



## Battle of Lepanto in Fuggerzeitung Collection

### Fuggerzeitung Koleksiyonu'ndan İnebahtı Savaşı Hakkında Bir Belge

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#### ABSTRACT

The role of the Fuggers and the "Fuggerzeitung" in the early modern period has long been known. However, more research is needed on the status of news about the Ottoman Empire and the Turks. The document, published here for the first time, reveals the Fuggerzeitung as an important source of Turkish history. The impact of the Battle of Lepanto in Europe, as is usually written, was greater than it actually was. The reasons for this are based both on the special situation of those who took part in the war in favor of the Holy Alliance and the sectarian conflicts between Protestants and Catholics that was going on in Central Europe at that time because there was also a propaganda war going on. Most of the publications dealing with the struggle between the Christians and the Ottoman Empire were in the early new high German language. Therefore, cooperation between Turkish and German scientists is needed for future research.

**Keywords:** Fugger, Fuggerzeitung, Battle of Lepanto, German, Catholic Protestant

#### ÖZ

Fuggerler ve "Fuggerzeitung"ün erken modern dönemdeki rolü uzun zamandır bilinmektedir. Ancak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türklerle ilgili haberlerin durumu hakkında daha fazla araştırmaya ihtiyaç vardır. İlk kez burada yayınlanan belge Fuggerzeitung'u Türk tarihi bakımından önemli bir kaynak olarak ortaya çıkarmaktadır. İnebahtı Savaşı'nın Avrupa'daki etkisi, genellikle yazıldığı gibi, gerçekte olduğundan daha büyük olmuştur. Bunun nedenleri hem kutsal ittifaktan yana savaşa katılanların özel durumuna hem de o dönemde Orta Avrupa'da devam eden protestanlarla Katolikler arasındaki mezhep çatışmalarına dayanmaktadır, zira aynı zamanda bir propaganda savaşı da sürdürülüyordu. Hıristiyanlar ile Osmanlı İmparatorluğu arasındaki mücadeleyi ele alan yayınların çoğu, erken yeni yüksek Almanca dilinde yayımlanmakta idi. Bu nedenle gelecekte yapılacak araştırmalar için Türk ve Alman bilim adamları arasında işbirliğine ihtiyaç vardır.

**Anahtar sözcükler:** Fugger, Fuggerzeitung, İnebahtı Savaşı, Almanca, Katolik Protestan

## Introduction

The pioneering role of the “Fuggerzeitung” in early modern communication has been known for a long time. However, there is a greater need for research with regard to the news situation about the Ottoman Empire. Here, it is often necessary to submit commented source editions first. The independence of the Fugger newspaper, which is edited here for the first time, makes it a valuable source for the reconstruction of the Battle of Lepanto. At the same time, it becomes clear that such sources can only be developed in an interdisciplinary network. The “Fuggerzeitung” accompanies official news correspondence of the time. At the level of official news correspondence, such a self-representation of a united Christianity may well have been true. Lepanto’s conception of the event as a Christian triumph also applied without a doubt to exposed Catholic families such as the Fuggers. The Fuggerzeitung, which is edited in this article, dates from 27 October 1571, about two weeks after the Battle.

Our edition is based upon the facsimile hosted by *Österreichische National Bibliothek* in Vienna. Digitalized photographs of the three folios 274v-276r (only four pages containing our source) can be found on the homepage of *ANNO Historische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften*<sup>1</sup>. Our transcription contains the whole source about Lepanto without any omissions. We transcribed the text letter by letter. Only modern punctuation has been added in order to improve the understanding of the early modern new high German text. The writer wrote in a southern German dialect. This fits very well with the Fugger dynasty in southern Germany.

### ***Edition of the source 274v-276r*<sup>2</sup>:**

*Copia aines sendtbrieffs von der cristlichen armada, geben den 8. Octobris 71*

*demnach die cristlich armada den 6.to dis zu nacht in ainem clainen canal zu Khephalonia ankhomen, hat solihes die türckische armada, welche in Golpho de Lepanto gelegen, gleich gewahr worden, vnnd ist solches kain wunder, dieweil der mehrräuber Caragoggia<sup>3</sup> sich gegen dem türckhischen obristen erbotten, die cristlich armada zu besichtigen vnd alle schiff zu zelen. Solches er auch mit solchem fleiß gethan, das er kain ainichen schaden empfang. aber doch kurz weder das er also geeilt oder sonnst von vnnder versteh wegen die man irr waist gehindert vnserer galleenn anzall vil klainer dann sie gewest gemacht.*

*darauß dan der türckisch obrist, sunderlich die weil es gutten<sup>4</sup> wind gemacht mit grosser freude sich zu der schlacht zu geruht, vnnd wer das ordinari kriegsvolckh so er auff der*

1 <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>.

2 ANNO/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fugger- Zeitungen, 27. Oktober 1571, <https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=fug&datum=15711027&zoom=33> (We thank the Austrian National Library /Anno, for permission to use the document and for their cooperation).

3 Kara Hoca.

4 Gutten.

*armada gehabt noch 12000 starkh auf gesetzt vnn derhalben vns seinem vortail mehr aus göttlicher fürsehung vnd schickung dan vns des mörs kriegsgebroch gezogen.*

*der Don Joan de Austria hat sich dargegen auch mit seiner armada aufgemacht vnd etlich galleen die feind zu besichtigen voranhin geschickht. darneben auch die 6. galeasse aus dem port lassen ziehen, also haben die galleen anzeigt, das die türckisch armada nit weit von hinnen vnd schon gegen inen herfarn, darauf obgemelter Don Joan ain lieht harnasch angelegt, in ain klain schiff, so man fregata nent, gestigen vnd mit ainem crucifix in der handt ain galleen nach der andern besuecht, sij in die schlacht ordnung gestelt, sij vermant, ritterlich wider den erbfeindt des cristlichen glaubens zu fechten. vnd das nit er, sonnder Cristus, so am creutz für vns gestorben, general vatter vnd patron vber dise armada wöre mit hoffnung sij würden von seiner göttlichen hilff vnd berm gnad vnd sig haben. darauff alles volckh mit freuden vnd frolockhen gewaltig geschrieen, vnd darauff gleich die schlacht ordnung gemacht. also ist obgemelter Don Joan d'Austria wider in seine galleon gestigen vnnnd seind der türckhischen armada auf Cotzolari welches 40 welsch meil von Lepanto ist zu gezogen.*

*vnd ist das mehr gar still worden, vnd haben die galeassi, so voran gezogen, gewaltig angefangen zu schiessen, welches dem türckhen grossen schaden vnd forcht bracht vnd derhalben angefangen zu schreien „maone maone!“ - das ist beij inen souiel gesagt grosse schiffer grosse schiffer: darauff man gros geschütz fürtt, also ist die türckisch armada, welche fing in ain ander vnd ainen halben monschein gleich gefahren, aus irer ordnung gebracht vnnnd in drej thail zertrent worden, der erst vnd gröst thail hat die türckhen flügl oder cornu<sup>5</sup> der cristlichen armada angriffen, der annder den mittelzug, der dritt den rechten flügl, welchen der herr Jan Andrea Doria gefüertt vnd ist im gleich im anfang auff zehen gallenn fast alles volckh ob sie sich gleich wol ritterlich vnd auffs eusserlichest gewehrt, erschlagen, vnd wer in gar vbel gewardt worden, wo in nit ettlich galleen aus dem mittlern zug weren zu hilff komen, ob welcher hilff seine galleen gross hertz empfang vnd die feindt wider umb haben weichen machen. der linckh flügl hatt sich auch ritterlich vnd dapffer gewerth. doch auff die letzt wer es vbel gangen, wan er nit vonn dem nach zug dem Marquess de Santa Croce wer entsetzt worden, welcher die feind dermassen angriffen, zu dem das sich auch der wind zu vnnserm vortail erhebt, das allda die victoria auff vnser seitten sich genzlich erzaigt hatt.*

*vnd in disem rauch ist der Vchiali<sup>6</sup> entwischt, man waist nit, ob er auff Affrica oder in den Golpho de Lepanto geflohen ist, hatt von 40 hauptgalleen, dar uon wir 39 erobert, aine dar uon bracht vnser general Don Joan de Austria (welches ich am ersten hab selben vermelden) hat mit seiner galler des türckhischen obristen galleon antroffen, vnd dieselb auff*

5 Turkish fleet tactical position (hilal tr.) cornu (lat.).

6 Kılıç Ali (tr.).

das letst erobert vnd dem türckischen wascha den kopff mit aigner handt abgehauen vnd auf ain spies in seiner galleon lassen steckhen, das signor Marc Antonio Colonna galleon ist auch von zwaijen türckischen ainer vornen der andern auff der saitten bestritten worden. der hatt sich ritterlich gewehrt, ist letztlich entsetzt, er hatt auch den sig erhalten. die galleon des venetianischen obristen aines Venier genant so beij 70 jaren alt hat sich zu fordrest in ainen liechten harnasch auf sainer galleon öffentlichen aigner person erzaigt, vnd sich sambt den seinen dermassen so ritterlich gewehrt, das er den Ali Pascha mit seiner galleon gefangen hat. der herr Barbarigo hatt sich gar ritterlich vnd wol in diser schlacht gehalten, ist mit ainem pfeil in das recht aug geschossen worden, daran er mit grossen schmerzen vnd leid der seinen gestorben.

der herr Camal prouedi lor hat ritterlich gefahren, vnd mit sainer hand Quirin samm so stunden vattern vor ettlich jaren von den türckhen genommen worden wider umb erobert, vnd haben sich in diser schlacht der herr Quirin, Jan Andrea Doria, Signor Ascanio: della Cornia et Signor Gabrio Serbelon, Signor Pompeo Colonna, Signor Prospero Colonna, Vrsini mit irer zugegebnen ritterschafft, Spaniern vnd Italienern, dermassen ritterlich vnd wol gehalten, das es sich in diser kürtz nit nach notturfft schriben last. dise schlacht zu wasser hatt sich angefangen den 7. dis zwo stunden nach tag vnd in 5 stunden vermittelst göttlicher hilff die cristen, den sig erhalten.

fast alle furnembstten türckhen, vnd sunst beij achzehen tausent zu todt geschlagen, 10000 gefangen vnd 15000 cristen welche auff disen galleon gefangen vnd iren aigenen tumbs, wie es zum treffen ist gangen, grossen schaden gethon, erledigt, man hat hin vnd wider auff vnderschiedlichen galleon grosse qa<sup>7</sup>. soltanin vnd cecchini gefunden, vnd in der gallea des Caragohka gar ain schöne junge frau, ain cristin, gar zierlich vnd reichlich geclaidet, mit grossen perlen am halss vnd andern edelgestainen vnd clainodern getziertt, welche sich mit 1m/60 ducaten<sup>8</sup> hat wellen erlösen auf vnser cristen aber als vil man in der fil hat wissen künden sein 20 venedigisch edelleut vnd sonst ettlich tausend personen vmbkomen, 100 türckhische galleon gefangen, 60 zu grund geschossen,

vnd man steet in vellig handlung, wie man diser victoria welle weiter nachsetzen, vnd sonderlich dem Ochiali, der entrunnen die weil die general und obristen vns sonnder schickkung gottes gar ains, vnnd mit ainander wol zu friden sein, dem allmechtigen gott vnd seiner gebenedeijten muetter seij lob vnd ehr in ewigkait amen L.

7 maybe *quantita*.

8 m. ist gleich mille.

Extrait d'unes Sendtliche von der Crist-  
lichen Armada. gegen den 10 Octobris 17

Innach der Cristlich Armada von 6<sup>ten</sup> die di. nach In dem  
 Kanton Canal zu Ghalsonia ankomen, far selbst die hiesig-  
 ige Armada nach in Galshe de lefanto galogen, gleich ge-  
 wasch worden, und ist selbst kein vnuid, Dieneit der  
 Maffranbo Saragoyra sich gegen. Dem hiesigsten vnter-  
 fochten, die Cristlich Armada hiesigst, und alle st. A. S.  
 haben, welches er auch mit selbstem fluch gesen, das er kein  
 vnter- fochten luyfang, Aber doch die vnter- fochten  
 geit, es sonst den vnter- fochten vnter- fochten, die man nicht  
 geschickt. vnter- fochten gallendebell vil vnter- fochten vnter- fochten  
 vnter- fochten vnter- fochten, vnter- fochten vnter- fochten vnter- fochten  
 od gnter- fochten vnter- fochten, mit gro- fochten fochten, sich zu der  
 fluch hiesigst, und vnter- fochten die vnter- fochten vnter- fochten  
 er auch die Armada gefahr nach 12 000 fochten, auf- fochten  
 und vnter- fochten die vnter- fochten vnter- fochten, nach die vnter- fochten  
 fluch, und vnter- fochten, die vnter- fochten vnter- fochten  
 gehogen, der don Joan de Austria far sich dargogen auch  
 mit seiner Armada auf- fochten, und alle gallen, die vnter- fochten  
 hiesigstigen vnter- fochten, vnter- fochten auch die  
 Galeas die vnter- fochten fochten, alle fochten die vnter- fochten  
 den vnter- fochten, das die vnter- fochten Armada mit vnter- fochten  
 fochten und schon gegen man fochten, vnter- fochten vnter- fochten  
 den Joan am hiesig fochten fochten, in am kein fochten  
 so man fochten vnter- fochten, fochten vnter- fochten vnter- fochten  
 In die fochten, die gallen nach die vnter- fochten fochten, so die  
 fluch ordnung gefahr, so der man, vnter- fochten vnter- fochten  
 fochten das Cristlich gläubend fochten, und die mit  
 er vnter- fochten, so am hiesig fochten die vnter- fochten, general  
 vnter- fochten vnter- fochten, aber die Armada vnter- fochten, mit fochten  
 so vnter- fochten, den fochten fochten fochten vnter- fochten, vnter- fochten  
 fochten, vnter- fochten alle vnter- fochten vnter- fochten vnter- fochten  
 vnter- fochten, vnter- fochten, und vnter- fochten fochten die vnter- fochten

274v

Figure 1  
ANNO/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fugger-Zeitungen, 27 October 1571, 274v.

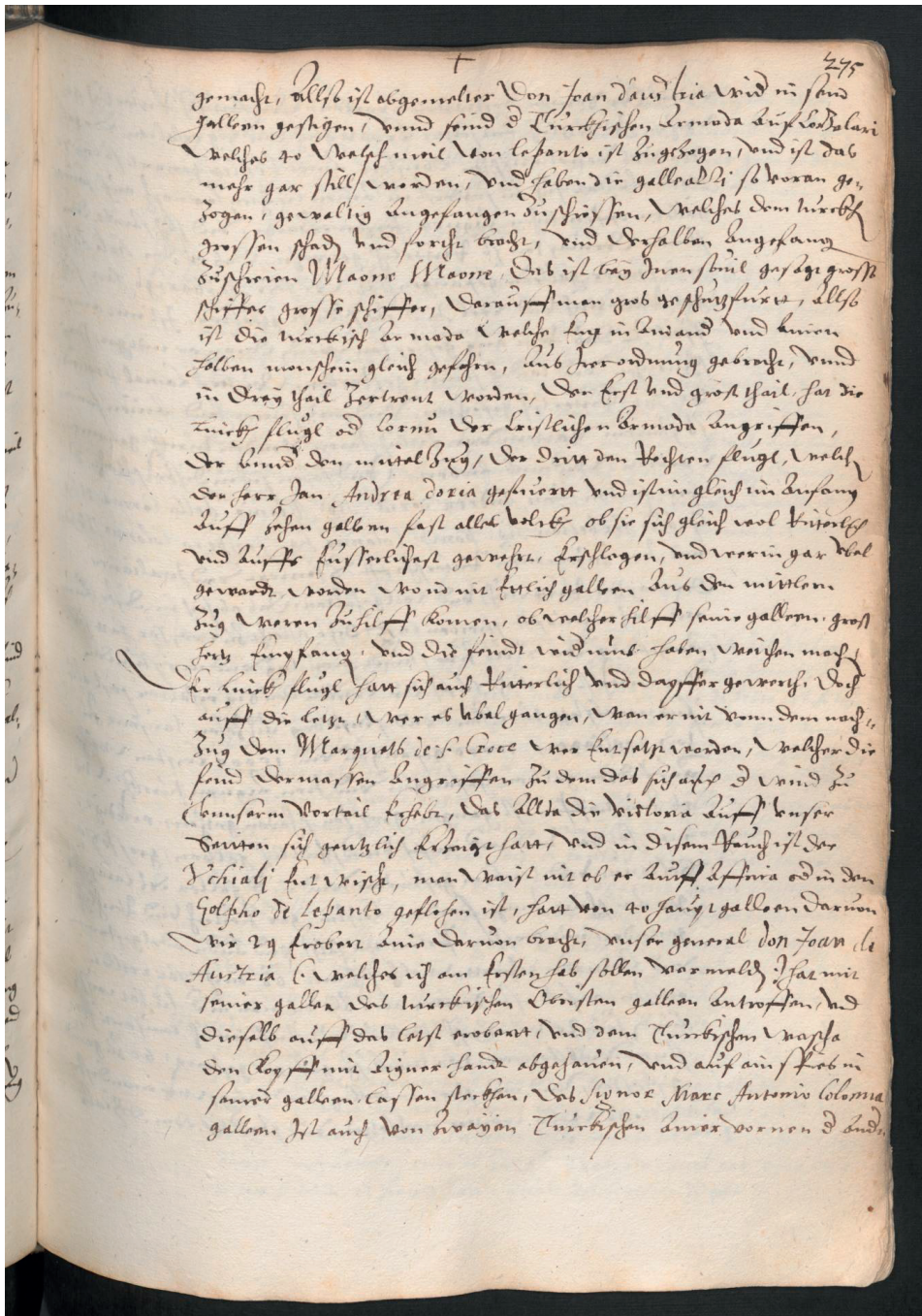


Figure 2

ANNO/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fugger-Zeitungen, 27 October 1571, 275r.

Bericht Der Davison beschriben worden, Der fars sich vnterlich ge-  
 wesen, Alz teyllich beschriben, Er fars auch den die gefangen, Der gal-  
 ten die von den anigen Obrieten dinst Vmher gemanet, so die so  
 faren als far sich die fordrust in dinsten liden, far nach auf seiner  
 galten opten liden dinsten farsen edarge, und sich samet den  
 seinen vorman so vnterlich garwisen, Das er den selb liden  
 mit seiner galten gefangen far, Der fars Lasbar ige fars sich  
 gar vnterlich und wol in dinsten pflast gefahren, Alz wir an dem  
 17ten In das die anig gepfossen ward, Daran er mit grossen  
 Anzeigen und laud d seinen gestorben, Der fars kamal gepouet,  
 der far vnterlich gefahren, und mit seiner laud seinen farn  
 so farnen, vnterlich dinsten farsen, vnterlich gemanet  
 worden, vnterlich farnen, und farnen sich in dinsten pflast d  
 fars queren / Jan Andree doria. sig: Altano: della Cornia. d. sig:  
 Gabrio de bellon sig: Pomij: Colonna sig: Prospero Colonna. d. sig:  
 mit der Ingebornen vnterlich dinsten und farnen,  
 vnterlich vnterlich und vnterlich, Das er sich in dinsten liden  
 mit nach vnterlich farnen laud, dinsten pflast die vnterlich fars sich  
 dinsten den 4. die fars farnen mit laud und in dinsten  
 vnterlich gemanet sich die farnen den die gefangen fast alle  
 farnen liden vnterlich und farnen die farnen laud den  
 laud gepfossen, 10000 gefangen und 15000 farnen vnterlich  
 dinsten galten gefangen, und farnen dinsten liden, vnterlich  
 er dinsten liden ist gangen grossen farnen farnen, vnterlich  
 man far farn und und dinsten vnterlich galten grossen farnen  
 Soltanin und Corchin gefarnen, und in dinsten galten die laud gefarnen  
 far die farnen farnen farnen an liden, far hertlich und vnterlich  
 farnen mit grossen farnen, an farnen, und dinsten adal gefarnen  
 und dinsten gefarnen, vnterlich sich mit 60 dinsten farnen  
 vnterlich, auf farnen dinsten aber alle die man in dinsten farnen  
 dinsten sein so vnterlich farnen und farnen vnterlich farnen, farnen  
 farnen dinsten farnen, wo hertlich galten gefarnen, 60 die farnen  
 gepfossen, und man farnen in dinsten farnen liden, vnterlich  
 vnterlich vnterlich vnterlich, und farnen den dinsten

245v

Figure 3

ANNO/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fugger-Zeitungen, 27 October 1571, 275v.

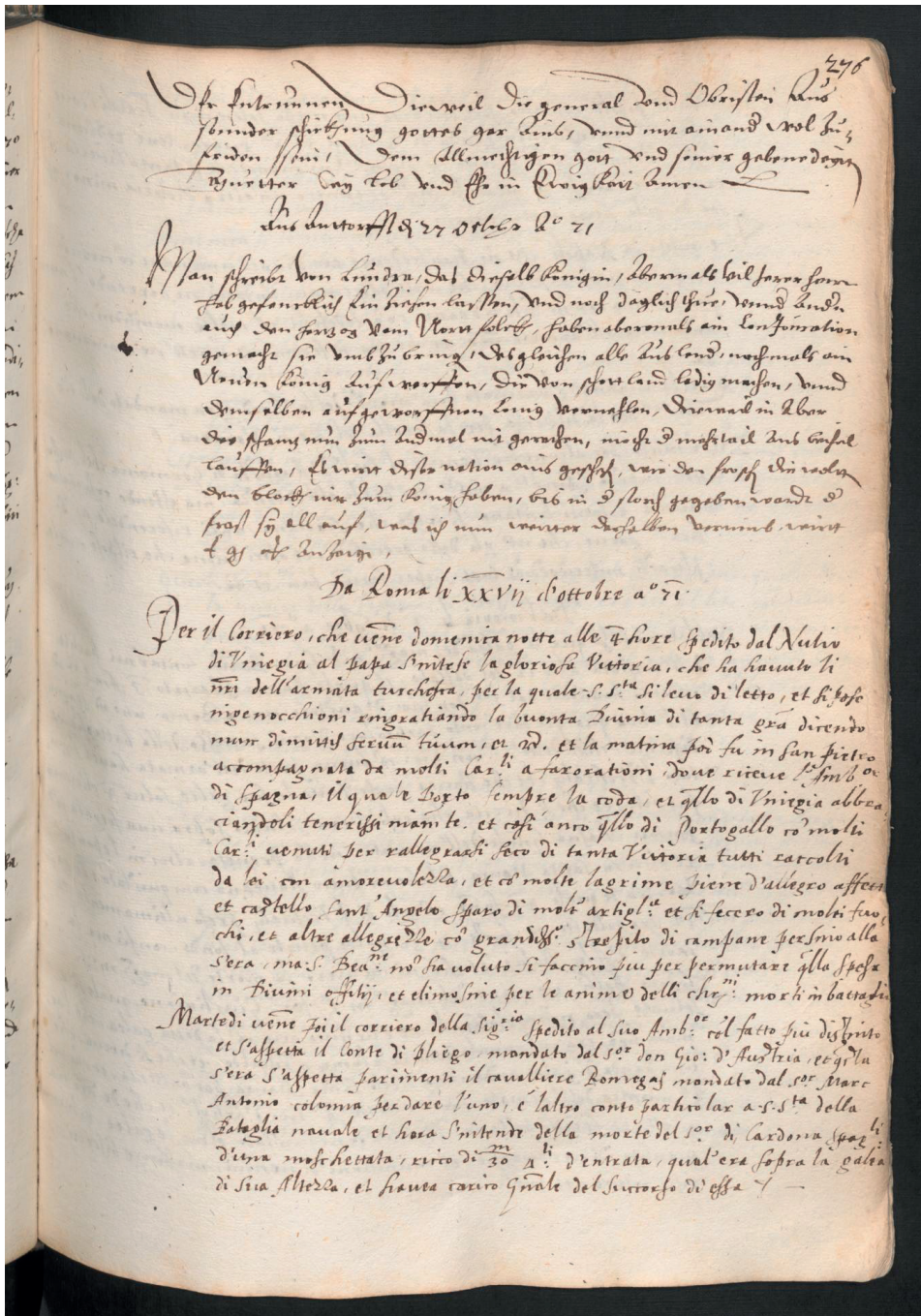


Figure 4

ANNO/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fugger-Zeitungen, 27 October 1571, 276r.



### ***Paraphrase in English language:***

When the Christian fleet reached a small channel in Kefalonia on the night of October 6, it was immediately noticed by the Turkish fleet in the Gulf of Lepanto. By his commanders, the pirate Kara Hodja was ordered to follow the Christian navy and count its ships. He carried out the order with great effort and was unharmed. However, due to haste or some other mistakes, he encountered the ships of the Christian navy.

Thereupon, the notables of the Turkish navy gladly called for war, taking into account the favorable wind for their situation. They supported the navy with 12,000 soldiers to fight.

Don Juan de Austria prepared his own navy and sent 6 galleys to observe the enemy. The galleys detected that the Turkish fleet was not far away and was coming towards them.

Thereupon, the aforementioned Don Juan put on a bright armor and got on a frigate, and, taking a cross in his hand, he visited the galleys and put them into battle order. He said they would gallantly fight against the arch-enemy of Christianity. He said that Jesus not only died on the cross for us, but that he was also the father and patron of this navy.

After these words, all the soldiers jumped up and shouted violently and screamed. The order of war was taken. Don Juan de Austria went back to his own ship. Meanwhile, the Turkish navy had sailed 40 French miles from the coast from Lepanto to Cotzolari. All of a sudden, the sea calmed down and the wind stopped. Galeassi moved in that direction and started firing with great force, causing great damage to the Turks and terrifying them, so they started shouting "Maune, Maune". This means big ship, big ship in their language.

After that, large cannons were fired, the Turkish navy caught up with each other, changed into a half-moon shape, took its own order and divided into three parts. The first and largest Turkish wing attacked the Christian navy. The second in the middle and the third on the right wing was commanded by Andrea Doria. The ten galleys here gallantly fought, but were slain. The situation would have been even worse if it hadn't been for those from the middle flank. Those who came to them for help continued to fight with zeal again. The great attack of the Marquess de Santa Croce was terrifying. By the way, the wind was to our advantage. Uluç Ali disappeared in the great smoke that covered all around. It is not known whether he went to Africa or the Gulf of Lepanto. Thirty-nine of the 40 big galleys were captured; one of them was the ship of the Turkish commander. He (probably Don Juan de Austria) cut off the head of the Turkish Pasha with his own hands and had his head attached to a pole. The Galleon of Signor Marc Antonio Colonna was also attacked by the Turks from the front and from the side. He achieved the victory by fighting gallantly. The 70-year-old Venetian commander named Venier fought heroically and captured Ali Pasha with his ship. Barbarigo fought heroically in this Battle, but was struck in the right eye by an arrow and died in great

pain. Camal Providilor fought heroically. Quirin, whose father had fallen into the hands of the Turks years ago, rescued him. Quirin, Jan Andrea Doria, Signor Ascanio: della Cornia et Signor Gabrio Serbelon, Signor Pompeo Colonna, Signor Prospero Colonna, Vrsini and all the Italians and Spaniards fought gallantly and endured. This struggle on the water began two hours after the day on the seventh of the month, lasted for 5 hours, and with the help of God, the Christians got the victory. Eighteen thousand people were killed along with all Turkish notables. Ten thousand were taken prisoner and 15,000 Christians on the ships were rescued. Large quantities of sultani and cecchini were captured on the various ships.

A very beautiful and young Christian woman was found in Kara Hodja's galley. She was very elegant and richly dressed. She had large pearls and precious stones on her throat. Sixty thousand ducats could be paid ransom.

Twenty Venetian nobles and several thousand others died on the side of the Christians. One hundred Turkish ships (Galleons) were captured and 60 sunk.

It was thought how to take advantage of this victory and especially, to go after Uluç Ali, who had escaped. Because of God's grace, the generals were united and quite pleased with each other.

Praise and glory forever to the almighty God and his blessed mother! Amen. L.

## **Historical Context**

This text, which is edited here for the first time, is dealing with the most important Christian victory over the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Although the Holy Roman Empire did not join the Holy Alliance, we can say that the struggles with the Turks were always reported very closely on the territory of nowadays Germany as it is the case in the Fuggerzeitung. Furthermore, this document, found in the archives of the sixteenth century financial giant, Fugger, is one of the most important proofs of this. Yet the victory at sea did not automatically mean an improvement for the military situation in central and eastern Europe because the Ottoman army was still threatening especially Austria and Hungary. Neither territory took part in the Holy Alliance. In February 1570, the Venetians and Spaniards started to negotiate through the papacy for an alliance against the Turks, and at the same time, the Venetian ambassador made an offer to the emperor. The first among the reasons for the rejection of the emperor was, according to his opinion, the unreliability of the Venetians. Secondly, although an eight-year peace treaty was signed in 1568, there was a danger of a Turkish war. This shows why the Roman Emperor in Vienna played no decisive role in the Holy Alliance although he as well as Juan de Austria were part of the same Habsburg dynasty.

The text from the *Fuggerzeitung* we have examined in this article is important because it tells firsthand of the Battle of Lepanto, which has been the subject of historical studies from various aspects. The content of the source starts with the preparation of the battle on both sides. Whereas the Ottoman command tried to get information about the number of Christian ships, Kara Hodja failed in getting the right numbers; Don Juan de Austria successfully tried to encourage the Christian fighters by visiting single ships. Very symbolically, he held a cross in his hands and claimed that Jesus Christ himself was the supreme commander of the Christian fleet. We can understand from our text that it was an advantage for the Christian side that the Ottoman fleet was coming nearer so that Christian artillery on the great ships could reach and vastly damage the Turkish ships. Details can be seen in our summary. Unfortunately, the highly talented commander, Uluç Ali, disappeared or better, left the battleground. For the sake of the Christian fighters, they conquered a lot of treasures and even captured a rich Christian woman. Even more interesting are the numbers given: For example, 10,000 Turkish prisoners of war, which can partly be seen in the picture given by the entry of Marcantonio Colonna and the Christian army in Rome after the victory at the Battle of Lepanto<sup>9</sup>.



**Figure 5**  
**Turkish prisoners of war**

(<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/712570>)

Nevertheless, this victory was so important in the historiography of the Holy Roman Empire that it was even remembered centuries later, for example, in the fantastic and famous monstrance from Ingolstadt. The so-called Lepanto Monstrance shows details of ships and canons and even fighters from the famous battle. It was made for the church of *St. Mary of the victory* at Ingolstadt. The church also served the students of Ingolstadt university, which then was under the control of the Jesuits. This monstrance was built by the goldsmiths of Augsburg. They also normally made golden tributes for the Ottoman court.

<sup>9</sup> The entry of Marcantonio Colonna and the Christian army in Rome after the victory at the Battle of Lepanto, December 11, 1571 (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/712570>).



**Figure 6**

**Lepanto-Monstranz**, vom Augsburger Goldschmied Johann Zeckel gefertigt, 1708, Bürgerkongregation Maria zum Siege Ingolstadt, Foto: © Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, Philipp Mansmann

Besides the monstrance, there are many other examples in German archives for the strong reception of the Christian victory at Lepanto. Especially in the free imperial city of Augsburg, where there was a long tradition of publication dealing with the Ottoman Empire<sup>10</sup>, there could be found a text about the participation of German fighters. There we read about three thousand German men (*landsknecht*) under the command of the Duke of Lodron<sup>11</sup>.

10 Klaus Wolf, “Kruzitürken! Das Türkenthema in der vormodernen schwäbischen Literatur nebst methodischen Überlegungen zur schwäbischen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung”, *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben*, 107. Band (2015). Mit einer Festgabe für Georg Kreuzer zum 75. Geburtstag, s. 109–121.

11 Ordenliche, vnd mehr dann hie zuor noch niemals außgegangne aigentliche Beschreybung: Mit was (von Gott dem Allmechtigen verlihenem) grossem Sig vn[d] wunderbarlichem glück, etliche der Christenheit

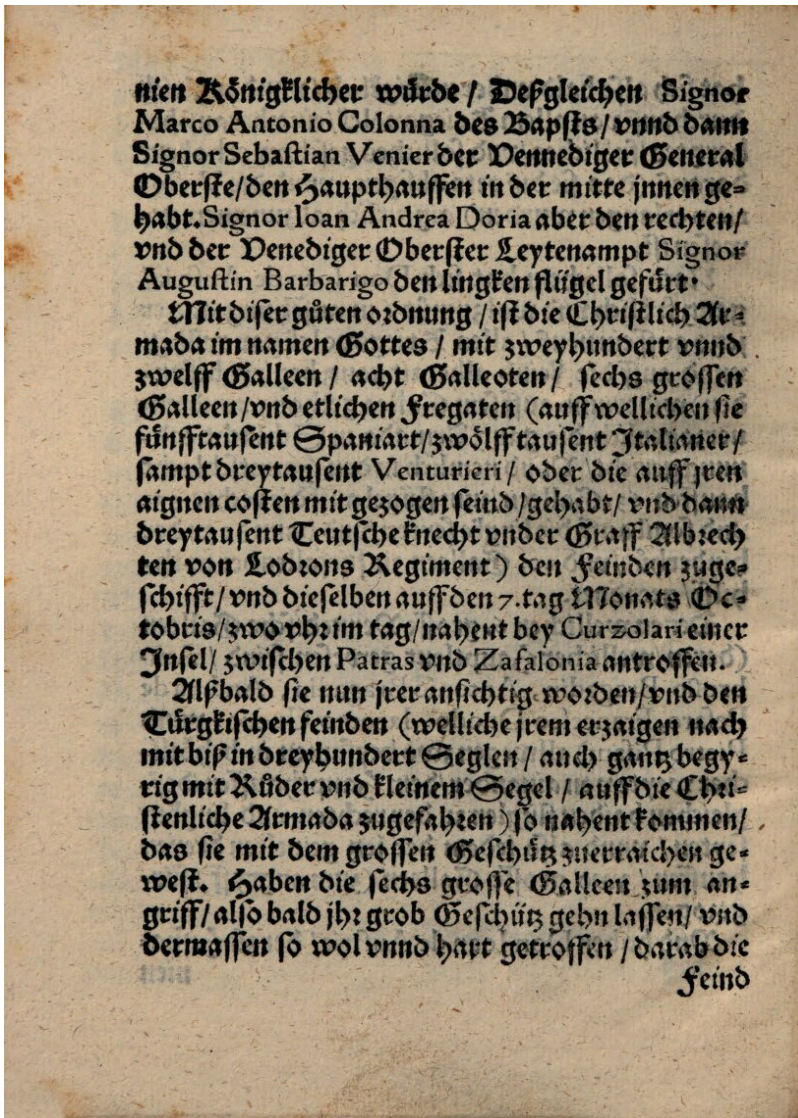


Figure 7

Three thousand German men (landsknecht) Ordenliche, vnd mehr ..., Augspurg: Manger, 1571, [8]  
 Bl. <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb10910991>.

hoche Potentaten vnd Bundsuerwandte, deß allgemainen Türckischen Erbfeindes gantze Armada erobert, vnd auff dem Meer geschlagen, auch biß auffß haupt erlegt haben: ...; Sampt angehenckter hernacher gefolger confirmation vnd bestettigung; Auß Italianischer sprach, in vnser hoch Teutsche gebracht, Augspurg: Manger, 1571, [8] Bl. For further details see: Stefan Hanß, *Lepanto als Ereignis, Dezentrierende Geschichte(n) der Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571)*, Dissertation zur Erlangung des Grades eines Doktors der Philosophie am Fachbereich Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften der Freien Universität Berlin vorgelegt von Stefan Hanß Berlin, Dezember 2014, s. 143.

Central Europe did not play a decisive role in the Mediterranean. As was the case before the battle of Lepanto the Ottoman strategy focused on the sea in order to eliminate the Christian fleets one by one that were gathering in Crete, Corfu, and Messina, before they could come together. Algeria and Tunisia were also ordered to be careful against attacks<sup>12</sup>. By the end of September, it was revealed that this strategy was not fully realized, and defeat was probably inevitable.

In fact, from then on, the Ottoman fleet never again was able to gain complete hegemony in the Mediterranean. On the other hand, the Ottomans were able to conquer and obtain Cyprus. This historical analysis can be illustrated by the famous quotation of Sokollu Mehmed Pacha, who told the Venetian ambassador: “We took Cyprus from you and cut off your arm. You shaved our beard by defeating our navy. The severed arm does not come back, but the shaved beard grows thicker.”<sup>13</sup> On the other hand Sokollu Mehmed Pacha uttered as far as interior politics were concerned: “Pasha! Pasha! You do not know this State very well yet. This state is such a state that if it wishes, it is able to make the anchors of the entire navy from silver, its ropes from yarn and its sails from satin. If the ship’s material needs are not enough, come and get it from me.”<sup>14</sup> This quotation shows the deeper insight of Sokollu Mehmed Pacha in comparison with Kapudan Kılıç Ali Pacha.

The question of anti-Turkish alliances continued to be difficult. The first agenda item in the imperial assembly meeting on 21<sup>st</sup> July 1572 at Mühlhausen was the evaluation of the offer to join the Holy Alliance. Various ideas were put forward here; Lazarus von Schwendi was strongly opposed to joining the Holy Alliance. Various ideas were put forward here; Lazarus von Schwendi was strongly opposed to joining the holy alliance. His justification was that he saw a campaign against the Turks in Hungary as “an impossible thing”. Some representatives were reluctant because of the financial

12 Hüseyin Serdar Tabakoğlu, *Akdeniz’de Savaş, Osmanlı İspanya Mücadelesi 1560-1574*, Kronik, İstanbul 2019, s. 247.

13 *Memorie Istoriche de’ Monarchi Ottomani di Giovanni Sagredo*, Venetia, Presso Combi e La Noù, 1679, s. 404-405.

“*Voi sete qui venuto per vedere come il passato disfacimento habbia crollato il nostro corragio. Sappiate che dalle vostre disavventure alle nostre vi è notabile differenza. Noi col rapirvi un Regno vi habbiamo tagliato il braccio dritto: Questo non ripullularà più. Col distruggere la nostra Armata, voi ci havete rasa la barba: Questa rispuntarà dalla radice del pelo piantata nel mento. Se non mancheran Boschi, vi saran Legni; se non finiranno gl’huomini, abbonderanno genti per armarli, guarnirli, e rimetterli.*”

“Siz buraya mazideki zevalin cesaretimizi nasıl çökerttiğini görmek için gelmişsiniz. Malumunuzdur ki sizin talihsizliğinizle bizimki arasında dikkate şâyân bir fark mevcuttur. Biz bir krallığı sizden çekip alarak sağ kolunuzu kesmiş olduk. Bu kolun yerine artık yenisi çıkmayacaktır. Siz ise donanmamızı yok ederek sakalımızı kesmiş oldunuz. Sakal çenede biten tüyün kökünden yeniden zuhur edecektir. Ormanımız eksilmedikçe orada (Kıbrıs’ta) gemiler olacaktır. İnsanımız tükenmedikçe silahlandırarak, donatacak ve yerlerine yenilerini koyacak bolca askerimiz bulunacaktır.” (Our sincere thanks to Dr. Volkan Dökmeci for the Italian Source and Turkish translation.)

14 Katib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibar fi esfari'l-bihar (Deniz Seferleri Hakkında Büyüklere Armağan)*, haz. İdris Bostan, TC Başbakanlık Denizcilik Müsteşarlığı, Ankara 2008, s. 115.

burden that would arise. It was also among the ideas that the empire would have to stand alone against the attack of the Turks in the case of the death of the Pope or similar cases. Ultimately, a full Liga participation decision did not emerge from the meeting. It was emphasized that it should not be rushed as much as possible. In addition, it was also stated that a hasty decision could cause an attack by the Turks<sup>15</sup>. So, the emperor in Vienna was not able to profit from the victory of Lepanto.

### Conclusion

The propaganda impact of the Battle of Lepanto in Europe was, as is often written, even greater than in reality. The reason for this is based on both the special situation of those who participated in the war on the side of the Holy Alliance and the sectarian conflicts between Protestants and Catholics, which were going on in central Europe at that time. These conflicts were continually weakening the Holy Roman Empire. Furthermore, the Battle of Lepanto coincided with the invention and flourishing of printing, especially in Augsburg. In fact, Lepanto was part of several wars of propaganda at the same time when Catholics and Protestants were fighting each other in many treatises and flyers (Flugblatt). Most of those dealing with the fight between Christians and the Ottoman Empire, which were published in the early new high German language, have not yet been edited or even been noticed among Turkish speaking scholars. Therefore, a great amount of cooperation between Turkish and German scholars is required for the future. Today we were only able to give one example for this.

15 Ergün Özsoy, *Akdeniz'de Osmanlılar ve Habsburglar 1550-1560: Siyaset-Ticaret-Ziyaret*, Libra, İstanbul 2018, s. 148.

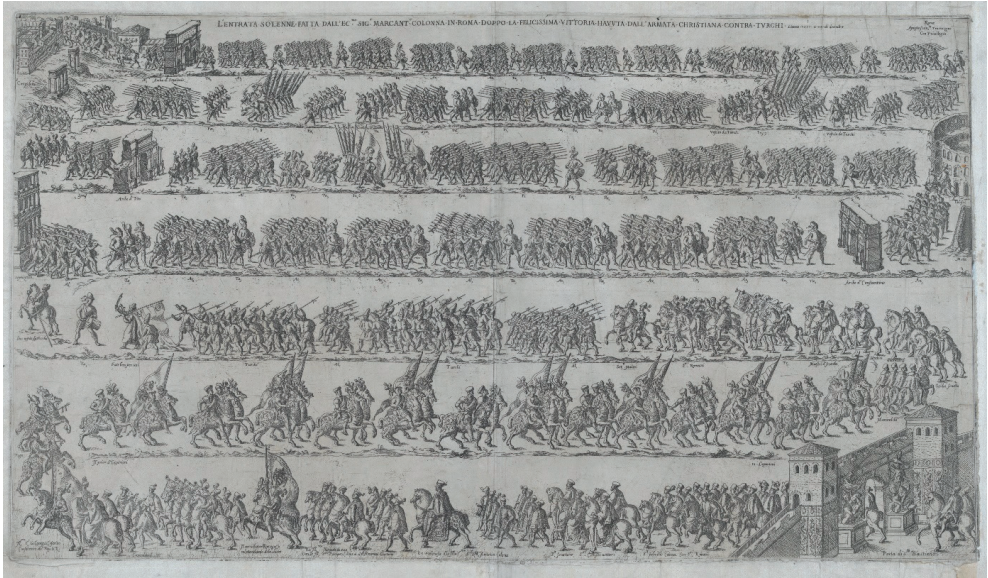


Figure 8

The entry of Marcantonio Colonna and the Christian army in Rome after victory at the Battle of Lepanto, December 11, 1571 (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/712570>)

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