire with the name of Carlos V. In this manner, de facto Spanish hegemony in the Christian world has been maintained. By becoming emperor Carlos V has become the defender and the leader of the Catholic Christian world against the Islamic world (Arıkan, 1995). At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Spain was eager to grasp the treasures of the east, spice and silk and the gold of Africa which had significant importance for Europe, by maintaining its hegemony over the Mediterranean.

In that period, it was not easy to get access to the spice and valuable goods of the east via the route of Atlantic Ocean. Despite the discovery of America, valuable resources especially the importance of the silver had not become significant or recognized yet. Spanish were not interested in the African spice route discovered by passing through Cape of Good Hope by Portuguese. As we will mention later, the Treaty of Tordesillas had left the region to the rule/sovereignty of Portugal.

Indeed, transportation of eastern goods was expensive through African coasts and it required affording high costs. The easiest way to attain Sudanese gold was also gaining supremacy in the Mediterranean and to control the North African coast. What was important for Spain was to be able to control the Mediterranean. Hence, Spain had a battle with France in 1495 since it did not want the hegemony of another country over the sea where it wanted to dominate. (Fernandez, 1980)

The attempts of Spain with other European states in order to find an alternative route to India and African gold had commenced at an earlier date. Portuguese who seized Ceuto from the rule of Muslims in 1415 embarked upon overseas imperialism. In this way Portuguese acquired an important geographical position for themselves by partly dominating the transit route from Atlantic to the Mediterranean. (Hess, 2010). The southwestern Iberian ports where are closer to slave centers and gold mines of West Africa than Mediterranean ports, were in a proper position for the ocean journeys which aims breaking the monopoly of Muslim caravans over the African trade. In 1434 reaching beyond the Cape of Bojador and with the discovery of Arguin Island, a new route beginning from Portugal to the gold and slave regions of West Africa via North Africa had roughly been shaped. In 1487 Portuguese who arrived at Guinean Gulf, achieved establishing a commercial center in Elmina (Sao Jorge de Mina). In 1488 Bartolomeu Dias toured the Cape of Good Hope. In 1492 Christopher Columbus brought Spain into the overseas imperialism by arriving at the New World (Hess, 2010).

Colombus' discovery of the New World seems to be related with the struggle between the Ottomans and the Christian world, especially Spain. The real factor motivated him for exploration as follows: encircling the Islamic world from backyard, to set up relations with the Moghol Khan who is friend of Christians in the East, open up the sea route for Indian trade, and recapturing Jerusalem with the cooperation of Eastern and Western Christians (Inalcik, 2010). The strategic factor that led the Western world to look for a direct sea route to India is the seizure of trade routes by capturing Genoa colonies after the conquest of Istanbul by Sultan Muhammad II. Even though Ottomans did not put an end to trade with Western world and put effort for maintaining the continuity of it with the imperial pledges they granted, they were sharing the profit of European states' eastern trade. Thereby with the hand over of trade routes to Ottoman control, the opportunity of controlling eastern trade alone for the European cities and cities primarily for Genoans ended. Besides, Ottomans were using the Eastern trade as a means for their economic and political relations with Europe. On the other hand, European economy which grew in the 14th and 16th centuries began to feel the scarcity of gold and silver more and more seriously. The rising scarcity of money in Europe made the Crusades against Turks a necessity. (Inalcik, 2010).

At the end of 15th century, the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas has a significant importance for determining the areas of influence for Spain and Portugal. The treaty was dividing the non-European world between Spain and Portugal starting from the islands of Capo de Verde. While giving the territories in the west of the boundary and discovered or will be discovered areas except Brazil to Spain, the territories in the east except Philippines had been given to Portugal. However, since the treaty did not include the Mediterranean, Spain embarked dominating North Africa by seizing Mediterranean. Spanish acquired a port in the entrance of Sahara and captured the Mediterranean coast until Muluya River. The target of Spanish Kingdom was to acquire a permanent place in Africa for itself and to grasp the African gold through the roads opened up for caravans. (Fernandez, 1980). The hegemony that would be established in the North Africa, with its seizure of European coast, would grant supremacy in the Mediterranean and bring the African gold. Attaining the products from India and African gold was offering extraordinary economic wealth for the enlarging/expanding Spanish kingdom.

Catholic King Fernando directed all his effort to the Mediterranean after seizing Granada in 1492. He wanted to acquire Spice Trade by integrating with Mediterranean in economic manner. He distinguished his economic targets into two areas. His primary target was to protect the price stability of corps by holding the Andalusia and Sicilian wheat. The second one was dominating Rhodes, Cyprus and Alexandria triangle and to have share in the silk, lever, leather and traditional spice trade (Fernandez, 1989). For an empire, holding the corps supply in hand at a time production is dependent on natural conditions and scarcities and starvations are widespread had an indispensable importance. In times of famines sustaining the price stability for basic foods within the country was dependent on holding the wheat production centers abroad under control.

In the list of importance Sicilian wheat was coming first for Spain. On the other hand, dominating spice trade would continuously provide the supply of eastern products that Spain was in need of and the control of trade would increase the resources and richness of treasury.

### **16th CENTURY: THE RIVALRY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN**

In the early 16th century Spaniards' object to get a share from here by attaining Eastern Mediterranean ended with failure. Spain's efforts over Italy, Tunisia and Malta remained fruitless. In the meanwhile Ottoman progress was intact. Ottomans drew near to Korint gulf by seizing Leponte, Moron and Koron (Fernandez, 1980). With the capture of Egypt by Sultan Selim in 1516-17, Ottoman power and hegemony had begun to be felt in North Africa and Spain. The conquest of Rhodes in 1522 was an important success that attained by the Ottomans in the Mediterranean. From that time on, Ottoman progress in the western Mediterranean perpetuated.

Ottoman State's participation to the spice trade towards Europe and to the gold coming from Sudan and Ethiopia had been realized with the seizure of Egypt. This gold trade and Red Sea route did not lose its significance for the eastern Mediterranean trade after the geographical discoveries; indeed it increased its importance after Ottoman conquest. Especially from the middle of 16th century, Red Sea and Persian Gulf had witnessed a revival again. After Egypt governor Suleyman Pasha's seizing Aden in 1538 (Peçevi, 1968) and maintaining security in the Red Sea, spice trade gained its former importance. (Özbaran, 2004). Ottoman Empire by putting great effort on maintaining security in Red Sea and Persian Gulf, tried to obstruct Portuguese from their attempts to carry the eastern trade out through the Cape of Good Hope. On the other hand by increasing the security in the Mediterranean and granting privileges and capitulations to some states they provided this route to remain active.

The first conflict between Ottoman Empire and Spanish Empire in the Mediterranean began with Kemal Reis' hitting Spanish coasts in order to help the Andalusian Muslims in 1505. Kemal Reis saved and brought some Muslim and Jewish as a result of the raids to the coasts of Spain. (Uzunçarşılı, 1983, v.2). Before this date, there existed peace negotiations between Ottoman State and Spain. Catholic kings who were ruling at the end of 15th century did not want to fight with Ottomans at the beginning and tried to be partners in the eastern trade by making a peace deal and developing the bilateral relationships. At that period, Spain was in war with Venice. Catholic kings thought that a peace treaty to be closed with the Ottomans would be important. Therefore, they had an attempt to make deal with Ottoman state. In the documents on which the diplomatic relations of the Catholic Kings are recorded, this can be clearly seen. Nonetheless, at a document dated 29 January 1483 it is stated that King Fernando had permitted to make a peace, ceasefire or friendship agreement with the Ottomans on behalf of Naples and other dependent states, to the king of Naples who is under his rule. Fernando, in his letter to the King of Naples, states that the peace and friendship agreement that will be concluded by the king would be recognized by all Aragon, Sicily, Valencia, Sardinia and Majorca kingdoms and Catalonia Princedom. In order to make deal with Ottomans he granted full authority to the king of Naples (Antonio de la Torre 1949).

Another document dated 26 August 1483, gives information about the war continuing with Venice and as the peace with Turks was close to be concluded, it is stated that the pressure over Granada King Abu Abdullah should be terminated and leave Abu Abdullah alone. (Antonio de la Torre 1949). These first talks with Spaniards ended with failure. After this date between two states a struggle came into being that would last until the end of 16th century but lost its pace at the end of the century. The two states that attempt to hold the regional economies under control by becoming dominant in the Mediterranean regularly came against each other in the land and sea. The struggle in the sea took place in the Mediterranean while the struggle in the land took place in the North Africa. At the end of the century, with the annexation of Portugal by Spaniards in the era of Felipe II the struggle expanded to the Indian Ocean. (Arikan, 1995).

In the 16th century, the struggle to dominate Mediterranean grew against the Spaniards. Spanish Kingdom was unsuccessful to attain its objectives regarding North Africa and Mediterranean with strong efforts. In the era of Beyazit II, Turkish sailors who settled to North Africa with the support of Ottoman State embarked upon the struggle for sovereignty in the Mediterranean by setting Algeria as a center for themselves. The Algerian principality empowered with Barbarous, arrived its peak with submission of Barbarossa Hayreddin to the service of Ottoman Empire and Barbarossa Hayreddin who settled his authority in Algeria, moved to seize Spanish Castle in Algeria in 1529. With the capture of the Algerian castle Turks acquired a port that they could be able to use for maritime business and would made their contact with Istanbul more secure. (Hess, 2010). Barbarossa has been assigned as Governor (Beylerbeyi) of Algeria and Kaptan-ı Derya by being invited to Istanbul in 1533 (Arikan, 1995).

Barbarossa Hayreddin Pasha has become the representative of the Ottoman power in the Mediterranean. In 1538, Hayreddin Pasha defeated the Spanish navy under the command of Andrea Doria who was the representative of Spaniards in the Mediterranean (Peçevi, 1968).

Thus, the period 1538-1571 has been a period during which Ottomans have been absolutely superior/hegemony in the Mediterranean. (Inalcik, 2009).

When looked at the efforts of Spaniards and Ottomans for expansion in the North African territories it is seen that their models of expansion are quite different from each other. The expansion model of Ottomans was not solely based upon economic goals. There was not a Merchant class which was impelling the Muslim sailors to hanker after commercial advantages. However this does not mean that Ottomans were not aware of the economic aspect of the overseas campaigns. Many leading figures and scholars of the period were informing the Sultan about the explorations, discoveries and the overseas activities of the western world. And one of these figures is Piri Reis. At an early date as 1517, Piri Reis informed the Ottoman sultan about the commercial activities of the Christian states at the far end of Africa. Piri Reis told the efforts of Portuguese to arrive at India by touring the African coasts in his book titled *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. He mentions why the Portuguese settled to the Indian Ocean. He argued that their goal had been to grasp the wealth and resources of these places (Piri Reis, 1973).

In 1534 Barbarossa seized Tunisia. With the seizure of Tunisia Ottomans began to move in the eastern and western Mediterranean more securely compared to the past. However with the attack of Carlos V with a strong army, Barbarossa retreated back from Tunisia to Algeria in 1535. In 1541 Carlos V launched a campaign to Algeria but here Spanish navy retreated back due to its heavy losses and defeat. (Arikan, 1995).

In 1560 defeat of Spanish navy in Cebre by the Ottoman navy determined the balances in the Mediterranean. After this victory the destruction of many galleys of Christians also left the Christian coasts defenseless against the piracy activities. (Hess, 2010). Victory of Cebre strengthened the superiority of Ottomans in the western Mediterranean and North Africa.

In 1570 Ottomans launched a campaign to Cyprus to capture the eastern Mediterranean trade routes. Ottoman state that conquered Syria and Egypt decided to seize Cyprus where is in a close location to Syrian and Anatolian coasts of Mediterranean and has economic significance. Despite the fact that they made peace with Venetians, ships, people, merchants and pilgrims traveling to Egypt suffered from the enemy attacks from Cyprus. Therefore, a campaign has been launched to Cyprus with a fetva (religious decree) from Grand Mufti Ebu Suud Efendi (Peçevi, 1968). Venetians asked for help from their allies in order to protect the island. It was Spain with hundred vessels that took place among the states that would help Venice. Spanish Empire informed Dubrovnik Ottoman province that it will join the war (Uzunçarşılı, 1983, c.3/1). In Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry (BOA) number 12 Muhimme Defteri at a decree dated 978 (1570) and sent to Dubrovnik governor it is stated that they are aware of the fact that Spanish king Felipe sent hundred vessels to Venice to help for Cyprus defense. It is asked that the following news to be delivered later on.

In 4 August 1571 Cyprus has been conquered with the seizure of Famagusta. For the Ottomans, Cyprus Island had many advantages that could not be provided by Malta. The island that was only 750 miles away to Istanbul was closely located to the southern coasts of Anatolia. With the capture of the island the battles in Arabia, Egypt and Palestine could be supported. With the seizure of the island the eastern Mediterranean trade was getting under the absolute control of the Ottomans (Toledo, 1955).

#### ***THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA CALMS DOWN: ARMISTICE AFTER INEBAHTI WAR***

In Lepanto (Inebahtı) naval war, which occurred with the involvement of the holy alliance including the Spanish after the conquest of Cyprus, Ottoman navy was severely defeated. This defeat was a real shock for the Ottomans. However, a new navy was built after a year and the Crusaders could not benefit much from that victory. The fact that the alliance navy had beaten the Ottoman navy did not turn into a catastrophe for the Ottomans. Thanks to the conquest of Cyprus, the Ottomans ensured the security of the route between Egypt and Istanbul. In North Africa, they strengthened their dominance in the region by conquering Tunisia (Hess, 2010). While Lepanto was an important victory for the West, they could not gain success proving the victory in the following years. The aim of the Holy Alliance was to regain Cyprus (Selânikî, 1999). The alliance could not achieve its aim. The Ottomans protected their naval power, although they were defeated. In fact in 1572, 250 galiots and vessels were constructed together with the necessary war hardware and started their activities in the Mediterranean Sea under the command of Kılıç Ali Pasha (Peçevî, 1968). One year after, the Holy Alliance collapsed.

The Venetians separated from their allies and made peace with the Ottoman Empire. With the treaty dated 17 March 1573, Venice accepted to leave Cyprus to the Ottomans. The provision no 404 in the Mohemma register no 21 in the Ottoman Archive of the Prime Ministry (BOA) includes the treaty given to Venice. According to this Venice would continue to give 300.000 flori, which it paid previously, every year. In addition, it accepted to increase 500 flori tax for the island Zaklise (Zante) to 1500 flori. As Cyprus was left to the Ottoman reign, the 8000 flori tax for Cyprus that Venice had paid annually was abolished. Venice ambassador Andrea Badaro, who was in Istanbul at the time of the treaty said “Turks seemed to have won Lepanto War” (Jorga, 2005, p. 140).

Since the holy alliance could not benefit from the victory in Lepanto War, the Spanish also tried to make armistice with the Ottoman Empire. In fact, their efforts for armistice dated back to the mid-century, the years 1558-59. The treaty proposal was brought to the Ottoman Empire by Cenovese Francesco de Franchis Tortorino and submitted to Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha (Imizcoz, 2006). The conditions of the treaty were shortly as follows: It was thought to last for 15-20 years. The treaty would cover the two empires as well as their associated states. Aid for and protection of the pirates would be ended. The treaty could not be terminated unilaterally without the approval of both emperors. In case the treaty was terminated, one-year term was provided for in order for the people of both sides to leave the hostile territory without facing hindrance. However, those efforts did not reach a conclusion as Felipe II changed his mind later. In 1559 Felipe made war with the Ottomans again (Imizcoz, 2006). The facts that Lepanto war did not produce the desired results, the Spanish conquered Tunisia in 1573-74 but the Ottomans took it back again in the same year (Imizcoz, 2006) drove Spain to search opportunities for armistice with the Ottoman Empire. War in the Mediterranean Sea was becoming more and more costly for Spain. Being unable to pay their debts to the European bankers, Felipe II had to declare bankrupt in 1575 again. The kingdom cannot control its debts, as it had to fight in two fronts. Flanders wars lasting for 6 years did not produce results. The cost of this war to the budget was about 2-3 million ducas. On the other hand, fruitless fight against the Ottomans in the Mediterranean Sea continued. The cost of having a navy against Turks for Felipe II was above 1.200.000 ducas in 1574 (Sánchez Padilla, date unknown).

Therefore, the Spanish searched for ways to make peace with the Ottoman Empire since 1569. To this end, Felipe II sent Martín de Acuña to Istanbul in 1577 for peace negotiations. Arriving to Istanbul in March in the same year, Acuña was able to make a one-year armistice. The following year Giovanni Margliani from Milano was sent to Istanbul for armistice negotiations to renew the armistice. Margliani was able to make a new one-year armistice in 7 February 1578. Continuing its efforts to make a permanent armistice, Margliani succeeded to make a three-year armistice in 1581. The armistice with Spain was renewed in 1584, 1587 and 1591 (Sánchez Padilla, ???). Despite many initiatives, Spain could turn this armistice into a peace treaty two hundred years later (Hammer, 1990).

The fight between the Ottomans and Spain spread to Indian Ocean with the invasion of Portugal by Felipe II in 1580. Spanish dominance over those territories was commercially important. It was necessary that Indian trade routes be controlled and ports be secured (Arıkan, 1995). Before, the Ottomans conquered Aden as a result of the war against the Portuguese and ensured security in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea as well as the maintenance of the Eastern trade without interruption. Willing to control Indian trade, Spain took a castle, which was broken down by Suleiman Pasha, the conqueror of the castles of Yemen and Aden, placed on an island 160 miles far away from the Aden Castle. (Selânikî, 1999). As reported by the Governor of Egypt Sinan Pasha, the Spanish reinforced the island by sending soldiers to the island and began to build ships by founding a shipyard. Spanish invasion on the island was a hindrance for the tradesmen going from India to the port of Jeddah. The fact that the Spanish hindered the ships going towards Red Sea direction harmed the security of the routes. As a result, Hassan Pasha, the governor of Yemen, was ordered to stop the Spanish activity on the island. Hassan Pasha took action in October 1586/ Dhu al-Qu'dah 994 and ended the Spanish activity on the island. He captured four galleys of Spain together with lots of goods as spoils and sent them to Istanbul (Selânikî, 1999).

The fight between Ottoman and Spain empires was not seen only in the military field. The parties did not ignore political, economic and diplomatic ways to weaken each other and become dominant. By supporting their allies against their rivals and granting them economic and commercial privileges, they were trying to fight a more effective battle against their rivals. The Ottomans granted capitulations to France and Venice and as of the end of 16th century to United Kingdom and Netherlands. By means of peace and trade agreements with those countries, they tried to limit the area of activity of Spain. Capitulations provided great advantages to the Ottomans commercially and were completely compatible with the economic policies of the states.

The Ottoman economy was supply-sided and the high supplies of goods due to capitulations resulted in abundance and cheapness in the country. On the other hand, sustainable trade was ensured easily by means of capitulations. States that were granted concessions and states carrying the flags of those could easily make trade and transportation in the Ottoman ports. Via those agreements, the Ottomans imposed economic blockade on their rival Spain. Although the blockade was broken through intermediary states and ports, the empire reached its aim anyway. Similarly, the Spanish tried to stop the progress of the Ottomans by making alliance with the states and tribes in North Africa via agreements. Thanks to agreements with North African states, The Spaniards not only achieved their political aims but also ensured that the goods of the East, which they always demanded, were carried to their country continuously.

A good example showing Spain's efforts to make alliance with North African states was the treaty made with the king of Tunisia after Tunisia was taken back from the Ottomans in 1535. Barbarossa took Tunisia in 1534, however yielded after Carlos V attacked with a strong army in 1535. Carlos, who took Tunisia back from the Turks, made an agreement with the king of Tunisia Muley Albasen. According to the provisions of the treaty dated 6 August 1535, which is kept in the file no. Estado 462 in Simanacas archive of Spain, the sovereignty of Tunisia was given back to Muley Hassan. In response to this, Muley Hassan was going to set Christian captives free and give back all of their property and was not going to capture any citizens of Holy Roman Empire, of nations and territories belonging to that empire and of Kingdom of Austria. At the same time, the king of Tunisia recognized the vassalage of Spain and accepted to give 6 Arabian horses and 12 hawks on Santiago day every year.

The King of Tunisia also accepted that if Barbarossa and the Turks attacked Tunisia and the Emperor had to save it again, he would give 55.000 duca gold, and 100.000 duca gold in case this happened again. If the Turks conquered Tunisia and Spain took it back for the third time, Tunisia would be left to Spanish dominance. The treaty stipulated that the King of Tunisia would not enter into alliance with Turkish citizens or citizens of other states against Spain and would give information about its activities periodically. In exchange for this, Spain would not make any agreements against Tunisia and would give information about its conduct.

One of the important provisions of the treaty was that the Muslims emigrating from Spain would not be allowed to reside in Tunisia. Spain prevented Muslims emigrating from the country to settle down in North Africa by making treaties with the Kingdoms of North Africa. In this way, Spain protected itself from pirate attacks coming from those regions. Muslims escaping from Spain were getting organized independently or joining to existing pirates and attacking the coasts of Spain. Those attacks were harming Spain seriously. Muslims who could not go to the kingdoms in North Africa, which were allies of Spain, immigrated to regions under the sovereignty of the Ottomans. Therefore, regions under the sovereignty of the Ottomans were the places where the Spanish Muslim population was located the most and they became important bases of piracy practices against Spain.

Tunisia was an important port for the Spanish to continue their activities in the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, they wanted to establish dominance there. As a result, provisions allowing the Spanish to establish permanent dominance in Tunisia were added to the treaty. According to the treaty, in case the king of Spain conquered Tunisian territories that were under the Ottoman rule and not taken back yet, they would be completely ruled by the Kingdom of Spain. The king of Tunisia and his successors withdrew their rights over the region and gave all of their rights to the king of Spain. Moreover, Boleta port and castle with high strategic importance were also left to Spain and the Spanish accepted to pay 12.000 duca gold to the king of Tunisia every year in return for Boleta port and castle. Consequently, disposal rights of all agreements and commercial interests were given to the king of Spain and his family.

Thanks to the agreement whose important provisions were stated above, the king of Spain, Carlos V took the king of Tunisia Muley Hassan under his protection against the Turks and made an ally for himself. At the same time, he obtained a strong castle and port for maintaining his activities in the Mediterranean Sea and North Africa. The treaty includes not only political provisions but also the trade between two countries. Thus, the Spanish had the opportunity to continue their trade directly with North African ports. The Ottoman Empire supported particularly Venice and France as well as other European states against Spain. By making treaties, the Ottomans were making alliance with states from the Christian world and made them stay impartial in its fights with other states. Commercial privileges given to Venice made them stay away from the Crusader alliance in number of times (Kapanşahin, 2008). The treaties also ensured the security and continuity of trade in the Mediterranean Sea.

As a result, the Empire maintained its economic activities on the important commercial rules under its control without interruption. The Ottomans gave commercial privileges to France beside those given to Venice. The Ottomans made a treaty with France in February 1536 (Shaban 942) (Kapanşahin, 2008). According to the provisions of the treaty made with France, French tradesmen would give 5 % customs tax, could make trade freely with ships belonging to both states and the jurisdiction of the French consuls were recognized. Cases involving French citizens would not heard by qadis but they would be heard in the Imperial Court (divan-I hümayun) and there would be a French interpreter together with qadis. Another French citizen or the consul would not be sued instead of a French citizen who escaped without paying his debt to a Muslim citizen; a case would be opened against the king of France. A person of a French nation would be treated under French rules without applying to qadis and the property devised to him would be submitted to the French consul. French captives would be released and those caught later on would not be treated as captures (Uzunçarşılı, 1983, V. 2). This treaty gave important privileges to the French. The treaty also gave rights to all Christian states such as United Kingdom, Sicily , Genoese, Spain , Florence to make trade under the flag of France .

As we noted before, Venice was one of the states that were supported against Spain; however, Venice joined the Holy Alliance in 1571 and fought against the Ottomans in Lepanto war. Although they were defeated in Lepanto war, the Ottomans showed that they would not give up their dominance in the Mediterranean Sea by building a strong navy again. It did not seem possible that the aim of the alliance to take Cyprus back and drive the Ottomans out of the Mediterranean Sea would be realized. Consequently, Venice had to make a treaty with the Ottoman Empire again by giving up all its rights over Cyprus and paying a heavy war indemnity.

United Kingdom, Flanders and Netherlands joined to the states that were supported by the Ottomans against Spain after Lepanto defeat. Support and privileges given by the Ottomans to those states are regarded as an important diplomatic success. In this way, the Ottoman Empire was able to change the balance in the Mediterranean in favor of itself by giving commercial privileges. As the alliance broke up and its aims were not realized, Felipe II had to sign an armistice.

#### **COMMERCE, PRODUCTS AND INTERMEDIARY PORTS**

Although there was intense rivalry and competition between two parties until the end of 16th century, commercial relations were maintained in indirect ways in this climate of conflict. Despite all restrictions, especially held during periods of wars, it can be claimed that commerce was never interrupted. Because both parties needed the products of the other, relations were kept intact. These relations were maintained sometimes through piracy; at other times by means of smuggling, special permits and mediations of neutral states. Recurrent famines and Spain's need for Eastern products-especially spices- guaranteed continuity of transformation on both sides of the Mediterranean. Trade of staple foods, particularly grains, was always subjected to prohibitions and restrictions. Any decrease in grain supply would cause food deficiencies and fluctuations of prices in cities. Despite all prohibitions, these famines would increase the demand for basic food items like grains and this demand would necessitate the continuity of trade with the Islamic world. On the other hand, prohibitions on grains trade would be flouted by transporting the goods with the help of friendly nations (Nadal, 1999).

Spanish archives are full of documents testifying to the struggle that was going on between two worlds. Especially documents from 16th century illustrate the battle in all of its aspects. In Spanish archives there are vast number of documents that tell about Ottoman army and navy, activities of the army and navy, campaigns of the sultans, wars with Iran and Europe and sultans' relations with their children. Having a continuous fear of a Turkish attack or working on coalitions and campaigns against Turks, Spanish kings gave great importance to news transmitted by spies, clergymen and slaves. There was a large scale espionage network in service of Spain. In this period spies in Istanbul would receive 100-300 escudos depending on their ranks, while monthly salary of a Spanish navy official would not exceed 30-40 escudos. Spain used to pay more than tens of thousands ducats in order to receive intelligence from spies residing in Istanbul (Sánchez Padilla, ???).

Documents that testify to the conflict between the two worlds would also include prohibitions on trade with the 'infidel nations' of Africa and Eastern Mediterranean. Decrees of 1505, 1506, 1516, 1518, 1524, 1549 and 1553 can be counted as examples. These prohibitions were decreed with political reasons such as wars with Muslim countries, with strategic reasons such as to prevent the enemies from collecting intelligence through their ships that come into Spanish ports, or with economic reasons such as preventing basic staples and precious metals to leave the country (Corrales, 2005).

Similarly, Ottomans would ban exports to their enemies. Ottoman export prohibitions usually covered the goods that were needed by the army, navy, palace and Istanbul. Export of horses, arms and gunpowder was banned throughout the state. Prohibitions on grain exports were sometimes subsided by special permits. Besides, there were some local and regional prohibitions too. For example, because the Aegean coast was covering Istanbul's demand, it was prohibited to export dried raisins from this region (Faroqhi, 2003).

Despite all restrictions on trade with the enemy, there was a need for economic relations between these two parties. From the Spanish point of view, spices, some medicines, dyed, undyed and printed textiles and many other Ottoman products were indispensable. Cheap fruits, grains, leather and wax of North Africa always found demand in Spanish markets. All these products were exchanged with the only produce of the peninsula, American silver (Corrales, 2005).

Spaniards had always found ways to continue their trade with North Africa and Ottomans through various intermediary parties. With the help of Venetians; under French, English, Dutch, Genovese and Toscan flags or by using Marseille, Livorno and Genova ports, trade between two parties continued. These European ports transferred American silver to Islamic regions while carrying the goods that were produced in the Islamic world to the peninsula (Corrales, 2005).

Spanish prohibitions against the Muslim world were not well-defined; they used to change according to the conditions of trade activities. Sometimes only trade of specific goods was banned, while at other times all products were banned from markets. But there were always loopholes and possibilities left open. The Kingdom monopolized the right to issue special permits for special products and institutions, in order to be part of the trade. Given that the prohibitions were often pronounced, it is clear that trade with the Ottomans and African shores was not completely prevented (Corrales, 2005).

Ottoman state strictly controlled trade prohibitions with the enemy. Despite this, especially on borders there had always been smugglers and those who aid the enemy and provide necessary merchandise. There are dicta against providing food stock to enemy galleys in Mühimme registers. Found in Muhimme number 7, decree number 459 which was sent to governor of Mora on 17 Cemeziyelevvel 975/19 November 1567, commands the prevention of Makalimali infidels from giving food stock to Spanish and Malta galleys, and cooperating with the enemy by guiding their ships. Another decree dated 1 Şevval 975/19 April 1568 in Mühimme number 7, deals with the same issue. In this decree the governor of Mora is informed that a campaign was about to be started against the Makali infidels of Mezistre, who guide and provide foodstock for the Spanish and Maltese infidels. Governor of Mora is asked to take part in the navy and to prevent the enemy from learning about the preparations.

An important aspect of 16th century is the flood of Spanish silver coins in the Mediterranean. During this period vast amounts of silver from America was reaching Spain and was minted as coins there. Although Spain was an exporter of raw materials, its exports was not sufficient to cover its imports, particularly those from the East. So Spain would cover its trade deficit by exporting large amounts of silver. In this century flood of Spanish silver coins invaded all Mediterranean. Coming to 1580s currencies valid in Algerian markets were Spanish gold ecu, silver rial, and quarter, one-sixth and especially one-eighth coins. All these coins were highly regarded in the markets and were one of the major export items to Turkey. Chests full of rials were exported to Turkey. After 1580, Italy became the major centre of distribution for Spanish silver. After this date, Italy's main task was to unload abundant Spanish money to Eastern Mediterranean (Braudel, 1990).

Muslim and non-Muslim, yet especially non-Muslim, Ottoman citizens who had trade ties all around Europe were key to maintaining indirect economic relations with Spain. Among those, Mendes family was active in trade, banking and tax-farming in Istanbul (Inalcık, 2009). Portuguese Mendes family migrated to and settled in Istanbul under the auspices of Suleiman I (the Magnificent) in 1553. The family's wealth was 400.000 golden ducats. Resettlement of Mendes family coincided with a period when trade with Europe gained importance. Dona Gracia who was the head of the family during that period solely controlled wheat, pepper and wool trade between Europe and Ottomans (Inalcık, 2009).

The most important centre of trade between Spain and Ottomans and North Africans was Cadiz. European and American goods were exchanged with Eastern products at ports of Cadiz. Besides Cadiz, Eastern Andalusian ports like Malaga, Marbella and Almeria; and eastern ports like Valencia, Mallorca and Barcelona played a major role in Spanish trade with Ottomans and North Africa (Corrales, 2001). During 16th century there was no direct trade between Ottomans and Spain.

But at the same time, European ports holding Ottoman imperial pledge, mediated the trade between Spain and Ottomans, and exchanged Eastern goods with Spanish silver. At 16th century intermediary ports had great significance. At the beginning, major intermediary between two parties was Venice. With its imperial pledge, Venice maintained eastern trade and transfer of goods between two sides of the Mediterranean. Later, French port of Marseille took over this role. After that Marseille became one of the major ports for trade between Spanish and Ottoman states. In a report sent from Marseille to Paris in 1556 it is told that docks of the city were full of Spanish and Italian merchants buying eastern goods: “*Spices, medicines, and cotton textiles, eastern merchandises... cause foreigners from Spain, Italy and elsewhere to come to Marseille with loads of gold and metal currency to buy these goods.*” (Corrales, 2001, p.58).

Western Anatolian centre of production for rough cotton textiles exported to Europe-especially to French port of Marseille- was Izmir. French exported these fabrics, which they imported from Anatolia, to Spain. And Spaniards sent them to America in order to dress the slaves working in plantations (İnalçık, 2009). Besides Marseille, ports mediated between Spain and Ottoman state were Livorno, Genova, Messina, Malta, Menorca and Gibraltar. French merchants used to sell Spanish piastres (pesos) they bought at Livorno and Genova to the East. Genova, Livorno and Messina regularly exported money, especially Spanish piastres in their trade with Ottoman ports (Frangakis-Syrett, 2006).

### **CONCLUSION**

Ottoman and Spanish states, both claiming world dominance, became rivals to each other at 16th century. For centuries the Mediterranean testified to their military, political and economic struggle. 1538 Preveza victory brought Ottomans superiority in the Mediterranean. Battle of Lepanto undermined this dominance, yet Ottomans held the upper hand in the Mediterranean. After Tunisia went under absolute Ottoman rule at 1574, Spain left the struggle in the Mediterranean and directed its efforts to the Atlantic.

The ongoing conflict between Ottoman Empire and Spain did not completely end the trade between two sides of the Mediterranean. During 16th century there was no direct trade between two parties. However European ports holding Ottoman imperial pledge mediated the trade between Spain and Ottomans and exchanged Eastern goods with Spanish silver. At the beginning major intermediary between two parties was Venice. With its imperial pledge, Venice maintained eastern trade and transfer of goods between two sides of the Mediterranean. Later, French port of Marseille took over this role. After that Marseille became one of the major ports for trade between Spanish and Ottoman states.

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