

ANTOINE DE FAVRAY (1706-1798) – GRAND MANNER PAINTER

(i) FAVRAY'S EARLY MALTESE CONTACTS

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Perhaps one of the most apt judgements on Antoine de Favray as a painter is that of Pierre Rosenberg who described him as *a witness of customs and habits different from those of his native country*.¹ The lure of a more exotic milieu could well have been one of the key factors that helped mould the 1744 decision of Favray to move to Malta, with its tempting reputation as one of the more colourful cosmopolitan Mediterranean environments, where one came across an archaic socio-political environment that continued to persist, as widely witnessed and published by most available accounts penned by Grand Tour aristocratic visitors since the 16th century.

Favray, an addicted enthusiast of quaintness, always fascinated by the stimuli and magic of the Levant, would also have been impressed by the proximity and ease of encountering Oriental mores and habits that at the time one expects to come across in Malta, where the presence of numerous Levantines, especially Moslem captives held in slavery, were proportionately far more visible than in any other Christian-held port of the Mediterranean. The plunge in this exotic milieu had surely awakened and further spurred the artist's fascination for things Oriental, ultimately inducing him in 1761 to eagerly grasp the opportunity of travelling to that spell-binding centre of excitement, to Constantinople, the capital of the heterogeneous Ottoman empire.

It appears that Antoine de Favray (1706-1798), born in Bagnolet, a suburb of Paris, had found his vocation as a painter relatively late in life becoming only active as an artist in 1738, after accompanying Jean-Francois de Troy (d.1752), newly appointed director of the French academy in Rome. He was to spend six years in Rome where he acquired an excellent reputation as a painter, working mostly in the French manner, largely influenced for his artistic skill in portraiture by Pierre Subleyras (d.1749) and Carle van Loo (d.1765), but also touched for his narrative composition pieces by the style of Pompeo Batoni (d.1787) and Marco Benefial (d.1764). He came to employ both of these refined skills for the rest of his life, that became more evident in the course of his first long stay in Malta. Favray's portraits were hugely and enthusiastically admired for their ornate rococo tracery finish – especially in his numerous portraits of knights and Maltese gentlefolk, in particular for the magnificently executed *Portrait of Grand Master Pinto* (now in the Museum of St John's, Valletta), a fairly early (1747) commission that emphatically sealed his popularity.

As an acclaimed artist, Favray was equally adept at producing historical narratives, of both the sacred and secular genre; but in particular he was a past master at fashionable portraiture, always presented in the scintillating French Grand Manner tradition, with incredibly detailed textural passages, contrasting costumes and – if deemed appropriate - an informal sense of presence. In the course of the 18th century, this amalgam of appealing qualities had rendered the art of portraiture particularly popular among the French bourgeoisie, and for the same reasons, the magnetic attraction of these qualities were to win instant success for Favray with both the dignitaries of the Order and the 18th century Maltese *bon ton* - the local aristocracy and the emerging prosperous Valletta bourgeoisie of the 18th century.

Even in his first years on the Island, we are able to infer Favray's gradual involvement in this direction. In Rome, he had met and befriended the Maltese affluent lawyer Giuseppe Isidoro Marchese², thus securing the enduring support of his art-loving and culturally-conscious family. There was also a fairly numerous class of merchant and professional families of domiciled French origin - or with intimate French connections - that with time had prospered and were seeking social advancement – a proper bourgeoisie, that fifty years down the same century were to become zealous upholders of French revolutionary ideas – and were consequently branded as Jacobins by the conservative majority of the country. Favray fitted splendidly in this compatriotic niche with their flamboyant quaint female costumes; for them he crafted an appealing genre, a novel way of depicting Maltese society, particularly in a series of attractive portraits of females decked out in their eccentric Maltese costumes, together with a number of convivial interior views, all compellingly fascinating. The Louvre gallery in Paris possesses two eminently attractive early examples of Favray's works from exactly this period: a portrait of *A Young Lady in Maltese Costume*, and the lesser known *Maltese ladies paying a visit*. Favray's fascination for the same quaint – even more ostentatious - costumes was further extended in a series depicting Oriental female costumes during his later sojourn in Constantinople.

In the sophisticated coterie that welcomed Favray in Malta, an early more significant personal link, that emerges with certain frequency, appears to have involved the newly-arrived painter with the family of a fellow Frenchman – the practising physician Jean-Baptiste Lott (born c. 1705)³, whose marriage registration describes him as hailing from *de suburbio Semadur in regio Gallorum* - possibly Semur in Côte d'Or - who in 1735 had contracted a marriage with the pretty and accomplished Caterina Zuardi or Isuardi.⁴ An early 19th Century well informed source has preserved the gossipy tradition that Favray *era in stretta amicizia cola famiglia di Lott*.⁵ And, indeed, an interesting criss-cross of social relationships involving the Lott family arises from this frivolous bit of tittle-tattle.

Judging from the evidence, it appears highly likely that various members of the Lott family figured often and prominently in his early renditions of Maltese interiors. The evidence of this archival record, documenting the early social connections of Favray, coincidentally merges conspicuously with one of the more dramatic episodes of mid-18th century Maltese history.

The inter-connected pattern of these more significant social relationships briefly runs as follows: on November 6, 1746, together with the tender-aged Theresa Lott, Favray stood as godfather to Stanislao, a son of Jean-Baptiste Lott and Caterina Zuardi⁶. On October 2, 1747, it was Jean-Baptiste Lott who held at the font Claudina, daughter of Joseph Cohen and Maria Casilda, the latter couple being recent Christian converts from Judaism who had been baptised together on September 24, 1746. The christening of a second Cohen offspring, a male who came to be called Stefano, was registered on January 14, 1749 for which event, it was the turn of Favray himself to stand as the child's godfather. Later in the same year, on November 14 1749, another daughter named Maddalena, born to the Lott couple⁷, had for godfather the Chevalier Stephan Francois Turgot, with whom Favray was later to keep up a long correspondence from Malta between 1774 and 1788 – that is, starting immediately upon Favray's return from his memorable stay in Constantinople⁸.

Precisely the year 1749 was to prove a momentous one for Malta and for the government of the Hospitallers. A dangerous plot to overthrow the Order of St John's rule in Malta was uncovered just in the nick of time. It was soon revealed that the conspiracy had been masterminded by the captive Pasha of Rhodes – a high Ottoman official - who had been forcibly brought to Malta from Rhodes in his own galley after a successful mutiny by his slave-rowers that had included several Maltese. The Pasha's nefarious conspiracy was planned for 29 June, when many of the inhabitants of Valletta used to

travel to Rabat – in the interior of the island – to attend the traditional Mnarja folk-festival. Word of this intrigue came to the knowledge of the Order's authorities in May 1749, principally thanks to timely action by precisely the above-referred ex-Jew, Joseph Cohen, who happened to run a tavern where several of the involved Moslem plotters used occasionally to meet to work out their plan of action.

Equally significant for our case, between 1743 and 1752 the physician Jean-Baptiste Lott, with his family, had his official lodging at number 3 *Quartiere terzo* of Valletta forming part of a block, better known as the *Prigione de' Schiavi* (Slaves' Prison)⁹ where Jean-Baptiste Lott served in his capacity of *Chirurgo* (physician). In fact the Lott family continued to utilise this residence until the demise of Jean-Baptiste in 1752.¹⁰

With such close connections, and so appositely sited, Favray was provided with ample occasions and easy access to observe the Muslim slave-captives in the *Prigione*, a location that used to serve as their night-shelter, containing also a mosque, as well as a busy day-market within its ample courtyard. The whole atmosphere appears to have impressed Favray profoundly in the aftermath of the Pasha of Rhodes' intrigues, as we can judge from his painting *'Interior with Oriental Figures'* (Cathedral Museum, Mdina), signed by Favray and dated to the fateful year 1749, that is, twelve years before Favray sailed to Constantinople on board the *Corona Ottomana* in 1761. Largely on account of its precise dating and its depiction of Oriental figures, the same canvas - until recently - was reputed to represent the so called "*Conspiracy of the Slaves*".

But on closer inspection, the picture reveals rather a festive occasion inside a crowded interior with all-male Oriental figures, standing or mostly seated drinking coffee or

smoking hookahs, all garbed in typical Eastern fashion, and apparently being entertained by a Levantine male singer or maybe a story-reciter. Yet none of the actual faintly delineated architectural background are recognizably Maltese, or even Oriental. It could well be a draped inner courtyard of a common largish Maltese house, or less likely a tavern, maybe Joseph Cohen's famous one. On the other hand, we might be watching just a recreational evening in some improvised inner space within the *Prigione de' Schiavi* itself. Apart from this painting – allusively hinting at the conspiracy - there also exist a few chalk-drawings in Maltese collections, reputedly by Favray, depicting the decapitated heads of some of the executed plotters.

For the sake of completion, one may add that Caterina Lott was appointed, after her physician-husband's death, *Soprintendente* of the *Casetta delli Espositi* (Guardian of the Home for the abandoned children)¹¹. Her big family of eleven offspring had included six daughters, described in a contemporary popular manifesto (in verse), *una più bella dell'altra*¹²; her home had provided a refined much-welcomed social atmosphere, frequented by numerous knights, often depicted by Favray. In September 1761 Caterina Lott successfully outmanoeuvred a rumoured scandal involving a *matrimonio segreto* of one of her daughters, Giovanna, with a Neapolitan *cavaliere non-professo* by the name of marchese Cedronio.¹³ By the 1770s, the male children of the family are recorded as running a carpet-weaving establishment, probably with the assistance of skilled slaves from N.Africa. Caterina Lott herself is recorded as passing away on November 23, 1796¹⁴, less than two years ahead of Favray

It is more firmly within the realm of possibility that the early 19th Century source, cited earlier regarding Favray's relation with the Lott family, may well have been in the nature of a sly innuendo, preserving an older oral tradition, that the siren whose fairness had reputedly held Favray steadfastly tied to Malta was in fact the beautiful and resourceful

Caterina Lott¹⁵ neè Zuardi, married to Jean-Baptiste Lott, rather than either Maria Amelia Marchese (born 1746), or her sister Marcella (born 1753), as traditionally claimed.

Overall, Antoine de Faray's early convivial contacts in mid-18th century Malta, provide a rare and valuable insight into the social bourgeois circle of his acquaintances, who were either by origin, or else intellectually, susceptible to French culture or way-of-life. Some of their succeeding generation were to imbue the political ideas diffused by the protagonists of the Enlightenment, concepts that were eventually to extinguish the Hospitallers' governance of Malta, thanks to Napoleon Bonaparte's 1798 *coup de grace*. With the disappearance of the Knights' rule also expired the Baroque milieu it had inspired, and so brilliantly preserved by the art of Antoine de Favray.

ENDNOTES

1. **The Order of St. John in Malta**, XIII Council of Europe Exhibition, pub. Malta 1970. p. 96
2. Vide **NLM. 658 ff.17-18**; "*in tempo che il detto stava a Roma*". Giuseppe Isidoro Marchese was father of both Count Saverio Marchese - historiographer and avid art collector – and of Maria Amalia Marchese married Jean- Baptist Grognet, and mother of the architect Giorgio Grognet.
3. **P.A. Porto Salvo, St. Anim. 1735**, f. 41 where his age is given as 30. The family surname of Lott appears to be an Italianised version of the French L'Hoste.
4. **P.A. Porto Salvo, Matrimonii**, 6. 11. 1735.
5. **ACM Pan. 71**, f.157; the note is preserved in the notes of canon Panzavecchia who we know from other works of his to have been politically not well-disposed towards the French.
6. Stanislaò Lott was nominated president of the Zebbug municipality by the French Revolutionary Government; he was killed by Maltese rebels on September 2, 1798. Vide Carmelo Testa, "**Maz-Zewg Nahat tas-Swar**", vol.2 p.221, pub. 1979.
7. **P.A. San Paolo, Vall. - Battesimi**; vide under respective dates given in.text.
8. Excerpts of this correspondence are quoted in *A.Boppe, "Les Peintres du Bosphore"*

- pp.57-100, pub.Paris 1911;page 90, Boppe remarks "*Les chevaliers de langue francaise avaient d'ailleurs toujours trouve' chez les L'Hoste.....*"
9. **P.A. San Paolo, Vall. - Status Animarum**, for the years from 1743 to 1752.
 10. **NLM. Libr. 13**, pp. 637-638. (Source kindly indicated by Dr. Carmel Testa).
Referring to the bereaved widow : "*uscì' dalla Prigione e piggioro' casa avant la Chiesa dell'Anime Purganti, d'onde passo' nella Casetta delli Espositi....*"
 11. Caterina Lott described as *vedova*, **P.A. San Paolo, Vall., Stat.Anim.1752, f.602v.**
 12. **Ibid.** In a contemporary published *manifesto* entitled *Il Convito d'Amore*, one of Caterina Lott's daughter was compared to "*La suppa di latte per essere bianca e dolce, appropriata a quelle zitelle di Casa Lott per essere di carnagione bianche e dolci nel loro tratto e civili.*"
 - 13.**N.L.M.Libr.14**, pp.453, 456, 459. Manuscript is entitled "*Giornale di Ignazio Saverio Mifsud*". The romantic story,that caused much local scandal, reads like an authentic libretto of an opera by Giacchino Rossini.
 - 14.**N.L.M. 979 Libro delle Committoni, f.145**;*Commissione data alli Fratelli dell' Hoste sotto li 22 Ottobre 1777.* The commission consisted of four carpets of various sizes for the Choir, the Pontifical seat, and for two altars in St John's.
 15. For Caterina Lott's death registration, vide **P.A. San Paolo, Nov.23, 1796.** It is more than likely that Favray's painting "*Maltese Ladies visiting*" at the Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta, depicts the drawing room of Caterina Lott, with two of her children, in the act of receiving a visit from an elderly lady.

(ii) FAVRAY : WORKS IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, VALLETTA

(From : *The Times*, Friday 28 May 1982)

The French painter Antoine de Favray's connections with the Valletta church of St. John were soon to develop after his unexpected move to Malta in 1744. Following an eventful seven years of success, Favray was received as member of the Order of St. John as a Serving-brother – a modest grade in the Order's hierarchy that seems to satisfy him, for we seem to lack hard evidence that he advanced any further. Although of a restless and inquisitive nature, he was quite happy to settle down in Malta, considering the Island as his home base between 1744 and 1761, when in December of the latter year, he sailed to Constantinople. Then he returned back to Malta, probably in 1771, where he continued to live uninterruptedly until his death in 1798. Upon his demise, as a privileged member of the Order, his body was laid to rest in one of the crypts beneath the Oratory of St John's.

From the moment he was granted the honour of joining the illustrious Order as Serving-brother, Favray naturally came to consider the church of St. John's as his own Conventual church, a personal and important psychological tie shared by fellow members of the Order. It is consequently mete and just to find that some of Favray's best artistic works were appositively created to contribute to the lustre and glory of this most fabulous of Malta's artistic monuments, already distinguished and ennobled by the superlative labours of Mattia Preti during the second half of the previous century.

Unusual effort

Among the works of Favray to be found in St. John's, the small portrait of Grand Master Emanuel Pinto - finely executed in miniature-mosaic – is unaccountably overlooked by connoisseurs, mostly because this uniquely delicate composition had been unobtrusively incorporated in a sepulchral monument erected in memory of Grand Master after 1773,

inside the side- chapel of the Castilian knights. Still this representation of the imperious Grand Master possesses all the marks of an exceptional and discerning attempt at portraiture. The monument itself – dominated by a white marble sculpture of Fame by Vincenzo Pacetti (1746-1820) – is in fact pointedly organised around this remarkable small portrait, in which depiction Favray appears to have deliberately laid aside the Grand Master’s habitual showy panoply and pomp of power, a trait that Favray had exploited with prodigality in painting the memorable 1746 life-size portrait of the same Grand Master, that once hung in the vestry of St John’s church. But in the case of this sepulchral small portrait in miniature mosaic, the artist alludes frankly to the frail humanity of the aging personage, still impervious, but here interpreted as the vexatious air of an insufferable old man who still clings to his past image of a grand old man. The artist’s uncharacteristic choice for this kind of unflattering realism – a far cry from the early flamboyant manner of Favray’s portraiture – could well indicate that the work was carried out without the constraints of the sitter’s presence; the lost original drawing for this mosaic portrait might well have been created after Pinto’s death in 1773 – anyway after Favray’s return from Constantinople in 1771.

The 16th century portable Ostensory, donated to the Conventual church by Fra Luigi Mazzinghi (died 1631) – in heavy silver gilt, on display in the treasury-room of St. John’s Museum – bears on its verso a 16th century Flemish (or maybe Spanish) icon of *Christus Passus* (The Suffering Christ), painted on parchment. Upon the retro of this remarkably agonizing icon, once there used to appear an image of the *Addolorata*, likely comparable in quality to the surviving *Christus Passus*; unfortunately the icon on the reverse side had been repainted, probably in the early 19th century, with the image of Virgin Mary in mourning, that had been haphazardly attributed to Favray. There are serious doubts that this mediocre soulless neo-classic rendition can with all fairness be assigned to Favray; far more likely it appears to be the handiwork of an early 19th century Maltese painter – probably one of the Nazarene artists commonly noted for their “restoration” zeal.

The first side-chapel on the left of St John's church - the one leading to the Oratory - is adorned with three narrative oil-paintings, intended for the lunettes of each wall, all three of which were executed by Favray. The first canvas is documented to have been delivered to the church by July 8th, 1751.¹ Between them, the three lunettes recount the stages of the traditional saga surrounding the recovered human remains of John the Baptist, the patron saint of the Order. The three depicted canvases narrate the history of the event in chronological order : "*The Discovery of the Baptist's remains*", "*The incineration of the Baptist's remains by orders of Julian the Apostate*" and "*Cariati Bey presenting the relic of the Baptist's hand to Grand Master d'Aubusson*". All three painted narratives were intended for the side-chapel to the Oratory which had been the scene of a number of radical changes from way back in the late 16th century. Up to November 1741 it was known as the chapel of St. Charles Borromeo, whose altar was then shifted to another part of the church - at the head of the north aisle by the Prior Bartolomeo Rull². Subsequently, the *Veneranda Assemblea* – the governing body of the Conventual church – was still dealing with grave difficulties in giving a precise character to this side-chapel.

We know that some time after the 1741 removal of the altar of St Charles Borromeo, a direct entrance to the Oratory was constructed at the expense of Fra Andrea di Giovanni, Bailiff of San Stefano.³ Thus one can conclude that following the above referred changes of 1741, this side-chapel was undergoing considerable modifications. At roughly the same time, we know that Favray was applying for his admittance to the Order, granted in 1751, "*nel grado di Serviente d'Armi*", and in connection with his admittance, two of the above lunettes were accepted in lieu of the payment of his mandatory *passaggio*, a procedure that in some ways appears to have been adopted earlier in the previous century with both Caravaggio and Mattia Preti. When Favray failed to deliver in time the second canvas, the Treasury obliged him to temporary deposit *doppie 50* against the future provision of the second painting. The third canvas – the one in the central lunette above the monumental entrance to the Oratory, and indeed the finest of the three - was

apparently either voluntary added by Favray, or else was commissioned to him later to complete the project.

Other works

Two other paintings by Favray - that until 1996 were to be found in the vestry of St John's - are the magnificent 1746 full-length portrait of Grand Master Pinto, already alluded to, and the smaller oval half-figure portrait of Benedict XIV. Both were commissioned in connection with the granting of the privilege of the silver mace to the Veneranda Assemblea, and for the right of its Prior to wear Episcopal vestments. On the realization of this historic event, Grand Master Pinto had donated the new silver mace to the Veneranda Assemblea, and in tribute of his gift and past authoritative recommendations, this body dutifully commissioned Favray to paint Pinto's famous full-length portrait. The result can only be described, unashamedly, as one of the finest masterpieces of 18th century art in the French "Grand Manner". Favray out-did his own considerable artistic skills in depicting the Grand Master's august presence by proposing a fantastic allegory on the majesty of power, that he blended and interweaved with the finest detailed textural passages, magically creating a most suggestive essay on the seduction of tactile sensations. Never again was the artist to reach such creative heights, such a perfect wedding of inspiration, ingenuity and sheer skill. The Veneranda Assemblea paid *Cinquanta zecchini magistrali* (over 200 scudi), not at all an excessive price for such a great work of art.⁴

The Veneranda Assemblea felt that it also owed a tribute to Benedict XIV, the Lambertini Pope who had granted it such marks of esteem. In fact on November 17, 1747⁵, it likewise deliberated to commission a portrait of the pope from Favray. But for this commission, Favray opted to produce a near-replica of the official portrait of Benedict XIV, painted by another French artist active in Rome at the time he was still studying at the French Academy of that city and whom Favray vastly admired – Pierre Subleyras (1699-1749). The new commission likewise proved a success, for upon its

completion, he received a request for a repetition of the same portrait from the Mdina Cathedral Chapter. Some years back I come across in a privately-held manuscript a registration-note of the payment effected to Favray, precisely for the commission of the Lambertini pope's portrait from the Veneranda Assemblea. The documenting of this payment was registered in the annual *Esito Straordinario* drawn for the Veneranda Assemblea for the years 1748-1749. It textually stated:

Piu' al Sr. Antonio Faverey pittore per aver fatto il ritratto di Sua Santita' come per sua ricevuta... 42 sc. 6 tari.

The entry continued to describe other ancillary details in connection with this portrait; thus the *indoratore* – identified as mro. Michel'Angelo – received 13 scudi 2 tari excluding the gold foil employed (estimated at 22 scudi 6 tari) which was provided from the church's treasury. Apart from two further trivial payments, one for fixing the frame and the other *per copia di fondazione*, it also records a fee of 4 scudi given *al Sr Don Luigi Buhagiar per la sua iscrizione e per medaglia del mazzetto*.

Arising from the above fortuitous reference to Don Aloysio (or Luigi) Buhagiar – an intriguing figure known to us from other sources as a minor Maltese painter of the Settecento - brings to mind that on other occasions he was at loggerhead with Favray and with other notable artists. He was born on January 9, 1696 in Valletta and died on December 30 1769⁶. The location of three of his paintings have been preserved – the titular altarpiece in a chapel of the Annunciation at Attard⁷; a semi-circular painting “*The Assumption of the Virgin*” (the Carmelites church in Valletta, removed to the Vestry ⁸); and another work recording the allegedly miraculous transport of the Damascene Madonna icon to the harbour of Rhodes, formerly kept in the old Greek rite church in Valletta, until it was lost in the 1943 aerial bombardment that also destroyed the church. His name is notoriously linked to the lamentable “restoration” of the two 12th century icons of *Our Lady of Damascus* and the *Eleimonitria Virgin*⁹. To his credit, although he abusively over-painted both venerable icons, somehow he scrupled from touching the

countenances of the Damascus Virgin and Child. The second icon, known as the Eleimontria, was unfortunately shattered in the same 1943 bombing raid, so that eventually half the Virgin's face had to be re-constructed¹⁰.

Clash of interests

Evidence has also surfaced of Don Luigi Buhagiar's clashing with Niccolo' Nasoni (1691-1773) a painter and architect from San Giovanni Valdarno, Siena. In Malta, Nasoni is best remembered as a famous Baroque illusionistic and scenographic decorator, and for painting both the ceiling of the Grand Masters' crypt in St. John's church, and the ceiling decorations in the loggia-corridors of the Grandmasters Palace, Valletta. From Malta, Nasoni transferred himself to the city of Porto in Portugal where he made a new career for himself as a Rococo architect of renown. According to an autographic inscription precisely dated July 6, 1725 – discovered some time ago by the staff of the Fine Arts Museum on one of the scenographic panels intended for the Palace decorations – an infuriated Niccolo' Nasoni had inscribed polemically on the hostile activities of a group of presumable local rivals, including *quell senza fede di don Luigi che disse tante bugie al Gran Maestro*. One hopes that by 1747, when Favray was involved in work in St John's, Don Aloysio Buhagiar had grown not only older but maybe prudent too.

Favray's little known portrait of Benedict XIV – till 1996 still hanging in the vestry of St. John's but then removed with the other paintings to the adjacent museum of St John's – was finally delivered to the *Veneranda Assemblea* in the course of 1748. It is not exactly an overwhelming work – the compensation the painter received was modest as well – maybe due to the artist merely reproducing the well-known fashionable portrait of Benedict XIV by Pierre Subleyras. Luckily, Favray was able to compensate himself by producing other copies of the same work. Yet following hard upon that other work commissioned for the *Veneranda Assemblea* – the stupendous 1746 portrait of Grand Master Pinto – one can hardly avoid a feeling of disappointment. Still we may

confidently assume that the continued patronage extended to the artist from such an eminent and respected institution of the Hospitallers' government has to be interpreted as a decisive acknowledgement and a veritable homage to the quick success achieved by Antoine de Favray during his first sojourn in Malta.

¹ **NLM. Arch.651,f.237v** – dated July 8th,1751.Favray promised to contribute two paintings “*che colli sudetti due quadri sia e s'intenda compensare il passaggio*”. In fact when Favray delayed to deliver the second painting, he was made to temporary deposit *50 doppie* until the second painting was delivered; vide **NLM.651 f.267**.

² **Giornale de' Successi dell'Isole di Malta e Gozo....da Gaetano Reboul**; ed. V.Laurenza, pub. Malta 1939; p. 54

³ Ibidem, pp. 86 (Gennaio 1747), 97 (7 Settembre 1747).

⁴ Ibidem, p. 86 “*opera d'un pittor francese,al qual fur donate cinquanta zecchini magistrali di sc.4.3 l'uno*”.

⁵ **N.L.M. Arch, 1988**

⁶ **P.A. Porto Salvo, Reg. Batt. p. 22'** and **P.A.Porto Salvo, Morti, f.159**

⁷ **ACM Misc. 180, p. 99**

⁸ **AIM Misc. 8, pp.45v-46**

⁹ F. Chetta Schiro' **Memorie su le chiese e il rito Greco in Malta**, 1930, pp. 90-91,99

¹⁰ Dominic Cutajar: **Ancient Byzantine icons – 2**, T.O.M. 29/5/78; and **Rediscovery of a Byzantine icon**, The Times, 15/1/79 and 22/1/79.