

**Iconography of a Catholic Victory:
The Battle of Lepanto in Italian Painting**

by

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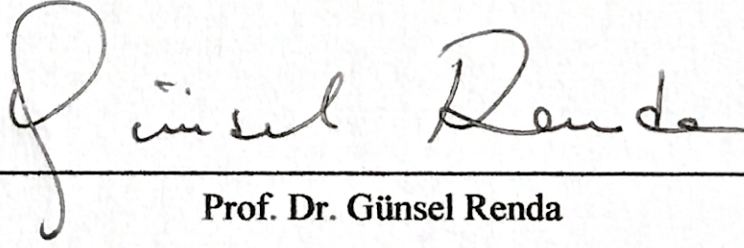
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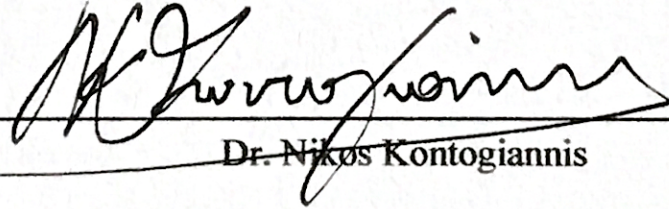
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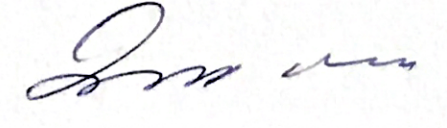
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ABSTRACT

The present study aims to examine the Battle of Lepanto and its symbolic significance for the Catholic world through a comprehensive analysis of religious paintings of the battle. The Battle of Lepanto, which took place on October 7, 1571, was a naval encounter between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League, an alliance between Venice, the Papal States, and Spain. The victory of the Holy League became a global victory for Catholicism, which helped with the re-establishment of Catholic Church's authority in the face of the "heretical" challenges posed by the Protestant Reformation and the Ottoman advancement in the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century. In this study, an in-depth descriptive and iconographic analysis of Italian religious paintings, as well as other forms of art related to the battle, is conducted through on-site examinations and literature research in order to demonstrate the extent of the symbolic significance of the battle. As the analyses of 85 religious paintings from different Catholic regions and periods demonstrate, the common characteristics of these works put forth a traditional emphasis of a belief in divine intervention, which ultimately led to a Christian victory. The aforementioned paintings are generally depicted with saintly figures, such as Madonna of Rosary, appearing on top of the naval battle scenes and guiding the fleet of the Holy League, thus implying the Holy League won the battle against the Ottoman Empire because of the Catholic faith. Overall, this thesis argues that the victory of the Holy League was used as a means for Catholic propaganda in the Counter-Reformation period in the Italian peninsula and then became a symbol of the strength of Catholicism around the world for centuries to come.

Keywords: Battle of Lepanto, 1571, Holy League, Ottoman-Venetian affairs, Catholicism, Counter Reformation, Protestant Reformation, Madonna of Rosary, Italian painting, iconography, symbolism.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, İnebahtı Savaşı'nın dini konulu resimlerini analiz ederek savaşın Katolik dünyası için sembolik önemini incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. İnebahtı Savaşı 7 Ekim 1571'de Osmanlı Devleti ve Venedik, Papalık Devleti ve İspanya'dan oluşan Kutsal İttifak Donanması arasında meydana gelmiş bir deniz muharebesi olmasına rağmen, Kutsal Lig'in buradaki zaferi Katolik mezhebinin onaltıncı yüzyılda "kâfir" olarak nitelendirdiği Osmanlıların Akdeniz'deki ilerleyişi ve Protestanların hızla yayılan Reform çalışmalarına karşı kendi otoritesini yeniden sağlamasına yardımcı olmuştur. Bu çalışma, birincil ve ikincil kaynak taraması ve resimlerin çoğunu birebir yerlerinde gözlemlemenin yanısıra, İnebahtı Savaşı temalı İtalyan dini resimleri ile diğer sanatsal çalışmaları betimsel ve ikonografik analiz yöntemleriyle detaylı olarak incelemektedir. Farklı dönemlerde farklı Katolik bölgelerden dini temalı İnebahtı Savaşı konulu 85 resmin analizinin gösterdiği üzere, bu sanatsal çalışmaların ortak özelliği gelenekselleşmiş bir şekilde vurgulanan, savaşın kazanılmasını sağlayan olgunun ilahi müdahale olduğu inancıdır. Bahsi geçen resimlerde de genellikle Tesbihli Meryem gibi aziz figürlerinin savaş tasvirlerinin üzerinde belirterek Kutsal İttifak donanmasını yönlendirdiği, böylelikle Kutsal Lig'in Osmanlı Devleti karşısında elde ettiği zaferin Katolik inancı sayesinde gerçekleştiğidir. Özet olarak bu çalışma, Kutsal Lig'in kazandığı İnebahtı zaferinin öncelikle Katolik Karşı Reformu sürecinde İtalyan yarımadasında Katolik propagandası yapmak üzere bir araç olarak kullandığını, sonra da yüzyıllar boyunca Katolik gücünün göstergesi olan bir sembol haline geldiğini ifade ediyor.

Anahtar sözcükler: İnebahtı Savaşı, 1571, Kutsal İttifak, Kutsal Lig, Osmanlı-Venedik ilişkileri, Katolik mezhebi, Karşı Reform, Protestan Reformu, Tesbihli Meryem, İtalyan resmi, ikonografi, sembolizm.

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INTRODUCTION

The Battle of Lepanto, a historical Mediterranean naval encounter, occurred on October 7, 1571 between the Ottoman Empire and the coalition of major Catholic states, namely the Holy League, acquired a symbolic character as a legendary victory of Christianity, Catholicism in particular, over the “infidels.” Over the centuries, this victory became not only the symbol of halting the Ottoman advance in the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century, but also a symbol of Catholic strength all around the world. As a glorious symbolic victory, it constituted a source of inspiration for artists for centuries, beginning in the Italian peninsula and extending throughout the Catholic world. Numerous museums in Europe, and several in the United States, Asia, and elsewhere, along with religious institutions such as churches and chapels and non-religious structures such as palaces and villas, preserve these works of art, including paintings, engravings, sculptures, tiles, and tapestry related to the battle and its protagonists.

My main research question in this study is if and to what extent the artistic representations of the Battle of Lepanto have been used as political propaganda tools to defend and promote Catholicism, especially during Counter-Reformation in Europe. In order to answer this question, I specifically analyze the works of Italian artists on the subject matter in the broader context of the global artistic works since although the Holy League mainly consisted of the Catholic states of the Italian peninsula, the symbolism attributed to this victory was not limited to the works of Italian artists. Based on my research, my main argument is that the Battle of Lepanto has indeed been a major propaganda item for Catholicism for centuries across the Catholic world.

Lepanto-related artistic works first emerged in the Italian peninsula during and immediately after the battle, starting with the commissions of Catholic statesmen as a means to celebrate a Christian victory. Christianity, in this case, was purposely represented by

Catholicism in a Europe bitterly engaged in politico-religious rivalries. This is one reason I pay particular attention to the Italian works of art, especially the historical paintings of the Battle of Lepanto that include elements of religion. In order to contextualize the works of Italian artists, and to show the extent of the symbolic nature of the battle, I also examine how the Battle of Lepanto became and was used as a symbol of the Catholic faith in different spheres of art, periods, and areas. Apart from the abundance of the religious works related to the Battle of Lepanto in the Catholic world, the fact that the examples encountered in the non-Catholic lands, mainly in central and northern Europe, are located only in the Catholic churches further strengthens the main argument of the thesis that underlines the symbolic significance of the Battle of Lepanto for Catholicism.

To contextualize the symbolic Italian paintings with religious elements, I thematically categorize the artistic outcomes of the Battle of Lepanto according to their genres. Therefore, the four main categories examined in this thesis are as follows: the secular works that document the battle, the genres of history painting and maritime painting; religious paintings that emphasize the “Christianity” of the victory, and contemporary symbolic intangible celebrations. With distinctive examples from each category, the symbolic significance of this victory is reviewed in a broad context.

In Chapter 1, I analyze the historical background in which the Battle of Lepanto was fought; and in Chapter 2, I focus on the artistic outcomes of the battle. According to this categorization, the artistic outcomes of the Battle of Lepanto can be examined under two main categories: the secular (Chapter 2.1) and the religious (Chapter 2.2). In Section 2.1.1, the secular outcomes, consisting of descriptive documentary depictions of the battle as “artwork,” are examined. This documentary outcome includes the immediate post-Lepanto works produced with

a secular purpose, such as maps and engravings that describe the battle in various forms, as well as secular commemorative outputs, such as statues and public monuments. In Section 2.1.2, I explore how Battle of Lepanto has also been a subject of later artworks that are also secular in character, specifically in history painting and maritime painting, which are considered as distinctive genres in art history. The common characteristic of the works examined in Section 2.1 is that although they lack religious elements, they all depict the battle in a commemorative manner.

The religious artistic outcomes, consisting of architecture, objects, and paintings, are analyzed in Section 2.2 through various notable examples around the world. Although paintings with religious symbolism created by Italian artists belong to this category, they are studied separately in Chapter 3 in detail because of their symbolic significance as earlier examples of the subject. The paintings produced in the main Italian participant city states of the battle—Rome, Venice, Genoa and others—are analyzed separately in relation with their artists' or commissioners' localities¹. Lastly, the intangible religious heritage that includes activities, such as the Feast of Madonna of Rosary and *te deum*, as well as the contemporary events and celebrations is studied in Chapter 4 with the aim of emphasizing the current symbolic value of the Battle of Lepanto for the Catholic world.

Methodology

During my research, I had the opportunity to work in the state archives in Venice, Rome, Ferrara, and Istanbul and to visit the museums and churches in Venice, Rome, Genoa, Turin, Messina, Barcelona, Lyon, Istanbul, and New York to explore and examine works of art related

¹ A catalogue of the religious paintings on the Battle of Lepanto by Italian artists is also presented in chronological order at the end of this study. There, for the paintings where the date of production is not available, I referred to the century in which the painter worked.

to the Battle of Lepanto in their collections. Subsequently, in these three years of research, I became a true follower and an admirer of “Lepanto art,” which continues to amaze me in every way possible. Accordingly, my research is based on archival research and on-site examinations accompanied by a literature review of the Battle of Lepanto and its place in art history through mainly Italian, English, Turkish, and Ottoman sources. Yet, for the works that I did not have primary access to, I consulted supplementary sources, such as the previous research of art historians and online sources, mainly the websites of museums and municipalities. While transferring my input into this thesis, I used descriptive and iconographical analyses, especially in the paintings of Italian artists, in which the illustrations of the battle were analyzed thematically, stylistically, and symbolically in relation to their significance in art history in the broader historical context. I also embedded explanatory labels for the works I examine in the “Figures” section with their related information including the name of the artist, name of the work and their current place of exhibition. However, in some cases—especially for the works exhibited in small churches—some of the labels do not include some explanatory texts due to lack of precise information about their dimensions or dates in which they were painted. Also, because of the high amount of artistic works on the subject matter, I had to limit this study to the analyses of Italian paintings with religious elements; an in-depth analysis for others are a subject for further research.

Literature Review

Compared to the extensive literature on the history of the Battle of Lepanto—including the eye-witness accounts of the contemporaries and later comprehensive historical, political, economic, and social studies by scholars—that confirms the battle’s historical and symbolic value, the specific literature on the Battle of Lepanto in art history is rare, but exists, especially in

Western Europe. Despite the fact that art historians analyzed single artworks of painters in their studies, comprehensive accounts of the Battle of Lepanto as a subject in art history are limited. This thesis aims to contribute to the field by focusing on the artistic outcomes of the Battle of Lepanto in relation to the Catholic propaganda, including examples from the past and the present. Although I refer to the accounts analyzing the single artworks in the relevant chapters, the literature review below focuses on the most relevant works to my broader subject of study.

Periodical accounts of the Battle of Lepanto are generally revived in the battle's anniversaries and one such article, entitled "Lepanto: MDLXXI–MDCCCLXXI" and published in the first issue of the journal of the Venetian Archives, the *Archivio Veneto*, dedicated to the 300th anniversary of the battle, is worth particular attention.² In his 1871 article, Giuseppe Giurato analyzes the artistic outcome of the battle while presenting public monuments and paintings present in Venice as of 1871. While informing the reader about the historical environment in which they were produced, its comprehensive structure constitutes a starting point for tracing the artworks and their current states.

On its 400th anniversary, in 1971, a convention on the Battle of Lepanto in the Mediterranean history was held in Venice.³ The proceedings of the convention included valuable studies of historians such as Braudel, İnalcık, and Mantran, but also presented significant research on the battle and its depictions in different spheres of art. One of the articles in these proceedings, "Lepanto nelle Medaglie," examines the representations and inscriptions on the

² Giurato, Giuseppe, "Lepanto: MDLXXI-MDCCCLXXI" in *Archivio Veneto*, Pubblicazione Periodica, Tomo I, Venezia: Marco Visentini, 1871, pp. 24-49.

³ Benzoni, Gino (ed.), *Il Mediterraneo nella seconda metà del '500 alla luce di Lepanto: atti del convegno di studi promosso e organizzato dalla Fondazione Giorgio Cini* (Venice, October 8-10, 1971), Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1974.

votive medals produced in honor of the battle.⁴ In Gorini's study both the historical and political significance of the medals and their artistic value are acknowledged and explored through iconographical analyses.

In another article published in the proceedings of the same convention, "Echi della Battaglia di Lepanto nella Pittura Venezia del '500," Anna Pallucchini examines the immediate post-Lepanto commissions of paintings on the subject of the battle, produced by the Venetian masters of the *Cinquecento*.⁵ Paintings of Tiziano, Tintoretto, and Veronese, including the ones that are lost today, are analyzed iconographically and in their religious and political contexts in relation to the works of Vasari in the *Sala Regia*. In this sense, Pallucchini's work establishes an art-historical guide for analyzing the sixteenth-century Italian paintings in Venice.

Similarly, in the essay of Christina Strunck, the pictorial representations of the battle are examined with particular emphasis on the iconography of the "Turk" as "the enemy" in Italian paintings.⁶ Strunck's comprehensive analysis is, in a way, an extended version of the arguments presented in her PhD dissertation on the Palazzo Colonna and its frescoes.⁷ Her focus on the representation of the enemy shows the thematic differences, which occurred over time, and the changing Italian perceptions of the Ottomans, first as the "noble" and then the "barbarous"

⁴ Gorini, Giovanni, "Lepanto nelle medaglie" in *Il Mediterraneo nella seconda metà del '500 alla luce di Lepanto: atti del convegno di studi promosso e organizzato dalla Fondazione Giorgio Cini* (Venice, October 8-10, 1971), Gino Benzoni (ed.), Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1974. pp. 153-162.

⁵ Pallucchini, Anna, "Echi della battaglia di Lepanto nella pittura veneziana del '500," in *Il Mediterraneo nella seconda metà del '500 alla luce di Lepanto: atti del convegno di studi promosso e organizzato dalla Fondazione Giorgio Cini* (Venice, October 8-10, 1971), Gino Benzoni (ed.), Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1974, pp. 279-281.

⁶ Strunck, Christina, "The Barbarous and the Noble Enemy: Pictorial Representations of the Battle of Lepanto" in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750: Visual Imagery Before Orientalism*, ed. James G. Harper, Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011.

⁷ Strunck, Christina, *Berninis unbekanntes Meisterwerk: Die Galleria Colonna und die kunstpatronagedes Römischen Uradels*, Biblioteca Hertziana: Rome, 2007.

enemy. Her argument is further supported with the changes in the iconography of the “Turk” presented in the paintings she analyzed.

The study of Victor Minguez analyses the symbolism of several Italian and Spanish paintings with religious figures and argues that the alliance of the Holy League’s forces were represented as means of propaganda in the arts in many painted recreations of the naval battle of Lepanto, showing God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints taking part in the combat and deciding its destiny.⁸ Minguez’s argument is parallel to mine since it analyzes the paintings in relation to their symbolic religious meanings.

David Boyd McLay’s MA thesis, “Depictions of the Battle of Lepanto,” conducts an in-depth analysis of two engravings and five oil paintings, along with an overview of the Battle of Lepanto as a historical event.⁹ The artistic outcomes of the battle are also analyzed in Stefania De Vita’s monograph entitled *La Battaglia di Lepanto nella Storia dell’Arte*.¹⁰ Although it is not an academic publication, it enlists numerous depictions of the battle, including the less well-known representations that have not attracted the general attention of the scholars.

The celebration of victory in forms of art other than paintings have also been a subject of study for many scholars; these celebrations include, among others, literature and music. In this area of study, Ernst Gombrich’s article on celebrations in Venice constitutes a starting point; he analyzes five particular engravings depicting the religious processions held in Venice to celebrate the Battle of Lepanto.¹¹ His descriptive and iconographic analyses of these five engravings lead

⁸ Minguez, Victor, “Iconografía de Lepanto. Arte, Propaganda y Representación Simbólica de una Monarquía Universal y Católica”, *Obradoiro de Historia Moderna*, No. 20, 2011, pp. 251-280.

⁹ McLay, David Boyd, *Depictions of the Battle of Lepanto*, MA Thesis, Ontario: Queen’s University, 2007.

¹⁰ De Vita, Stefania, *La Battaglia di Lepanto nella Storia dell’Arte*, Marina di Minturno: Caramanica Editore, 2013.

¹¹ Gombrich E. H., “Celebrations in Venice of the Holy League and of the Victory of Lepanto,” in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art Presented to Anthony Blunt on his Sixtieth Birthday*, London: Phaidon, 1967.

the reader to imagine the celebratory atmosphere in 1571 through the detailed examination of the primary artistic sources.

In his many analytical studies on the forms of celebration of the victory at Lepanto, Iain Fenlon examines how ceremonies were conducted and remembered by the Venetians after the victory. In his article “Lepanto: The Arts of Celebration in Renaissance Venice,”¹² Fenlon presents many examples of these celebrations, from religious processions to masses at churches in honor of the victory, while in the chapter “Lepanto: Music, Ceremony and Celebration”¹³ of his book *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy*, he establishes the connections between the celebratory activities in Venice and the Counter-Reformation movement.

Cecilia Gibellini’s monograph analyzes the arts of celebration in Venice through works of art and literature, with particular attention to the Battle of Lepanto as the major success of the Holy League.¹⁴ In her study, the glorification of the martyrs and heroes of the battle are presented in relation to religious myths. Furthermore, Jenny Jordan examines how this victory was promoted in artistic narratives of the sixteenth century through mapbooks and engravings.¹⁵ In this PhD dissertation, Jordan focuses on how this narrative contributed to the construction of the “legend” of the Battle of Lepanto. In this sense, both Gibellini’s and Jordan’s studies constitute analytical surveys on the primary sources on the subject and how this narration of victory bore a historical legend.

¹² Fenlon, Iain, "Lepanto: the Arts of Celebration in Renaissance Venice", in *Proceedings to the British Academy*, LXXIII, 1987, pp. 201-236.

¹³ Fenlon, Iain, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. pp. 139-161.

¹⁴ Gibellini, Cecilia, *L'Immagine di Lepanto: La celebrazione della vittoria nella letteratura e nell'arte veneziana*, Venezia: Marsilio, 2008.

¹⁵ Jordan, Jenny, *Imagined Lepanto: Turks, Mapbooks, Intrigue, and Spectacular in the Sixteenth Century Construction of 1571*, PhD Thesis, Los Angeles: University of California, 2004.

It is within this context that this thesis analyzes the artistic outcomes of Lepanto as an attempt by the Catholic Church and its proponents to face the challenges posed by the Protestant Reformation and the seemingly unstoppable expansion of the Ottoman power, and it hopes to contribute to the expanding literature on the Battle of Lepanto in art history.



CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO

1.1. The Sixteenth-Century Balance of Power in the Mediterranean

The sixteenth century provided two simultaneous challenges for Catholic Europe: the Ottoman expansionism and the Protestant Reformation. The Battle of Lepanto seems to have addressed both. The sixteenth century has been characterized as *the golden century* of the Ottoman Empire, as this is the period of its territorial expansion to almost the fullest extent, with the result of having turned the Mediterranean into an “Ottoman lake.”¹⁶ Following the conquest of *Kostantiniyye* (“the city”), the Ottoman Empire, under powerful sultans like Selim I (r. 1512–1520) and Süleyman I (r. 1522–1566), followed a successful policy of aggrandizement in all directions. With Süleyman’s death in 1566, Selim II (r. 1566–1574) was enthroned, and even though he is traditionally not considered as successful as his predecessors, he still managed to continue the territorial expansion of the Empire. In this period, the main challenges to Ottoman supremacy were Venice, the Habsburgs, and the Papacy, the Papacy, the spiritual leader of Catholic Europe, but with strong political influence and aspirations. The Fourth Ottoman-Venetian War began in 1570 upon Selim’s hegemonic ambitions, and the Ottomans conquered the Port of Famagusta on the island of Cyprus by defeating the Venetian forces within a year.¹⁷ This strategic success in the Mediterranean led major western European forces to intervene, since the Ottoman control of the high seas, particularly in the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Mediterranean, was a direct threat to the commercial interest of the former hegemonic powers of

¹⁶ Nicolle, David, *Armies of the Ottoman Turks: 1300–1774*, Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1983. p. 23.

¹⁷ The first three Ottoman–Venetian wars occurred in 1463–1479; 1499–1503; and 1537–1540. p. 308–309. Pedani, Maria Pia, *Doğu’nun Kapısı Venedik*, İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2015, pp. 52–59.

the region, who were more or less rallied around the unifying symbol of Catholicism since the time of Crusades.

Marking the beginning of the early modern period in Western historiography, the sixteenth century is also regarded as a time of rapid scientific and economic advancement in Europe. It is the era of great discoveries and territorial expansion, which started in search of gold and spices and ended up in the formation of world-wide networks of colonies controlled by the major European powers. Also, in this period the Roman Catholic Church, hence, the Papacy, was trying to re-establish its authority, which had been challenged by the Protestant Reformation led by Martin Luther.¹⁸

Historians usually date the starting point of the Protestant Reformation to 1517 when Martin Luther posted his 95 Theses on a church door in Wittenberg, Germany. With this act of protest, Martin Luther aimed to begin a process that would remake the Catholic Church, which he, and others, had accused of corruption and abuses of power.¹⁹ This symbolic act initiated a religious, political, intellectual, and cultural upheaval in Catholic Europe, with far-reaching consequences. In northern and central Europe, reformers like Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Henry VIII challenged the supremacy of papal authority and questioned the powers of the Catholic Church. As a result, a new sect of Christianity emerged and separated itself from Catholicism and found political support among many sovereigns: Protestantism.

In order to save their status and authority, the Catholic clergy, led by the Pope himself, organized an institutional reaction in the form of The Council of Trent (1545–1563), through which they articulated the Church's response—which would later be known as the Catholic

¹⁸ Ranke, Leopold von, *The History of the Popes: Their Church and State and Especially of Their Conflicts with Protestantism in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries*, vol.1, London: George Bell and Sons, 1889, pp. 110–128.

¹⁹ Mullet, Michael A., *The Catholic Reformation*, London: Routledge, 1999, p. 30.

Counter-Reformation—to the problems that triggered the Protestant Reformation.²⁰ This reaction even included a decision regarding the establishment of the infamous inquisitions in Rome and in Spain to combat the threat of heresy, particularly the Protestant one, although followers of other faiths, including Islam and Judaism, were also targeted.²¹

In such an environment, the ongoing Venetian conflict with the Ottomans and Venice's need for assistance from the Pope triggered a succession of events that would eventually become a symbol of victory for the Catholic Holy League, salvaging its reputation and establishing its authority over all heretics, Muslims, Jews, and Protestants alike. In this sense, one can argue that this battle—or, from the Catholic perspective, the “victory”—of Lepanto could not have taken place at a more historically opportune moment for the Holy Alliance. By effectively closing the western Mediterranean to Ottoman naval domination, the Catholic coalition acquired a historic advantage, both symbolic and real, against its rivals. Accordingly, it inspired many examples of commemorative representations in the field of art, both as a part of the celebration immediately after the battle and in the centuries to follow.

1.2. The Fourth Ottoman-Venetian War (1570–1573)

After more than a quarter-century of peace between the Venetians and the Ottomans, Selim II, in line with his predecessor Süleyman I's expansionist policies in the Mediterranean, decided to take control of the strategic island of Cyprus, which had been held by Venice for the last eighty-one years. In March of 1570 the grand vizier Sokullu Mehmet Paşa sent the following message via the sultan's emissary Kubad Çavuş to the Venetian authorities:²²

²⁰ Mullet, 1999, p. 13.

²¹ Ranke, 1889, p. 283.

²² Norwich, John Julius, *A History of Venice*, New York: Penguin Books, 1983, p. 464.

Selim, Ottoman Sultan, Emperor of the Turks, Lord of Lords, King of Kings, Shadow of God, Lord of the Earthly Paradise and of Jerusalem, to the Signory of Venice:

We demand of you Cyprus, which you shall give us willingly or per force; and do not awake our horrible sword, for we shall wage most cruel war against you everywhere; neither put your trust in your treasure, for we shall cause it suddenly to run from you like a torrent.

This ultimatum from the Sublime Porte was rejected by the Venetian Senate, amounting to a declaration of war. Although Venice and the Ottoman Empire had been good trade partners since the fourteenth century, they were also serious political rivals.²³ Selim II had his dynastic and symbolic motivations for the declaration of his campaign on Cyprus, such as the need to gain legitimacy for his rule upon his accession to throne, as well as political and economic ones, such as the strategic position of the island, which lays between hajj routes to Mecca and trade routes to Egypt and the Levant.²⁴ From the Ottoman perspective, even though Selim II renewed the peace treaty upon his succession, this political action was almost a necessity.²⁵

Starting in 1559, Ottoman naval activity in the Mediterranean increased noticeably and began to threaten the western European powers. The ambassador of the Vatican in Venice, nuncio Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, remarked that even in times of peace the *Serenissima*, by principle, would prepare its fleet whenever the Ottomans prepared theirs.²⁶ This Ottoman ultimatum might not have been unexpected in Venice, considering the Ottoman advances in the Mediterranean and the subsequent military activity, such as the siege of Malta in 1565.

²³ Pedani, 2015, pp. 52–59.

²⁴ Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Cilt: 3, Bölüm: 1, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988, pp. 6–11.

²⁵ Pedani, 2015, p. 309.

²⁶ AS.Ven. SS 76, 20rv, Nunziature IX, 112–13, in Barbero, Alessandro, *İnebahtı: Üç İmparatorluğun Savaşı*, İstanbul: Alfa Tarih, 2016. p. 27.

Furthermore, from 1568 rumors had been spreading in Europe about a probable attack by the Turkish fleet. In fact, Venice proceeded with war preparations at the Arsenal and called for military solidarity and alliance, which they cultivated through the creation of new aristocratic titles in return for loans of 20,000 ducats.²⁷ Rulers of neighboring towns and cities such as the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Dukes of Ferrara, Mantua, Parma, Savoy, and Urbino contributed according to their means with troops and horses,²⁸ but apart from Pope Pius V and Philip II of Spain, other powerful Mediterranean states were not particularly interested in participating in the forthcoming war for myriad reasons, ranging from political to bureaucratic²⁹.

In Rome, the succession of Pope Pius V (1504–1572) to the papal throne in 1566 changed the political course. Dominican cardinal Michele Ghisleri, who succeeded Pope Pius IV and took the name Pope Pius V, came from a poor family and was grateful to the Church for everything he had. Perhaps for this reason, he had a more aggressive attitude about the defense of Christendom and Catholic values compared to his predecessor. As Crowley puts it, “he was filled with a fervent zeal to defend and enhance the Catholic Church in the face of its enemies, Protestants and Muslims, a zeal that harked back to the spirit of the medieval Crusades”³⁰. His determination to deal with “infidels” also caused the Church to accelerate the application of the requirements of Counter-Reformation movement in the years following the Council of Trent.

²⁷ Norwich, 1983. p. 469.

²⁸ ASCFe. Cartella XXV, fasciolo 2, doc. 1, 20 Maggio 1571. “Il Pontefice Pio V stabilisce e conclude una lega offensiva, e difensiva con il Ré Cattolico, e la Repubblica Veneta contro il Turco, e suoi Stati, formando tra esse tre Potenze diversi Capitoli, e Convenzioni” (“Pontefix Pius V establishes and concludes an offensive and defensive league with the Catholic King, and the Venetian Republic against the Turk and its States, among which three powers of different conventions are formed”).

²⁹ For a detailed account on the bureaucratic causes of non-participation by the “Reformation Germany” see Hanß, Stefan, “War and Peace: Shaping Politics in Reformation Germany after the Battle of Lepanto” in *The Muslim World*, vol. 107, Issue 4, October 2017.

³⁰ Crowley, Roger, *Empires of the Sea: The Siege of Malta, The Battle of Lepanto, and the Contest for the Center of the World*, New York: Random House, 2008. p. 195.

A decade earlier, in 1556, Philip II (1527–1598) inherited the title of the King of Spain from his father, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–1558), and began to rule the Habsburg domains of Spain. Philip II was a devout Catholic and he exhibited a typical sixteenth-century disdain for “infidels,” i.e., non-Christians and Christian heretics. As he wrote to diplomat Luis de Requesens in 1566, “You can assure his Holiness that rather than suffer the least injury to religion and the service of God, I would lose all my states and a hundred lives if I had them, for I do not intend to rule over heretics.”³¹ As Ranke notes, “in a man of (Pius V’s) character, Philip of Spain, Cardinal Borromeo, and all the more rigid party, believed that they had found the salvation of the church.”³²

This mindset of Philip II served Pope Pius V’s interest and despite the distrust between Venice and Spain,³³ this common interest in a holy war against infidels attracted Philip’s attention when Pius V invited them to fight against the Ottoman Empire under a Holy League. In fact, along with Philip II’s spiritual sympathy to Pius V,³⁴ an urgent need to reaffirm his authority was triggered by the Protestant rebellions in the Dutch lands of the Habsburgs. These rebellions added as another legitimate reason, along with Philip II’s suspicions of Ottoman aid to the Protestant revolts.³⁵ In that respect, the Cyprus issue had become an excuse to revive the Holy League, to which Pius V had been aspiring. Although it was impossible to eliminate all the difficulties impeding the union of the two maritime powers,³⁶ Pope Pius V managed to create an alliance, which would provide the opportunity to demonstrate the power of Catholicism against the “infidels.”

³¹ Pettegree, Andrew, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002. p. 214.

³² Ranke, 1889, p. 271.

³³ Braudel, Fernand, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, New York: Harper Collins, 1992, p. 1088.

³⁴ Ranke, 1889, p. 271.

³⁵ Crowley, 2008. pp. 206–210.

³⁶ Ranke, 1889, p. 285.

It was under these circumstances that a tripartite alliance was unofficially formed by Venice, the Papacy, and Spain at the end of May 1570, and officially enacted after one year of intense negotiations,³⁷ with the inclusion of other Catholic maritime states in Italy and the Mediterranean and the Knights of Malta. In the course of that one year, the Ottoman domination of Eastern Mediterranean continued. On September 9, 1570, after two months of siege, the Ottomans captured Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, destroyed Venetian fortifications, and besieged the town of Famagusta. The Ottomans were under the command of Lala Mustafa Paşa and fought against the defending forces led by Marcantonio Bragadin, a military officer of the Republic of Venice and the civil governor of Famagusta.

In reaction to Ottoman advances, Pius V accelerated the negotiation process, as he feared losing the momentum of “rebuffing Turkish aggression” unless the Holy League was successful by the spring of 1571.³⁸ Finally on May 25, 1571, the treaty of alliance between the Republic of Venice, the Papal States, and the Kingdom of Spain was signed. Through a solemn announcement and a High Mass on May 27, the treaty was read and approved by all the cardinals at a consistory and was celebrated in St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome. According to the announcement, “this triple alliance was to be lasting, was to be both offensive and defensive... and was to furnish 200 galleys, 100 transports, 50,000 Spanish, Italian, and German infantry, and 4500 cavalry, as well as the necessary number of cannons.”³⁹ The League also agreed on the appointment of commanders for the Holy Fleet. John of Austria, who was the 24-year-old illegitimate half-brother of Philip II, officially known as Don Juan de Austria and based in Spain,

³⁷ Braudel, 1992, p. 506.

³⁸ Beeching, Jack, *The Galleys at Lepanto*, London: Hutchinson, 2007, p. 167.

³⁹ Freiherr von Pastor, Ludwig (tr. and ed. by Kerr, Ralph Francis), *The History of the Popes: From the Close of the Middle Ages, vol. XVIII: Pius V*, London: Routledge, 1952. p. 405.

was to be commander-in-chief, and the papal general Marcantonio II Colonna, a member of a powerful aristocratic family in the Papal States, was to be his lieutenant.

The satisfaction of Pius V at the realization of the triple alliance even motivated him to order a medal from medallist Giovanni Antonio de Rossi for commemoration, before the actual battle even started. The obverse featured the words PIUS V PONTIFEX MAXIMUS (“Pius V Supreme Pontiff”) around Pius V’s bearded portrait bust with his cap and cope. On the reverse, FOEDERIS IN TVRCAS SANCTIO (“Solemnization of the Treaty Against the Turks”) is inscribed upon the image of an allegory of the triple alliance through personifications of Venice, via the lion of Saint Mark, the Papacy, via the Lamb of God, and Spain, via the Imperial Eagle (Figure 1).

In the meantime, in July 1571, the Ottoman forces eventually breached the fortifications and broke into the citadel of the last Venetian stronghold in Cyprus, Famagusta, which had resisted for eleven months against the Ottoman forces. Yet, with provisions and ammunition running out, on August 1 Bragadin was compelled to ask for terms of surrender.⁴⁰ This was Bragadin’s last encounter with Mustafa Paşa, during which he aroused the Paşa’s wrath and was allegedly flayed alive in retaliation for the torturing and execution of Ottoman prisoners of war, which was in contravention to the surrender agreement.⁴¹ Bragadin was later announced a martyr by Catholic authorities and became a frequent subject in paintings by Renaissance artists (Figure 2; Figure 3). Upon the surrender of Famagusta, the island of Cyprus was officially under Ottoman rule.

⁴⁰ Madden, Thomas F. *Venice: A New History*, New York: Viking, 2012, p. 330.

⁴¹ Beeching, 2007. pp. 177–179; Büyüktuğrul, Afif, *Lepanto Deniz Muharebesine İlişkin Gerçekler*, İstanbul: Harp Akademileri Basımevi, 1972, p. 13.

1.3. The Battle of Lepanto (1571)

On August 24, 1571, the allied fleet of the Holy League assembled in Messina, Sicily, and sailed for the Ionian Sea island of Corfu on September 16, where they learned about the fall of Famagusta. Their orders were to attack the Ottoman fleet on October 7, around Lepanto (today Naupaktos in Greece) in the Gulf of Patras. According to an imperial verdict written on October 1571, these developments were followed and countermeasures were planned by the Sublime Porte.⁴²

On October 7, the fleet of the Holy League, consisting of 208 ships in total: 6 large Venetian galleasses, 154 galleys, and 48 other ships. The fleet, composed of 113 Venetian, 74 Spanish, and 12 vessels, as well as 3 Maltese, 3 Genoese, and 3 Savoyard, and carrying an estimated 23,000 troops and 40,000 sailors and oarsmen,⁴³ entered into the Gulf of Patras early in the morning. According to Beeching, “the galley fleet which Don Juan led out the sea in September 1571—the last ever to fight a full-scale naval battle—was the most sophisticated the Mediterranean had seen for twenty centuries.”⁴⁴

Meanwhile, the Ottoman fleet, under the command of the newly appointed Kapudan Paşa Müezzinzâde Ali, was assembling its squadrons at the fortified town of Lepanto. The officers

⁴² *Cezayir-i Garb beylerbeyisine hüküm ki: [...] İspanya'nın gemileri cümle iki yüz otuz kıt'a kadırğa ve yetmiş pâre fırkate ve yirmi sekiz kıt'a barça cem' olup İspanya'nın karındaşı Don Cuan nâm bed-fa'âl serdârları olup Venedik kadırgaları askerini ihrâc edip İspanyol soltaları mükemmel donatıp an-karib Körfös'e göçmek üzere dir deyü haber verdiler [...] Vardukta kemâ-kan hıdemât-ı humâyûnumda bezl-i maddür etmekten hâli olmayıp ânın gibi vilayet-i garb taraflarından her habere vâkıf ve muttalî' olup varup erişmek lâzım gelirse bir an te'hîr u tevakkuf etmeyip fermân-i celilü'l-kadrim mücibince ol cânibe varup lâzım olan tedârikin görüp geri evvel bahâr-ı ferhunde-fâlde Donanma-yı Hûmayûnumda hâzır bulunup dîn-i mübîn ve devlet-i ebed-karînime müte'allik olan husûslarda sarf edip envâ'-ı mesâ'i-i cemîle vücûda getiresin. 23 Cemâziyelevvel 979 in BOA MD. 16, 24/40 in Ballı, Ferşat, İnebahtı Deniz Seferi'nin Akdeniz Dünyası'ndaki Önemi, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2004, p. 188.*

⁴³ Bicheno, Hugh, *Crescent and the Cross: The Battle of Lepanto 1571*, London: Cassell, 2003, p. 300.

⁴⁴ Beeching, 2007. p. 195.

included the Bey of Algiers, Uluç Ali Paşa (known in Italian as Occhiali); the Bey of Alexandria, Şuluk Mehmet Paşa (known in Italian as Mahomet Scirocco); the Bey of Negroponte, Hamet Paşa; and Hasan Paşa, the son of great Ottoman admiral Hayreddin Barbarossa. The Ottoman fleet was comprised of 251 ships, of which 167 were galleys and the remaining galliots, flagships, and lanternships, and carried 31,490 troops and 50,000 sailors and oarsmen.⁴⁵ Following the command to go to battle, the fleet stretched across from shore to shore, in the traditional form of one vast crescent covering the bay.

Facing the Ottoman fleet, the armada of the Holy League divided into four groups in a north-south line (Figure 4). At the center division, the main fleet was ready to engage under the command of Don Juan de Austria in his royal galley *Reale* (Figure 5), next to Marcantonio II Colonna commanding the Papal flagship, Sebastiano Venier commanding the Venetian flagship, and Paolo Giordano I Orsini and Pietro Giustiniani commanding the flagship of the Knights of Malta.⁴⁶ At the northern end, the left division was led by Venetian admiral Agostino Barbarigo, the right division was led by Genoese Giovanni Andrea Doria, and a reserve division behind the main fleet was deployed. This division into four squadrons was marked by their distinctive colored flying pennants at the mainyards: blue pennants for Don Juan's central squadron comprised of fifty-four galleys; yellow pennants marking Sebastiano Venier's (afterwards Agostino Barbarigo's) fifty-three galleys on the left division; green pennants for the fifty-four

⁴⁵ Bicheno, 2003, p. 300.

⁴⁶ Contarini, Giampietro, *Historia delle cose successe dal principio della guerra mossa da Selim Ottomano a Venetiani fino al di della gran giornata vittoriosa contra Turchi*, Venetia: Francesco Rampazetto, 1572.
http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ174351901, last access: June 26, 2018.

galleys under the command of Giovanni Andrea Doria on the right division; and finally white pennants for the thirty galleys for rearguard forces.⁴⁷

Early in the morning, Don Juan ordered the celebration of mass on all the ships and began to sail around to encourage his fleet and to intimidate the Ottomans. Although at the beginning the wind seemed to be in favor of the Ottoman fleet, just before the noon it switched from east to west, a change which favored the Holy fleet. In European literature, the change of winds is associated with God's will to help the Catholics. As Paruta notes: "so as it was deservedly acknowledged by the Christians, as the work of God's all-powerful hand, whereof manifest signs were seen; for on a sudden, the troubled skies became clear, and the wind, which at first stood fair for the enemy, altered to our advantage."⁴⁸ The report of Kapudan Paşa, in turn, seems to agree: "The fleet of the divinely guided Empire encountered the fleet of the wretched infidels, and the will of Allah turned the other way."⁴⁹ Under these circumstances, the opposing fleets approached each other, then Ali Paşa adjusted his vessels to form a straight line against the League's fleet, changing their initial situation within the crescent formation. The two fleets officially initiated the battle, which would last for a total of four hours, with Don Juan's gun shots followed by Müezzinzâde Ali Paşa's. After two hours of heated exchange, Ali Paşa, who was fighting with a bow and arrow against Don Juan himself, was killed by a musket ball to the forehead. Later, he was beheaded by a Spanish soldier and his severed head was raised on the point of a lance. Eventually this gruesome act would become a symbol of victory of the Holy League (Figure 6). At around the same time, the Sultan's standard in the captured galley *Sultana*

⁴⁷ Scetti, Aurelio, (tr. and ed. by Monga, Luigi) *The Journal of Aurelio Scetti: A Florentine Galley Slave at Lepanto (1565–1577)*, Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004, p. 114.

⁴⁸ Paruta, Paolo, *The History of Venice. Likewise the Wars of Cyprus*, (trans. by Henry, Earl of Monmouth), London: A. Rober and H. Herrington, 1658. N.B.A different publisher, p. 143, in McLay, David Boyd, *Depictions of the Battle of Lepanto*, MA Thesis, Ontario: Queen's University, 2007.

⁴⁹ BOA, d. 16, h. 139 in Lesure, Michel, *Lépante: La Crise de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris: 1972, p. 180.

was taken down and replaced with a flag displaying a cross. This marked the end of the battle in the center at around 2 p.m., with about 84 of the Ottoman ships destroyed and 117 captured.⁵⁰ Serasker Pertev Paşa, the commander of the land forces present at the scene, and approximately 40 vessels of the Ottoman fleet on the left wing, commanded by Uluç Ali Paşa, were able to escape.⁵¹ The battle was effectively over at 4 p.m. and was considered “the most destructive of lives and ships in naval battles of all time.”⁵² The estimated numbers provided by Stirling-Maxwell for this historic battle are as following: on the Ottoman camp, up to 30,000 men were killed, 30,000 were wounded and 10,000 were taken prisoners; the casualties of the Holy League amounted to 7500 killed and 15,000 wounded.⁵³

The combat clearly resulted in favor of the allied Catholic forces and thus, the Holy League declared the Naval Battle of Lepanto a historic triumph. Although this claim was famously dismissed by grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, who reportedly asserted that the empire was rich and powerful beyond imagination, so much so that if it willed, it could cast the anchors of the fleet from silver, with ropes made from silk thread and sails made from atlas silk,⁵⁴ in Turkish historiography, the Battle of Lepanto was acknowledged as the first major Ottoman

⁵⁰ Bicheno, 2003, p. 320.

⁵¹ The apparent mismatch of numbers provided for the vessels reflect the chaotic character of reporting by different sources. As İnalçık further cites the eyewitness Ottoman chronicler Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, Uluç Ali arrived to İstanbul on December 19 with 32 ships he managed to save, cf. İnalçık, Halil, “Lepanto in the Ottoman Documents” in *Il Mediterraneo nella seconda metà del '500 alla luce di Lepanto: atti del convegno di studi promosso e organizzato dalla Fondazione Giorgio Cini* (Venice, October 8–10, 1971), Gino Benzoni (ed.), Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1974, p. 192; while in Bicheno, 2003, p. 320 and Kramers J. H., “Lepanto”, in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Houtsma, M. Th., Wensinck, A. J., Lévi-Provençal, E., Gibb, H. A. R. and Heffening, W. (eds.), vol. III, Leiden: Brill, 1936, pp. 22–23, the number is 40.

⁵² McLay, 2007. p. 23.

⁵³ Stirling-Maxwell, p. 440–441.

⁵⁴ Peçevî cites Sokollu Mehmed Paşa: “Bu devlet ol devlettir ki, murad edinirse cümle donanmanın lengerlerini gümüşten, resenlerini ibrişimden, yelkenlerini atlastan etmekte suûbet çekmez” in Peçevî, İbrahim, *Peçevî Tarihi*, İstanbul: Neşriyat Yurdu Yeni Şark Maarif Kütüphanesi, 1968, p. 260.

defeat at the sea, as a result of an inopportune battle.⁵⁵ Hence, in Turkish sources the Lepanto debacle is generally referred to as “sıngın donanma seferi” (expedition of the destroyed fleet).⁵⁶

The Battle of Lepanto was just one of the battles that took place during the Fourth Ottoman-Venetian War, albeit with long term consequences. The war itself eventually resulted in favor of the Ottoman Empire. According to the Ottoman-Venetian Peace Treaty signed in 1573, the Ottomans would keep control of the conquered territories while Venice had to pay war indemnities as well as various tributes to the Ottomans.⁵⁷ For this reason, the depiction of the battle as a real victory is debatable; yet, it acquired a symbolic character as it broke the image of Ottoman “invincibility” in the sixteenth century.⁵⁸ As Ranke notes, Pius V—upon the victory that he witnessed in kind of trance—believed that “in a few years the Ottoman power would be utterly subdued.”⁵⁹

The allied powers of the Holy League slowed down the Ottoman advances, put limits to its dominance in the Mediterranean, and thus, in Braudel’s words: “the spell of Turkish supremacy had been broken.”⁶⁰ In consequence, the symbolic value of the Catholic victory at Lepanto was enormous in that in many sources it was interpreted as the triumph of Christianity

⁵⁵ Peçevî interprets the defeat as: “Bu mübarek olmayan savaş, İslâm devletinde değil, belki de Hazreti Nuh, gemi icad edeliden beri şu arz üzerindeki denizlerde olmamıştır” in Peçevî, 1968, p. 260.

⁵⁶ İnalçık, 1974, p. 192.

⁵⁷ “Venice would pay in three years 300,000 Venetian ducats as a war indemnity covering the cost of the Cyprus campaign; the last fortification in Cyprus held by Venetians would surrender; the Venetian tribute for Zante would be tripled from 500 ducats; the Venetian Cyprus tribute would be abrogated; the border in Dalmatia would be restored and both sides would compensate each other’s’ merchants who suffered damage during the war.” in Koçu, Reşat Ekrem, *Osmanlı Muahedeleri ve Kapitülasyonlar 1300–1920*, İstanbul: Türkiye Matbaası, 1934, pp. 47–48. My translation.

⁵⁸ Soykut, Mustafa, *Papalık ve Venedik Belgelerinde Avrupa’nın Birliği ve Osmanlı Devleti (1453–1683)*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007, p. 203.

⁵⁹ Ranke, 1889, p. 283.

⁶⁰ Braudel, 1992, p. 1088.

over Islam.⁶¹ It was equally of great symbolic importance to the Catholic Church in a period when Christian Europe was involved in bitter disputes over religious faith as a result of the Protestant Reformation. Philip II of Spain emerged as the “Most Catholic King,” defending Christianity against Islam and, incidentally, against any other “heretical” challenges.

Giampietro Contarini, in his very detailed listing of the battle formations in his 1572 account, describes the Battle of Lepanto as the greatest success since the famous naval Battle of Actium, where Caesar Augustus claimed victory over Marc Anthony, almost at the same place.⁶² This is a quite popular analogy drawn by many, like Francis Bacon, who wrote: “To be master of the sea, is an abridgement of monarchy. [...] The Battle of Actium decided the empire of the world. The Battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk.”⁶³ Famous Spanish novelist Miguel de Cervantes, who actually lost his left arm in combat and later became known as the “el Manco de Lepanto,” recounts: “[T]hat day which was so fortunate for Christendom, on which the world was convinced of the error in believing the Turks invincible by sea; on that day, I say, when the Ottoman pride and insolence was humbled and broke, among so many happy Christians there present (and sure those who fell were happier than the living victors!).”⁶⁴ In his 1911 poem *Lepanto*, G. K. Chesterton successfully evokes the feelings of enthusiasm experienced at the battle for a twentieth century audience (Appendix A). Indeed, although the battle itself lasted

⁶¹ Capponi, Niccolò, *Lepanto 1571: La Lega Santa Contro l'Impero Ottomano*, Milan: Il Saggiatore, 2008.; Zysberg, André and Burlet, René., *Venezia: la Serenissima e il Mare*, Trieste: Electa, 1995.; Bicheno, Hugh., *Crescent and the Cross: The Battle of Lepanto 1571*, London: Cassell, 2003.

⁶² “Questo fu il successo della maggiore e piu’ famosa battaglia navale, che dal tempo di Cesare Augusto in quale mai seguita e fu a punto quasi nel medesimo luogo, dove egli vince Marc’Antonio essendo quella stata promontorio Actio ove al presente é la Prevesa”, in Contarini, 1572, p. 54.

http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ174351901, last access: June 26, 2018.

⁶³ Bacon, Francis, “Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates” in *The Works of Francis Bacon: Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England*, vol. II, London: 1824, p. 329.

⁶⁴ Cervantes, Miguel de, “In which the captive recounts his life and adventures” in *The History and Adventures of the Renowned Don Quixote*, translated by Tobias Smollett, ed. by O.M. Brack, Jr., Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2003, pp 181–183.

only four hours, the fact that its impact and visibility has remained more than 400 years, all around the world, is intriguing.

However, in the Turkish narrative, although the historiography and visual representations of the Ottoman victories, such as the conquest of Prevesa and the conquest of Cyprus, are numerous in the sixteenth-century literary and visual accounts of the Ottomans, the literature on the Battle of Lepanto is minimal. The battle itself appears in contemporary accounts of the chroniclers and historiographers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Selânikî Mustafa Efendi in his *Tarih-i Selânikî*, Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli in his *Kuhnü'l Ahbâr*, İbrahim Peçevî in his *Peçevî Tarihi*, Hasan Beyzâde Ahmet Paşa in his *Hasan Beyzâde Tarihi*, and Kâtip Çelebi in his *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr Fî Esfâri'l-Bihâr*.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the visual representations of Lepanto as a locality, such as miniature paintings or the portolan charts, are mostly limited to the works of the pre-1571 era. For example, in his famous book of navigation, *Kitâb-ı Bahriyye* (1521), Piri Reis depicts the castle and the ports of “İnebahtı” (Figure 7) and describes the Ottoman arrival to its shores of in 1499 while giving information about the coasts and topography.⁶⁶ Similarly, in the early sixteenth century, Matrakçı Nasuh illustrates the castle of

⁶⁵ For a detailed study of the accounts on the defeat of Lepanto in Ottoman historiography: Görgel, Zehra, *XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısındaki Osmanlı Yenilgilerinin Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserlerindeki Yansımaları*, MA Thesis, Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi, 2010.

⁶⁶ *Mezkûr Eynebahtı bir büyük kal'edür. Ve o kal'enün bir mikdâr yeri alçakdur. Bâkisi bayıra karşıdur. Ve Ahmedek'i de bir yüce yirdedür. [...] Ve ba'dehû mezkûr Eynebahtı Kal'esi'nün beş mil mikdâr lodos tarafında, ya'ni körfez ağzında Merhûm Sultan Bayezid Han iki kal'e binâ itdürmişdür. Rûmili'nde olan kal'eyi Anadolu askeri yaptı. Ve Mora tarafında olan kal'eyi Rumili askeri yaptı. Bu cümle on sekiz günde tamam eylediler. [...] Ve ba'dehû Eynebahtı'nun kal'esinden körfez-i mezbûrda olan Aspire İspitiye limanı seksen mildir, gün doğusu poryaz üzerine. Mezkûr liman Eynebahtı fethinde asker gemileri ile kışladuğumuz limandur. Mezbûr hüdâyî bir körfezdür. Ve ol körfezin alâmeti işbudur kim, büyük dağlardır.* “This Eynebahtı is a big castle, part of which is on low ground by the sea while the remainder is situated on a slope. Its watchover is located in a lofty place. [...] Five miles or so southwest of Eynebahtı Castle—that is, at the mouth of the gulf—there are two castles that were built by the late Sultan Bayezid Han. The castle on the Rumelian shore was built by the soldiers from Anatolia while the one the Mora side was built by the soldiers from Rumelia. They completed all this work in just eighteen days. [...] There is a harbor in this gulf called *Espire İspisi* located eighty miles east-northeast of Eynebahtı castle. This harbor is where we quartered our warships when Eynebahtı was conquered. This is a natural bay. The landmark of this gulf is its

“İnebahtı” and its settlement (Figure 8) in his manuscript *Târîh-i Sultân Bayezid* (c. 1534). Although the Ottoman nautical cartography flourished, especially in the sixteenth century,⁶⁷ depictions of “İnebahtı” almost disappear following the battle. One exception that depicts the battle is a miniature painting (Figure 9) in the illuminated manuscript of *Tuhfetü’l-Kibâr Fî Esfâri’l-Bihâr* (1669) by Kâtip Çelebi, where he narrates naval battles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Ottoman seas.



great mountains.” Text and translation retrieved from Piri Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriyye*, vol. 2, Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Turkish Republic, 1988, pp. 675–677.

⁶⁷ In Renda, Günsel, “Osmanlılar ve Deniz Haritacılığı” in *İstanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi ve Venedik Correr Müzesi Koleksiyonlarından XIV–XVIII Yüzyıl Portolan ve Deniz Haritaları*, İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi & İtalyan Kültür Merkezi, 1994, p. 20.

CHAPTER 2

ARTISTIC OUTCOMES OF THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO

The artistic outcomes of the Battle of Lepanto can be examined under two main headings: the works that aim to document history and the ones that have a political agenda, such as mobilizing support for Catholic Church or simply government propaganda. In this chapter, the *post-factum* works that represent the battle itself without religious references will be discussed under two main sub-sections: works that are produced by the battle's contemporaries to spread the news of the events and works that were produced later as part of the newly trending genres of the modern age, history painting and maritime painting.

2.1. Secular Artistic Outcomes

The Battle of Lepanto has a significant place in art history. On one hand, there is an abundance of artwork in which this battle has been extensively used as an artistic tool for Catholic propaganda. On the other hand, it was a significant historical event to be documented. Hence, the battle has been subject of many secular literary and visual accounts in the late sixteenth century. Primarily, maps, engravings, drawings, and broadsheets were used as techniques to document the battle, along with many prints that appeared primarily in Venice and Rome in 1571 showing the alignment of the fleets and order of battle.⁶⁸ In this category, examples of maps and engravings directly related to the battle itself, as well as other

⁶⁸ A collection of chalcography related to the order of the battle dated from 1571 is located at the Correr Museum Library in Venice, among which Anonymous, *Vero Ritratto dell'Armata Christiana et Turchesca in Ordinanza [...] Dove li Nostri ebero la Gloriosa Vittoria tra Lepanto [...]*, 1571; *Il Vero Ordine et Modo Tenuto delle Christiana et Turchesca nella Battaglia, che fu al 7 Ottobre [...]*, Venice, 1571; Agostino Barberigo, *L'Ultimo et Vero Ritratto della Vittoria dell'Armata Christiana della Santissima Lega Contra L'Armata Turchesca [...]*, Venice, 1571; Lafreri, Antonio, *L'Ordine Tenuto dall'Armata della Santa Lega Christiana Contro il Turcho [...], ne Seguita la Felicissima Vittoria il Sette d'Ottobre MDLXXI [...]*, Rome, 1571.

documentary and informative prints will be examined. Examples of secular historical and maritime painting will be discussed in the following sections.

2.1.1. Documentary Depictions of the Battle of Lepanto as Artwork: Maps, Engravings and Prints

A good example of a documentary depiction of the Battle of Lepanto is found in a book of islands (*isolario*) entitled *Isole famose, porti, fortezze e terre marittime sottoposte alla ser. Sig. di Venetia, ad altri Principi Christiani, et al Sig. Turco novamete poste in luce*,⁶⁹ which was published in the cartographer and printer Giovanni Francesco Camocio's (1501–1575) workshop in Venice in 1574. The Lafreri-type *isolario* contains a collection of eighty-one maps and views that illustrate the 1570–1573 Ottoman-Venetian war. Inside are relatively simple maps of the coasts, the principal islands of the Mediterranean, views of the Adriatic, Ionian, and Aegean coasts, and several engravings that represent scenes from the Battle of Lepanto. The *isolario* also contains a drawing of an Ottoman ensign (Figure 10), which can be considered as a representation of supremacy through possession. This particular engraving illustrates an accurate depiction of the Ottoman ensign on top of the Turkish standard seized during the battle and is presented to the Signoria of Venice with the following note on top of the illustration:⁷⁰

Forma et vero ritratto del pomo over cimiero del stendardo principale del Bassa Generale
dell'Armata turchesca, signal era tutto d'Argento dorato et da tutte due le parti vi erano

⁶⁹“*Famous islands, ports, fortresses, and maritime territories, under the Illustrious Signoria of Venice and Other Christian princes, and under the Signor Turco*” Giovanni Francesco Camocio, *Isole famose, porti, fortezze e terre marittime sottoposte alla ser. Sig. di Venetia, ad altri Principi Christiani, et al Sig. Turco nouamete poste in luce*. In *Venetia alla libreria del segno di S. Marco*, Venice, 1574.

<https://exhibits.stanford.edu/renaissance-exploration/catalog/cb466fd5827>, last access: June 15, 2018.

⁷⁰“The form and true depiction of the ensign or the finial of the main standard of the Pasha General of the Turkish armada completely silver gilt and are engraved both sides in Turkish letters, the aforementioned ensign has been presented to the serenissima Signoria of Venice; for goldsmith brothers Monsignor Paulo and Monsignor Bernardino Lancia, at the sign of the Madonna in Rialto, it is three times larger than illustrated here.” (My translation from Italian to English; I would like to thank Ruggero D’Angerio for the transliteration.)

intagliate lettere turchesche, il qual cimiero fu presentato alla serenissima Signoria di Venetia; per Monsignor Paulo et Monsignor Bernardino Lancia fratelli orefici, alla insegna della Madonna in Rialto; la sua grandezza era tre volte maggior di questo disegno.

At the bottom of the illustration Camocio also provides a translation of the Ottoman-Turkish verses written in reverse on the ensign: “Interpretatione delle lettere Turchesce, che sono nel soprascritto pomo et prima. Dalla parte che si vede: **IDDIO NON A ALTRO DIO: MAUMETHO NUNCIO DE DIO.** Da l’altra parte: **Alli fideli divino Auspicio et ornamento: nelle degne imprese Dio favorisce Maumetho.**”⁷¹

While providing information, the *isolario* also revitalizes the Venetian successes through representation of war possessions. Although this illustration of the battle standard and its ensign is the only example, it represents a celebration of Christian victory. As Brummet denotes, in this *isolario*, while incorporating a vision of the trophies of war into his assembly of maps, Camocio also imposes the Ottoman standard as “a symbol of transfer of possession and authority from the Ottomans, to the Venetians and their allies in the Holy League.”⁷² While it does not directly portray Christian elements, this usage of political symbolism is noteworthy not only because this illustration is present in an atlas that celebrates military victories, but also because it was redesigned in a Venetian workshop to be presented to the Signory of Venice.

⁷¹ The legend for the standard which is shown in mirror image reads: “Interpretation of the Turkish letters on the above noted finial: On the part which one sees: God—Have no Other God—Muhammed is his nuncio. On the other part: To the faithful, divine, auspicious and ornamented; in worthy military endeavors God favors Muhammed.” (My translation from Italian to English; I would like to thank Ruggero D’Angerio for the transliteration.)

⁷² Brummet, Palmira, ““Turks” and “Christians”: The Iconography of Possession in the Depiction of the Ottoman-Venetian-Hapsburg Frontiers, 1550–1689” in *The Religions of the Book: Christian Perceptions, 1400–1660*, Dimmock, M., and Hadfield, A. (eds.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 127.

Emblems like the ones in Camocio's *isolario* have multiple purposes, including fixing possession in and on a certain territory, signifying the conquest of a distant and unseen space,⁷³ and symbolizing supremacy through trophies of war and symbols of power. In this sense, both the depiction of Müezzinzâde Ali Paşa's ensign and the engravings of other maps and battle scenes provide further perspective.

Although a religious symbolism is not directly implemented on these maps through Christian elements, the fact that they are contained in a celebratory atlas implies a different type of political symbolism, which ultimately aims to celebrate a political victory through spoils of war. Among many examples, Camocio's engravings of the battle scenes in his *isolario* reinforces this point. One of Camocio's maps in his *isolario* (Figure 11), for example, is inscribed as:

QUI RAPPRESENTO BREVEMENTE IL SUCCESSO DELLA MIRABILE
VITTORIA DELLA ARMATA DI SANTA LEGA CHRISTIANA; CONTRA LA
POTENTISSIMA ET ORGOGLIOSA DI SULTAN SELIM, PRINCIPE OTTOMANO
[...] [Here, I represent the success of the miraculous victory of the armada of the Christian
Holy League against that of the most powerful and vainglorious prince of the Ottomans,
Sultan Selim II...]

In many of these depictions, Camocio presents the correct dispositions of the fleets during the battle (Figure 12). Similarly, in the works of many engravers of the period, it is possible to see the fleets and their alignments, which aim to inform about the course of the battle. In this sense, one can argue that these maps, while circulating information, also serve to convey political messages on identity through possession. In these historically accurate maps, focusing on the

⁷³ Ibid. p. 124.

alignment of the fleets with inscriptions of the belligerents, the iconography of triumph and submission praises the Holy League while discrediting the Ottomans.

As Brummet argues, this element of arrogance was an important aspect of late sixteenth-century images of the “Turk”; it commonly was commemorated through spoils of war and became subject of many artworks from carvings to paintings.⁷⁴ The image of the Ottomans as a dominant military power was fractured at the Battle of Lepanto, and thus the occasion was obviously glorified via any possible means. Along with maps, other representations in circulation, such as broadsheets, were used as a means for disseminating information and for the glorification of victory. One example of these broadsheets, a rare example of circulating prints, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Figure 13). It is an anonymous German broadsheet published around 1571, shortly after the battle, with the purpose of being widely distributed or sold, and may have served as a form of proclamation posted in a public place.⁷⁵ In this colored image, Muezzinzade Ali Paşa is shown in full stature, wearing a precious silk *kaftan*. His clothing, together with a turban and long feathery crest, *sorguç*, indicates his rank as the highest admiral of the Sublime Porte. Although he is shown alive, in the background a detail of his head on the end of a pole illustrated his defeat.⁷⁶ Behind Ali Paşa is the flagship on which he was beheaded and the Ottoman flag, which was taken as a prize of war during the battle and serves as symbol of power through possession. On top of the image, an inscription, originally in German, reads:⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Brummet, Palmira, *Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territory, and Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

⁷⁵ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O97805/true-likeness-of-the-beheaded-woodcut-unknown/>, last access: June 16, 2018.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ *Wahre Conterfactur des Turcken Obersten Aly Bassa genandt, hie abgemalt, Dem sein Kopff ist abgeschlagen worden. In des Pertaw Bassa Turckischen Obersten Gallea, sollen/in 22000 Sultanini.in Gold, vnnd in des*

True likeness of the Turkish officer called Ali Bassa painted here whose head has been chopped off. It is said that in the highest galleon of the Turkish Pertaw Bassa there were found 22,000 sultanini in gold and in the galleon of the Caraoggia 40,000 zechini and otherwise in the ships and other galleons many goods were found. It is said that the Lord Johan of Austria, when the Turkish general Bassa was captured and severely wounded, had his head chopped off and futhermore had it put in his galleon on a long spear/pole. Just as the almighty God put up resistance to this daunting enemy, no doubt following the heartfelt[?] and wonderful appeal of so many thousands of captured Christians, [and] as he came to the aid of the appealing in the utmost hour of adversity. Just like that should everyone take a lesson from this [and] put all his confidence and hope onto the lord Christ,/ and expect patiently the lord, who—if we will call to him from the heart—can rescue us from all adversities. Amen.

Although the visual image does not always carry religious attributions, the inscription that follows the image still propagates the message of a victory offered to the Holy League by God and Christ. Consequently, one might argue that these broadsheets, loaded with religious spirit and being distributed publicly, were a preferred means of public propaganda for the Catholic Church, even in those states that did not participate in the battle.

Caracoggia Gal/lea in 40000. Zechini, vnd sonst in den Schiffen vnd andern Gal/leen, grosses gut gefunden worden sein.// Der Herr Joann de Austria, Soll den Turckischen General/Bassa, als er gefangen vnnnd hart verwundet, den Kopff abschla/gen, vnd den selben furter in seiner Gallea, auff ein lange stangen/oder Spiess stecken lassen. [...]. So nun der Allmechtig Got/ohne zweyffel/auff das Sen[/]lich vnd Herrlich anruffen/sovil Tausent armer gefangener[/]Christen/disem gewaltigen Feind widerstandt gethon hatt[/]vnd in der eussersten noth den anruffen den zu hilff khommen[/]ist/So soll auch menigklich hierab ein Exempel nennen/Alle[/]seine zuveisicht vnnnd hoffnung auff den Herrn Christum zu[/] stellen/vnd in gedult des Herrn zuerwarten/welcher do wir[/]zu ihm von hertzen ruffen werden/auss allen noten vns er[/]retten kan. Amen. Text and translation retrieved from: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O97805/true-likeness-of-the-beheaded-woodcut-unknown/>, last access: June 16, 2018.

On the iconographic level, Ali Paşa's severed head on the pike carries two meanings. One is the factual one that represents his actual decapitation during the battle, and the other is the symbolic representation of empowerment and victory. The implication of defeating the enemy and obtaining his possessions, like the headgear and the flag, and succeeding in forcing him to submission is represented frequently and the image of the beheaded pasha became a memorable icon of victory.

Beheading the enemy was a common practice of the period and was seen as something of a war trophy, like standards or flags.⁷⁸ Thus, in many representational works, the decapitation also symbolizes victory. On a practical level, Ali Paşa's decapitation was a consequence of a historical tradition of projecting power and domination. For the Ottomans and their rivals alike, victory was "commemorated in situ" by the erection of heads of the enemy on walls or on pikes.⁷⁹ This practice was often depicted in paintings of the Battle of Lepanto to express the Christian domination over the Turks and rhetorically served both as the proof of Christian military courage and as a sign of Ottoman vulnerability. As Brummet argues, "for audiences in the Christian kingdoms, the Turk's head was a special kind of trophy, illustrating as it did not only the triumph of a sovereign state but also the legitimation of Christianity over Islam."⁸⁰ This may well be the reason for European artists' choice of depicting severed heads of Ottoman admirals, since displaying heads was an eye-catching, awe-inspiring, powerful means of expressing status and domination while humiliating the enemy. In some examples, like the monuments and frescoes decorating the palaces of admirals in Rome (Figure 14) and in Genoa

⁷⁸ Ottoman standards, flags, and lanterns taken as war booty are exhibited in several museums and churches in all around Italy. These include the Doge's Palace in Venice; the Correr Museum in Venice; the Church of Santa Maria di Castello in Genoa; the Church of Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri in Pisa; and the Church of Sant'Agata in Spelonga.

⁷⁹ Brummet, 2015, p. 225.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 203–204.

(Figure 15), the practice persisted even when the subjects did not actually lose their heads during the war.⁸¹

In other contemporary prints, there are different allegorical representations of the “Turk.” In Nazari’s 1570 print of *Discorso della future et sperata vittoria contra il Turco*, the Turk was represented in the form of a dragon.⁸² Especially from the sixteenth century onwards, imagining the Turk in the form of mythological monsters was a common practice in folkloric prints.⁸³ In this retroactively written prophecy-like book, the four images related to the Ottomans, the formation of the holy alliance, and their victory are narrated via allegorical figures in xylographic technique. In the first image, to represent the danger of the Turk, a wild dragon with a crescent on top of his head was represented along with galleys at the Gulf of Lepanto. The caption above the image reads: “NON SATUR EST SERPENS, ALIAS IAM SURGIT AD ESCAS” (The snake [dragon] is not full yet, once again it rises to find food) (Figure 16).⁸⁴ In another xylograph, the three allegorical figures of the Holy Alliance are illustrated. A lion symbolizing the Republic of Venice and an imperial eagle symbolizing the Kingdom of Spain are depicted while listening to the call of the Lamb of God, which is the symbol of the Papal States of Rome. Above is written: “UNIO CONSPIRAT SANCTA INCURSURA COLUBREM” (The Holy League agrees to attack the snake [dragon].) (Figure 17). On the third xylograph, the three figures of the Holy Alliance are seen combatting with the dragon, with the inscription “IAM CERTAMEN ERIT, CAPUT EFFERA COMPRIMET HIDRA” (Now will be the battle [where] the hydra will break

⁸¹ This is a recurrent iconography in public monuments, as can be observed in the statues of Don Juan de Austria in Messina and in Regensburg, which will be discussed further in the following chapter: “Public monuments.”

⁸² Nazari, Giovanbattista, *Discorso della futura et sperata vittoria contra il Turco; estratto dai sacri profeti & da altre profetie, prodigij, & pronostici: & di nuovo dato in luce*, Venezia: Sigismondo Bordogna, 1570.

⁸³ Gibellini, 2008, p. 22.

⁸⁴ I would like to thank Veronica Felli for all four of the subsequent translations from Latin to Italian. I did the translations from Italian to English.

the cruel head) (Figure 18). On the fourth xylograph, the defeated Turkish dragon is represented as suffering while two figures, the Venetian lion and the Spanish eagle, stab and bite the dragon. Above the image, it reads, “SURGET OLIVA, POENAS IAM NUNC MERITAS SOLVIS” (The olive branch [will be] lifted, [and] you will pay for your faults) (Figure 19).

Another similar portrayal of the Turk in the form of a dragon is displayed in a 1571 engraving of Martin Rota (Figure 20), currently preserved in the collection of the British Museum.⁸⁵ This engraving portrays the usual symbols of the participants of the Holy League, the lion and the dragon, and a caged dragon with Turkish figures, one being mauled by the lion and the dragon, while trying to escape the cage, which is inscribed “BOCHA DE GOLFO DE LEPANTO” (The mouth of the Gulf of Lepanto). The iconography allegorically suggests that, the Ottomans were trapped at the Gulf of Lepanto and were beaten by the stronger team of the Holy League. This is the reason why the engraving is entitled *VITORIA* (“Victory”) and represents the triumph of the Holy Alliance. As Sorce argues, in these imaginary portrayals, the stereotypical *vizi* (“vices”) of the Ottomans, implying pride and cruelty, are portrayed while showing them as beasts.⁸⁶ This imagination further encourages the perception of the “invincible” Turk defeated by the Christians, who succeeded in achieving something as challenging as defeating a dragon.

Another favorite subject often publicized through contemporary prints to emphasize important stages on the history of the battle is processions, or triumphal returns of the admirals or

⁸⁵ British Museum no: 1873, 0809.803. in

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1486242&partId=1&searchText=+lepanto&view=list&page=1, last access: June 23, 2018.

⁸⁶ Sorce, Francesco, “Il Drago come Immagine del Nemico Turco nella Rappresentazione di Età Moderna”, in *Rivista dell’Istituto Nazionale d’Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte*, n.62–63, Pisa: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2013, p. 173.

captains to their home towns as bearers of victory.⁸⁷ One example is an engraving by Francesco Tramezzino, in which he depicts the triumphal entry of Marcantonio II Colonna after the victory at Lepanto (Figure 21). The procession is depicted in seven bands, increasing in size from the top to the bottom of the sheet. In this historically accurate drawing, the figures include members of the Colonna family, nobles, Christian soldiers, and enchained Ottoman prisoners of war; the landmarks include the classical Roman *Forum* with the landscape of the Arch of Constantine and the Colosseum, where the actual procession took place.⁸⁸

Another example of a 1571 print in honor of the battle, this time a scene from an earlier event, portrays the procession held on the occasion of the announcement of the formation of the Holy League in Venice (Figure 22). As Gombrich points out, this print, showing the crowded procession at San Marco in a rather stylized manner, depicts the Turk “as a huge dragon with a crescent on its head, which three richly clad youths pierced with their swords,” and “three youths dressed as the three theological virtues, ‘Faith’, ‘Hope’ and ‘Charity,’” alluding to the three members of the Holy League: the Pope, King Philip II, and the Doge.⁸⁹

Exceptionally, the Battle of Lepanto was documented and artistically represented in the Protestant countries as well. One example is an engraving by Swiss-German artist Jost Amman (1539–1591), who was a famous woodcut artist born in Zurich and worked in Nuremberg, two northern European cities that adopted Protestantism in the early years of the Reformation.⁹⁰ His colored woodcut (Figure 23), preserved in the collection of Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin,

⁸⁷ For a chronological study on the contemporary ceremonies and processions of the Battle of Lepanto, see: Campana, Carla and Viallon, Marie, “Les célébrations de la victoire de Lépante” in Viallon Marie, *La Fête au XVIe Siècle*, Le Puy-en-Velay: Puse, 2003, pp. 55–78.

⁸⁸ Fenlon, 2002, p. 154.

⁸⁹ *Il Bellissimo et Suntuoso Trionfo fatto nella Magnifica Città di Venetia nella publicatione della Lega; et appresso alcuni avisi di Famagosta, e di Candia, 1571* in Gombrich, 1967, p. 62.

⁹⁰ Hulme, Edward Maslin, *The Renaissance, The Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe*, New York: The Century Co., 1914, pp. 270–271.

presents the encounter at the Gulf of Lepanto. The inscriptions on the galleys describe the two camps, on which the victorious side has an illustration of Nike, the classical Greek goddess of victory,⁹¹ crowning the lion of Saint Mark with a laurel wreath, symbolizing Venice victorious (Figure 24). The fact that Amman preferred to use a non-Catholic, but a mythological figure from the ancient Greco-Roman world to represent the triumph implies that the importance of the battle was merely historical, not religious. Also, Amman's preference of depicting only the lion of Saint Mark, the symbol of Venice, as the crowned figure suggests the victory of Venice, but not of the whole Holy League; especially conspicuous is the absence of a reference to the Pope, which further supports this argument.

Another rare example from the Protestant lands is a tapestry (Figure 25) exhibited at the De Crypte Religious Museum in Gennepe, the Netherlands, along with many objects related to Catholicism. However, the fact that the representations are merely of secular character and lack the usual religious motifs validates the claim of this thesis: the dual nature of the Catholic propaganda, designed both to celebrate the Catholic victory and to discredit non-Christians or "infidels," as well as Protestants, or "heretics," as they saw them.

Public monuments and statues

Modern Italy preserved many of the works produced or commissioned by the contemporaries of the battle and later. Today, one can encounter numerous reminders of Lepanto in Italian cities which participated to the battle, many reflecting a religious spirit. However, compared to Rome and Spain, Venice was not in the forefront with its religious zeal; therefore, the city houses several secular artworks related to the battle. According to an article written for

⁹¹ Also known as *Victoria*, "Victory" in Roman mythology. in Jordan, Michael, *Dictionary of Gods and Goddesses*, New York: Facts on File Inc., 2004, pp. 219–220.

the 300th anniversary of the battle, since the sixteenth century dozens of public monuments had been established in Venice to celebrate the victory.⁹² Today it is still possible to visit the churches, chapels, and altars, see the monuments, read the related inscriptions, and admire the grand paintings that were mentioned in the article, which also included rather secular artworks related to the Battle of Lepanto.

For the Venetian armada, the whole journey began from the Venetian Arsenal and its grand gateway, known as the *Porta di Terra* or *Porta Magna*. In Arsenale, a Venetian district where the “victorious” galleys and galleons were built at the time, a monument in the name of Saint Giustina, a saint associated with the victory of Lepanto, was placed with a commemorative inscription after the battle. Although the original monumental gate was constructed in the fifteenth century as a fairly simple composition, it was later rendered more complex by the addition of further triumphal accretions, especially ones denoting the victory of Lepanto. The dominating figure on top of the arch constructed in 1458–1460 is the massive lion of Saint Mark, the city’s symbol. Above it, the tympanum, which was originally capped by three Filaretian stone balls, was replaced with two flanking urns and the crowning statue of Saint Giustina (Figure 26) after the Battle of Lepanto.⁹³ This figure, sculpted by Girolamo Campagna, has become a favored subject for Venetians reminding them of Lepanto.⁹⁴ On one side of the trabeation, below the Venetian lion, the patron of the gate and the “dux pacificus” of the era, Pasquale Malipiero’s, (1457–1462) name appears: “I Duce inclito Pascali Maripetro.” On the other side reads the names of the three local governors of the Arsenale: “Leo[ne]de Molino, Marco Contareno, Al[bano]

⁹² Giurato, 1871, pp. 24–49.

⁹³ Goy, Richard J., *Building Renaissance Venice: patrons, architects and builders, c. 1430–1500*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006, p. 146.

⁹⁴ Fenlon, 2002, p. 141.

Capello.” In between these two dedications, the main inscription reads: “Victoriae Navalis Monumentum MDLXXI” (Monument for the Naval Victory 1571) (Figure 27).

In the Port of Messina, where the Holy League fleets gathered before departing for Lepanto, a commemorative bronze statue of Don Juan de Austria (Figure 28) was erected immediately after the victory, commissioned by the Senate of Messina.⁹⁵ Created by the sculptor Andrea Calamech in 1572, the statue portrays Juan de Austria stepping on the turban-covered head of Müezzinzâde Ali Paşa, in what is a clearly a degrading manner (Figure 29). The statue is supported by a marble base, four sides of which display bronze plates depicting the fleets at the battle.

A copy of the bronze statue of Don Juan de Austria in Messina was also erected in his birthplace, Regensburg in Bavaria, a traditionally Catholic region of Germany, in 1978 (Figure 30). The exact iconography, Don Juan de Austria’s foot stepping on Ali Paşa’s head, drew occasional international criticism for such a brutal representation in the twentieth century,⁹⁶ but counter arguments were also raised that this criticism was anachronistic since the original representation belongs to the sixteenth century, when beheading the enemy and publicly displaying it was a common practice to emphasize victory.⁹⁷

In the former city of Lepanto, today Naupaktos, a rather unusual monument was erected. Instead of the traditional protagonists of the battle, the Greek locals commemorated the victory of the Holy League with a statue of Miguel de Cervantes (Figure 31). The bronze statue, realized by

⁹⁵ <http://www.comune.messina.it/turismo/itinerari-turistici/statue/don-giovanni-d-austria.aspx>, last access: July 2, 2018.

⁹⁶ Many sources, Turkish and German, indicate the sensation caused by this representation in the Contemporary Age. i.e. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hINdN84ulXU>, last access: July 2, 2018; <https://www.regensburg-bayern.de/kultur/beruehmte-persoenlichkeiten/don-juan-de-austria-regensburg/>, last access: July 2, 2018.

⁹⁷ Brummet, 2015, p. 225.

the Mallorcan artist Jaume Mir, bears the inscription: “Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616), Spanish Soldier, Genius of Letters, Honour of Humanity, Wounded Heroically at the Naval Battle of Nafpaktos.”⁹⁸

The commemorative statues of the protagonists of the battle in Italy usually portray prominent participants in their hometowns. One example is the statue of the Roman Marcantonio II Colonna, located at the Capitoline Museums in Rome (Figure 32). Two Venetian participants of the Ottoman-Venetian war are commemorated with monuments preserved in the SS Giovanni e Paolo Church in Venice: the funerary monument of Marcantonio Bragadin (Figure 33) and the statue of Sebastiano Venier (Figure 34) both portray the participants with realistic depictions along with inscriptions but lack any religious or historical narrative.

Apart from the presence of references to Spain in Italian artists’ works of Lepanto and the fact that some of their works are in permanent collections in Spanish museums, Spain itself has many contemporary or later commemorative works related to the Battle of Lepanto. One such late example from the twentieth century is the monument of a galley at Lepanto that stands at the Passeig de Colom in Drassanes, Barcelona and is one of the three maritime sculptures realized by the Catalan sculptor Joaquim Ros i Bofarull (1906–1991) on the port of Barcelona (Figure 35). Commissioned by the Assembly of Captains of Yacht in 1971 to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the “victory” at Lepanto, the material and technique used for this small-scale reproduction of the royal galley of Don Juan de Austria is in bronze with steel plates placed on a stone pedestal. The waves of the sea are represented by metallic undulations, while on the stone

⁹⁸ The translation from Greek to English was taken from: <https://www.greeka.com/sterea/nafpaktos/nafpaktos-excursions/nafpaktos-cervantes-statue.htm>, last access: July 2, 2018.

pedestal it reads: “A LEPANTO / MDLXXI–MCM LXXI / LA ASAMBLIA DE CAPITANES DE YATE.”⁹⁹

Along with public monuments and statues, commemorative inscriptions about the Battle of Lepanto are found in large numbers in different places around Europe, from Malta to Croatia (Figure 36).¹⁰⁰ These monumental examples, from the sixteenth to the twenty-first centuries, further emphasize the lasting symbolic significance of the battle.

2.1.2. The Battle of Lepanto as a Subject of Artwork

Apart from the immediate documentary output, such as maps, engravings, and prints, the Battle of Lepanto has also been a subject of later artworks secular in nature, within which examples of history painting and maritime painting with the subject of the Battle of Lepanto will be examined as genres.

History Painting

The “hierarchy of genres,” established in 1668 by the French Royal Academy, ranks history painting the highest.¹⁰¹ Indeed, history painting played a leading role in Europe for many centuries, due to its romantic character that evokes national emotions related to a common history. This development of a new genre bore examples of depictions of the Battle of Lepanto as well, not only for a purpose of national unity, but to stress a religious solidarity among Catholic states. This is the reason we find examples of art in the Christian world with representations of

⁹⁹ <https://monuments.iec.cat/fitxa.asp?id=687>, last access: April 4, 2018.

¹⁰⁰ https://www.uec.eu/7_October_1571.html, last access: April 4, 2018.

¹⁰¹ In his speech in the 1667 Conference of French Royal Academy, Félibien also praises Tiziano and Veronese, who also favoured the subjects of the Battle of Lepanto, for their artistic abilities put forth on their paintings, in Félibien, André, “Préface” in Félibien et al., *Conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, pendant l'année 1667*, Paris: F. Léonard, 1668.

the battle that “saved Europe” from the Muslim Ottoman dominance, but not all expose a Christian symbolism in their narrative.

One early example of history painting is the famous large-scale work by the Italian painter Andrea Vicentino, located in the Doge's Palace in Venice (Figure 37). It was painted in 1606 and replaced Tintoretto's *Victory of Lepanto*, which was destroyed by a fire in 1577 and hangs on the walls of the *Sala dello Scrutinio*.¹⁰² It has a less symbolic, more realistic character and depicts the wild encounter between galleys, focusing on the dramatic side of the battle. As protagonists of this painting, at the center the two admirals of opposite camps, the Venetian Sebastiano Venier and Uluç Ali Paşa, are depicted.¹⁰³

Spanish Golden Age painter Diego Velázquez (1599–1660) also painted the subject matter in his baroque-style painting called *The Jester Named Don Juan de Austria* in 1633. The painting portrays a man in an elaborate military outfit with a baton and a sword and a naval battle scene at the background with pieces of armor on the floor (Figure 38). Although painted after the death of Don Juan de Austria, we know that in October of each year, during the naval festival of Don Juan de Austria, the memory of the Battle of Lepanto was revived at the Spanish court, which strengthens the hypothesis that this painting was a commemorative one, with Don Juan de Austria and the Battle of Lepanto as its subjects.¹⁰⁴

An oil painting belonging to the late sixteenth century is an imaginative interpretation of the battle, today located in the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London. It is a secular history painting, depicting the encounter of the galleys between a rocky coast and a land with the castle, at the entrance of the Lepanto bay (Figure 39). The ferocity of the battle is emphasized

¹⁰² Pallucchini, 1974, p. 279.

¹⁰³ Wolters, Wolfgang, “Guerra e pace nei dipinti di Palazzo Ducale” in *Venezia e la Difesa del Levante: Da Lepanto a Candia 1570–1670*, Venezia: Arsenale, 1986, pp. 247–254.

¹⁰⁴ Portús, J., *Velázquez*, Exhibition Catalogue, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 2014, pp. 309–310.

with smoke around the galleys, which are inscribed in Italian to identify a number of participants including the Genoese squadron and the right wing of the Christian fleet.¹⁰⁵

Another secular painting was created by Tommaso Dolabella (1570–1650), an Italian painter settled at the court of King Sigismund III Vasa of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and whose large canvas paintings were exhibited through the historical capital city of Kraków, including Wawel Castle. In this “invented” monumental painting commissioned by Stanislaw Lubomirski, the commander of the Polish left wing in the Battle of Khotyn in 1621, Dolabella combined the Polish victory procession for Khotyn with the then-famous Battle of Lepanto (Figure 40).¹⁰⁶ Thus, while symbolically creating a historical link and a triumphal lineage between two victories, Dolabella also contributes to the construction of the legend of Lepanto.

Another composite history painting with the subject of this naval battle, this time from the Far East, is an early seventeenth century painting now located at the Kosetsu Museum of Arts in Kobe, Japan. This almost “imaginary” Japanese depiction is composed of “various battle scenes taken from Western prints and book illustrations, which were rearranged and reshaped into a single picture” (Figure 41).¹⁰⁷ Although the scene of the Battle of Lepanto lacks historical accuracy (for example, its portrayal as a land battle on elephants), the world map, based on a Caelius map from 1609, is a correct representation. As a whole, the painting draws attention to the Battle of Lepanto as an important event in world history, albeit based on an exotic perception of the Ottomans.

¹⁰⁵ <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/11753.html>. There is a similar painting in the Correr Museum in Venice reflecting the same composition, with a particular Madonna and Child appearance on top, which will be discussed in Chapter 3. <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/11753.html#I5fm0yVWD34IL3R3.99>, last access: July 2, 2018.

¹⁰⁶ Benzoni, 1974, p. 31.

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.kosetsu-museum.or.jp/mikage/en/>, last access: July 8, 2018.

A relatively modern example of this genre was made by the late nineteenth-century Filipino artist Juan Luna (1857–1899). In this large-scale canvas Luna presents the Spanish armada in their uniforms and a sinking galley with drowning figures (Figure 42). It was made to be hung at the Senate of Spain, with the emphasis on the victory of the Spanish forces, and was actually unveiled by the Queen Regent Maria Christina of Austria, widow of King Alfonso XII of Spain, at the Senate Hall in Madrid in 1887.¹⁰⁸ This fact also draws parallelism with the significance and the high ranking of history paintings, as well as drawing attention to the importance of the battle for the Spanish court, even centuries later.

Maritime Painting

This historical significance and impact of the battle and its artistic influence exceeds the geography in which the battle occurred. Even the Protestant countries of northern Europe followed this practice, and in the seventeenth century, with the evolution of maritime art, many examples of artworks on the subject of the Battle of Lepanto came from these countries. This new genre of marine art and maritime painting was a major genre within Dutch Golden Age painting; it was developed mostly thanks to the wish to reflect the importance of overseas trade and naval power of the Dutch Republic but was not limited to Dutch success. In course of time, this artistic novelty of depicting seas and naval battles became a tradition for northern European artists. In addition to the victories of the Dutch navy, many other subjects were to be painted, and a recurring theme became the Naval Battle of Lepanto. Maritime artists, whose main inspiration was the sea and the naval battles, created a significant number of paintings on the subject matter in a “secular” manner, generally all depicting the glorious mariners of the armada of the Holy League and the devastated Ottoman navy among waves in a turbulent sea. These images were, in

¹⁰⁸ <https://www.philstar.com/opinion/2002/10/31/182058/luna146s-painting-now-home>, last access: July 8, 2018

line with their Protestant beliefs, without religious references. Despite the artistic tradition of emphasizing religious attributions in the Catholic world, for the Protestant world of the northern Europe, the battle had become a subject solely for its historical value.

An influential Flemish painter, Andries van Eertvelt (1590–1652), who specialized in maritime art in the early seventeenth century, depicted the historical battle several times in a secular manner. As one can observe in one of his many paintings (Figure 43), his style was more realistic: he evaded the religious context and focused more solely on the naval battle. Another Dutch Golden Age painter, Johannes Lingelbach (1622–1674), also favored the theme of Lepanto in the seventeenth century and produced many historically realistic paintings with the subject of this battle (Figure 44). In his paintings of the maritime genre, the intensity of the battle is foregrounded, although diverse depictions of the atmosphere and weather conditions appear. The compositions in these paintings are similarly dominated in the center by a dramatically sinking Turkish galley and figures with turbans that seek to save themselves from drowning. The same tradition was followed by another Dutch Golden Age landscape painter, Cornelis Hendriksz Vroom (1591–1661), who, in his painting called “Battle of Lepanto”, paints the opposing galleons in detail (Figure 45). In the same genre, a relatively tranquil painting attributed to the Flemish painter Gaspard van Eyck (1613–1674), pupil of Andries van Eertvelt, depicts the galleons in the Gulf of Patras with the Castle of Lepanto at the background (Figure 46). Among many depictions of this genre, this is a painting that seems to put less effort in the battle scene, movement of the sea, and actions of the combatants but focuses more on creating a correct resemblance of the actual landscape, as can be seen in the detail of the castle. In Britain, the development of maritime art accelerated when Dutch and Flemish artists arrived in Great Britain in the second half of the seventeenth century. Among them, one Dutch baroque painter, Jan Wyck (1652–1702), contributed greatly, with his over 150 paintings in the maritime, landscape,

and military genres, including paintings on the subject of the Battle of Lepanto (Figure 47). This tradition of maritime art was followed by artists for centuries in northern Europe. In the 1762 work of Danish painter Peter Brünniche (1739–1814), the influence of this tradition is apparent (Figure 48), especially considering its thematic and stylistic resemblance to the Dutch Golden Age style paintings of Eertvelt and Lingelbach.

We can say that with the development of new genres in the seventeenth century and onwards, like maritime art or history painting, symbolisms in the depictions of the Battle of Lepanto are featured less and the historical reality of actual events is put forward, as one might expect from the Protestant world. This also demonstrates that the Protestant painters refrained from adding religious attributions to this historical event and that the Battle of Lepanto did not only have religious and symbolic significance, but had also a great historical value, even for those who did not participate.

2.2. Religious Artistic Outcomes of the Battle of Lepanto

Despite the relatively short-lived political impact of the naval Battle of Lepanto, its symbolic value was felt across Europe. The western European powers, even those who did not participate, interpreted the result of the battle as the decisive victory of Christianity over the Muslim Turks. In parallel with the Catholic spirit of the Counter-Reformation era, it inspired the creation of numerous artworks as well as traditions that seek visibility and attracts public attention. As such, the religious artistic efforts have been successful in keeping this Christian victory legend alive through to the present. In this chapter, the artistic outcomes of this impact are explored, in particular the concept of a “holy victory” against “infidels” and how it is exhibited through both material representations of the battle and intangible heritage such as prayers, feasts, and traditional events.

As any general analysis of the symbolic character of its artistic outcomes in Europe suggest, the Battle of Lepanto was a popular theme in art history for centuries. One can argue that the reason why this battle became such a prominent source of inspiration is because it was acknowledged as a deliverance from a seemingly long-lost sense of European unity; defending their common cultural values and Catholicism should have united them all. As a consequence, depictions with religious attributions were favored, either because they affirmed the grandeur of Christianity or because they demonstrated the power of the faith in fracturing the invincible image of the Ottomans. In this section, material religious artistic outcomes in the forms of art, architecture, and objects in the sixteenth century and onwards will be discussed, with examples from all over the world.

Architecture

Architecture had been used to celebrate the victory of Lepanto, especially in churches. Some Catholic churches in Europe were named after the Holy Rosary,¹⁰⁹ which is believed to be held by Virgin Mary in order to assist the Holy fleet, in association with divine intervention during the battle of 1571. While some churches built additional chapels in honor of this victory, others were adorned with decorative reminiscences of the battle in relief or stained glass. Although some of these examples do not have religious attributions on their own, the fact that they are a part of an ecclesiastical complex puts them into a religious context. The Church of Santa Maria della Vittoria in Naples, for example, is a small church and has an adjacent monastery built in 1572, directly following the victory, which was rededicated by Giovanna of Austria, the daughter of Don Juan, in 1628.

¹⁰⁹ Since the examples are numerous, only a selection of churches and chapels bearing the name “Rosary” will be presented.

Another significant example is the Chapel of Holy Christ of Lepanto in the Cathedral of Barcelona. It is the only chapel reserved exclusively for praying in the Cathedral and displays the Holy Christ, who is believed to have been present in the battle, guiding Don Juan's galley (Figure 49). According to the legend, the Holy Christ moved his body in such form to evade a Turkish cannonball during the battle.¹¹⁰ Indeed, the body's curved shape on the crucifix is unusual compared to the traditional representations of the Christ. This crucifix has become a devotional object that stirs people's imaginations about the famous battle centuries after it took place. The crucifix was even used as a political tool for the sake of "self-fashioning" during the fascist regime of Francisco Franco (Figure 50).¹¹¹ As Hanß denotes, the fact that "(d)uring a quasi-religious fascist ceremony, Franco offered his sword to the crucifix whilst he drank 'Holy Water' further strenghtens this argument of political propaganda."¹¹² The Chapel also bears a pair of extant memorial candlesticks commemorating the Battle of Lepanto. In 2018, the candle was decorated with an image of the Lamb of God on top of a galley on water, demonstrating the symbolic connection between Christianity and the famous battle (Figure 51).

Another church dedicated to Virgin Mary and her victories, the Notre Dame de la Victoire de Lépante Basilica in Saint-Raphaël also houses a replica of the Holy Christ of Lepanto crucifix, implying that the significance attributed to the Holy Christ of Lepanto exceeds Don Juan's territories.¹¹³

One of the largest churches in Venice, the SS Giovanni and Paolo Church, also houses a

¹¹⁰ Hanß, Stefan, "Objects that Made History: A Material Microhistory of the Sant Crist de Lepant (Barcelona, 1571–2017)" in *Forum Kritische Archäologie* 7, 2018, p. 30. and https://catedralbcn.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=32&Itemid=85&lang=en, last access: April 14, 2018.

¹¹¹ Hanß, 2018, p. 30.

¹¹² *Ibid*, p. 30.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, p. 38.

chapel known as Cappella del Rosario, built in 1582 for the name of Virgin Mary of Rosary, who is believed to have been the protector and the guardian saint of the Christian armies during the battle (Figure 52). Although the chapel initially contained paintings by Tintoretto, Palma il Giovane, Tiziano, and Giovanni Bellini that were dedicated to the Virgin Mary of the Rosary and her attributed intervention that led to victory, they were lost after a fire on August 15, 1867.¹¹⁴

Commemorative architectural elements in low-relief related to this event can be seen in many churches in Venice, like the Church of Santa Maria del Carmelo, most commonly known as the Church of Carmini, where the entire counter-façade is decorated with the funerary monument of Giacomo Foscarini, the admiral of the Venetian fleet after Sebastiano Venier (Figure 53). This baroque-style funerary monument, designed by Giulio dal Moro and realized by Tommaso Contin between 1604–1616,¹¹⁵ is accompanied by reliefs depicting the encounter of the two opposing fleets (Figure 54), where a lion of Saint Mark, symbolizing the Venetian camp, and a crescent, symbolizing the Ottoman camp (Figure 55) are still visible (Figure 56). Similarly, the outer façades of San Clemente Church (Figure 57),¹¹⁶ Santa Maria del Giglio Church, San Giuseppe di Castello Church, San Nicolò Church, and Santa Giustina Church in Venice include reliefs of scenes that commemorate the victory in the battle against the Turks.

The Oratory of the Rosary of Santa Cita in Palermo, Sicily displays an extraordinary

¹¹⁴ According to some, the fire was attributed to the anti-Catholic arsonists, which further supports the Catholic symbolism attributed to the battle and its chapel. Angelo, P., and Caccin, M., *Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo: Storia e Arte*, Padova: Giorgio Deganello Editore, p. 45.

¹¹⁵ Manno, Antonio, *La Chiesa e il Convento di Santa Maria del Carmelo a Venezia: Microstorie di Famiglie e Individui, Timor di Dio e Carità, Arti e Culto Mariano dal XIII agli inizi del XIX secolo*, Venice: Il Prato, 2017, pp. 53–54.

¹¹⁶ Ironically, the restoration process of the church of San Clemente is held by a Turkish company, which has owned the island housing the church since 2013. <http://www.veneziatoday.it/cronaca/restauro-chiesa-san-clemente-permak.html>, last access: July 8, 2018.

embellishment created through architectural sculpture in stucco and dedicated to the holy spirit of the battle (Figure 58). The stucco relief decoration is the work of Giacomo Serpotta, produced after 1688, to monumentalize the victory. While the whole oratory is adorned with angels, cupids, and putti, the stucco panel on the rear wall portrays the Battle of Lepanto together with the figures of galleys and devastated Ottoman soldiers with extravagant realism (Figure 59).

One extraordinary architectural monument is in the Chapel of the Rosary in Valls in Tarragona, Spain, in the form of polychrome glazed ceramic tiles done in maiolica style dating from 1634, unique for its theme and for the large quantity of 2538 pieces divided into three panels.¹¹⁷ The two original tile-works dedicated to the Battle of Lepanto decorate the chapel built in 1612 (Figure 60), while a reproduction of one made in 1962 is currently exhibited in the Maritime Museum of Barcelona (Figure 61). This tile panel presents two opposing camps at the Battle of Lepanto and the Madonna with Child holding rosary.

As an architectural element, decorative stained glass in churches has a significant place in art history. These illuminated window decorations served as an aesthetic platform, where a religious narrative could be exhibited while helping control the light in churches. The abundance of examples of stained glass from the Catholic churches of France is notable. Examples include the sixteenth-century gothic-style church of Saint-Samson de Clermont, where the stained glass presents Pope Pius V praying to the Madonna with Child with Rosary, while stylized figures of galleys are observed in the background (Figure 62). In the seventeenth-century Church of Notre Dame du Bon Port in Les Sables d'Olonne, a sinking galley and struggling Ottoman figures with their turbans are elaborately depicted during the ferocious battle (Figure 63). We can find even

¹¹⁷ “Capella del Deu del Roser”, Valls was also declared National Historical and Artistic Monument. In <https://www.larutadelcister.info/en/museus-espais-visitables/chapel-roser>, last access: July 28, 2018.

more examples in nineteenth- and twentieth-century France. The Church of Saint Honoré d'Eylau in Paris, built in 1896, portrays Pius V observing the galleys at Lepanto (Figure 64), while the Church of Saint-Martin Romilly sur Seine, built in 1903, is embellished with a work of stained glass showing Pope Pius V announcing the victory at the battle (Figure 65). A common characteristic of these works in France is that, just like the Notre Dame de Fourvière Basilica in Lyon, all depictions related the Battle of Lepanto are decorating the walls and windows of the churches and are placed among other important scenes from history of Christianity and lives of saints.

The examples of stained glass decorations with the theme of the Catholic victory at Lepanto also reached to the “New World”. The twentieth-century Cathedral of Saint John the Divine in New York City, built in the Gothic Revival style, presents a combat scene in medieval costumes and is entitled *The Battle of Lepanto* (Figure 66). The Notre Dame du Rosaire Church in Montréal, Canada bears the same name as the Our Lady of Rosary. In accordance, the building was inaugurated on the feast day on October 7, 1897. It houses a stained glass decoration with the theme of Lepanto, which presents Pope Pius V in prayer to the Madonna with Child holding a rosary on top of the galleys, and is inscribed “La Bataille de Lépante” (Figure 67).

The Basilica of Our Lady of Victories in Camberwell in Melbourne, Australia is another overseas example. The church, innaugurated on October 6, 1918, houses a shrine to Our Lady of Victories and contains 43 stained glass windows, among which is a notable work representing

Lepanto on the west window (Figure 68),¹¹⁸ while the two other major windows are illustrations of Catholic teachings regarding the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Lepanto window presents the Pope and a Christian galley, distinguishable by its banner.

The last example of the genre is an Asian one, from the Santo Domingo Church, also known as National Shrine of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary of La Naval de Manila. It is a massive Dominican church complex in Philippines, rebuilt for the sixth time since 1571. The current building was constructed in the Spanish Modern style in 1954. Curved windows of the church frame elaborate stained-glass designs which depict the original fifteen stations of the Holy Rosary, including the Battle of Lepanto on the right side of the triptych (Figure 69), created by the Filipino artist Galo Ocampo upon the commission of the Archbishop of Manila 1957.¹¹⁹

Objects

There are a large variety of Lepanto-related objects, most of which serve commemorative purposes. Upon the victory, Pope Pius V ordered a bronze medal from medallist Gian Federico Bonzagni celebrating the Battle of Lepanto and the divine intervention resulting in the triumph (Figure 70). On the obverse, the bust portrait of Pope Pius V with his cap and cope is depicted; while on the reverse the fierce battle with galleys and galleons watched by God is presented with the inscription: “DEXTERA TVA DOMINE PERCVSSIT INIMICVM” (Lord Aiding Shattering the Enemy).

¹¹⁸ As denoted in the Parish’s guide, this is a reproduction of the original Lepanto window, which was sunk in the Mediterranean on its way to Australia during World War I. Cf. <https://www.cam.org.au/camberwell/Features-of-the-Basilica/Stained-Glass-Windows>, last access: July 28, 2018.

¹¹⁹ <http://lifestyle.inquirer.net/69490/santo-domingo-church-la-naval-de-manila-shrine-to-be-declared-national-cultural-treasures/>, last access: July 28, 2018.

Among the religious objects, two extraordinary examples designed in the shape of galleys in the Catholic churches in Germany are notable. The pulpit in the form of a galley at the Irsee Abbey (Figure 71) is an unusual design for a church, but, as Atasoy points out, it was chosen to express the historical significance of the Battle of Lepanto.¹²⁰ The pulpit, built by the sculptor Ignaz Hillenbrand in 1725, has its ambo in the form of a ship's prow, while its planks go along the pulpit's staircase, along with figures of angels. A raised anchor at the top of the gilded figure, representing St. Michael with a shield and a flaming sword, is the symbol of hope.¹²¹ The galley was designed as if it was carried by angels, which might be interpreted as divinities that carried the Holy armada towards the victory.

The other example is a monstrance preserved in the baroque-style church of Asamkirche Maria de Victoria in Ingolstadt (Figure 72).¹²² The monstrance, known as *Lepanto-Monstranz*, displays galleys at Lepanto around turbulent sea waves. It has a tripartite division, which provides a reflection of both the church and each individual; the foot, which originally portrayed the figure of a kneeling Turk of solid gold but was later melted down, corresponds on the one hand to hostility and heresy to which the Church is constantly exposed, and on the other hand to the unbelieving, doubtful, and sinful nature of the man.¹²³ In theological essays, it was interpreted as the naval battle representing the fight between faith and heresy, virtue and vice, good and evil. Clearly this *Lepanto-Monstranz* had become a symbol of the conflict between faith and heresy, just like the Battle of Lepanto.

¹²⁰ Atasoy, Nurhan, *17. ve 18. Yüzyillarda Avrupa Sanatı*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, No: 2161, 1985, pp. 113–115.

¹²¹ <https://www.irsee.de/kirchen-pfarreien-und-vereine/die-klosterkirche/die-schiffskanzel.html>, last access: August 1, 2018.

¹²² Monstrance, or *Ostensorium*, is the name of a sacred vessel used for showing the Blessed Sacrament at Exposition and Benediction, and during Catholic processions. in Howell, C.W., "Monstrance" in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. IX, Washington: McGraw&Hill, 1967, p. 1070.

¹²³ <https://www.ingolstadt.de/stadtmuseum/scheuerer/ing/lepanto.htm>, last access: August 1, 2018.

From an iconographic standpoint, the figure of Virgin Mary floats above the battle in the clouds and receives the laurel wreath of victory from Saint Michael. On top, under the crowning cross, hovers the dove of the Holy Spirit in a cloud-crown, and on the galley's prow, a portrait of Pope Pius V is placed (Figure 73). This chaotic composition is assembled around the silvergilt Turkish crescent.

As the examples given above suggest, it was not only commonly believed, but actively promoted by the Catholic Church through art, that the victory secured at Lepanto was thanks to the intercession of Virgin Mary and the prayers of the brethren of the Rosary¹²⁴.

Paintings

The symbolism of the Christian victory at the Battle of Lepanto can be found in many paintings that are purely allegoric in character. A notable example is by the Spanish artist El Greco, who was influenced by the elements of Mannerism and the Venetian Renaissance, but painted in his own artistic style. His painting, dated 1578–1579, in El Escorial in Madrid, is called *Adoration of the Name of Jesus*, or *An Allegory of the Holy League*, since the main participants of the Holy League are present (Figure 74). The painting is believed to be a commission from Philip II for the occasion of the death of Don Juan de Austria in 1577. The main members of the Holy League—Spain, Venice and the Papal States—“are represented by the three kneeling figures of Philip II, Doge Mocenigo and Pope Pius V. The prominent figure of the foreground group, knelt in heroic pose, and grasping a sword, is the general himself,”¹²⁵ Don Juan de Austria. It is an idealized representation, while the King, Pope and Doge are actual portraits. Like other paintings of this genre, the spirit of universal adoration is observable. The

¹²⁴ This common narrative of the divine intervention of Virgin Mary with Rosary will be further analyzed in later chapters.

¹²⁵ “The Adoration of the Name of Jesus” in *Complete Works of El Greco*, East Sussex: Delphi Classics, 2017.

trigram¹²⁶ “I-H-S” on top is an acronym for the name of Jesus, which translates into English as “Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior.” This trigram appears in a burst of glory with a cross above, as a representation of Jesus Christ and the power of Christianity.

The churches in Spain also exhibit artworks celebrating the divine intervention that led to the battle. One example is the seventeenth-century painting by Juan de Toledo and Mateo Gilarte, commissioned by the Confraternity of Rosary to be exhibited in the Chapel of Rosary at the Church of San Domenico de Lorca in Murcia.¹²⁷ In this painting, the galleys at the battle scene are elaborately illustrated, while the baby Jesus is represented holding a rosary and in the arms of the Virgin Mary, in a floral depiction with accompanying angels (Figure 75). Close to the four edges of the golden frame portraits of Pope Pius V, Philip II, Don Juan de Austria, and Selim II were added.

Another example of the same theme is a mural painting embellished with a golden frame in the Church of Santa María Magdalena in Sevilla, which depicts The Madonna of the Rosary protecting the Spanish galleys in the Battle of Lepanto in a similar artistic manner (Figure 76). It was commissioned by the Dominican Church to the Spanish artist Lucas de Valdés, who is known for his baroque-style paintings in the churches of Sevilla¹²⁸. This painting, from the early eighteenth century, represents the chaotic atmosphere of the battle with detailed depictions of the galleys while Madonna with Child and other holy personifications are represented above the battlefield, holding a rosary.

¹²⁶ A group of three consecutive written units.

¹²⁷ http://www.regmurcia.com/servlet/s.SI?sit=a,87,c,522,m,1075&r=ReP-5061-DETALLE_REPORTAJESABUELO, last access: August 4, 2018.

¹²⁸ <http://rpmagdalena.org/es/fichas-catalograficas/279-cartela31.html>, last access: August 4, 2018.

The museums of Spain also house works of foreigner painters on the Battle of Lepanto as reminders of this victory. *Vision of Pope Pius V and the Triumph of Lepanto* by Filippo Gherardi (Figure 77), is currently located in the Naval Museum in Madrid and portrays a recurrent theme in the Italian paintings: San Michele giving Pope Pius V a vision of victory, which will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

An *ex-voto*¹²⁹ belonging to the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, which also participated in the battle, displays a scene of the battle. The painting depicts Madonna with Child on top of the clouds between two Catholic saints Saint Lucy and Saint John (Figure 78).¹³⁰ This distinctive illustration presents the banners of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta on the battlefield, and it was exhibited in The Museum of Fine Arts in Valletta, Malta before the museum closed in 2016.¹³¹

This theme recurs in the Catholic churches in Germany as well. The altarpiece painted in 1707 by Wolfgang Zächenberger in the Church of Ingolstadt presents an angel crowning the soldiers of the Holy fleet, while combatting Ottoman soldiers in turbans (Figure 79).¹³²

The Church of Santa Maria in Pazzalino is located in Lugano, in the Catholic Italian canton of Switzerland. It presents an unusual painting at the side altar, with a representation of *Madonna bombardiera*, “bombarding Mary,” creating a scene of what is perhaps the first aerial bombardment in history: bombs being dropped on the Ottoman navy as they encounter the

¹²⁹ An *ex-voto* is “a painting or other work of art made as an offering to God or a saint in gratitude for a personal favour or blessing or in the hope of receiving some miraculous benefit.” in Chilvers, Ian and Osborne, Harold, *Oxford Dictionary of Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. p. 172.

¹³⁰ De Vita, 2013, p. 47.

¹³¹ Although the museum was closed to be allocated at the Auberge d’Italie in 2018, the entire collection of the Fine Arts Museum has been digitized, through 3D scanning, allowing its collection available online to all.

<https://www.dhalia.com/malta-heritage/national-museum-of-fine-arts-valletta/>, last access: August 4, 2018.

¹³² <https://www.ingolstadt.de/stadtmuseum/scheuerer/ing/mdv-kirc.htm>, last access: September 2, 2018.

Christian fleet (Figure 80).¹³³ In this painting, Madonna with Child is represented with a winged angel carrying a bomb, ready to be dropped on the Turks. As observers, Pius V and Philip II are depicted praying at the bottom left corner of the painting, while Turkish marines are trying to escape on small boats.

The symbolic Notre Dame de Fourvière Basilica in Lyon was built in 1884 as a large scale monumental *ex-voto* to express gratitude of the people of Lyon to the Virgin Mary, who is believed to intervened against the Prussian forces during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. Their halt and retreat after having taken Paris and progressing towards Lyon was interpreted by the Church as a result of the holy intercession of the Virgin Mary to help the Catholics against the heretics, just like at Lepanto. As Taithe argues, “the reaction to the communes of Paris and Lyon were triumphalist monuments, the Sacré-Coeur of Montmartre and the basilica of Fourvière, dominating both cities. These buildings were erected with private funds, as gigantic *ex-votos*, to thank God for victory over the socialists and in expiation of the sins of modern France.”¹³⁴ Indeed, the interior of the basilica is decorated with six large-scale mosaics depicting significant episodes from the history of the Catholic Church (Figure 81a; 81b). Among the biblical scenes, the mosaic depicting Pope Pius V holding a rosary at the Battle of Lepanto is note-worthy (Figure 82). This image elaborately shows the fight between the Holy armada and the Ottomans, some of whom are depicted on a sinking galley. This signed work was designed by Charles Lameire and produced by Martin workshops in Paris in 1900. The inscription below the mosaic also confirms the divine intervention of the sacred rosary and Pope Pius V’s vision brought the holy victory to the Christians in the battle against the Turks on

¹³³ This controversial portrayal of Madonna was discussed in the Swiss radio of Rete Due by Piero Stefani on October 7, 2015, but needs further art historical examination. <https://www.rsi.ch/rete-due/programmi/cultura/oggi-la-storia/Le-bombe-della-Madonna-6178408.html>, last access: July 31, 2018.

¹³⁴ Taithe, Bertrand, *Citizenship and Wars: France in Turmoil, 1870–1871*, London: Routledge, 2006, p. 100.

October 7, 1571.¹³⁵

The victory had a long-lasting effect, which was embraced by the Catholic communities outside Europe as well. At the Catholic Church of Visitation in Ain Karim in Jerusalem, a twentieth-century fresco portrays Don Juan de Austria receiving benedictions from the Cardinals before his departure for Lepanto, with Virgin Mary in the sky (Figure 83). As underlined by De Vita, this painting, located in a Franciscan church built in 1955 in dedication to the Virgin Mary and her glorious achievements, reminds that the fleet of the Holy League consisted of not only Dominicans, but of Catholics from Franciscan and Jesuit orders as well.¹³⁶

The religious symbolism of this victory continues to influence artists of the modern and contemporary age. In 1980, the Italian artist Albino Amerigo Mazzotta (1941–) painted a large fresco for the battle in the Church of Madonna del Rosario di Redecesio in Milan (Figure 84). He depicted galleys and sailors during the battle, with an unusual choice of material— blood on plaster. Although the painting itself does not propagate a Christian victory on its own, the fact that it decorates the interiors of a church strengthens its religious characteristics.

¹³⁵ On the inscription: “S.PIUS.PP.V.DVM.CLASSIS CHRISTIANA AD ECHINADAS INSULAS ADVERSUS TURCAS PROELIATUR INSIGNEM VICTORIAM SACR ROSARII PRECIBVS PARTAM DIVINO INSTINCTV PROSPECTAT DIE VII OCT. MDLXXI.”

¹³⁶ De Vita, 2013, p. 29.

CHAPTER 3

RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM IN THE ITALIAN PAINTINGS OF THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO

In the sixteenth century, the religious zeal and the need for re-establishing the Church's authority inspired a great surge of artistic activity, especially in Italy and Spain, leading to the birth of new styles of painting in High Renaissance during the Counter-Reformation period: mannerist and baroque painting. This chapter aims to analyze the religious symbols of visual representations of the Battle of Lepanto produced in the Catholic states of the Italian peninsula during the Counter-Reformation period within their political, cultural, and historical contexts. In order to understand the symbolic significance of the Battle of Lepanto and how this victory was perceived and depicted by the Italian artists of the sixteenth century and onwards, iconographic and iconological analyses, based on Panofskian principles, will be conducted with a focus on the Christian elements that are present in paintings of Italian artists who used the subject of the Battle of Lepanto as a medium to represent the triumph of Christianity against the Ottomans. Even though the narrative and symbolic representations of this Christian victory exceed the geography and time in which the battle occurred, and continue to emerge even today without any geographical limitations, this main chapter is mostly limited to the analyses of religious paintings produced in the Italian peninsula by the Italian artists upon the victory of Lepanto in 1571.

In order to understand how this symbolic meaning was represented in the arts, and the symbolisms behind this victory, we should concentrate on the social-historical and cultural values these paintings carry, through an iconological investigation, following the methods of

Panofsky.¹³⁷ While the term iconography applies to “the descriptive and classificatory study of images with the aim of understanding direct or indirect meaning of the subject matter represented,”¹³⁸ iconology should “explain why an artist or patron chose a particular subject at a specific location and time and represented it in a certain way.”¹³⁹ Because of the number of Christian symbolic motifs in Lepanto-related paintings, in order to apply this holistic methodology of Panofsky, studies on symbolism should also be examined. As Howells asserts, in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, symbolism, religion, and painting were very much intermingled and difficult theological concepts were often explained visually and thus involved the use of visual metaphor and symbolism.¹⁴⁰ The Christian saints are traditionally represented by a symbol or iconic motif associated with their life, which greatly assists art historians while conducting iconographical analyses. Following these principals, before attempting to conduct an exhaustive examination of the paintings of the Battle of Lepanto, along with descriptive analysis, we should also aim to contextualize the works subject to investigation and know, to the best of our ability, the intentions of the artists and the commissioners, as well as their locations and the political significance of the paintings and symbols placed in them.

In this regard, whether the artists produced the artwork via commission or personal choice is a significant question to be answered when conducting a holistic analysis on paintings. In Catholic Europe immediately after the battle, especially in Italy and Spain, many artists favored

¹³⁷ In his *Studies in Iconology*, Erwin Panofsky codifies his approach to iconography as: “the branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form.” in Panofsky, Erwin, “Studies in Iconology. Introductory I,” *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, 1939, p. 3.

¹³⁸ Bialostocki, Jan, “Iconography and Iconology”, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. 7, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958, cols 768–85.

¹³⁹ Straten, Roelof van, *An Introduction to Iconography: Symbols, Allusions and Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Abingdon and New York, 1994, p. 12.

¹⁴⁰ Howells, Richard, *Visual Culture*, Cambridge: Polity Press Blackwell, 2003. p. 28.

the theme of the battle and many of the paintings were commissioned to the artists of the sixteenth century by participants of the triumphant Holy League, like Pope Pius V, Philip II of Spain, Marcantonio II Colonna from Papal States, Sebastiano Venier from Venice, and Giovanni Andrea Doria from Genoa. These works were not commissioned solely for their artistic values; they had underlying political reasons as well as symbolic importance.

3.1. Rome

As the center of Catholicism, the Vatican was the most effective place to express and exhibit the Catholic strength during the Counter-Reformation period. This exhibition of power was accompanied by a religious propaganda effort, embedded in the intellectual and artistic ideas of the Italian Renaissance, and was expressed in the artistic production of the sixteenth century Rome, from private frescoes to public architecture.¹⁴¹ Accordingly, in parallel with the victory of the Holy League at Lepanto, the Pope's home, Vatican Palace, was to be embellished with celebratory images of the victory (Figure 85).

Vatican Palace

Only one month after the victory, the prime motivator of the Holy League, Pope Pius V, commissioned the highly reputed artist of the *Cinquecento*, Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), to commemorate the victory of the Battle of Lepanto in the Vatican's Regal Room, the *Sala Regia*.¹⁴² Following the commission, Vasari began to work on two large-scale frescoes with his assistants. The two products of this commission, *The Opposing Fleets of the Turks and the Holy League at Lepanto* and *The Battle of Lepanto*, still decorate the main hall of Vatican as symbols

¹⁴¹ Voss, Hermann, "Roman Painting Under the Popes of the Counter-Reformation" in *Painting of the Late Renaissance in Rome and Florence II*, San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 1997, pp. 115–122.

¹⁴² Strunck, 2011, p. 218.

of the Catholic victory with dominant allegorical figures, which, according to Burckhardt, is an exception for the paintings in the *Sala Regia*.¹⁴³

The first painting to analyze is called *The Opposing Fleets at Lepanto* (Figure 86) and is dated to 1571. Along with other paintings of the same genre, *The Opposing Fleets at Lepanto* still hangs on the walls of the *Sala Regia* in the Vatican, which reflects its status as a painting of high importance for the Papal States, since the *Sala Regia* is the main audience hall of the Vatican Palace. According to Herz, “seen in its entirety, the *Sala Regia*’s program is clearly concerned with the extension of medieval papal absolutism into the sixteenth century.”¹⁴⁴ It is clear that the Papal States under Pope Pius V used the paintings of the Battle of Lepanto as a means to stress and to manifest the glory and the strength of the Catholic faith.

Coinciding with the tradition of flanking such historical scenes with allegories,¹⁴⁵ the allegorical personifications of Spain, Venice, and Rome embrace on the lower left side of the painting and are placed on the same side with the fleet of the Holy League. One can identify Spain, Venice, and Rome by their accompanying symbols, the coat of arms, the lion of Saint Mark, and the key of Vatican City. Divine spirits such as angels, cupids, and putti are also depicted while presenting them crowns. At the bottom right, three struggling figures associated with vice represent the Turkish camp. A man, burying his head in his hands, is depicted with a rabbit on top of his head, symbolizing defenselessness and fear.¹⁴⁶ A kneeling female figure is begging at the bottom corner, and a screaming man retreats with fear from the urn with demonic

¹⁴³ Burckhardt, Jacob, *Italian Renaissance Painting According to Genres*, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2005, p. 79.

¹⁴⁴ Herz, Alexandra, “Vasari’s Massacre Series in the *Sala Regia*: The Political, Juristic and Religious Background” in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 49, 1986, pp. 41–54.

¹⁴⁵ Burckhardt, 2005, p. 79.

¹⁴⁶ Ferguson, 1954, p. 20, and Strunck, 2011, p. 221.

forces carried by three evil putti. As Strunck emphasizes, “while the three Christian powers display ‘firmness and unity,’ the Turkish camp is characterized by ‘confusion and desperation.’”¹⁴⁷ The message can be interpreted as the Turks not having sufficient courage to prevail. A skeleton, as the obvious symbol of death, is also placed next to the piteous Turkish figures¹⁴⁸. A map showing the Ionian Sea and the Peloponnese (“Morea,” as it was called in the Early Modern Period) is placed at the bottom of the painting, with one of the three putti indicating the actual location of the battle. Three, the divine number suggesting Christian Trinity, is regularly used in this painting.

In the background of this painting by Vasari the opposing fleets at Lepanto are depicted. The Christian fleet is placed on the left side of the painting, as it is the “western” camp of the battle, and the Turkish fleet is placed on the right side, depicting the alignment of the navies at the Gulf of Patras, both represented with galleys and banners. Six large galleasses are placed in the center.¹⁴⁹ The historical accuracy is present in the depiction of the naval encounter; yet, the allegorical figures in the foreground add divine characteristics to the painting, as well as to the battle itself. The view suggesting that the victory of the Holy League was the result of Holy Providence is represented in this painting with the placement of various religious figures like saints and cupid, one of which indicates the location of the battle in a map.

In Vasari’s second painting, hanging next to the first, a similar iconography is present. The painting is called *Battle of Lepanto* (Figure 87) and shows the Christian and Turkish fleets engaging each other. In this painting, the depiction of the battle scene is dominant, with western

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ The image of the skeleton, suggesting the mortality, was a favored theme in European iconography at the time. Panofsky, Erwin, “İkonografi ve İkonoloji” in Burke, Peter, *Tarihin Görgü Tanıkları: Afişten Heykele, Minyatürden Fotoğrafa*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003, pp. 37–49.

¹⁴⁹ Böck in Strunck, 2011.

and eastern depictions of maritime soldiers on galleons. In both paintings, Vasari transmitted precise and faithful information about the battle, consulting the admiral of the Papal fleet Marcantonio II Colonna and the Venetian drawings of the battleships and topography.¹⁵⁰ In this sense, one can argue that a historical accuracy is again present, yet less dominant as compared to Vasari's first painting.

In this painting as well, divine figures and their intervention are principally represented. On the upper left, along with angels who fought with "infidels" themselves,¹⁵¹ Jesus Christ appears on top of the clouds. Christ is the visual symbol of the Christian religion, and the clouds in the heavens are "the natural veils of the blue sky representing the unseen God."¹⁵² As Ferguson indicates, a hand emerging from a cloud is the most common symbol of divine omnipotence, and in Vasari's painting it can clearly be interpreted as the intervention of divine figures during the Battle of Lepanto.

On the bottom left, the figure of Fides, the goddess of divinity, and the symbol of good faith, is depicted. In this painting, she holds a wooden cross and bears a torch on top of the naval forces of the Holy League. The cross is considered as the universal mark of the Christian religion and the symbol of salvation through Christianity.¹⁵³ In this scene, the torch can also be interpreted as the "Light of the World."¹⁵⁴ Here, the iconography suggests that Christians were able to acquire victory against infidels following the light of Catholic faith. Next to the image of Fides, chained Ottoman figures with their turbans are represented, demonstrating Christians devastated the Turks. As Strunck indicates, "the three aspects of Turkish inferiority: weaknesses

¹⁵⁰ Strunck, p. 219.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. p. 218.

¹⁵² Ferguson, George, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 41–43.

¹⁵³ Ibid, p. 164.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 182.

of technology, spirituality and character” are emphasized in this painting.¹⁵⁵ This is a recurring theme of the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century depictions of the defeated Turk.

In the Vatican’s *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*, where the fresco depictions of geographical maps are displayed, there is a fresco by Ignazio Danti (1536–1586) on the northern wall depicting the Island of Corfu and the emerging fleets at Lepanto (Figure 88). On top of the geographical drawing appears the mythological figure Nike carrying a laurel wreath, symbolizing the victory. Another fresco by Ludovico Seitz (1844–1908) decorates the *Galleria dei Candelabri* in the Vatican. In his painting, the mythological representation of Faith is depicted while presenting a rosary to the victor of Lepanto, with a fierce illustration of the battle scene at the background (Figure 89).

Palaces and Churches in Rome

At the end of the seventeenth century, Marcantonio II Colonna’s residence in Rome was commissioned to be adorned with commemorative frescoes of the 1571 victory by his descendants, with the purpose of boosting the family’s social status and political influence at the turn of the century.¹⁵⁶ This thirteenth-century mansion, called Palazzo Colonna, has fourteen rooms and galleries decorated in honor of the victorious Papal Admiral of the Holy League, among which three are adorned with large-scale early eighteenth-century frescoes made by Giuseppe Bartolomeo Chiari (1654–1727), Sebastiano Ricci (1659–1734), Giovanni Coli (1636–1691), and Filippo Gherardi (1643–1704).

¹⁵⁵ Strunck, 2011, p. 222.

¹⁵⁶ Holm, Arne, *Using Art in the Pursuit of Social and Political Ends: An Interpretation of the Aesthetic Programme in Giuseppe Chiari’s fresco “The Apotheosis of Marc Antonio II Colonna”*, in *Palazzo Colonna, Rome*, MA Thesis, Oslo: University of Oslo, May 2011, p. 51.

The first room at the entrance of the main gallery is the Room of the Battle Column, decorated with the grand fresco *The Apotheosis of Marc Antonio II Colonna* (Figure 90), painted by Giuseppe Bartolomeo Chiari in the years 1699–1702. The fresco contains several connected scenes—a large one in the middle and four accompanying scenes—along each side. A figure of a seated woman on a golden throne is placed in the center of the composition. Although the divine light in which she emerges from suggests that she is a representation of the Virgin Mary, Strunck claims that she lacks every classical attribute of Madonna and argues that she is the personification of “Immortality” and circled by heroes, a group of men sitting on top of clouds and dressed in classical antique costumes.¹⁵⁷ This female figure points at an empty chair with her left hand and holds a snake biting its own tail in her right hand, which can again be interpreted as an allegory for eternity, thus immortality. Below this scene, two men are represented hand to hand. The younger one, dressed like a classical hero, with a red banner on his shoulders, holds a wooden hammer, the symbol of Hercules, and is led by the older figure of ancient Hercules towards a seat among the immortals.¹⁵⁸ According to Strunck’s interpretation, these images draw connections between Marcantonio II Colonna and the ancient hero Hercules from classical mythology, implying that he is the inheritor of the Herculean heroic tradition.¹⁵⁹ The figure of a woman, representing “Victory,” is depicted above him, holding a palm in her left hand and a laurel wreath in her right hand, ready to crown Marcantonio II Colonna. The figure of a woman depicted next to him, holding two trumpets and blowing one of them, represents “Fama,” announcing the admiral’s fame.¹⁶⁰ Close to the edge of the painting, on the bottom left side, Ottoman figures are depicted. One is shown almost in full size, stretching his hand upwards, as if

¹⁵⁷ Strunck, 2007, p. 340. As cited in Holm, 2011.

¹⁵⁸ Holm, 2011, p. 8.

¹⁵⁹ Strunck, 2007, p. 340. As cited in Holm, 2011.

¹⁶⁰ Holm, 2011, p. 9.

he is protecting himself from Marcantonio II Colonna. The recurring motifs in the palazzo's decoration, lances, cuirasses, trumpets, shields, and red plumage along with weapons, cannons, and axes are depicted. The flag, a hat with a blue plume, and a Turkish lance with the symbol of a crescent are also represented to stress the Ottoman defeat. The iconography as a whole suggests that the virtues of the admiral at Lepanto led him to be adorned with mythical and divine characteristics after the victory he obtained. Moreover, the room holds a monumental shrine with a statue of Marcantonio II Colonna, erected in 1713, which further accentuates the dynastic and celebratory significance of the frescoes.¹⁶¹ As the family's emblem, the so-called "Battle Column," in red Taenarium marble, located at the center of the room, also enhances the gallery's symbolic and ideological significance.

Proceeding to the Great Hall, adorned under the direction of Girolamo Fontana after the commission of Lorenzo Onofrio, there are five scenes on the ceiling panels (Figure 91) created by two painters from the Lucca workshop, Giovanni Coli and Filippo Gherardi: *The Doge of Venice Holds Council to Defeat the Turks*; *Pius V Entrusts the Command of the Fleet to Marcantonio II Colonna*; *Marcantonio II Colonna at the Sea Battle of Lepanto*; *Marcantonio II's Triumphal Entry into Rome*; and *the Erection of the Statue of the Victor*. All depict the historical events from the military career of Marcantonio II Colonna in chronological order and were designed in the artistic manner of Paolo Veronese.

The Doge of Venice Holds Council to Defeat the Turks (Figure 92) is a historical narrative scene located at the east end of the vault of the Great Hall and depicts the session at the Venetian Senate under the chairmanship of the Doge held in May 1570. Next to this painting, an oval ceiling panel at the east end section of the vault of the Great Hall, called *Pius V Entrusts the*

¹⁶¹ Safrik, Eduard, *Palazzo Colonna: The Gallery*, Galleria Colonna Guide Book, 1997, p. 6.

Command of the Fleet to Marcantonio II Colonna (Figure 93), realistically depicts the transfer of command by Pope Pius V.

Marcantonio II Colonna at the Sea Battle of Lepanto (Figure 94) embellishes the central ceiling panel of the Great Hall. A wild encounter in the sea between Marcantonio II Colonna and Müezzinzâde Ali Paşa dominates the composition. As Strunck suggests, this direct confrontation emphasized by Coli and Gherardi was modeled by epic poetry, where the human participants next to the two admirals of the opposing fleets remained anonymous to emphasize the honoring of the family ancestor.¹⁶² The religious figures, carrying laurel wreaths which symbolize his victory, are placed on the top side of Colonna's galley, while the sky above the Ali Paşa's galley lacks any divinity.

Marcantonio II's Triumphal Entry into Rome (Figure 95) is an oval ceiling panel in the west end section of the vault of the Great Hall. It depicts the Roman admiral entering his hometown on horseback, attended by a group of men, and his metaphorical crowning with a laurel wreath carried by angels. This image is followed by another narrative scene at the west end of the vault of the Great Hall depicting the subsequent erection of the commemorative statue of Marcantonio II Colonna on the Capitoline Hill (Figure 96), which is a realistic depiction of the statue still located at the Capitoline Museums in Rome (Figure 32).

The artistic revival of the style of Veronese, visible in the works of Coli and Gherardi, also inspired Sebastiano Ricci in the decoration of the Room of Landscapes. His *Allegory of the Victory of Marcantonio II Colonna at Lepanto* (Figure 97) is a further glorification of the famous admiral, rich in Ottoman figures and trophies of war. In this painting as well,

¹⁶² Strunck, 2011, p. 234.

Marcantonio II Colonna is crowned with a laurel wreath by an angel for his achievements. As Holm points out, the two opposite forces are not illustrated as equals as in the central fresco of the Great Hall painted by Coli and Gherardi, but as vanquished and pushed into the corners in fear, emphasizing the characteristics acquired as the “victorious” and the “defeated” in Ricci’s fresco.¹⁶³

As Strunck indicates, the frescoes in the Palazzo Colonna were used as social and political tools to emphasize the Colonna family’s strong influence in Rome for centuries.¹⁶⁴ In the ceiling decorations, embellishing vaults around the whole *palazzo*, enchained Ottoman figures with turbans and flags with crescents are represented along with battle scenes and saintly figures (Figure 98); placing the trophies taken as war booty with the aid of divinities further strengthens this argument.

Furthermore, the Palazzo Doria-Pamphilj, the residence of the Genoese commander Giovanni Andrea Doria in Rome, houses an allegorical painting on the Battle of Lepanto by the Venetian master Tiziano in its collection (Figure 99). It looks like an earlier sketch of the *Religion Saved by Spain*, currently located at the Prado Museum in Madrid (Figure 100), which will be further discussed in the, in Section 3.2 of Chapter 3.

The Palazzo Rospigliosi in Zagarolo, near to Rome, is a noble palace transformed from a medieval castle by the lieutenant Pompeo Colonna upon his arrival home from the Battle of Lepanto.¹⁶⁵ The sixteenth-century fresco decoration in the palace is filled with reminiscences of the victory and presents a battle scene with holy intervention on the top left corner, on the side of

¹⁶³ Holm, 2011, p. 65.

¹⁶⁴ Strunck, 2007, p. 18. As cited in Holm, 2011.

¹⁶⁵ Guglielmotti, Alberto, *Marcantonio Colonna alla Battaglia di Lepanto*, Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1862, p. 22.

the Christian fleet (Figure 101). On the lower side of the fresco, the ongoing battle is depicted with an emphasis on the superiority of the European vessel, equipped with firearms, suggesting the superior firepower of the European forces and its pivotal role.¹⁶⁶

The canonization of Pope Pius V is manifested through art in the churches of Rome, especially in the Dominican Church of Santa Sabina all'Aventino, where he spent the greater part of his monastic life.¹⁶⁷ The fresco decorating his private bedroom, later transformed into a chapel, depicts the pope in deep prayer, receiving the visit of an angel who shows him the final moment of the battle (Figure 102). The miracle attributed to Pius V regarding his prophecy of victory at the Battle of Lepanto is therefore inaugurated via artistic means in this sixteenth-century fresco.

3.2. Venice

After Rome, we should focus on the artistic tradition in Renaissance Venice because of the city's historical significance on its own, as well as for its relations with the Ottoman Empire, especially in the sixteenth century. Venice's unique geography, arising from its lagoons, and its special relation to the sea put the city in a particularly advantageous position in politics, warfare, and sea-trade. Thus, especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this independent city-state quickly gained power and ruled an empire extending from the Aegean coast to Lombardy.¹⁶⁸ It acquired the epithet "La Serenissima" (the most serene republic), and became the political, cultural, and artistic center of the age. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were therefore a

¹⁶⁶ Altarozzi, Giordano, "The Battle of Lepanto and the Europe – Islam Conflict in the 16th Century Frescoes: Historical Memory and Official Discourse" in *BRUKENTHALIA: Romanian Cultural History Review Supplement of Brukenthal*, n.7, Brukenthal: Acta Musei, 2017, p. 781.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 783.

¹⁶⁸ Rosand, David, *Painting in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto*. Rev. ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. p. 1.

period of High Renaissance in Venice with masters like Giorgione, Tiziano, Veronese, and Tintoretto. They all made great contributions to Italian art with their murals, frescoes, and paintings. In this chapter, all will be examined through detailed iconography within the context of the Battle of Lepanto.

In harmony with the painting tradition of sixteenth-century Venice and the spirit of the holy victory, the paintings of the Battle of Lepanto in Venice are rich in religious figures and they all aim to reflect the greatness of the battle and the holiness of the victory. Only a month after the victory, on November 8, 1571, a decision regarding the commissioning of paintings to celebrate the event was made by the Council of Ten in the Venetian Senate. According to this decision, the *Sala dello Scrutinio*—the Voting Hall in the Doge’s Palace—should be decorated with one or more talented artists’ paintings to commemorate this holy victory against the Turkish armada, as it was more deserving than any other event.¹⁶⁹ Consequently, the Venetian masters of the *Cinquecento*, Tiziano, Veronese, and Tintoretto, were commissioned to commemorate this event and to decorate the walls of churches and palaces of high importance in and outside of Venice. One example is Tintoretto’s painting, completed in 1573 that hung in the *Sala dello Scrutinio* until a fire destroyed it in December 1577.¹⁷⁰

If we begin to examine the paintings of these three painters who dominated Venetian art

¹⁶⁹ *Se ha meritato mai alcun egregio fatto nelli passati tempi occorso con honor della Republica nostra d’esser representato et tenuto vivo alli occhi et alla memoria delli posterì, lo merita sopra ogni altro questo della vittoria così segnalata et illustre dalla Divina benignità concesso all’Armata della Santissima lega contra l’Armata Turchesca, con tanto beneficio et Gloria della Republica Christiana et particolarmente della nostra. [...] Et però, sia data facultà al Collegio nostro [...] di dar il carico con i doi terzi delle ballotte ad uno o più pittori quanto più eccellenti si potrà ritrovare in questo città o di fuori di dipinger, essa vittoria et tutta la fattione particolarmente, nella Sala della libreria appresso quella del Maggior Consiglio. Et la spesa sia fatta delli denari dell’Ufficio nostro al Sal secondo il consueto.* Registro 30, Comuni Consiglio de’ Dieci 1571–1572, carta 70, in Lorenzi, G. B., *Monumenti per servire alla Storia del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Venice: 1868, p. 372.

¹⁷⁰ Pallucchini, 1974, p. 279.

in the sixteenth century in chronological order, the first Venetian master to be analyzed is Tiziano Vecellio, who had become “the first Italian artist to garner a truly international reputation, becoming the chosen painter of a papal family and two emperors.”¹⁷¹ Born in the mountain village of Cadore around 1487, Tiziano came to Venice as a nine-year-old child to be an apprentice in the Bellini workshop. By 1508, he became Giorgio Barbarelli’s (known as Giorgione’s) assistant, who is considered to be the father of the classical era of Venetian painting. After years of collaboration, with the death of Giorgione in 1510, Tiziano continues his work. During his years of assistantship, he practices the style of Giorgione and then completes his unfinished works of different genres, from frescoes to landscape paintings.

In his later paintings Tiziano continues to present elements of heroic drama and chromatic color, which he inherited from his master Giorgione, but also creates his own style through unique expressions of sacred, profane, dynamic, and sensual mythologies.¹⁷² In the examples of the two Battle of Lepanto paintings dated to 1575, it is possible to see the traces of Tiziano’s contribution to the evolution of the heroic and monumental style of the High Renaissance in Venice, which Tiziano elaborated by his dramatic use of color, mass, light, and movement.

In the iconological analysis, one of the two paintings by Tiziano, *Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto* (Figure 103), is an allegorically rich painting produced for the celebration of two consecutive events in 1571: the Victory of Lepanto on October 7 and the birth of the *infante* Ferdinand of Spain, heir to the throne, on December 5. As Falomir suggests, the proximity of

¹⁷¹ Bayer, Andrea, “North of the Apennines: Sixteenth-Century Italian Painting in Venice and the Veneto” in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin New Series*, vol. 63, No. 1, Summer, 2005, pp. 6–35.

¹⁷² Godfrey, F. M. *History of Italian Painting 1500–1800*, New York: Taplinger Publishing, 1965. p. 295.

these two events led them to be interpreted as gifts from heaven in monarchic circles.¹⁷³ The canvas thus serves as an *ex-voto*, where Philip II offers his gratitude and thanks God for the gifts he has received. In this painting, Tiziano exhibits a clearly mannerist style and painted the archangel Michael flying from a burst of light in an upside-down manner. Towards the top of the composition, he offers a palm leaf and a ribbon with an the inscription “*Maiora Tibi*” to the newborn child Ferdinand in his father Philip II’s arms.¹⁷⁴ The angel also carries a crown made of laurel leaves, the symbol of victory and triumph. A scene from the Battle of Lepanto appears in the background, and a bound ottoman sailor is depicted alongside the spoils of victory to the left, with a green Ottoman flag, drums, and a turban on the ground. As Falomir further argues, the buffet covered with a velvet cloth resembles an altar, the bound Turk alongside the spoils of war constitute an offering to the divinity, and Philip II as the absolute monarch, stands as the only agent of divine providence.¹⁷⁵ On the right side of the painting the artist’s name is written on a piece of paper and hung on one of the pillars. In front of another pillar, a dog is depicted, representing watchfulness and fidelity. This painting was first commissioned for the Alcázar Palace in Madrid and finally entered the Prado Museum in 1839.¹⁷⁶

Among his very last works, produced in 1575–1576, *Religion Saved by Spain* was an official commission by Philip II to commemorate the participation of the Spanish fleet at the Battle of Lepanto (Figure 100);¹⁷⁷ rather than depicting the usual protagonists of the battle, is presents allegorical figures. This work belongs to the last group of paintings that Tiziano sent to Philip II in 1576 and commemorates the achievement and success of the Spanish monarchy at

¹⁷³ Falomir, M.: *El arte del poder. La Real Armería y el retrato de corte*, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2010, p. 192.

¹⁷⁴ *Maiora Tibi*: “More major, greater triumphs await you”

¹⁷⁵ Falomir, 2010, p. 192.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Hope, Charles, "Titian's Role as Official Painter to the Venetian Republic" in *Tiziano e Venezia: convegno internazionale di studi*, Venice: Neri Pozza, 1976. pp. 301–305.

the Battle of Lepanto. In the painting, an allegorical representation of Spain appears armed with a cuirass, a lance, and a shield with Philip II's coat of arms. Behind it, a woman carrying a sword of justice and leading the Christian army is depicted. The most enigmatic figure is the man on the back, probably Don Juan de Austria, the brother of Philip II. The person symbolizing the Christian religion is depicted as a half-naked, unarmed woman falling on her knees, covered with a blue drapery and threatened by snakes. In the background, a figure in a sea chariot pulled by seahorses is represented. As Falomir argues, in the previously prepared engraving she is Amphitrite, goddess of calm seas, however in the painting, her iconography changes to Poseidon wearing a threatening Turkish turban. As discussed further by Falomir, the meaning of these changes in iconography is clear: after Lepanto, the compromising Empire gives way to combatant Spain. Mythological figures become historical allegories: Amphitrite becomes Poseidon, while Minerva turns into Spain. Finally, the young nude male mentioned in Vasari is transformed into the Catholic religion. Spain is thus shown defending the Catholic faith, not only against the Turks, but also against all enemies, which can be also inferred from the snakes, which symbolize Protestant heresy.¹⁷⁸ On the bottom left corner, a cross and a chalice represent the Catholic faith.¹⁷⁹ According to the Prado Museum, "Philip II sent this painting to the Alcázar Palace in Madrid, where it remained in the Spanish Royal Collection until 1839, when it entered the Prado".¹⁸⁰

Another Venetian master, Jacopo Tintoretto (1518-1594), also favored the battle and its protagonists and made two similar paintings. In his portrait painting *Sebastiano Venier as the General of the Venetian Fleet* (Figure 104), he depicts Sebastiano Venier, the captain-general of

¹⁷⁸ Falomir, M., *Italian Masterpieces. From Spain's Royal Court*, Museo del Prado, 2014, p. 80.

¹⁷⁹ Ferguson, 1954, p. 164.

¹⁸⁰ <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/religion-assisted-by-spain/87d62756-4028-4ff6-a08a-c69bb035982a>, last access: September 1, 2018.

the Venetian fleet, posing gloriously with the battle scene at the background. Contrary to Tintoretto's secular portrait of Venier, located in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, in this painting, Jesus Christ appears on top, holding the banner that represents the navy of the Holy League, and a young boy offers Venier a page.

Following his masters, Paolo Veronese (1528–1588) painted several paintings with the subject of the famous battle, among which two are preserved in Venice. One, which is now located in the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice (Figure 106), is a relatively small painting, originally placed on the left of the altar of the Rosary in the Church of St. Peter Martyr on the island of Murano in Venice as an *ex-voto* commissioned by Pietro Giustinian of Murano, who took part in the Battle at Lepanto.¹⁸¹ The lower half of the painting illustrates the events of the Battle of Lepanto, whilst at the top, a female personification of Venice is presented as Virgin Mary, the personification of purity, grace, and mercy.¹⁸² She is surrounded by saints, which can all be identified by their symbols: Saint Peter, the patron of the Vatican, Saint Justina, the saint celebrated on the day of the victory at Lepanto, and Saint Mark, the patron of Venice. A group of angels is also present, one of which throws burning arrows at the Turkish vessels, a clear reference to divine intervention. Veronese shows masterly play of tone and light in the lower part, where the battle contrasts with the light coming from clouds. Saint Peter the Apostle, who is often shown holding the keys of Heaven, represents "Revealed Faith."¹⁸³ Saint Justina, the patron saint of Padua and Venice, is depicted holding a knife, the traditional instrument of martyrdom.¹⁸⁴ Between Saint Peter and Saint Justina, the backwards figure with a walking stick and a hat is the depiction of Saint Roch. The walking stick is the attribute of saints who have

¹⁸¹ Pallucchini, 1974, pp. 279–281.

¹⁸² Ferguson, 1954, p. 95.

¹⁸³ Ferguson, 1954, p. 139.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 176.

been noteworthy for their pilgrimages.¹⁸⁵ The fourth saintly figure on the upper left, Saint Mark the Evangelist, the patron of Venice, is depicted with a lion, which represents strength, majesty, courage, and fortitude in Renaissance art.¹⁸⁶ Symbolically, the saintly figures depicted in the painting represent the Italian states that took part in the Battle of Lepanto. They are all positioned on clouds representing discussions with divine omnipotence and symbolizing celestial intervention during the battle. The lower half of the painting illustrates the events of the Battle of Lepanto, showing galleys and galleons in a detailed manner with their flags and banners.

Another painting by Veronese, *The Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto* (Figure 107), is situated in one of the most decorated rooms of the Doge's Palace in Venice, in the Council Hall, where the doge received ambassadors and foreign statesmen. Veronese was commissioned to decorate this highly important room.¹⁸⁷ According to Nichols, in 1577, Veronese was made to alter his initial design for the *Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto* for the room “just because it placed too much emphasis on the Battle’s hero, Doge Sebastiano Venier, and not enough on its wider significance as a victory of the Venetian State.”¹⁸⁸ In the final version of the commissioned painting, a scene from the battle is seen in the background, as well as Jesus Christ, angels and saints on top of clouds. At the center of the painting, the Doge Sebastiano Venier is seen kneeling, thanking Christ, who blesses him, and flanked by Saint Mark and Saint Justina, all depicted holding their symbols. Behind the Doge, the commander Agostino Barbarigo, who died heroically in the battle, is present. There are also two female figures in the painting; the richly

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 186.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 21.

¹⁸⁷ Pedrocchi, Filippo, “Profane Splendours of the 1570s,” in *Veronese: Gods, Heroes and Allegories*, Milan: Skira, 2004, pp. 114–115.

¹⁸⁸ Nichols, Tom, *Tintoretto: Tradition and Identity*. London: Reaktion Books, 1999. p. 106.

dressed woman is an allegorical representation of the city of Venice. She holds the Doge's horn, meaning that the power of the Doge comes from the city and its people. On the left side of the painting, a figure is dressed in white and holding a chalice, which is the symbol and personification of the Christian faith.¹⁸⁹ It is again a symbolic representation of the holy war against the infidels. In the background victorious Venetian galleons appear, showing that this holy scene was celebrating the Battle of Lepanto and the triumphant navy of the Holy League.

Along with many spoils of the battle, such as the lanterns used during the battle, numerous historical objects and art works related to the battle are also exhibited in the section "Venice and the Sea" in the Museum of Correr in Venice. Among these, galley models, banners, globes, and paintings are the most striking. There, another realistic representation of the battle, by Andrea Micheli, known as Vicentino (1542–1617), is exhibited. This work is a similar composition to Vicentino's 1606 masterpiece at the Doge's Palace (Figure 34), but compared to the latter it is much smaller in size and lighter in shading. Also, different than the 1606 work of the artist, on top of the ferocious battle scene, among the clouds appears saintly personifications, altering the painting with divine characteristics (Figure 108).

Another painting by Vicentino is now located in the museum of Saint Kvirin Church on island of Krk, today in Croatia. It was completed around 1600 in the *sette maniere* style of the Venetian masters Tiziano, Tintoretto, and Veronese and depicts the Lady of the Rosary with St. Dominic, Pope Pius V, and the Queen of Cyprus with an illustration of the castle but without any reference to the battle (Figure 109). It was a commissioned altarpiece to decorate the altar of the Lady of the Rosary Cathedral after the people of Krk participated in the Battle of Lepanto in a

¹⁸⁹ Wolters, Wolfgang, "Guerra e pace nei dipinti di Palazzo Ducale" in *Venezia e la Difesa del Levante: Da Lepanto a Candia 1570–1670*, Venezia: Arsenale, 1986, pp. 247–254.

galley called *Uskrsli Krist* (“Resurrected Christ”) under the command of Ljudevit Cicut, whose grave is today situated in the cathedral.¹⁹⁰

An anonymous painting by the Venetian school, illustrating the battle in an utterly chaotic atmosphere, is exhibited next to Vicentino’s *The Battle of Lepanto* in the Correr Museum (Figure 110). The galleys are depicted in a stylized manner; they carry distinctive flags and are inscribed with their commanders’ names. In the left corner of the painting, the figures of the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ appear as if they were guiding the battle. At the bottom, the inscription reads: *La Meravigliosa Vittoria Data da Dio a Christiani Contra Turchi agli Scogli Curzolari l’Anno 1571* (“Miraculous Victory Deigned by God to Christians Against Turks in 1571 at the Curzolari Cliffs”), referring to the former name of Lepanto. Its depiction of landscape and galleys under smoke together with inscriptions stylistically resembles a late sixteenth-century oil painting in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (Figure 39). Both oil paintings relate to Venetian prints of essentially the same image: the one by Martin Rota, dated 1572, and the large six-block woodcut by Cristoforo Guerra, published by Domenico Louisa.¹⁹¹

3.3. Genoa

Analogous to Palazzo Colonna in Rome, the Genoese admiral Giovanni Andrea Doria’s residence, the Villa del Principe in Genoa, is also decorated with artistic reminders of the battle in chronological order of the events. The Tapestry Hall of the Battle of Lepanto houses a series of six tapestry dedicated to the battle (Figure 111). The tapestries were designed by two major proponents of Genoese painting, Lazzaro Calvi (1512–1587) and Luca Cambiaso (1527–1585);

¹⁹⁰ <http://krk.rijekaheritage.org/en/kj/vicentino>, last access: July 1, 2018.

¹⁹¹ <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/11753.html#I5fm0yVWD34IL3R3.99>, last access: July 2, 2018.

they were produced in Brussels in 1582 and brought to Genoa in 1591, upon Giovanni Andrea Doria's purchase of the series.¹⁹² The series accurately represent the historical journey of the Holy League fleet in chronological order, with the coat-of-arms of the Doria family placed on top of each scene; all scenes are accompanied by explanatory inscriptions of the scenes in Latin and depict the different stages of the path to victory, with at least two mythological and religious figures on each side.

The journey woven on tapestry begins with *The Departure from Messina* (Figure 112). The Christian galleys at port of Messina in Sicily, where the fleets of the Holy League gathered before departing for Lepanto on September 16, is represented on this first tapestry, with mythological and saintly figures on two sides and with the following inscription: "SACRI FOEDERIS CLASSIS DUCTU IO. AUSTRIACI MESSANA SOLVIT" (The Holy League's fleet departs from Messina under the lead of John of Austria). The second tapestry (Figure 113) displays *The Navigation along the Calabrian Coastline* and is followed by the inscription "QUADRIPARTITO AGMINE ORAM BRUTIORUM LEGIT" ([The fleet], arrayed in a four line formation, sails along the Bruzi's shores [Calabria's coastline]). The third tapestry (Figure 114) correctly depicts *The Line-Up of the Fleets* and is accompanied by the explanatory text, "TURCARUM CLASSI AD ECHINADES OBVIAM FIT AMBAEQUE AD PUGNAM INSTRUCTAE PROELIUM LACESSUNT" ([The Christian fleet] meets the Turkish one near the Echinades [Curzolari Islands] and both fleets, in battle formation, begin the fight). The fourth tapestry (Figure 115) narrates *the Battle* with an additional text, "DIV UTRINQUE AC FORTITER PUGNANTUR TANDEM FOEDERATORUM CLASSIS SUPERIOR EVADIT" (Both sides battle long and valorously and eventually the League's fleet comes off victorious).

¹⁹² Information on the series of tapestry and translations from Latin to English are received from: <http://www.doriapamphilj.it/genova/en/the-tapestry/the-tapestry-of-the-battle-of-lepanto/>, last access: July 4, 2018

The fifth tapestry (Figure 116) is entitled *The Christian Victory and the Flight of Seven Turkish Galleys* and contains the inscription, “TURCARUM MAXIMA STRAGES EDITUR ET SUPERVENIENTIS NOCTIS AUXILIO VIX SEPTEM TRIREMES EX UNIVERSA EORUM CLASSE INCOLUMES EFFUGIUNT” (The Turkish fleet suffers enormous losses and only seven galleys out of the entire fleet manage to escape unscathed, aided by the falling of the night). It presents the escape of the galleys under the lead of Uluç Ali Paşa in the bottom right corner. The sixth and the final tapestry (Figure 117) is called *The Return of the Fleet to Corfu* and is followed with the inscription “CORCYRE PORTUM VICTRIX CLASSIS INGREDITUR CXXX TRIREMES CAPTAS REMULCO TRAHENS RELIQUIS FRACTIS ET SUBMERSIS” (The winning fleet enters the port of Corcyra [Corfu], towing one hundred and thirty galleys, after destroying and sinking the others). This depiction also presents an image of an enslaved Turkish soldier with his hands chained behind his back and the image of the foot of the female figure 'Victory' treading on a lone head (Figure 118). Along with the narration of the enslaving the enemy, as discussed in Chapter 2, this representation of enemies' heads under feet has a symbolic meaning, emphasizing one's supremacy, and is actively demonstrated in this final tapestry.

Luca Cambiaso also painted the encounter at Lepanto in his painting called *Battle of Lepanto*, today located at the El Escorial (Figure 119). It is similar to his previous designs, depicting the alignment of the two opposing fleets at the gulf, with the castle of Lepanto in the back. A dominating figure on this painting is *Fama*, announcing the fame of the Holy armada. The Galata Sea Museum of Genoa also houses commemorative paintings of Lepanto, including a religious painting created in 1700 by the Genoese workshop (Figure 120). It depicts two Ottoman galleys combatting a galley of the Holy armada, while Madonna with Child watches

above the sky, along with pitti and angels.

3.4. Other city-states and towns in Italy

Turin, the capital of the Duchy of Savoy, which participated to the battle with three ships,¹⁹³ claims its share in the victory and houses churches and chapels built in the name of the Madonna of Rosary. These contain several paintings and frescoes that emphasize the religious character of the Battle of Lepanto. Among those, Church of Santa Maria Ausiliatrice is the largest one devoted to the victory. The representations of victory begin on the façade of the church, with the statue of the archangel Michael waving a flag with the inscription “Lepanto” on the left bell tower (Figure 121).¹⁹⁴ The inner façade of the church is decorated with two “imaginary” paintings (Figure 122), one depicting Pope Pius V guiding the Christian fleet on top of one of the galleys at Lepanto; the other depicts Saint John Bosco (1815–1888), commonly known as Don Bosco, the founder of the Salesian sect of Catholicism, across the monumental shrine at the altar in which he is buried.

The dome of the church is richly ornamented with a nineteenth-century fresco (Figure 123) created by Giuseppe Rollini (1842–1904) upon Don Bosco’s commission in 1889–1891.¹⁹⁵ Historical and religious motifs are nested together in this fresco, where a group of angels carry a large piece of cloth—a banner or a tapestry—with the naval battle scene of Lepanto to the group of Catholic statesmen (Figure 124). The circular composition is dominated by symbolic attributions. On one hand, Madonna with Child sitting on throne next to Saint Joseph is accompanied by a figure of a dove, the symbol of Holy Spirit; together they symbolize the

¹⁹³ Beeching, 2007. p. 195.

¹⁹⁴ <http://www.donbosco-torino.it/ita/page3.html>, last access: July 18, 2018.

¹⁹⁵ Maffioli, Natale, “Giuseppe Rollini: Il Pittore della Gloria dell’Ausiliatrice” in *Arte Salisiana*, May 2013, p. 38, <http://www.donbosco-torino.it/ita/Arte-a-Valdocco/03-Pittore-Giuseppe-Rollini.pdf>, last access: July 18, 2018.

sacred family as a whole. On the other hand, the circular surrounding depicts anecdotal scenes of the interventions of Santa Maria Ausiliatrice, or Mary Help of Christians. A devotional title of Mary, Mary Help of Christians has been accredited with interceding on behalf of Christians in many historical events, such as the Battle of Lepanto, the Battle of Vienna, and the Liberation of Pius VII from Napoleonic imprisonment.¹⁹⁶ Another portrait, of Pope Pius V with Madonna with Child appearing on top of the clouds with angels and a cross, is located in the same church (Figure 125). It is one of the many imaginary paintings of similar *trompe-l'oeil* style composition, where the Pope watches the battle, guided by Madonna with Child and angels from his window.

A similar religious representation appears in an 1826 painting by Vincenzo Revelli (1764–1835) in the Chapel of Rosary in the Church of San Domenico in Turin. In it, the Madonna with Child appears on top of the battle scene with holy personifications who guide Pope Pius V towards the victory (Figure 126). This recurrent image of the Pope, in his private oratory with his right hand on his heart, is traditionally interpreted as him praying for a Christian victory.¹⁹⁷

Another Italian artist of the eighteenth century, Giovanni Tommaso Fasano (1646–1723), decorated the Chapel of Our Lady of Rosary in the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina Nuova in Naples with the portrayal of victorious Christians at Lepanto (Figure 127). In his painting, a chaotic battle scene is represented, with the figure of the archangel Michael, who protects Christian marines with a sword and a shield under the guidance of the Virgin Mary.

¹⁹⁶ Maffioli, 2013, p. 38, <http://www.donbosco-torino.it/ita/Arte-a-Valdocco/03-Pittore-Giuseppe-Rollini.pdf>, last access: July 18, 2018.

¹⁹⁷ *Gazzetta Piemontese*, no:77, 28 giugno 1827, p. 479, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=qvMvAAAAAYAAJ&pg=GBS.PA479>, last access: July 17, 2018.

Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto, a ceiling decoration painted by Lattanzio Gambara (1530–1574) in Palazzo Lalatta in Parma, depicts an allegorical scene of the battle.¹⁹⁸ It lacks the actual representation of the encountering galleys, but depicts Ottoman soldiers along with demonic creatures that are repelled by divine agents in the sky, such as the Virgin Mary (Figure 128). Gambara symbolically embeds the victory of the Holy League through the image of a lion and an eagle biting off a crescent.

The Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri Church in Pisa is particularly interesting for its reinforced correlation between the Battle of Lepanto and its spoils with faith and praying. As a place of worship, the church does not only house a painting on the battle, but also exhibits many Ottoman flags and standards taken during the Battle of Lepanto as war spoils (Figure 129). Through these war spoils, one is implicitly encouraged to feel proud about being a Christian, the victors who captured booty from heretics. However, although present in a place for worship, the paintings, by Jacopo Ligozzi (1547–1627), are rather secular examples compared to their contemporaries, as they depict historical scenes, such as the painting *Return of the Knights of Santo Stefano from the Battle of Lepanto* (Figure 130). As Strunck points out, even though this difference in style is noteworthy, the depiction of the Turk as an untamed animal in Ligozzi's painting further strengthens the political implication and propaganda of the Turk's inferiority and further emphasizes the perception of Turkish soldiers as war booty.¹⁹⁹ In this sense, one can argue that although religious propaganda is not conspicuous in paintings, the spirit of a Catholic triumph against the Turk as associated with spoils of war is asserted in general in the church.

The manifestation of Pope Pius V's vision on the Battle of Lepanto is also present in Il

¹⁹⁸ http://www.enciclopediabresciana.it/enciclopedia/index.php?title=GAMBARA_Lattanzio, last access: July 30, 2018.

¹⁹⁹ Strunck, 2011, p. 225.

Collegio Ghislieri, a school founded in 1567 by Pope Pius V himself. This building, reflecting the Counter-Reformation spirit in architecture and arts, was inaugurated with a chapel constructed in dedication to Pius V in 1571–1585 and was decorated with an altarpiece by Lazzaro Baldi in 1673.²⁰⁰ This *Vision of Pius V* depicts the familiar scene of the Pope experiencing his vision, looking at the naval battle, with the Madonna with Child appearing on top (Figure 131). The same chapel houses another religious painting of the Battle of Lepanto, created in the same year by Giovanni Battista del Sole (Figure 132). In this painting, the atmosphere of the battle was painted realistically, while on top of the scene the Virgin Mary guides the battle with accompanying angels.

One particular example is an unusually plain, almost primitive fresco depiction from the seventeenth century (Figure 133) in the Church of Nostra Signore del Rosario di Orani in the small Sardinian town of Nuoro. Although the subject of the painting—angels with swords and shields guiding the Christian vessels towards victory against the Ottomans—is typical, the difference in style is particular to this church, known for its graffiti and wall decorations.

The recurrent narrative of divine figures guiding the Holy navy is present in the painting of the naval battle at the Cathedral of Montagnana. It is attributed to Antonio Vassilacchi, called L'Aliense (1556–1629), who was an active painter in Venice. Indeed, the depiction of the chaotic atmosphere of the battle, with the presence of the Virgin Mary of Rosary and Saint Giustina (Figure 134), resembles earlier Venetian paintings of the battle in subject and style (Figure 110).

Antonio Michele Ghislieri's (later Pope Pius V) birth town, Bosco (today Bosco Marengo), decorated one of the main chapels in the Church of Santa Croce, the Chapel of Our

²⁰⁰ Angelini, Gianpaolo and Raimondi, Giuseppe, *La cappella del Collegio Ghislieri di Pavia, Como-Pavia*, Edizioni Ibis, 2005, accessed at: <http://collegio.ghislieri.it/palazzo-e-cappella/>, last access: July 30, 2018.

Lady of Rosary, with an altarpiece by Grazio Cossali (1563–1629). It depicts Pope Pius V attributing the victory of the Battle of Lepanto to the Madonna of Rosary, with a divine audience in sky and a historic audience on ground in attendance (Figure 135). Above, the Virgin Mary adorned with flowers, gives the rosary to Saint Dominic, the founder of the Dominican order; the baby Jesus presents flowers to Saint Catherine of Siena, who was a Dominican tertiary and theologian with great influence on the Catholic Church in the fourteenth century. On the ground, Pope Pius V is portrayed pointing to the Virgin Mary while looking at the spectators, as if he is drawing attention to the actual agent of the victory. Behind Pius V, his nephew Cardinal Michele Bonelli, who helped the Pope form the Holy League, is portrayed, while on the right side of the painting, the Emperor Philip II and Alvise I Mocenigo, the doge of Venice, are represented giving thanks and praying. At the center, an angel waves a flag with the coat of arms of the three victors: Spain, the Church of Saint Peter's, and Venice.²⁰¹ Overall, in this painting, while presenting the important personalities of the battle, Cossali strongly emphasizes the victory as the triumph of Catholicism through the placement of many divine and saintly characters from the history of Catholicism.

The recurring themes of holy figures in Italian paintings of the battle, such as the Madonna with Child, is a natural consequence of the fact that the Battle of Lepanto was considered as a holy victory deigned by God. Along with the formal and stylistic ones, the iconographic analysis of these paintings leads us to understand the intrinsic meaning of the works and explain why an artist or a patron chose a particular subject and represented it in a certain way, in a particular dimension, and at a certain location. These paintings and their

²⁰¹ De Vita, 2013, p. 25.

“representational meanings,”²⁰² as seen in the analyses of their symbolic characters, aimed to carry numerous simultaneous messages that strengthened the image of the Church, which was politically challenged and potentially threatened by social, political, and military incidents in the sixteenth century.²⁰³ These paintings often lacked historical accuracy, were part of religious propaganda, and thus had mainly a symbolic character. Through these symbolic artistic agents, the image of the Church was purposefully strengthened in the Italian peninsula during the Counter-Reformation, leading to creation of a Catholic tradition that would continue for centuries.

²⁰² Gombrich, E. H., *Symbolic Images: Studies in the art of the Renaissance II*, Oxford: Phaidon, 1972.

²⁰³ Johns, Christopher M. S., *Papal Art and Cultural Politics: Rome in the Age of Clement XI*, Cambridge University Press, 1993. p. 19.

CHAPTER 4

HERITAGE OF THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO IN THE CATHOLIC WORLD AND BEYOND

As frequently emphasized above, the glorious and victorious image of the Catholic Church, supported by the victory of the Holy League at Lepanto, was very much publicized through the construction of symbolic cultural and religious traditions. These traditions, filled with Catholic spirit, including feasts, processions, hymns of praise, and celebrations and invented either immediately thereafter or in the centuries to follow, served as a means to keep the memory of the Catholic victory alive in the minds of Christians. Some examples of this practice are considered below.

4.1. The Feast of Our Lady of the Rosary

Upon the success of Lepanto, Pope Pius V, overly satisfied with the result, established a feast day for the Roman Catholic Church to celebrate the victory of the Holy League each year on October 7, the anniversary of the Catholic victory, originally known as Our Lady of Victory and Feast of the Holy Rosary. In fact, the original name of the feast was attributed to the recitation of the “Rosary” by St. Dominic in 1213, upon the Crusaders’ defeat of Albigensian heretics at the Battle of Muret, which was believed to be a victory deigned by “heaven”. According to this belief, “heaven” has on many occasions rewarded the “faith” of those who showed devotion in times of incredible danger.²⁰⁴

Moreover, the result of the battle had become a remarkable response to the processions held in Rome on that same first Sunday of October 1571, by the members of the Rosary

²⁰⁴ Thurston, Herbert. "Feast of the Holy Rosary" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 13. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912.

confraternity.²⁰⁵ The victory of the Holy League was therefore associated with the Rosary and divine intervention. Subsequently, Pope Pius V ordered a commemoration of the Rosary to be made upon that day and instituted “Our Lady of Victory,” attributed to the Virgin Mary, as an annual feast to commemorate the victory at Lepanto, during which combined vocal and mental prayer was standardized.²⁰⁶ In 1573, Pope Gregory XIII changed the title of the “Feast of Our Lady of Victory” to “Feast of the Holy Rosary,” allowed this feast to be celebrated on the first Sunday of October, and to be kept in all churches which possessed an altar dedicated to the Holy Rosary. In 1671, this tradition in Italy was extended to the all of Spain by Pope Clement X.²⁰⁷ From then onwards, the Feast of Holy Rosary began to be celebrated internationally in the Catholic churches on October 7, especially the ones that have altars dedicated to the Rosary. Part of the celebration includes chanting the *Te Deum*.²⁰⁸

4.2. *Te Deum*

The Papal and Venetian sources recite the euphoria and thanksgiving upon the arrival of the good news through religious chants. In Rome and in Venice, solemn masses were organized, during which the clergy and choir directed *Te Deum Laudamus*²⁰⁹, the Church’s traditional hymn of praise to express thanks to God. The Reverend Francesco del Sodo, records that a great and

²⁰⁵ The Confraternity of the Holy Rosary is a spiritual association founded in the late fifteenth century under the Dominican order. in Thurston, 1912.

²⁰⁶ Hinnebusch, W. A., “Rosary” in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XII, Washington: McGraw&Hill, 1967, pp. 667–670.

²⁰⁷ Thurston, 1912.

²⁰⁸ *Te Deum* is an abbreviated title commonly given both to the original Latin text and the translations of a hymn of praise in rhythmical prose that begins with the words: “Te Deum Laudamus” (“We praise thee, O God”), in Henry, Hugh, “Te Deum” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 14. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912.

²⁰⁹ For the full Latin text and English translation, see Appendix B.

solemn mass was conducted at the Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome with a large number of people on the occasion of the commemoration, a week after the victory:²¹⁰

Questa é una bellissima Chiesa... con una nobile soffitta grande intagliata e dorata fatta dal serenissimo populo Romano in memoria della [vittoria] generale ottenuta contro li turchi alli 7 di ottobre nel 1571. Et in quel giorno vi si fece una solenne messa grande con gran concorso de populi e tutti li tribunali di campidoglio vi feceno belli presenti et si distribui gran pane alli poveri.

The arrival of the auspicious news was greeted with great enthusiasm in the city of Venice as well. All the shops were closed; everybody was celebrating and thanking God for the triumph.²¹¹ As Contarini recites in his *Historia*, the celebrations in Venice were mostly of religious character: the people of Venice, led by the Senate and the Clergy, subsequently organized a solemn mass following the singing of *Te Deum Laudamus*, where all expressed their gratitude to God: “[...] San Marco, ove frequentando tuttavia il Senato, & la Chieresia cominciarono a cantar il Te Deum laudamus, quando poi fu celebrata una solenne Messa, rendendo ciascuno gratie a N.S. Dio.”²¹²

This tradition of commemorating the victory through *Te Deum* was also recorded in Ottoman documents centuries later. In a document dated 1894, Ottoman authorities take note of

²¹⁰ Francesco del Sodo, *Conpendio delle Chiese di Roma e loro Foundationi*, ca. 1571, Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Mss. G.33, fol. 144r. “This is a most beautiful church... with grand, nobly gilt, painted (wooden) coffered ceiling built by the most serene Roman people in memory of the general victory achieved against the Turks on 7 October 1571. And on that day (December 13th) a great and solemn mass was held with a great number of people and the tribunals of the Campidoglio were lavishly decorated for the spectators and great quantities of bread were distributed to the people.” in Smith, Gregory and Gadeyne, Jan (eds.), *Perspectives on Public Space in Rome, from Antiquity to the Present Day*, New York: Routledge, 2016, pp. 150–151.

²¹¹ Setton, Kenneth M., *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571): Volume IV, The Sixteenth Century from Julius III to Pius V*, Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984, p. 1060.

²¹² “ San Marco, where Senato and Clergy began to sing *Te Deum laudamus*, upon the inauguration of a solemn mass, making everybody thankful to God” in Contarini, Giampietro, *Historia delle cose successe dal principio della guerra mossa da Selim Ottomano a Venetiani fino al di della gran giornata vittoriosa contra Turchi*, Venetia: Francesco Rampazetto, 1572, p. 56.

an incident where a ship carrying French priests returning from Jerusalem made a stopover at Lepanto to pray in commemoration to the victory.²¹³

4.3. Contemporary Celebrations

Important components of contemporary Christian symbolism and remembrance of the victory are cultural events and festivals. Upon the institution of the Feast of Our Lady of the Rosary by Pope Pius V, annual cultural commemorative events became traditional in western Europe. In many towns, this victory is celebrated through conventions, public ceremonies, and festivals, where the victory against the Turks is re-enacted each year in October (Figure 136). These historical re-enactments inspire many celebrations, such as the festival known as *Festa Madonna della Vittoria*, dedicated to the Battle of Lepanto (Figure 137), in the small Italian town of Sermoneta. In the festival, Turkish figures are generally represented in accordance with the Western image of the Orient, regardless of historical accuracy (Figure 138).

One particular example is to be found in another small Italian town, Spelonga, which is notable for its festival, the *Festa Bella*. The *Festa Bella* is organized every three years with the participation of the locals of Spelonga. It is traditionally believed that in 1571, about a hundred Spelongans fought at the Battle of Lepanto, and even brought back a torn, blood stained Ottoman banner to town (Figure 139).²¹⁴ There is little documentary evidence to support this claim, besides the known participation of two locals, Antonio d'Ascoli as the commander of the pontifical galley "Suprema" and Fulgenzio Parisani as one of the thirty Capuchin friars placed among the troops to assist them. Since then, a red flag with three crescents and a star, currently preserved in the Church of Sant'Agata, had become the symbol of the town and its festival

²¹³ BOA. Y..A...HUS. 290/88. "Kudüs'ü ziyaretten dönen yüz kadar Fransız papazını hamil vapurun Lepanto'da tevakkuf ettiği ve papazların Lepanto (İnebahtı) Muharebesi'ni anarak dua ettikleri."

²¹⁴ <http://www.spelonga.it/la-festa-bella/spelongani-a-lepanto-7-ottobre-1571-dc/>, last access: August 5, 2018.

(Figure 140). This enthusiastic festival and the reanimation of Spelonga's participation lasts for a month. It begins with local men cutting down a tree to transform it into a galley and continues with the galley's transportation into the town's square and its mast being erected with a replica of the Turkish banner on its tip (Figure 141). This festival continues with the recreation of the events and plays and is concluded with a holy mass, in which the locals offer their gratitude to the Virgin Mary.²¹⁵

The religious attributions of the battle caused many Catholic organizations and associations to adopt the name "Lepanto." One example is an international association in Rome called the Lepanto Foundation. It aims to defend of the principals and institutions of Christian civilization, organizes conferences, and publishes a periodical called Lepanto (Figure 142).²¹⁶ Similarly, the Lepanto Institute, based in the United States (Figure 143), expresses its aims of foundation as such: "The Lepanto Institute for the Restoration of All Things in Christ is a research and education organization dedicated to the defense of the Catholic Church against assaults from without as well as from within."²¹⁷ Both associations bear stylized images of Christian galleys in their logos, as does the American, Catholic publishing house called the Lepanto Press (Figure 144). The most recent example, the first annual Lepanto Youth Conference, hosted by the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception in Waterbury, Connecticut was held in May 2018. It was a conference open to young Catholics entitled "A Sign of Contradiction: Catholic Identity in the Modern World". The conference also included a religious mass, confession, and a procession with the relics of Pope Pius V.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ <http://www.spelonga.it/festa-bella-2016/programma-dettagiato-della-festabella-2016/>, last access: August 5, 2018.

²¹⁶ <https://www.fondazionelepanto.org/>, last access: August 6, 2018.

²¹⁷ <http://www.lepantoinstitute.org/about-2/>, last access: August 6, 2018.

²¹⁸ <http://catholicnyc.com/event/lepanto-youth-conference-and-mass/>, last access: August 6, 2018.

As these contemporary examples of symbolic character also demonstrate, the impact of the perception and importance of this Catholic victory is large and ongoing. While the victory and its historical artistic output confirm the aspiration of Catholics to manifest their strength, it also serves as a means to mark them as the prominent conductors of the Christian faith in the eyes of the public.

4.4. Current Artistic Interpretations

The actual artistic environment of the modern world continues to produce artwork related to the Battle of Lepanto, although mostly in secularized form. A prominent example may be the contemporary American artist Cy Twombly's work entitled *Lepanto Series*, created for the Biennale of Venice in 2001 (Figure 145). It is a single work consisting of twelve large-format canvases inspired by the famous galleys at Lepanto, currently displayed at the Prado Museum.²¹⁹ Although it initially seems like colorful stylized paintings of ship, the significance of Twombly's work deepens in consideration of its spatial relation with its places of exhibition. It was first exhibited in Venice, where the Venetian masters of *Cinquecento* repeatedly painted the battle, and then in the Museum of Prado, where numerous paintings on the Battle of Lepanto are on display. In this way, the series, while paying a tribute to the old masters' works, also commemorates the victory more than four centuries later.

The Battle of Lepanto appears in digital arts as well. For example, on the website DeviantArt, which shares digital images, drawings, and designs, there are several digital paintings created in the 2000s. One example is a realistic digital reconstruction of a sixteenth-century Venetian galley used during the battle, with the hashtag *Lepanto* and drawn by the user

²¹⁹ <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/whats-on/exhibition/lepanto-cy-twombly/9a0554a7-dadf-4979-b45b-2cb58103e6df>, last access: September 4, 2018.

Rado Javor (Figure 146). In a different image, entitled *Lepanto Confrontation*, a Turkish soldier is represented battling against a Spanish soldier in the Japanese manga form (Figure 147); another digital painting depicts the battle scene on the deck of a galley with an Ottoman figure who wear nothing but turbans against Miguel de Cervantes, who actually lost his left arm during the Battle of Lepanto (Figure 148).²²⁰

This symbolism of this naval victory is also commercialized in different sectors of material culture. Some examples of these genres are the puzzles, board games (Figure 149), and computer games of naval strategy (Figure 150); in one the players of two camps aim to defeat the enemy at the Gulf of Patras for the dominance in the Mediterranean. Other commercial objects include items such as keychains and coffee mugs to be sold as souvenirs (Figure 151). As this commercialization suggests, the battle is not only used for religious or political propaganda purposes, but it is also utilized by different sectors due to the symbolic significance it has accumulated throughout the centuries.

²²⁰ In this painting, the cut-off arm can be interpreted as having a double symbolism, one being the arm of Cervantes, and the other meaning the one-armed Europe in the legendary, yet famous words of Sokullu: "By conquering Cyprus we have cut off one of your arms; at Lepanto by defeating our navy you have only shaved off our beard. However, you should know that a cut-off arm cannot be replaced, but a shaved-off beard grows thicker."

CONCLUSION

This study reflects an attempt to demonstrate the extent of Christian symbolism attributed to the Battle of Lepanto through its numerous artistic depictions in religious contexts, as well as its contemporary outcomes, and to show how this victory was used as a means for Catholic propaganda in the Counter-Reformation period and later throughout the Catholic world.

The Chapter 1 is an introduction to the historical background of the Battle of Lepanto with the aim of contextualizing the artistic outcomes of the battle in the Catholic world. The sixteenth-century balance of power in the Mediterranean, the politics of Ottoman-Venetian relations and contemporaneous historical developments such as Selim II's ultimatum to the Signory of Venice regarding Cyprus upon his accession to throne and the spread of the Protestant Reformation in Europe, necessitated a re-establishment of papal authority and spurred Pope Pius V's "dream" of a Holy League against "heretics." These pressures (and dreams) culminated in the naval Battle of Lepanto on October 7, 1571, which ended in a decisive victory for the Catholic Holy League. Chapter 1 concludes with examples of primary sources that suggest the significance of the battle for Western Europe through visual and literary accounts and considers the few existing examples in the Ottoman sources in a comparative perspective.

The Chapter 2 introduces works of art with the Battle of Lepanto as subject. I examined the artistic outcomes under two main sections: secular works that aim to document history, and religious works that reflect Catholic propaganda. In parallel with this categorization, the secular artworks examined in Chapter 2.1 included mostly the sixteenth-century descriptive images documenting the battle, such as maps, engravings, prints, and public monuments; as well as later examples from the genres of history painting and maritime painting, which continue to depict the battle as a subject in later centuries. After demonstrating the secular artistic outcomes of the

battle, in Chapter 2.2 the religious artistic outcomes, such as religious architecture, objects, and paintings from around the world are examined. These include churches, chapels, pulpits, tiles, stained glass works, mosaics, frescoes, and oil paintings. The common characteristics of these works emphasize the ferocity of the battle, the greatness of the fleet of the Holy League, and the inferiority and wretchedness of the “Turk” as a stereotypical image.

In Chapter 3, Italian paintings with religious narratives are examined in detail, following their locations. . The paintings created in the main Italian cities, which participated in the battle—Rome, Venice and Genoa—as well as some other small Italian towns, and city-states that contributed to it in a smaller scale are subjected to a descriptive analysis with particular attention to the Christian symbols in the iconography. Also, the role of the patrons who commissioned the works and where they are exhibited are examined in relation to their symbolic significance.

The iconographic analyses of the religious paintings of Lepanto unveil a recurring theme: divine intervention. In an overwhelming number of paintings, this claim is symbolized through the image of Madonna with Child holding a rosary, who appears on top of the clouds by the side of the Holy fleet, implying divine assistance: God granted the Catholics victory. Starting with Counter-Reformation art in the Italian peninsula, this image and idea, in various forms, becomes a standard in depicting the Catholic victory in different artistic waves throughout the ages.

To conclude, in Chapter 4, the lasting intangible heritage of the Battle of Lepanto, including activities, such as the Feast of Madonna of Rosary and *te deum*, and contemporary events and celebrations that reach to the twenty-first century, are discussed to emphasize the current symbolic value of the Battle of Lepanto for the Catholic world. This symbolism continues to inspire Catholics from different regions of the world in different spheres of life, including art, politics, and popular culture, which further strengthens my main argument.

An interesting fact emerging from this study is that the artwork featuring the Battle of Lepanto and the victory narrative have travelled in time far beyond the lands of the original victors. That the story and the art appear in places such as Philippines, Japan and Americas, reflects a continued importance of the symbolism attached to this battle. Considering that heritage consists often of those values that people choose to pass down through generations, the continuing heritage and the active tradition on the narration of the Battle of Lepanto suggest that people are actively choosing to keep the memory of the battle alive through works of art or through various cultural activities.

In this thesis, I analyzed 118 images directly related to the Battle of Lepanto. Of those, 85 images of the battle had a religious narrative and Italian artists painted 42 of them. While the secular artistic outcomes of the battle exist, it is obvious that the religious artistic outcomes dominate the art produced about the Battle of Lepanto. Most of these works are located in Catholic countries or regions with a strong Catholic presence or tradition, with the purpose of reinforcing concepts of unity and strength of faith.

This thesis focusing on the artistic outcomes of the Battle of Lepanto and the symbolic meanings of Italian paintings of the battle will provide a guideline for further art historical research on the subject matter, which may be extended to the iconographical analyses of other works of art produced in different geographies, beginning with the works of Spanish artists. Similarly, further research may include iconographic studies on Christian symbolism in detail, as well as comparative studies with other symbolic religious battles in history and their artistic outcomes.

Overall, this thesis attempts to demonstrate how by the medium of art the Catholic Church benefited from the turbulent Ottoman-Venetian rivalry in the sixteenth century to re-establish its

authority against heretical challenges during the Counter-Reformation period. Accordingly, it aims to portray how an ideological narrative evolved into a myth, transcending the historical significance of the event, with the consequent symbolism reflected in art resulting in an iconography of religious myth-building.

Thanks to the victory of the Holy League at the Battle of Lepanto, the Catholic Church was able to push its agenda of gaining political and religious authority by shaping the narrative of the battle. This was largely accomplished through the visual and symbolic power of works of art, which were commissioned both by the Church and other allied leaders who had strong religious beliefs. As the global contemporary symbolism suggests, the significance of Lepanto for the Catholic world far exceeded the scope of the sixteenth-century Italy and became a symbol of religious claim to power and glory that would be used in centuries to come for reflecting the image of the victory of “true faith” through the memory of the Battle of Lepanto.

FIGURES



Figure 1. Giovanni Antonio de Rossi, bronze medal, portrait bust with Pope Pius V on the obverse and personifications of Venice, the Papal States and Spain on the reverse, diameter: 42 mm, weight: 31.71 gr, Rome, 1570. in British Museum M.1233, London.

Photo:http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=260146001&objectId=3012245&partId=1



Figure 2. Giuseppe Alabardi or Fra Cosimo Piazza, Flogging of Marcantonio Bragadin, fresco on the tomb of Marcantonio Bragadin, c.1596, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. Photo: <http://www.bisanzioit.blogspot.com/2011/11/marcantonio-bragadin.html>



Figure 3. Tiziano Vecellio, *Flaying of Marsias (Allegory of Marcantonio Bragadin)*, oil on canvas, 210×205 cm, c. 1575, National Museum in Kroměříž, Czech Republic. Photo: <http://www.titian.org/flaying-of-marsyas.jsp>

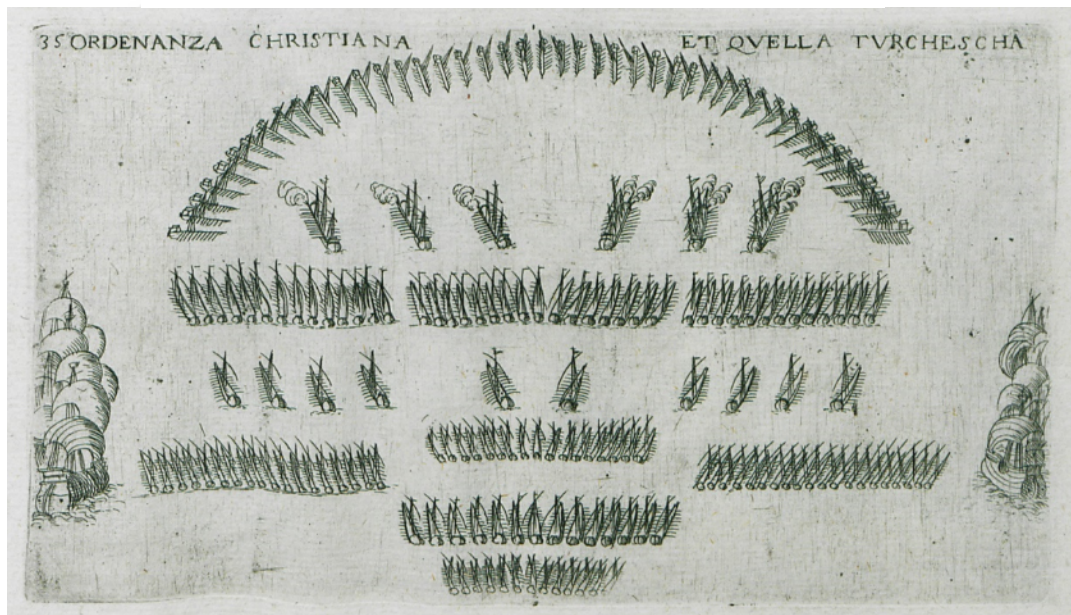


Figure 4. Rosaccio, Giuseppe. *The disposition of the Holy League fleet and that of the Ottoman Army during the Battle of Lepanto (1571)*, in *Viaggio da Venetia, a Costantinopoli: per mare, e per terra & insieme quello di Terra Santa, da Gioseppe Rosaccio, con brevità descritto, nel quale, oltre à settantadui disegni, di geografia e corografia si discorre, quanto in esso viaggio si ritroua, cioè: città, castelli, porti, golfi, isole, monti, fiumi è mari: opera utile à mercanti, marinari & studiosi di geografia*, Venice, Giacomo Franco, 1598. Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation. Photo: <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=51538>



Figure 5. Life-size replica of Don Juan's galley "Reale," 60 × 6.2 m, 237 tons, 1971, Maritime Museum, Barcelona. Photo: Defne Kut

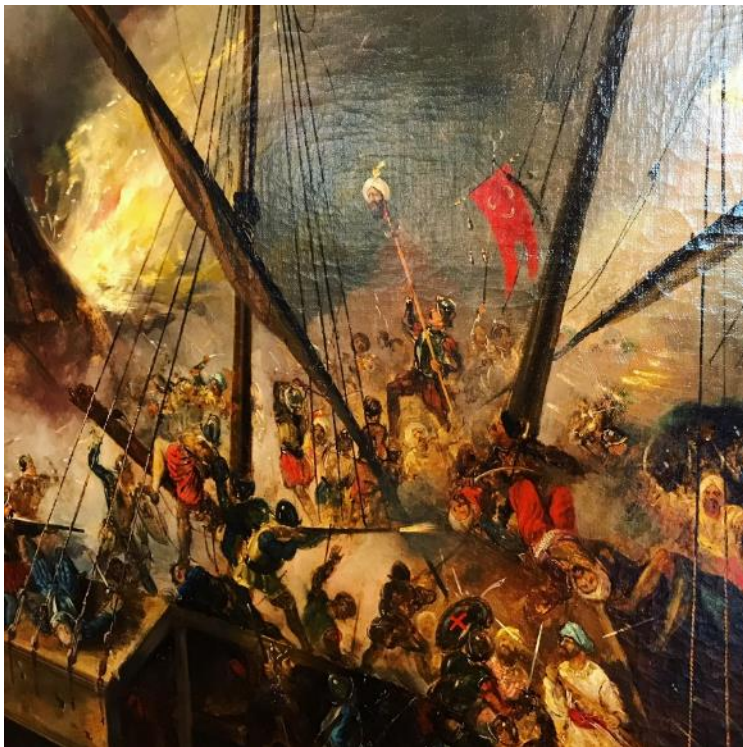


Figure 6. Detail from Antonio de Brugada, *La Battalla de Lepanto*, oil on canvas, 163 × 305 cm, 19th century, Maritime Museum, Barcelona. (MMB556) Photo: Defne Kut

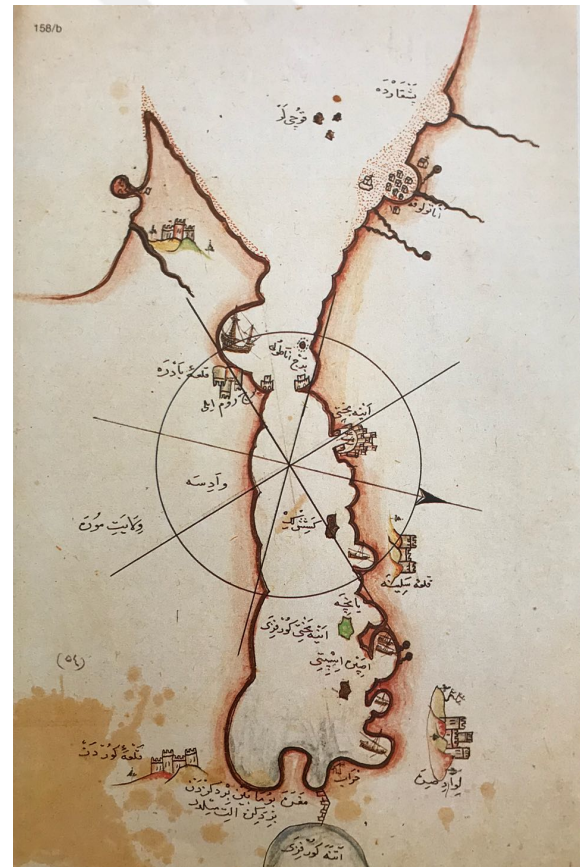


Figure 7. Portolan chart of Lepanto, Piri Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriyye*, TSMK, H. 642, vr. 157b. Photo: Piri Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriyye*, vol. 2, Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Turkish Republic, 1988, p. 682.



Figure 8. Matrakçı Nasuh, "İnebahtı Kalesi", *Târîh-i Sultân Bâyezid* (TSMK, Revan Köşkü, nr. 1272, vr. 21^b-22^o). Photo: <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/matrakci-nasuh>

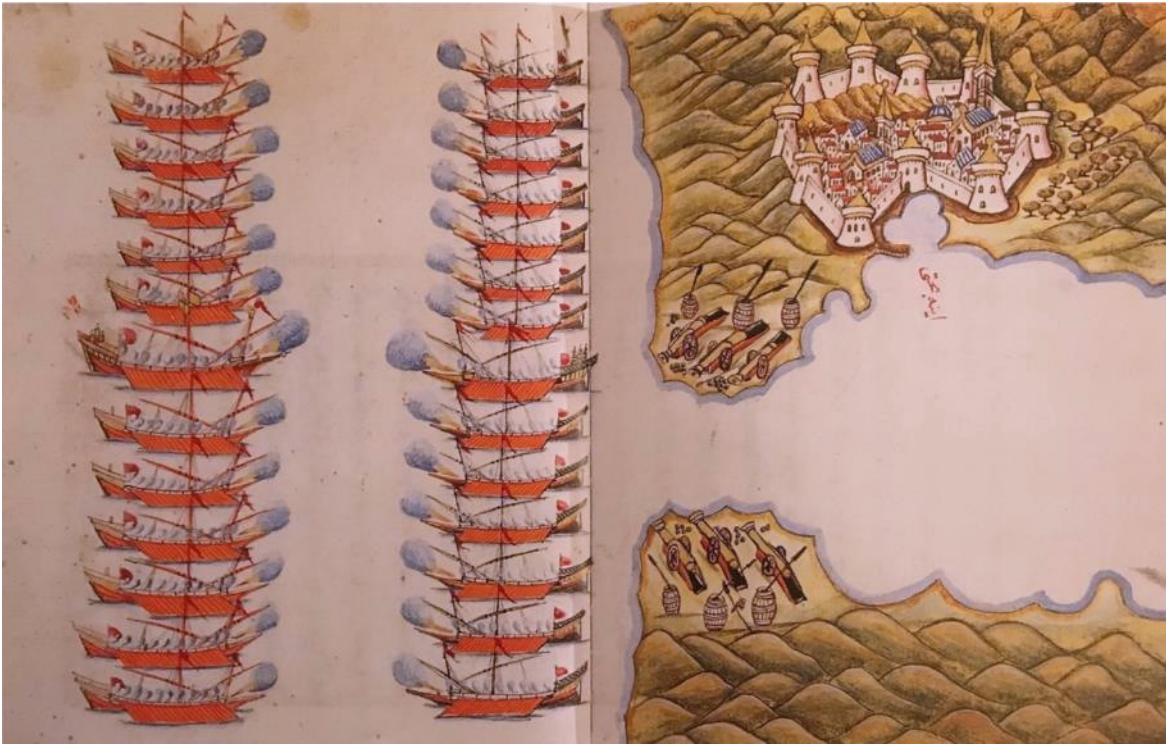


Figure 9. Kâtip Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr Fî Esfâri'l-Bihâr*, 1669 (TSMK, R. 1192, vr. 17a). Photo: Özdemir, Kemal, *Ottoman Nautical Charts: The Atlas of Ali Macar Reis*, İstanbul: Marmara Bank, 1992. pp. 24-25.



Figure 10. Giovanni Camocio, the Insignia of Kapudan Pasha, engraving in *Isole famose porti, fortezze, e terre marittime sottoposte alla Ser.ma Sig.ria di Venetia, ad altri Principi Christiani, et al Sig.or Turco, novamente poste in luce*, Venice, alla libreria del segno di S. Marco, c. 1574, 235 × 176 mm, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation. Photo: <http://tr.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=45696>



Figure 11. Giovanni Camocio, *The Ottoman and Venetian fleet during the Battle of Lepanto in 1571*, engraving in *Isole famose porti, fortezze, e terre marittime sottoposte alla Ser.ma Sig.ria di Venetia, ad altri Principi Christiani, et al Sig.or Turco, novamente poste in luce*, Venice, alla libreria del segno di S. Marco, c. 1574, 235 × 176 mm, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation. Photo: <http://tr.travelogues.gr/tag.php?view=11648>

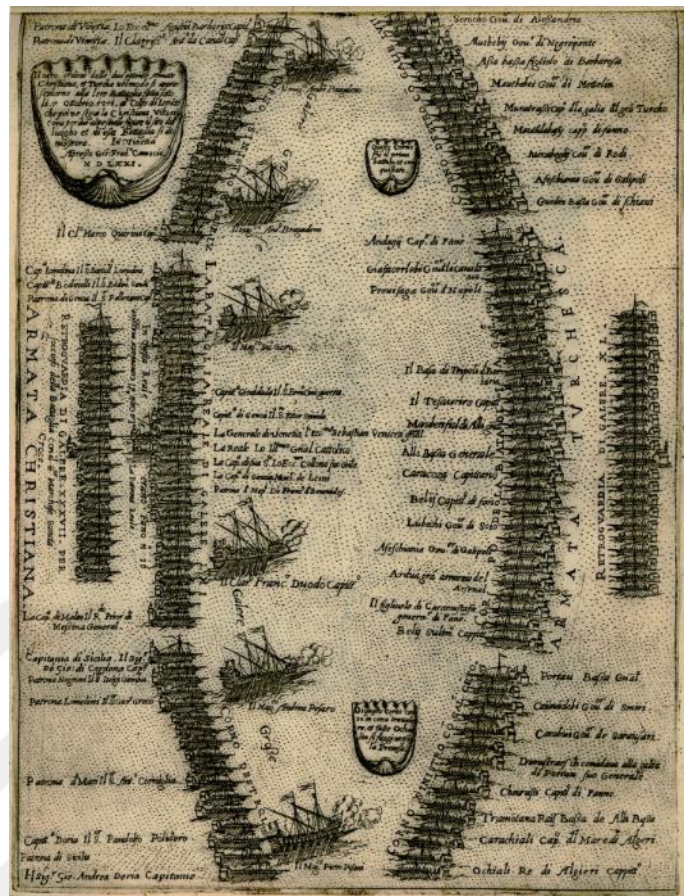


Figure 12. Giovanni Camocio, *Disposition of the Fleets*, engraving in *Isole famose porti, fortezze, e terre marittime sottoposte alla Ser.ma Sig.ria di Venetia, ad altri Principi Christiani, et al Sig.or Turco, novamente poste in luce*, Venice, alla libreria del segno di S. Marco, c. 1574, 235 x 176 mm, Museo Correr, 4726, Venice. Photo: <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=45655>



Figure 13. Anonymous German broadsheet, *True Likeness of the beheaded Turkish officer Ali Bassa*, c. 1571, woodcut with stencil and hand coloring on laid paper with letterpress. Museum no. E.912-2003, Victoria&Albert Museum, London. Photo: <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/a/ali-pasha-print/>



Figure 14. Andrea Doria crushing a Turkish soldier's head, Villa del Principe, Genoa. Photo: Defne Kut



Figure 15. A headless Turkish soldier, Palazzo Colonna, Rome. Photo: Defne Kut



Figure 16. Nazari, Giovanbattista, Discorso della futura et sperata vittoria contra il Turco, Venezia: Sigismondo Bordogna, 1570. Photo: https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_yLadKzHRO2cC



Figure 17. Nazari, Giovanbattista, Discorso della futura et sperata vittoria contra il Turco, Venezia: Sigismondo Bordogna, 1570. Photo: https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_yLadKzHRO2cC



Figure 18. Nazari, Giovanbattista, Discorso della futura et sperata vittoria contra il Turco, Venezia: Sigismondo Bordogna, 1570. Photo: https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_yLadKzHRO2cC



Figure 19. Nazari, Giovanbattista, Discorso della futura et sperata vittoria contra il Turco, Venezia: Sigismondo Bordogna, 1570. Photo: https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_yLadKzHRO2cC

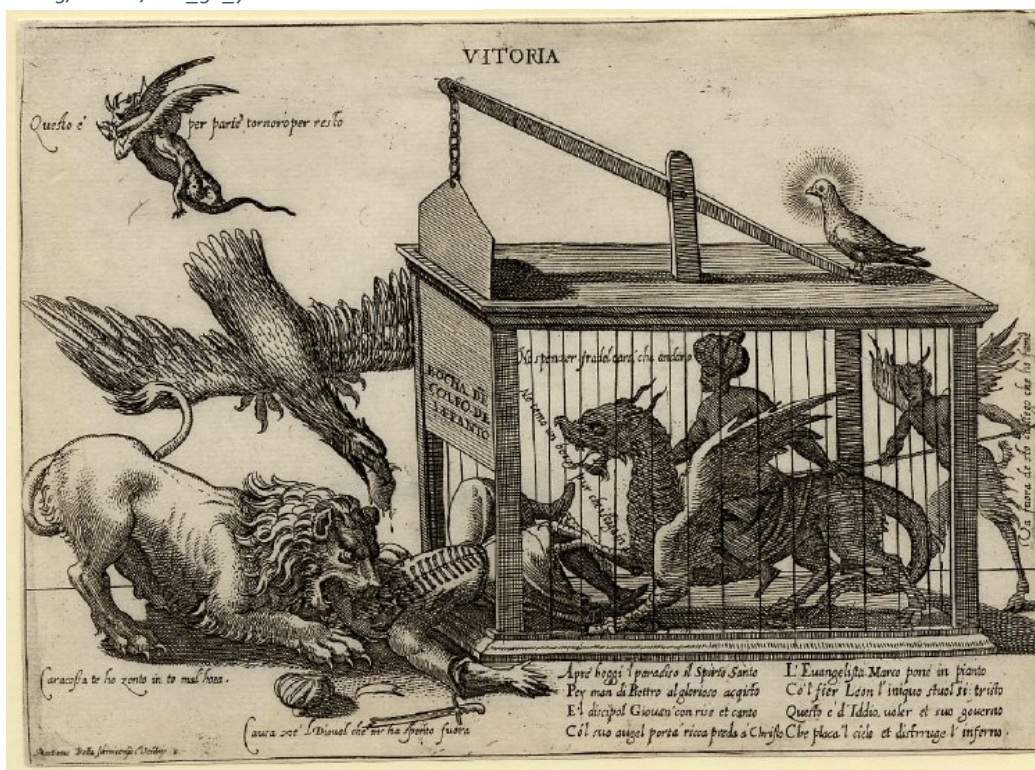


Figure 20. Martin Rota, Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto, engraving on paper, 151 × 204 mm, 1571, British Museum, London. Photo: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1486242&partId=1&searchText=+lepanto&view=list&page=1

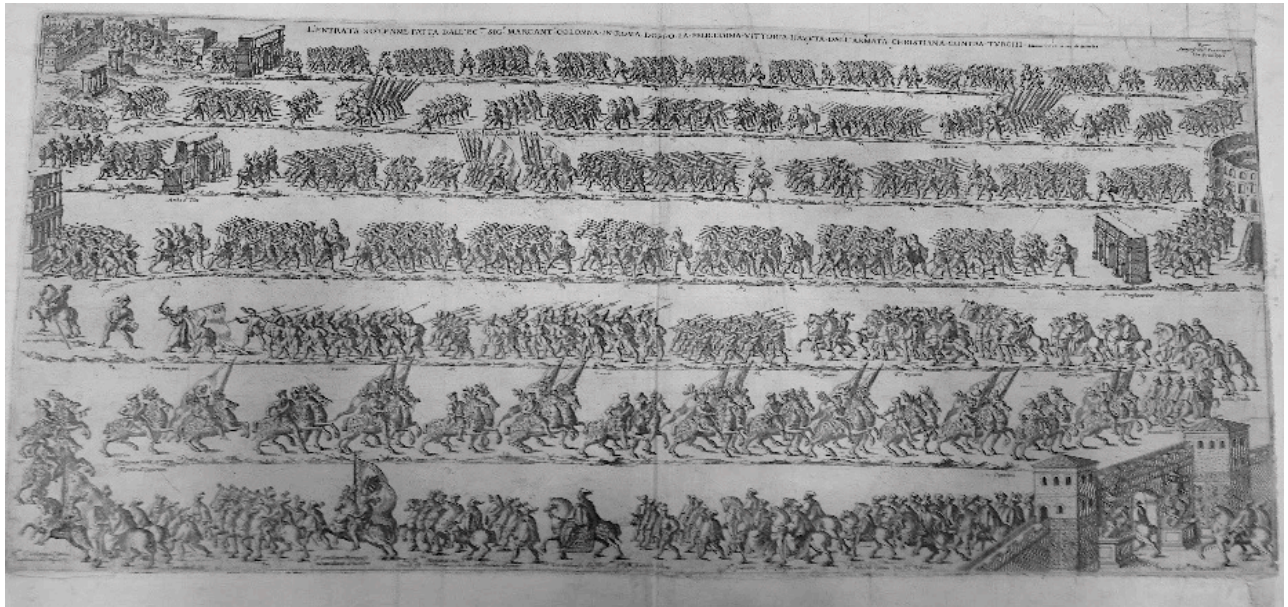


Figure 21. Francesco Tramezzino, *The Entry of Marcantonio Colonna in Rome*, etching on paper, 405 × 715 mm, 1571, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo: Defne Kut

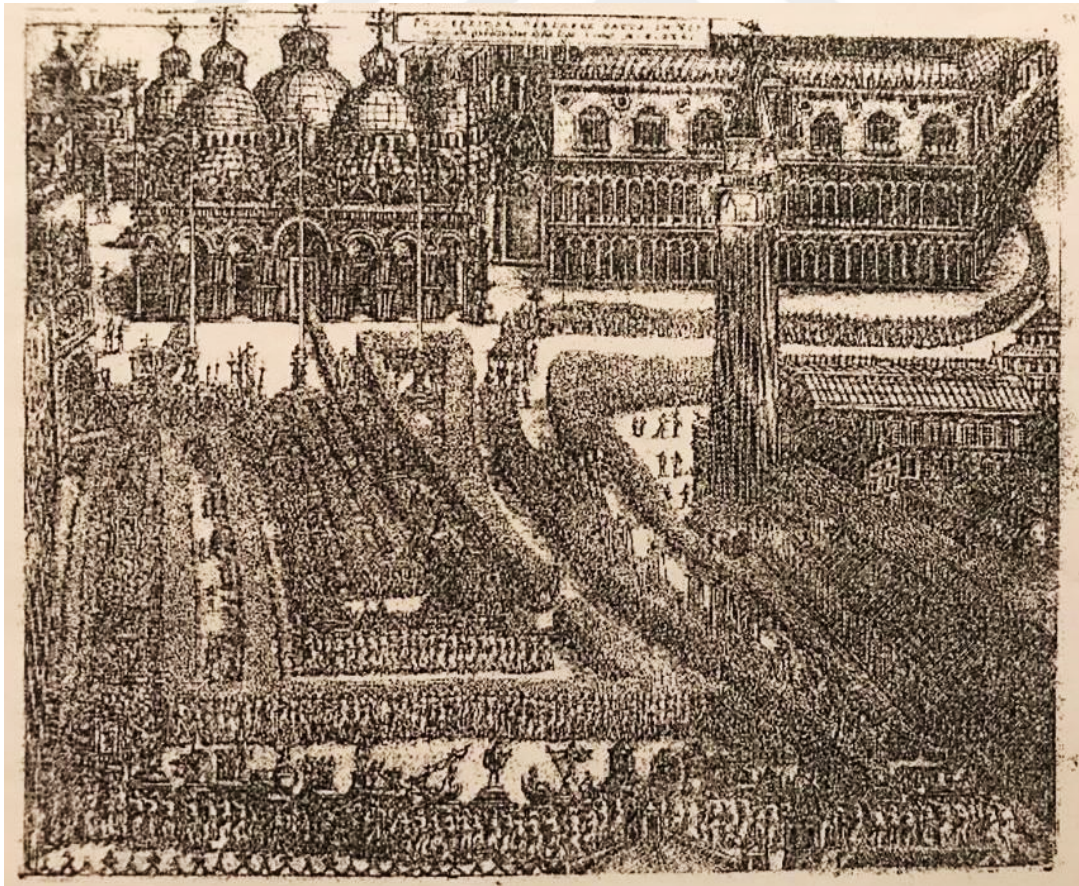


Figure 22. Anonymous, *Announcement of the Formation of the League*, etching on paper, *Il Bellissimo et Suntuoso Trionfo fatto nella Magnifica Città di Venetia nella publicatione della Lega; . . . et appresso alcuni avisi di Famagosta, e di Candia*, 1571, British Museum, London (Brit. Mus. 1071.g.7/9). Photo: Gombrich E. H., "Celebrations in Venice of the Holy League and of the Victory of Lepanto," in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art Presented to Anthony Blunt on his Sixtieth Birthday*, London: Phaidon, 1967, p. 62.



Figure 23. Jost Amman, Naval Battle of Lepanto, woodcut, colored, gold embossed, 357 × 565 mm. Berlin, SMB, Kupferstichkabinett. Photo: Çağıl Özdemir



Figure 24. Detail from Jost Amman, Naval Battle of Lepanto, woodcut, colored, gold embossed, 357 × 565 mm. Berlin, SMB, Kupferstichkabinett. Photo: Çağıl Özdemir



Figure 25. Tapestry, De Crypte Religious Museum in Gennepe, Netherlands. Photo: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lepantogennepe.jpg>



Figure 26. Porta Magna in Arsenal of Venice. Photo: Defne Kut



Figure 27. Inscription of the Porta Magna in Arsenal of Venice. Photo: Defne Kut



Figure 28. Andrea Calamech, Don John of Austria, 1573, Messina. Photo: Defne Kut



Figure 29. Detail from: Andrea Calamech, Don John of Austria, bronze statue, 1573, Messina. Photo: <http://www.nobility.org/2010/10/14/1030/>



Figure 30. Copy of the bronze Don John Statue in Messina, 1978, Regensburg, Bavaria. Photo: https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g187312-d8674709-Reviews-Statue_of_Don_Juan_de_Austria-Regensburg_Upper_Palatinate_Bavaria.html



Figure 31. Jaume Mir, Bronze statue of Miguel de Cervantes Statue, 215 cm, c. 2000, Naupaktos, Greece. Photo: https://www.tripadvisor.com/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g635603-d4555820-i107700114-The_Statue_of_Cervantes-Naupactus_Aetolia_Acarmania_Region_West_Greece.html



Figure 32 (left). Marble statue of Marcantonio Colonna, Musei Capitolini, Rome. Photo: Defne Kut

Figure 33 (middle). Vincenzo Scamozzi, Marble funerary monument of Marcantonio Bragadin, SS Giovanni e Paolo Church, Venice. Photo: Defne Kut

Figure 34 (right). Bronze statue of Sebastiano Venier, SS Giovanni e Paolo Church, Venice. Photo: Defne Kut



Figure 35. Joaquim Ros i Bofarull, A Lepanto, bronze, steel, stone sculpture, 403 x 200 x 60 cm, Drassanes: Barcelona, 1971. Photo: Defne Kut



Figure 36. Commemorative inscriptions related to the Battle of Lepanto around the world. Photo: https://www.uec.eu/7_October_1571.html



Figure 37. Andrea Vicentino, Battle of Lepanto, 1603, oil on canvas, Palazzo Ducale, Venice. Photo: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Battle_of_Lepanto_1595-1605_Andrea_Vicentino.jpg



Figure 38. Diego Velázquez, *The Jester Named Don John of Austria*, oil on canvas, 210 × 120 cm, 1633, Prado Museum, Madrid. Photo: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Jester_Don_John_of_Austria



Figure 39. Anonymous, *Battle of Lepanto*, late 16th c., oil on canvas, 127 × 232 cm, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London. Photo: <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/11753.html>



Figure 40. Tommaso Dolabella, *Battle of Lepanto*, c. 1632, oil on canvas 305 × 651 cm, Wawel Castle, Kraków, Poland. Photo: <https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/14003448822058697/?lp=true>



Figure 41. Anonymous, *European Battle of Lepanto and a map of the World*, pair of six-panel screens, ink, gold, and colors on paper; each screen 153.5×370 cm, Momoyama to Edo period, early 17th century, Kobe, Kosetsu Museum of Arts, Japan. Photo: <http://www.kosetsu-museum.or.jp/mikage/en/>



Figure 42. Juan Luna, *Naval Battle of Lepanto*, 1887, oil on canvas, 550 × 350 cm, Senate's Palace, Madrid. Photo: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Battle_of_Lepanto_\(Luna_painting\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Battle_of_Lepanto_(Luna_painting))

Figure 43. Andries van Eertvelt, *Battle of Lepanto*, c. 1625, oil on copper, 41 x 57 cm, private collection. Photo: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%27The_Battle_of_Lepanto%27,_painting_by_Andries_van_Eertvelt.jpg



Figure 44. Johannes Lingelbach, *The Battle of Lepanto*, c. 1670, oil on canvas, 107 x 147 cm, private collection. Photo: <http://www.masterart.com/Johannes-Lingelbach-Frankfurt-1622-Amsterdam-1674-The-Battle-Lepanto-PortalDefault.aspx?tabid=53&dealerID=5086&objectID=70099>

Figure 45. Cornelis Vroom, *Battle of Lepanto*, c. 1615, oil on canvas, Ham House and Garden, London. Photo: <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/11396>





Figure 46. Gaspard van Eyck, *Battle of Lepanto or A Combat between Turks and Venetians*, c. 1650, oil on canvas, 87 × 108 cm, Prado Museum, Madrid. Photo: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaspar_van_Eyck



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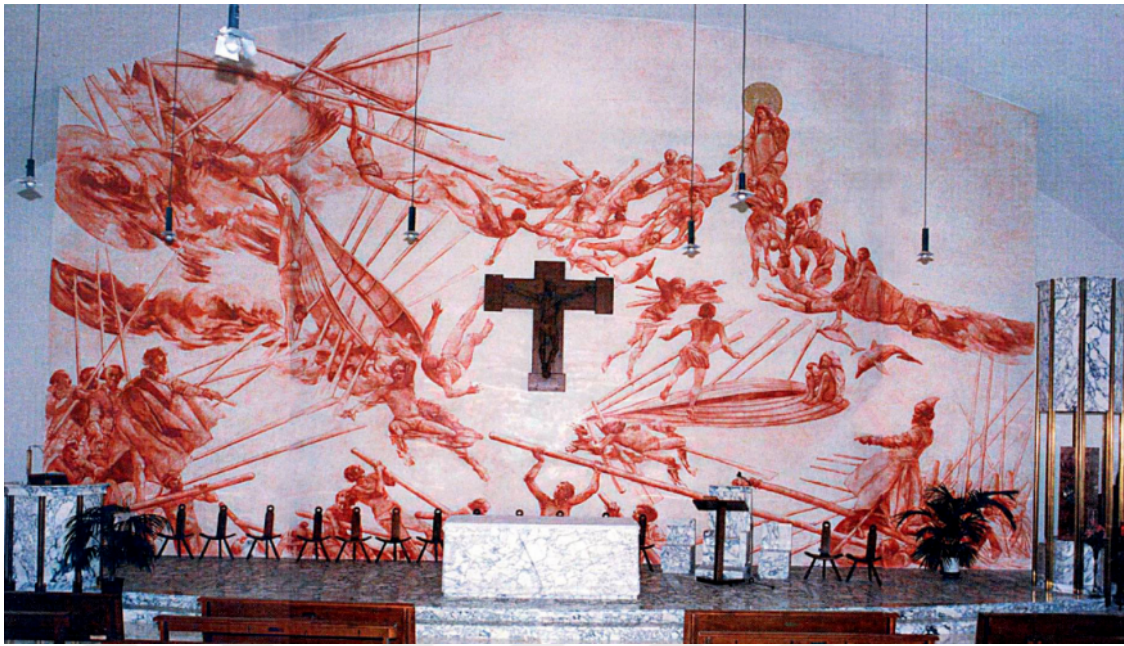


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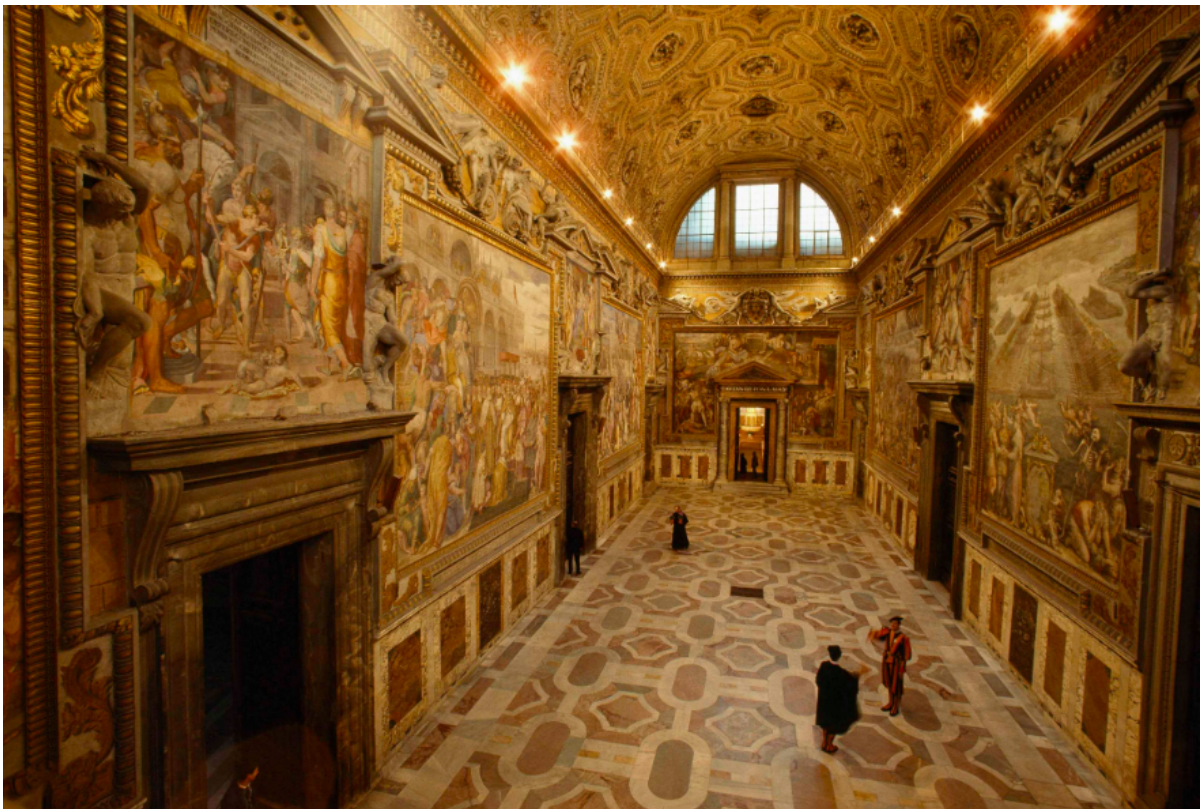


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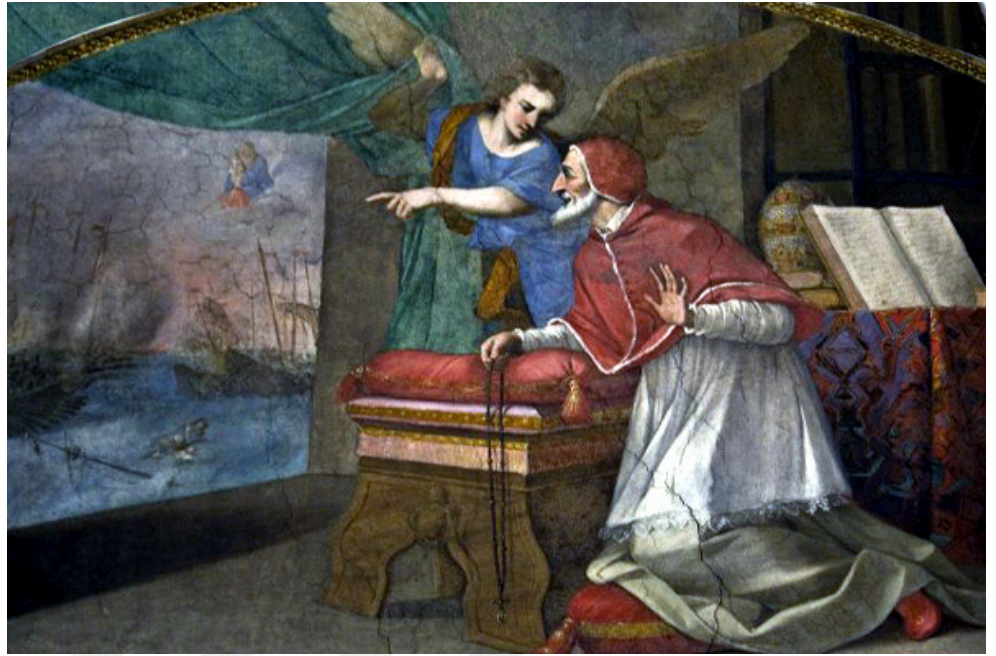


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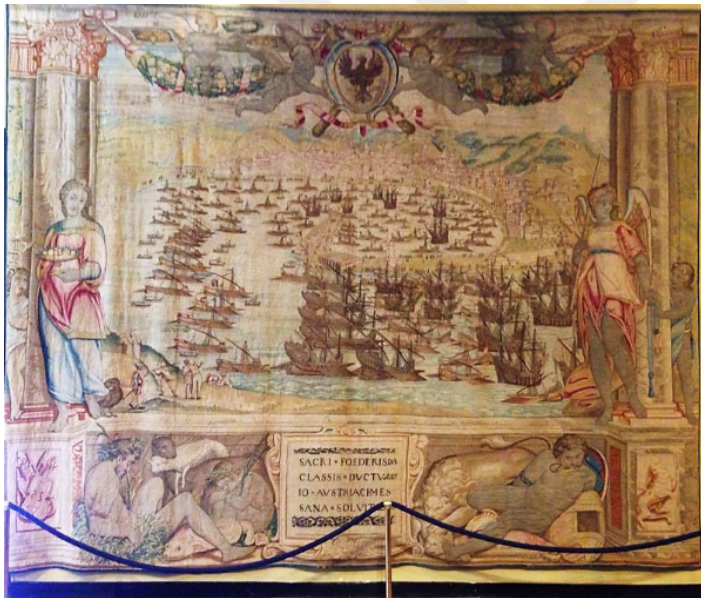


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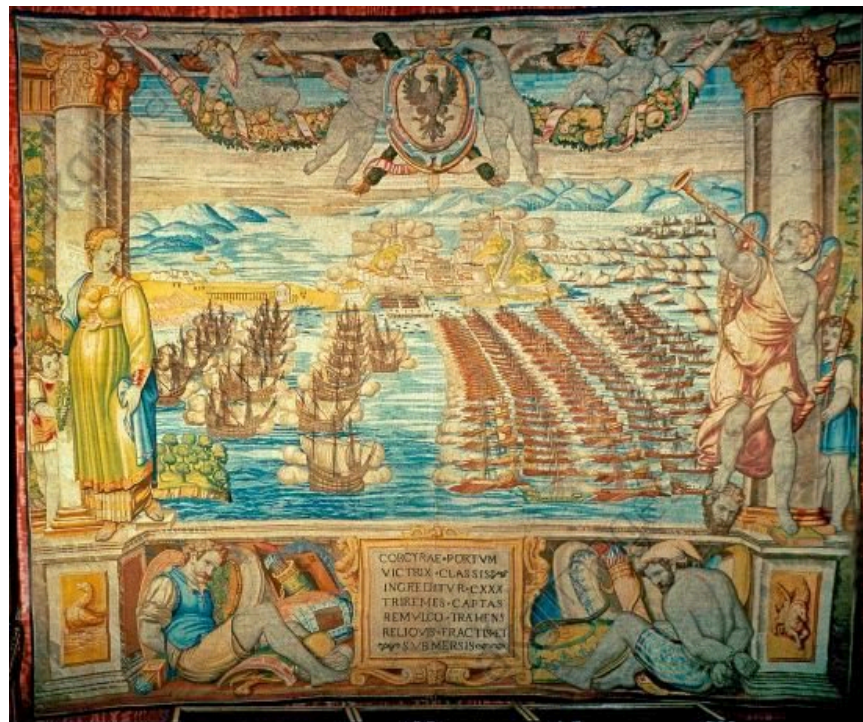


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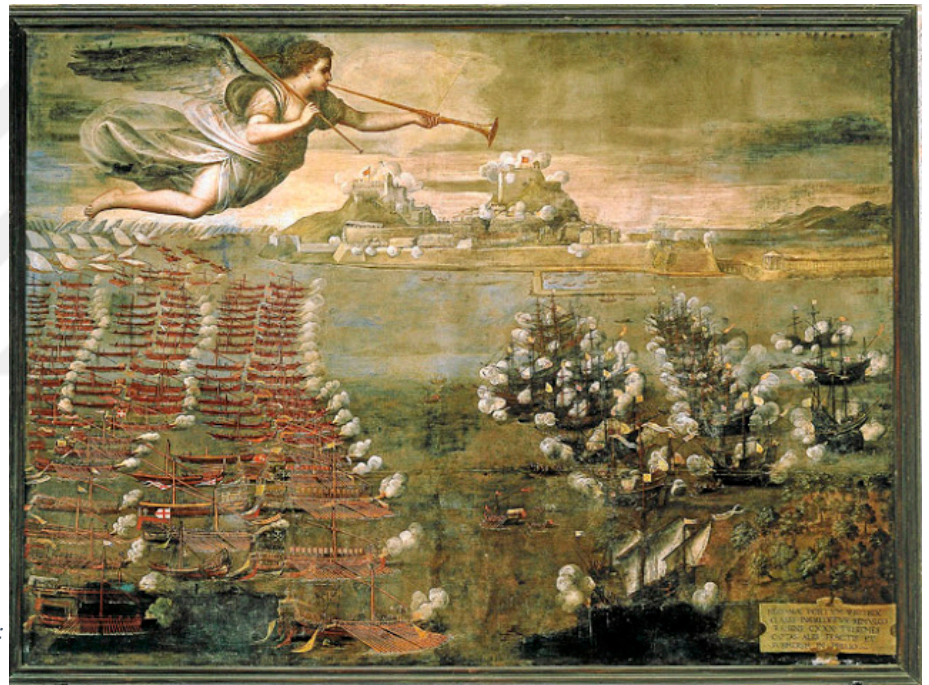


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Figure 134. Antonio Vassilacchi (attr.), *The Battle of Lepanto*, oil on canvas, 450 × 450 cm, c. 1628, Duomo, Montagnana. Photo: <https://venetostoria.wordpress.com/2015/08/31/il-dipinto-della-battaglia-di-lepanto-a-montagnana/>



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Figure 136. Scenes from annual celebrations of the Battle of Lepanto. Top left: Malta, 2007; top right: Venice, 2013; bottom left: Naupaktos, 2007; bottom right: Messina, 2015. Photos: top left: <https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20071005/local/maltese-participation-in-battle-of-lepanto-celebrations.3020>; top right: <http://www.lindipendenzanuova.com/lepanto-la-celebrazione-storica-della-battaglia-nel-cuore-di-venezia/>; bottom left: <https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20071016/letters/maltas-participation-in-battle-of-lepanto-celebrations.1873>; bottom right: <http://www.aise.it/cultura/al-via-la-decima-edizione-di-messina-in-festa-sul-mare-nel-447-anniversario-della-battaglia-di-lepanto/119310/157>



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Figure 138. A scene from the celebrations of the Battle of Lepanto, Sermoneta, Italy, 2017. Photo: https://www.facebook.com/pg/Rievocazione-Storica-Battaglia-Di-Lepanto-Sermoneta-512041282477063/posts/?ref=page_internal



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Figure 140. Crescent and star motifs as the symbol of the town of Spelonga. Photo: <http://www.spelonga.it/>

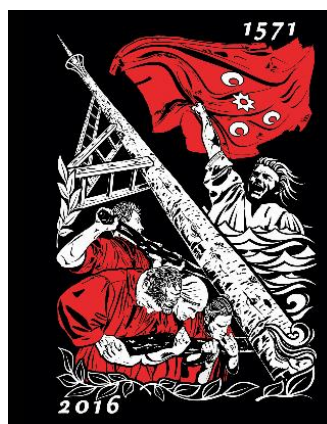


Figure 141. Images on the erection of the mast of the galley at the 148th Festa Bella, 2016, Spelonga.

Photos: (left) <http://www.comune.porto-sant-elpidio.ap.it/evento.aspx?id=1870> (right) <http://www.spelonga.it/festa-bella-2016/> <http://www.spelonga.it/festa-bella-2016/>



Figure 142. Logo of the Lepanto Foundation in Rome. Photo: <https://www.fondazionelepanto.org/>



Figure 143. Logo of the Lepanto Institute in Partlow, VA, USA. Photo: <http://www.lepantoinstitute.org/about-2/>



Figure 144. Logo of the Lepanto Press. Photo: <https://www.olvs.org/lepanto/>



Figure 145. Cy Twombly, *Lepanto Series*, 2001, oil on canvas, Prado Museum, Madrid. Photo: <https://blog.stylight.com/fashionista-mini-guide-to-museums-in-munich/>



Figure 146. Rado Javor, *Lepanto*, 2006. Photo: <https://www.deviantart.com/radojavor/art/Battle-Of-Lepanto-41693977>



Figure 147. Shin-Wolf, *Lepanto Confrontation*, 2012. Photo: <https://www.deviantart.com/shin-wolf/art/Commission-Lepanto->

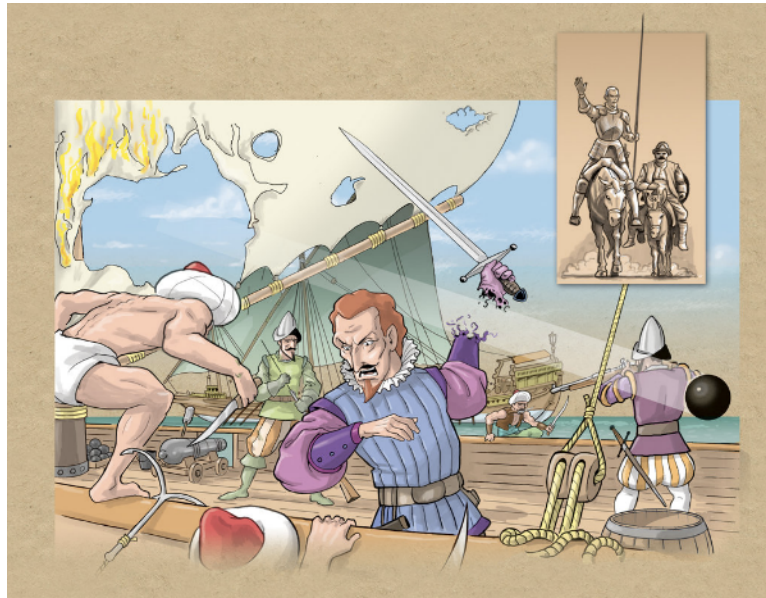


Figure 148. tanarkoburger, Battle of Lepanto, 2011. Photo: <https://www.deviantart.com/tanarkoburger/art/Cervantes-Battle-of-Lepanto-263965636>



Figure 149. Multiplayer boardgames of naval strategy on the Battle of Lepanto. Photos: (left): <https://boardgamegeek.com/boardgame/36858/inmost-sea-battle-lepanto-1571>; (middle): <https://www.uplay.it/gioco-da-tavolo-Battaglia-Di-Lepanto-1571.html>; (right): <https://memoriasdeplasticoy papel.blogspot.com/2018/01/juegos-de-batallas-sobre-tablero.html>



Figure 150. Online computer game on the Battle of Lepanto. Photo: <http://www.lepanto1571.gr/JavaScript/lepanto/game/nafpaktosGameEn.html>



Figure 151. Commercial products on the Battle of Lepanto. Photo: <https://www.zazzle.com/battle-of-lepanto+gifts>;
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APPENDIX A

Lepanto

Poem by G. K. Chesterton¹

White founts falling in the courts of the sun,
And the Soldan of Byzantium is smiling as they run;
There is laughter like the fountains in that face of all men feared,
It stirs the forest darkness, the darkness of his beard,
It curls the blood-red crescent, the crescent of his lips,
For the inmost sea of all the earth is shaken with his ships.
They have dared the white republics up the capes of Italy,
They have dashed the Adriatic round the Lion of the Sea,
And the Pope has cast his arms abroad for agony and loss,
And called the kings of Christendom for swords about the Cross,
The cold queen of England is looking in the glass;
The shadow of the Valois is yawning at the Mass;
From evening isles fantastical rings faint the Spanish gun,
And the Lord upon the Golden Horn is laughing in the sun.
Dim drums throbbing, in the hills half heard,
Where only on a nameless throne a crownless prince has stirred,
Where, risen from a doubtful seat and half attained stall,
The last knight of Europe takes weapons from the wall,
The last and lingering troubadour to whom the bird has sung,
That once went singing southward when all the world was young,
In that enormous silence, tiny and unafraid,
Comes up along a winding road the noise of the Crusade.
Strong gongs groaning as the guns boom far,
Don John of Austria is going to the war,
Stiff flags straining in the night-blasts cold
In the gloom black-purple, in the glint old-gold,

¹ Chesterton, G. K. *Lepanto*, New York: Feral, 1929.

Torchlight crimson on the copper kettle-drums,
Then the tuckets, then the trumpets, then the cannon, and he comes.
Don John laughing in the brave beard curled,
Spurning of his stirrups like the thrones of all the world,
Holding his head up for a flag of all the free.
Love-light of Spain—hurrah!
Death-light of Africa!
Don John of Austria
Is riding to the sea.
Mahound is in his paradise above the evening star,
(Don John of Austria is going to the war.)
He moves a mighty turban on the timeless houri's knees,
His turban that is woven of the sunset and the seas.
He shakes the peacock gardens as he rises from his ease,
And he strides among the tree-tops and is taller than the trees,
And his voice through all the garden is a thunder sent to bring
Black Azrael and Ariel and Ammon on the wing.
Giants and the Genii,
Multiplex of wing and eye,
Whose strong obedience broke the sky
When Solomon was king.
They rush in red and purple from the red clouds of the morn,
From temples where the yellow gods shut up their eyes in scorn;
They rise in green robes roaring from the green hells of the sea
Where fallen skies and evil hues and eyeless creatures be;
On them the sea-valves cluster and the grey sea-forests curl,
Splashed with a splendid sickness, the sickness of the pearl;
They swell in sapphire smoke out of the blue cracks of the ground,—
They gather and they wonder and give worship to Mahound.
And he saith, "Break up the mountains where the hermit-folk can hide,
And sift the red and silver sands lest bone of saint abide,
And chase the Giaours flying night and day, not giving rest,

For that which was our trouble comes again out of the west.
We have set the seal of Solomon on all things under sun,
Of knowledge and of sorrow and endurance of things done,
But a noise is in the mountains, in the mountains, and I know
The voice that shook our palaces—four hundred years ago:
It is he that saith not ‘Kismet’; it is he that knows not Fate ;
It is Richard, it is Raymond, it is Godfrey in the gate!
It is he whose loss is laughter when he counts the wager worth,
Put down your feet upon him, that our peace be on the earth.”
For he heard drums groaning and he heard guns jar,
(Don John of Austria is going to the war.)
Sudden and still—hurrah!
Bolt from Iberia!
Don John of Austria
Is gone by Alcalar.
St. Michael’s on his mountain in the sea-roads of the north
(Don John of Austria is girt and going forth.)
Where the grey seas glitter and the sharp tides shift
And the sea folk labour and the red sails lift.
He shakes his lance of iron and he claps his wings of stone;
The noise is gone through Normandy; the noise is gone alone;
The North is full of tangled things and texts and aching eyes
And dead is all the innocence of anger and surprise,
And Christian killeth Christian in a narrow dusty room,
And Christian dreadeth Christ that hath a newer face of doom,
And Christian hateth Mary that God kissed in Galilee,
But Don John of Austria is riding to the sea.
Don John calling through the blast and the eclipse
Crying with the trumpet, with the trumpet of his lips,
Trumpet that sayeth ha!

Domino gloria!

Don John of Austria

Is shouting to the ships.

King Philip's in his closet with the Fleece about his neck

(Don John of Austria is armed upon the deck.)

The walls are hung with velvet that is black and soft as sin,

And little dwarfs creep out of it and little dwarfs creep in.

He holds a crystal phial that has colours like the moon,

He touches, and it tingles, and he trembles very soon,

And his face is as a fungus of a leprous white and grey

Like plants in the high houses that are shuttered from the day,

And death is in the phial, and the end of noble work,

But Don John of Austria has fired upon the Turk.

Don John's hunting, and his hounds have bayed—

Booms away past Italy the rumour of his raid

Gun upon gun, ha! ha!

Gun upon gun, hurrah!

Don John of Austria

Has loosed the cannonade.

The Pope was in his chapel before day or battle broke,

(Don John of Austria is hidden in the smoke.)

The hidden room in man's house where God sits all the year,

The secret window whence the world looks small and very dear.

He sees as in a mirror on the monstrous twilight sea

The crescent of his cruel ships whose name is mystery;

They fling great shadows foe-wards, making Cross and Castle dark,

They veil the plumèd lions on the galleys of St. Mark;

And above the ships are palaces of brown, black-bearded chiefs,

And below the ships are prisons, where with multitudinous griefs,

Christian captives sick and sunless, all a labouring race repines

Like a race in sunken cities, like a nation in the mines.

They are lost like slaves that sweat, and in the skies of morning hung

The stair-ways of the tallest gods when tyranny was young.

They are countless, voiceless, hopeless as those fallen or fleeing on
Before the high Kings' horses in the granite of Babylon.
And many a one grows witless in his quiet room in hell
Where a yellow face looks inward through the lattice of his cell,
And he finds his God forgotten, and he seeks no more a sign—
(But Don John of Austria has burst the battle-line!)
Don John pounding from the slaughter-painted poop,
Purpling all the ocean like a bloody pirate's sloop,
Scarlet running over on the silvers and the golds,
Breaking of the hatches up and bursting of the holds,
Thronging of the thousands up that labour under sea
White for bliss and blind for sun and stunned for liberty.
Vivat Hispania!
Domino Gloria!
Don John of Austria
Has set his people free!
Cervantes on his galley sets the sword back in the sheath
(Don John of Austria rides homeward with a wreath.)
And he sees across a weary land a straggling road in Spain,
Up which a lean and foolish knight forever rides in vain,
And he smiles, but not as Sultans smile, and settles back the blade....
(But Don John of Austria rides home from the Crusade.)

APPENDIX B

Latin text of *Te Deum*

Te Deum laudámus: te Dominum confitémur.

Te ætérnum Patrem omnis terra venerátur.

Tibi omnes Angeli; tibi cæli et univérsae potestátes.

Tibi Chérubim et Séraphim incessábili voce proclámant:

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dóminus Deus Sábaoth.

Pleni sunt cæli et terra majestátis glóriæ tuæ.

Te gloriósus Apostolórum chorus;

Te Prophetárum laudábilis númerus;

Te Mártyrum candidátus laudat exércitus.

Te per orbem terrárum sancta confitétur Ecclésia:

Patrem imménsæ majestátis;

Venerándum tuum verum et únicum Fílium;

Sanctum quoque Paráclitum Spíritum.

Tu Rex glóriæ, Christe.

Tu Patris sempitérnus es Fílius.

Tu ad liberándum susceptúrus hóminem, non horruísti Vírginis úterum.

Tu, devícto mortis acúleo,

aperuísti credéntibus regna cælórum.

Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes, in glória Patris.

Judex créderis esse ventúrus.

Te ergo quæsumus, tuis fámulis súbveni,

quos pretióso sáanguine redemísti.

Æténa fac cum sanctis tuis in glória numerári.

English text of *Te Deum*

***Translation from the Book of Common Prayer*²**

We praise thee, O God: we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.
All the earth doth worship thee: the Father everlasting.
To thee all Angels cry aloud: the Heavens, and all the Powers therein.
To thee Cherubim and Seraphim: continually do cry,
Holy, Holy, Holy: Lord God of Hosts;
Heaven and earth are full of the Majesty: of thy glory.
The glorious company of the Apostles: praise thee.
The goodly fellowship of the Prophets: praise thee.
The noble army of Martyrs: praise thee.
The holy Church throughout all the world: doth acknowledge thee;
The Father: of an infinite Majesty;
Thine honourable, true: and only Son;
Also the Holy Ghost: the Comforter.
Thou art the King of Glory: O Christ.
Thou art the everlasting Son: of the Father.
When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man: thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.
When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death:
 thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers.
Thou sittest at the right hand of God: in the glory of the Father.
We believe that thou shalt come: to be our Judge.
We therefore pray thee, help thy servants:
 whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood.
Make them to be numbered with thy Saints: in glory everlasting.

² Baskerville, John, *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Church of England*, Cambridge: Benjamin Dodd, 1765. pp. 51-52.
https://archive.org/stream/bookofcommonpray00chur_4#page/n47/mode/1up/search/te+deum, last access: September 5, 2018.

[added later, mainly from Psalm verses:]

Salvum fac pópulum tuum, Dómine, et bédedic hæreditáti tuæ.

Et rege eos, et extólle illos usque in ætérnum.

Per síngulos dies benedícimus te.

Et laudámus nomen tuum in sáeculum, et in sáeculum sáeculi.

Dignáre, Dómine, die isto sine peccáto nos custodíre.

Miserére nostri, Dómine, miserére nostri.

Fiat misericórdia tua, Dómine, super nos, quemádmódu[m] sperávimus in te.

In te, Dómine, sperávi: non confúndar in ætérnum.

[added later, mainly from Psalm verses:]

O Lord, save thy people: and bless thine heritage.

Govern them: and lift them up for ever.

Day by day: we magnify thee;

And we worship thy Name: ever world without end.



Vouchsafe, O Lord: to keep us this day without sin.

O Lord, have mercy upon us: have mercy upon us.


O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us: as our trust is in thee.

O Lord, in thee have I trusted: let me never be confounded.

CATALOGUE OF ITALIAN RELIGIOUS PAINTINGS ON THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO








Painting	Artist	Name	Year	Location	Technique	Dimensions	Figure	Page
	Giorgio Vasari	<i>The Opposing Fleets at Lepanto</i>	1572	Sala Regia, Vatican, Rome	oil on canvas	N/A	86	60
	Giorgio Vasari	<i>Battle of Lepanto</i>	1572-73	Sala Regia, Vatican, Rome	oil on canvas	N/A	87	62
	Tiziano Vecellio	<i>Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto</i>	c. 1575	Museo del Prado, Madrid	oil on canvas	325 x 274 cm	103	72
	Tiziano Vecellio	<i>Religion Saved by Spain</i>	c. 1575	Museo del Prado, Madrid	oil on canvas	168 x 168 cm	100	72
	Paolo Veronese	<i>Battle of Lepanto</i>	c. 1574	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice	oil on canvas	169 x 137 cm	106	74
	Paolo Veronese	<i>Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto</i>	1574	Sala del Collegio, Palazzo Ducale, Venice	oil on canvas	285 x 565 cm	107	75
	Jacopo Tintoretto	<i>Sebastiano Venier at the Battle of Lepanto</i>	1580	Private Collection	oil on canvas	194 x 132 cm	104	73

Painting	Artist	Name	Year	Location	Technique	Dimensions	Figure	Page
	Ignazio Danti	<i>The Island of Corfu and the Battle of Lepanto</i>	c. 1580	Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican, Rome	fresco	N/A	88	79
	Lattanzio Gambara	<i>Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto</i>	c. 1580	Palazzo Lalatta, Parma	fresco	N/A	128	82
	Luca Cambiaso	<i>Battle of Lepanto</i>	c. 1580	Monasterio El Escorial, Madrid	oil on canvas	N/A	119	79
	Lazzaro Calvi and Luca Cambiaso	<i>The Departure from Messina</i>	1582	Villa del Principe, Genoa	wool and silk	413 × 468 cm	112	78
	Lazzaro Calvi and Luca Cambiaso	<i>The Navigation along the Calabrian Coastline</i>	1582	Villa del Principe, Genoa	wool and silk	413 × 468 cm	113	78
	Lazzaro Calvi and Luca Cambiaso	<i>The Line-Up of the Fleets</i>	1582	Villa del Principe, Genoa	wool and silk	413 × 468 cm	114	78
	Lazzaro Calvi and Luca Cambiaso	<i>The Battle of Lepanto</i>	1582	Villa del Principe, Genoa	wool and silk	413 × 468 cm	115	78

Painting	Artist	Name	Year	Location	Technique	Dimensions	Figure	Page
	Lazzaro Calvi and Luca Cambiaso	<i>The Christian Victory and the Flight of Seven Turkish Galleys</i>	1582	Villa del Principe, Genoa	wool and silk	413 × 468 cm	116	79
	Lazzaro Calvi and Luca Cambiaso	<i>The Return of the Fleet to Corfu</i>	1582	Villa del Principe, Genoa	wool and silk	413 × 468 cm	117	79
	Anonymous	<i>Battle of Lepanto</i>	16th century	Palazzo Rospigliosi in Zagarolo	fresco	N/A	101	68
	Anonymous	<i>Pope Pius V and the Battle of Lepanto</i>	16th century	Church of Santa Sabina all'Aventino, Rome	fresco	N/A	102	69
	Anonymous, Venetian School	<i>Miraculous Victory Deigned by God to Christians Against Turks in 1571</i>	1600	Museo Correr, Venice	oil on canvas	202 x 152 cm	110	77
	Andrea Vicentino	<i>The Battle of Lepanto</i>	1600	Museo Correr, Venice	oil on canvas	114 x 236 cm	108	76
	Andrea Vicentino	<i>People of Krk at the Battle of Lepanto</i>	c. 1600	Saint Kvirin Church, Krk, Croatia	oil on canvas	N/A	109	76

Painting	Artist	Name	Year	Location	Technique	Dimensions	Figure	Page
	Grazio Cossali	<i>Pius V credits Our Lady of the Rosary</i>	c. 1600	Church of Santa Croce, Bosco Marengo	oil on canvas	N/A	135	84
	Jacopo Ligozzi	<i>Return of the Knights of Santo Stefano from the Battle of Lepanto</i>	1604-14	Church of Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri, Pisa	oil on canvas	N/A	130	82
	Antonio Vassilacchi (att.)	<i>The Battle of Lepanto</i>	c. 1628	Duomo, Montagnana	oil on canvas	450 x 450 cm	110	83
	Lazzaro Baldi	<i>Vision of Pope Pius V</i>	1673	Collegio Ghisleri, Pavia	fresco	N/A	131	83
	Giovanni Battista del Sole	<i>The Battle of Lepanto</i>	1673	Collegio Ghisleri, Pavia	fresco	350 x 800 cm	132	83
	Filippo Gherardi	<i>The Doge of Venice Holds Council to Defeat the Turks</i>	c. 1690	Galleria Grande, Palazzo Colonna, Rome	fresco	N/A	92	66
	Filippo Gherardi	<i>The Transfer of Command by Pope Pius V</i>	c. 1690	Galleria Grande, Palazzo Colonna, Rome	fresco	N/A	93	67

Painting	Artist	Name	Year	Location	Technique	Dimensions	Figure	Page
	Giovanni Coli and Filippo Gherardi	<i>Marcantonio II Colonna at the Sea Battle of Lepanto</i>	c. 1690	Galleria Grande, Palazzo Colonna, Rome	fresco	N/A	94	67
	Giovanni Coli and Filippo Gherardi	<i>Marcantonio II's Triumphal Entry into Rome</i>	c. 1690	Galleria Grande, Palazzo Colonna, Rome	fresco	N/A	95	67
	Giovanni Coli and Filippo Gherardi	<i>Erection of the Commemorative Statue of Marcantonio Colonna on the Capitol</i>	c. 1690	Galleria Grande, Palazzo Colonna, Rome	fresco	N/A	96	67
	Sebastiano Ricci	<i>Allegory of the Victory of Marcantonio II Colonna at Lepanto</i>	1695	Sala dei Paesaggi, Palazzo Colonna, Rome	fresco	N/A	97	67
	Giuseppe Bartolomeo Chiari	<i>Apotheosis of Marcantonio II Colonna</i>	1699-1702	Sala della Colonna Bellica, Palazzo Colonna, Rome	fresco	N/A	90	65
	Giovanni Tommaso Fasano	<i>Virgin Mary and St. Michael Protecting Christians during the Battle of Lepanto</i>	17th century	Cappella della Madonna del Rosario, Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina Nuova, Naples	oil on canvas	370 x 300 cm	127	81
	Pietro Antonio and Gregorio Are	<i>The Battle of Lepanto</i>	17th century	Church of Nostra Signore del Rosario di Orani, Nuoro, Sardegna	fresco	N/A	133	83

Painting	Artist	Name	Year	Location	Technique	Dimensions	Figure	Page
	Filippo Gherardi	<i>Vision of Pope Pius V and the Triumph of Lepanto</i>	c. 1700	Fundacion Museo Naval, Madrid	oil on canvas	N/A	77	55
	Genoese workshop	<i>Battle of Lepanto</i>	c. 1700	Museo Navale, Genoa	oil on canvas	N/A	120	79
	Vincenzo Revelli	<i>San Pio V deigning Victory at Lepanto</i>	1826	Cappella del Rosario, Church of San Domenico, Turin	oil on canvas	N/A	126	81
	Giuseppe Rollini	<i>Glory of the Virgin Mary</i>	1889-91	Dome of the Church of Santa Maria Ausiliatrice, Turin	fresco	N/A	123	80
	Anonymous	<i>Pope Pius V</i>	19th century	Church of Santa Maria Ausiliatrice, Turin	oil on canvas	N/A	125	81
	Ludovico Seitz	<i>The Battle of Lepanto and the Rosary</i>	19th century	Galleria dei Candelebri, Vatican, Rome	fresco	N/A	89	64
	Albino Americo Mazzotta	<i>La Battaglia di Lepanto</i>	1980	Parish of Madonna del Rosario di Redeciesio, Milan	blood on plaster	N/A	84	57

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