

Puellæ et Pueri:

Aspects of the Lives of Children and Young

People in Eighteenth-Century Malta

(c.1740s-1790s)

University of Malta

July 2022



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Puellæ et Pueri:
**Aspects of the Lives of Children and Young People
in Eighteenth-Century Malta
(c.1740s-1790s)**

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M.A. in History

A dissertation presented to the Faculty of Arts at the University of Malta in part
fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts **in History**

July 2022
University of Malta

*To my Parents
Adrian and Louise,
And my brother Jacob*

Preface

Over the past 2 years I have had the privilege of reading a number of primary sources, in particular the Miscellaneous boxes and the foundling register at the National Archives of Malta, both of which could have very easily been lost. This dissertation aims to animate the stories found in documents, to bring flat, dusty and coffee- and curry-smelling paper to life in the hope of making the reader visualise what life was like for these eighteenth-century children and gain a sense of their life experiences. However, before delving into the history of young people in eighteenth-century Malta, the following are a few points of clarification worth keeping in mind in relation to the primary sources.

The National Library of Malta Manuscripts and the Archive of the Order of Malta documents were mainly used to understand the laws and regulations of both the state and particular institutions, including the Holy Infirmary and Santo Spirito hospital. The National Archives of Malta in Rabat and Mdina provided me with heaps of petitions and miscellaneous boxes, a treasure trove full of wonders waiting to be uncovered. While these boxes contain documents from various tribunals and courts, including also the *Consolato del Mare* (a maritime affairs tribunal), the documents mentioning young people were all drawn from Magna Curia Castellaniæ records, that is, the documents generated by early modern Malta's lay tribunal (there are 66 boxes with such documents). At the National Archives of Malta, I also studied the *libri dei carcerati* (records of jailed prisoners), and a foundling register. Additionally, the Notarial Archives in Valletta provided many foundling contracts. In particular, this dissertation focused on eleven volumes of Notary Bernardo Maria Callus' spanning the years 1744 to 1763.

Due to pressures of time, I was unable to visit more parish archives, however the Parish archives of St Paul, Valletta, and St Mary in Mqabba provided me with a good idea of the number of foundlings placed with families and their ages. While I have consulted the Metropolitan Cathedral Archive documents, time and word count limited my search to a few documents which incidentally were related to child slaves and their conversion. Since this would have required additional months of research and it is a niche subject of its own, I have kept note of the information encountered but chose to exclude it from the current dissertation.

References from Notarial Archives will be written as follows: the register number written first, followed by the volume number such as R124/1. This is followed by the folio number and the date of the deed. So, for example NAV R124/2, ff.139r-140r (8 January 1748).

National Archives Miscellaneous documents are referenced as follows NA/92/04. NA refers to the accession number, thus these boxes were the 92nd accession of documents by the National Archives in 2004. It is worth noting that the documents under study from these boxes are not yet catalogued. Once the cataloguing of these boxes is finished, they are planned to be relocated from the main branch in Santo Spirito to the *Banca Giuratale* so that they will finally find their place with the rest of the *Magna Curia Castellaniae* law court documentation.

These documents are not catalogued, so there is no consistent pagination/foitation system. Since each case is a bifolio separate from the next case, and thus they are not bound together according to year or topic, I have implemented my own system of referencing this documentation. Within each Miscellaneous box consulted, there are cases with folios which were originally paginated at the time of the drawing up of these documents, however not all folios are foliated. One must also keep in mind that one does not open the box to find a folio marked 1 and have each page numerated consistently till the last folio found in the box. They have to be consulted on a case-by-case basis. The only consistent numeration in these documents can be found in the boxes pertaining to the French period (1798-1800) which in 2020 was paginated by archival staff and volunteers who embarked on a project to start the process of cataloguing and digitizing. The rest of the boxes are not paginated in this manner. For the purpose of this dissertation the references will be as follows:

- f.x – x stands for the page number for those documents which contain the original foliation.
- n.f. – means no foliation and thus I will have to include only the date, which is found on the first folio, including when referencing other pages within the same case file.

The same system was applied to the *suppliche* (NAM Supp/app).

All manuscripts and documents consulted at the National Library of Malta, as well as the *Libri dei Carcerati* and the foundling register at the National Archives of Malta, were foliated / paginated and are referred to accordingly in the footnotes.

To maintain consistency, persons' names have all been rendered in Italian, however place names are written as known today and using Maltese fonts, so it is Luqa not Luca. To ensure a smooth narrative and for the reader to better follow the arguments and discussions within the chapters, most quotations from the primary sources have been translated into English. Conversely, weights, measurements, currencies and titles are written in their original Italian term and are thus in italics.

Currencies and measurements cannot be translated exactly in today's values; however, the following list is a guide for one to contextualise and obtain a general idea of measurements and currencies referred to throughout this dissertation:

Currency: ¹

1 *tari* = 2 *carlini*

2 *carlini* = 20 *grani*

1 *cinquine* = 5 *grani*

1 *grano* = 6 *dinieri*

12 *tari* = 1 *scudo*

30 *tari* = 1 *oncia*

1 *oncia* = 2 ½ *scudi* or 2 *scudi* and 6 *tari*

1 *scudo* is approximately 11.5 Euro

Weight:²

1 salma of Malta = 288 litres of wheat, barley and rye = 334 litres of other cereals

1 salma = 16 tumini

1 *rotolo* = 2.5 *libbre* = approx. 0.793787kg

1 *Quintale* = approximately 100 kgs³

¹ Carmel Cassar, *Society, Culture and Identity in Early Modern Malta*, (Malta: Mireva, 2000), xvii; Joan Abela, *Hospitaller Malta and the Mediterranean Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018), xxiv-xxvi. Christine Muscat, *Magdalene Nuns and Penitent Prostitutes Valletta*, (Malta: BDL Publications, 2013), 113; Anthony M. Vassallo, 'Prices of Commodities in Malta and Gozo, 1530-1630', (Unpublished B.A. (Hons) History, Department of History, University of Malta, 1976), 12.

² Carmel Cassar, (2000), xvii; Stanley Fiorini (ed.), *Documentary Sources of Maltese History, Part I Notarial Documents, No. 1, Notary Giacomo Zabbara, R494/1 (1): 1489-1488*, (Malta: University of Malta, 1966), xviii; Abela, (2018), -xxiv-xxvi.

³ Retrieved on 21 March 2019 from <http://www.sapere.it/enciclopedia/quintale.html?fbclid=IwAR1U-1Ck5IPg3x5uP9Vdc5-jwkBecfo4BrbkBgDozRftgrigWUumviFgR00>.

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This dissertation would not have been possible without the constant support and assistance of several individuals throughout this academic journey. My sincere thanks go to my supervisor, Prof. Emanuel Buttigieg, for his patience and guidance, listening to every complicated query, directing me to finding the answers, and correcting my work with great dedication. I would also like to thank Prof. Buttigieg for allowing me to explore the history of children in Malta and for encouraging me to keep looking for answers to the many questions I had despite being told by several that this subject was an impossible one to study and analyse.

Heartfelt appreciation goes to the members of the History Department whose passion and dedication to the study of history enriched me and instilled in me a further love for the subject, transferred the skills I needed to question and search for answers to my historical curiosities, and who were always there to discuss and answer any emails sent their way. A note of thanks goes to the administrative staff, Ms Anabelle Cutajar and Ms Charlotte Cucciardi Fava for their help. I am also deeply grateful to the Malta University Historical Society (MUHS) for providing me with the opportunity to be part of its executive committee and introducing me to a network of historians and researchers who have inspired my thinking.

This research journey was a very special one for me, not solely because I had the opportunity to study a subject I love, but mostly because I lived this journey together with my mother, Louise Fiott, as she was doing her own research on female slaves for her Mediterranean Studies dissertation. Going to archives together, having discussions over coffee and some chocolate, sharing documents and even thoughts on the subject made this journey all the more enriching. I am very honoured to have shared this experience with her. The love and support of my father, Adrian, and my brother, Jacob, was the other pillar that allowed this dream to come true. Thank you for always believing in me, pushing me to try my very best, for inspiring me and making my life as easy as it could be while all the Covid-19 hurdles started making this journey difficult.

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on five main aspects in relation to the study of young people in eighteenth-century Malta: historiography, the dynamic of the court room, the street, abandonment, and guardianship. While it ranges chronologically, across the century, the core of the dissertation focuses on the years c.1740 to 1790. The first chapter is an analysis of the historiography on children and adolescents, which serves as a basis from which this dissertation will seek to provide a more holistic understanding of this particular section of eighteenth-century society in Malta. The second chapter, the dynamic of the court room, seeks to place the child within the legal system and the relevance of studying the way young people have been described and perceived by their adult counterparts in criminal records. It also seeks to discover how they were viewed within the social reality they lived in via witness accounts, and how young people's voices were heard and portrayed in criminal records. The third chapter, the street, is an analysis of space not through a geographical and architectural lens, but as a stage where young people's stories to unfold. It aims to provide a glimpse of young people's activities, movements and behaviour, including acts of violence and criminality on the street. It discusses the public and private, as well as night and day, aspects of the street in relation to what happened among young people, and their interactions with adults. Finally, this chapter explores the motivation behind crime and violence and the neighbourhood's and family's contribution in discipline and care for young people in moulding them into future adults. The fourth chapter, child abandonment and guardianship, explores the idea of abandonment in eighteenth-century society, the process of abandonment and rescuing, the care and upbringing by the state, charitable institutions and families to provide for an abandoned child. This is done within an explanation and analysis of the legal framework of the time. Additionally, this chapter explores the idea of care, love, and obligation towards helping the unfortunate, and provides an overview of how typically an abandoned child's life unfolded, their work, education, payment and change of households.

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Abbreviations

AOM – Archives of the Order of Malta, National Library of Malta, Valletta

ASP – Archive of the Parish of St Paul, Valletta

f./ff. – folio/folios

NAM – National Archives of Malta

NAM NA– National Archives of Malta Miscellaneous box

NAM Supp/app – National Archives of Malta, *Supplica Appelationis (Banca Giuratale)*

NAM SVDP – National Archives of Malta, Saint Vincent De Paul (SVDP indicates that the register was moved from Saint Vincent De Paule to the National Archives)

NAV – Notarial Archives of Malta, Valletta

NLM – National Library of Malta, Valletta

pp. - pagination

R – Register

r - retro

v - verso

Vol. - Volume

Note on Transcriptions

Transcriptions of primary sources within this dissertation were made using the following symbols:

() abbreviation expanded by the translator.

[] letters lost through damage, added by the translator.

(...) unclear text, not restored by the translator.

[?] uncertain word.

Glossary

<i>Casa delle Alunne</i>	Foundling house
<i>Infermiere</i>	Male nurse
<i>Acquavite</i>	Grappa
<i>Alunno/o/e/i</i>	Foundling: male, female, plural
<i>Bagno</i>	Slave prison
<i>Balie</i>	Wet nurse or female who nurses other people's child against payment
<i>Balie Comuni</i>	Common wetnurse
<i>Bambino/a/i</i>	Baby
<i>Bando</i>	A public announcement of changed and additions in laws and regulations
<i>Bastardi</i>	Bastards, that is, children born out of wedlock
<i>Bastaso</i>	Carrier-boy
<i>Berretta e Cappello</i>	Flat cap and hat
<i>Bottega</i>	Workshop
<i>Briccone</i>	Rascal
<i>Buonavogliara / Buonavoglia</i>	Volunteer male rower
<i>Burdnaro</i>	Porter
<i>Calesse</i>	Mule-drawn cart
<i>Calzone Torchino</i>	Trousers (blue)
<i>Cancelliere</i>	Master Notary responsible for preserving judicial acts and keep record of the judges' sentences
<i>Capitan di Marinari</i>	Captain of the marines
<i>Capitani di notte</i>	Night captain responsible for implementing the judge's sentences
<i>Capo Maestro</i>	Master builder
<i>Cappotto</i>	Overcoat
<i>Carceriere</i>	Prison Guard

<i>Carettone</i>	Cart
<i>Caritas</i>	A concept of care and charity
<i>Casa degli Incurabili</i>	The house/hospital for incurable diseases
<i>Casa delle Povere Invalide</i>	House of the poor invalid females
<i>Casa di Carità or the Ospizio</i>	<i>Casa di Carità</i> , later known as the <i>Ospizio</i> founded by Grand Master Antonio Manoel de Vilhena in 1732 below the Floriana Bastions overlooking the Marsamxett Harbour. While it originally welcome old and mentally unwell individuals and girls of 'unsteady morals', it later also became also a jail for female prisoners
<i>Casetta / Cassetta</i>	Private women's hospital
<i>Castellan</i>	The Castellan was a Knight of the Order of St Jhon whose function was to oversee that judicial action was administered rightly to everyone
<i>Castellania bell</i>	The state's bell ringing between the <i>Commemorazione dei defunti</i> and the <i>pater noster</i> , probably between nine to ten at night indicating the end of night activities
<i>Chiesa dell anime del Purgatorio</i>	Church of St Nicholas, Valletta
<i>Chirurgo</i>	Surgeon
<i>Commemorazione Dei Defunti</i>	The ringing of church bells between eight and nine in the evening known as the commemoration of all souls was a feast celebrated by the Catholic church in the beginning of November. It was also a reminder set by the ringing of church bells in the late evening to pray for the dead
<i>Concessio Puellam/Puerum</i>	A notarial deed between the Holy Infirmary and individuals for the placement of foundlings and orphans with families they would serve
<i>Conoscere carnalmente</i>	To know carnally, to have sex with
<i>Conservatorio del Gran Maestro</i>	The <i>Conservatorio del Gran Maestro</i> was an industrial school and home for girls build by Grand Master de Vilhena in 1734 next to the <i>Casa di Carità</i>
<i>Conservatorio del Padre Agius</i>	The <i>Conservatorio del Padre Agius</i> was set up by Padre Agius's sister, Laura, and was under the protection of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. It housed young women in dire financial situations including orphans and foundlings.

Conservatorio del Priore della Chiesa

The *Conservatorio del Priore* was set up in 1606 by a Prior of St John's Cathedral Church, Fra Francesco Condulli, and housed individuals known as *orfane del Misericordiam*, orphans of the holy mercy.

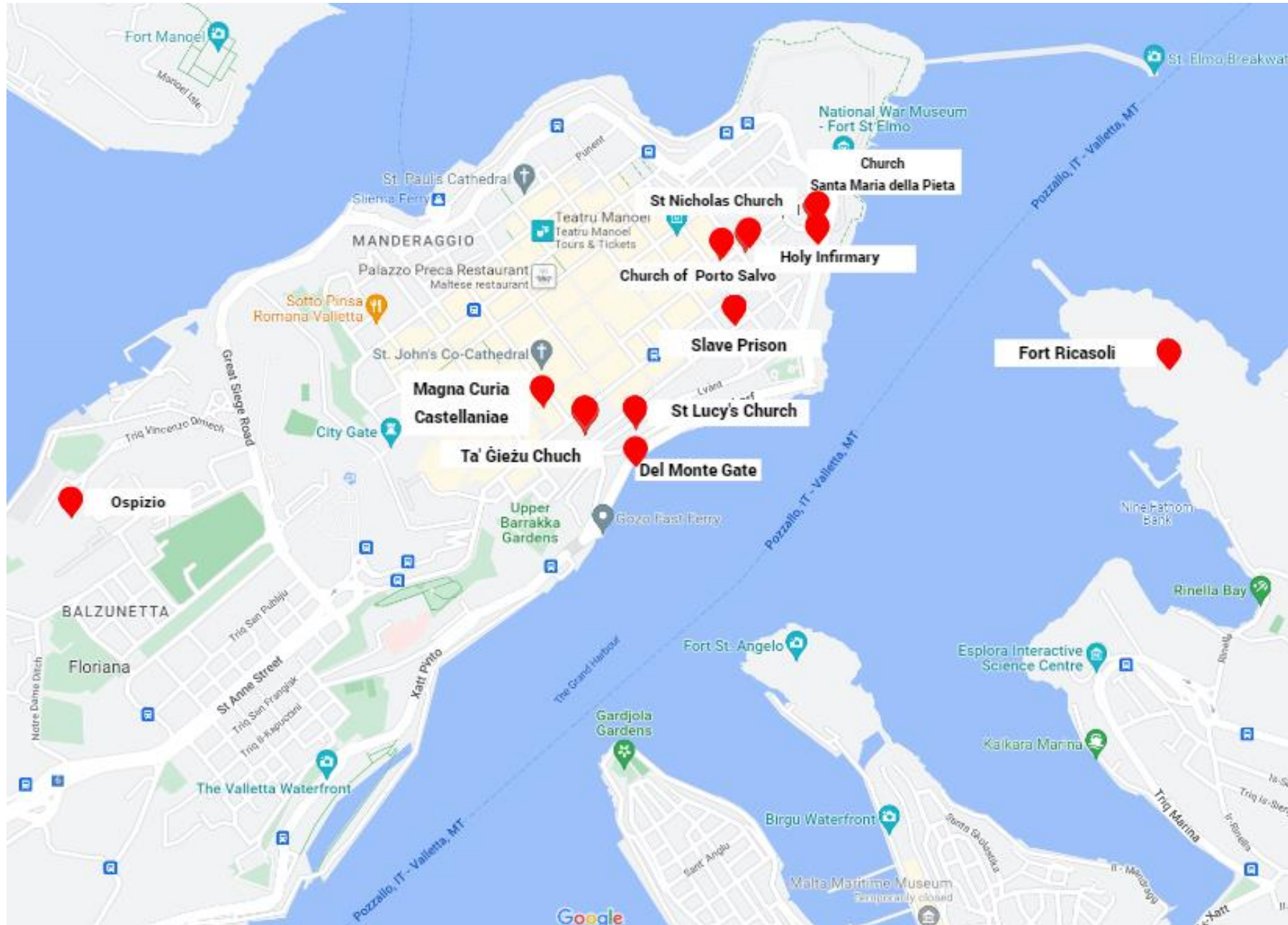
<i>Cottonine</i>	<i>Cottonine</i> generally refers to cotton-based cloth materials which were used in various ways, including on ships such as to make sails
<i>Creaturo/a/e</i>	Creature/Baby; male, female, plural
<i>Esposto/a/i</i>	Exposed child/Foundling; male, female, plural
<i>Fascia di fostiano Torchino</i>	Big scarf or sash of blue fustian cloth
<i>Figlio/a/i</i>	Boy / girl / children
<i>Figliolo/i</i>	Very young boy
<i>Filii / Filae Hospitalis</i>	Son /daughters of the hospital
<i>Fiscale</i>	He was part of the public prosecutor's office, aiding in the compilation and presenting of information to the court and the condemnation of the accused
<i>Foundling</i>	A foundling is an individual of minor age who at some point in their life was abandoned by the parents and left in the care of an institution, hospital or charity, such as the Sacra Infermeria, at which point, this individual would no longer be under the care of the parents but will be cared for by the charity, hospital or institution which took him/her in.
<i>Ûifa</i>	Coward
<i>Giovano/i</i>	Young man / men
<i>Gran Visconte</i>	Equivalent to a chief executive police officer
<i>Grotta</i>	Cave
<i>Guardiola</i>	Guard room
<i>Illegitimate birth/ illegitimate child</i>	An individual would be referred to or considered illegitimate in documentation if the individual was born or conceived out of wedlock and thus the father would not have claimed the child as his own
<i>Lanterni de Ferro</i>	Iron lanterns
<i>Magazzino</i>	Warehouse
<i>Marinaro</i>	A skilled mariner
<i>Medico</i>	Medic

<i>Medico Prattico</i>	The doctor who dealt with patients
<i>Medico Principale</i>	Principal medic
<i>Membro Virile</i>	The virile member', that is, the male reproductive organ / penis
<i>Mina</i>	Tunnel
<i>Orphan</i>	An orphan is an individual of minor age whose parents died. Within the context of eighteenth-century Malta, an individual could also be referred to as an orphan if only one of the parents died, especially the father. In such cases, when referred to in primary sources, the document would identify whether the individual was orphaned by both parents or one of them only
<i>Sum of Restitution</i>	From the record of income/outcome of money noted in the foundling register the sum of restitution (<i>la somme á passer en eas de restitution</i>) is the amount of money that was owed to the Holy Infirmary and the child once returned to the Holy Infirmary. It was a sort of insurance policy based on the child's strength; however, they were all given the same amount depending more on their gender rather than their strength.
<i>Muzzo</i>	A person of service. In this dissertation a <i>muzzo</i> , or <i>mozzo</i> , was a low-ranking sailor boy, usually in his early teens
<i>Ospedaliera</i>	Female child carer
<i>Parruchiere</i>	Barber
<i>Pater Noster</i>	The ringing of church bells at four in the morning, followed by three Ave Marias at eight, at noon and at sunset depending on the season
<i>Polverista</i>	Gunpowder store
<i>Prattico Chirurgo</i>	Practice surgeon
<i>Procreatum</i>	Legitimate and biological son
<i>Prodomo</i>	Superintendent
<i>Prodomo della Lingeria</i>	Superintendent of the linens
<i>Puella, -ae</i>	Girl/s
<i>Puerum, -i</i>	Boy/s
<i>Puttana</i>	Whore

<i>Ragazzo/i</i>	Boy/s
<i>Rollo</i>	List
<i>Ruota</i>	A rotating wooden cot within the walls of infirmary hospital where one could leave an infant anonymously, with only the ring of a bell to notify of the child's arrival.
<i>Scrivano dell'Infermeria</i>	Clerk of the Holy Infirmary
<i>Serva nella lingerie</i>	Female servant of the linen
<i>Signori</i>	Lords
<i>Sodomizzare</i>	To sodomize
<i>Sotto Ospedaliere</i>	Female assistants / child carer
<i>Sotto-carceriere</i>	Assistant Prison Guard
<i>Sottovisconte</i>	Assistant Police Officer
<i>Stanga</i>	Iron bar
<i>Suffarelli</i>	Firecrackers
<i>Supplichia/supplichi</i>	Petition/s
<i>Taverna</i>	Tavern
<i>Torco Battezzato</i>	Baptised Turk
<i>Utilita dei Poveri</i>	The service which provided aid to the poor and distributed 1 <i>tari</i> daily to each pauper who went to collect alms from the Holy Infirmary
<i>Vascelli</i>	Small boats
<i>Vaso Naturale</i>	Female reproductive organ / vagina
<i>Visconte</i>	Executive Police Officer
<i>Zitella/e</i>	The term <i>zitella</i> in modern Italian stands for a spinster, an old maiden beyond marriageable age however through the <i>documents</i> under study it is evident that the term <i>zitella</i> does not refer solely to women of an advanced age but to females in general who were not yet married. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the term <i>zitella</i> referred to an unmarried girl or woman without negative connotations

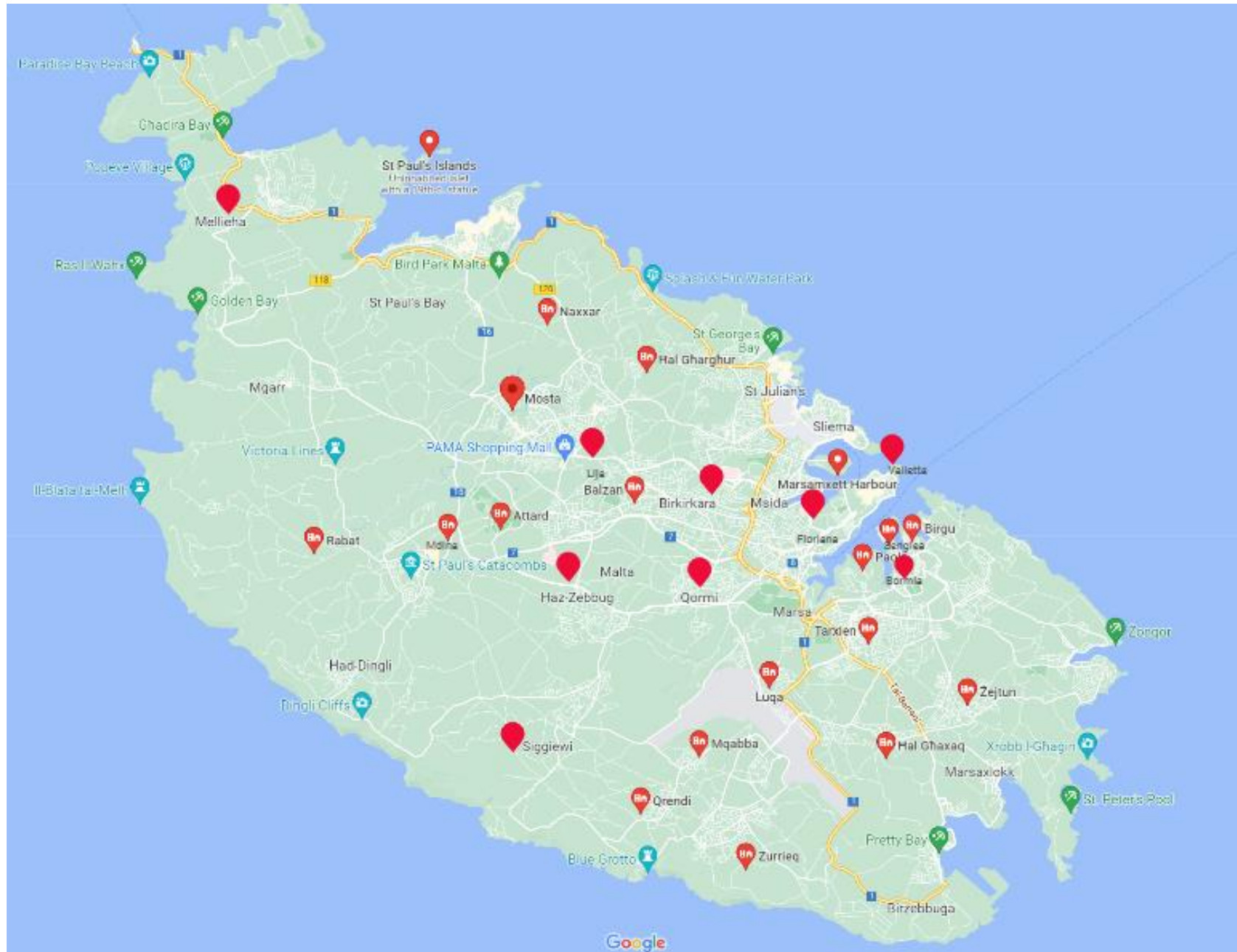
Map 1

**Map of locations in Valletta mentioned within this dissertation
plotted on Google maps (6/07/2022)**



Map 2

**Map of locations in Malta mentioned within this dissertation
plotted on Google maps (6/07/2022)**



Introduction

On 9 June 1755, twelve-year-old Paschale Zerafa was fishing with his father, Giuseppe Zerafa, and their neighbour, a certain Gio Battista along the northern shore of Malta. As the day was ebbing, they decided to anchor the boat close to a rock referred to as ‘Seffuda’, somewhere between Mellieħa and St Paul’s Islands, in order to rest. At a point, Gio Battista undid his trousers, told Paschale to be quiet, put his hand on his mouth so he could not be heard screaming, and touched his body, while his father slept next to them. Gio Battista ran his hand down Paschale’s belly and introduced his ‘*membro virile*’ into his backside for fifteen minutes, causing him pain and bleeding. After consummating this sodomic act, they went to sleep. The next morning Paschale went to land to relieve himself and noticed blood.¹ This is only one story of many that detailed sexual assault and criminal activity involving young people as victims, perpetrators and witnesses, and it raises questions about how such actions from a distant past were understood then, and how they can be understood now.

While most of the primary sources consulted for this study are legal and judicial records, not all the sources deal with abuse, crime, and violence. A whole other social reality can be observed when one takes a closer look at the life of foundlings in eighteenth-century Malta. Giuseppa de Valletta was exposed, that is, abandoned, in 1758. She was sent to Teresa Borg, a wet nurse from Birkirkara. At the age of twelve she was sent to her first place of employment through a deed of *concessio puellam*, as a domestic servant. Between 1770-1780 she moved to seven different houses eventually ending up at the *Conservatorio del Padre Agius* and then the *Casa della Carita* in 1782. Later she got married.² Despite these various changes and lack of a biological family, these experiences provided Giuseppa with a roof over her head, an opportunity to get some form of education and to earn a living in preparation for her married life. Within the limits imposed by her context, she created a path for herself.

These are the stories which make me cry, even laugh sometimes, and at other times ending my day with a smile on my face because I manage to piece together a story through

¹ NAM NA 92/04 Box 458 9 June 1755 (n.f.).

² NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register pp.10-11.

several scraps of paper. These are also the stories which push me to try to give young people a voice, to discover more about their life.

During my childhood years I had many family members and friends who were adoptees. Adoption was always perceived as something positive and there was never a question whether the potential adopted brother or sister would be loved or treated any differently. This triggered a curiosity to venture into an exploration of emotions dealing with young people, particularly foundlings. The possibilities and limitations of the archives and the sources, together with the interesting stories encountered, meant that my research expanded from a study on foundlings to a wider history of young people.

This research also stems from my curiosity about the life of eighteenth-century children, their day-to-day activities, and my interest in studying the lives of the average people. It was also prompted from a curious case I encountered during research for my bachelor's degree in a deed related to an orphan, Catharina Magri.³ At that point, I could not place the contract within a larger framework, and it was very difficult due limits of time and knowledge to piece together her life. Thus, my thirst to learn more about foundlings and orphans in Malta, their everyday life, their place within society, the government, charitable institutions and the laws dealing with these, became of great interest to me. The more I read and researched the more curiosities and dilemmas I encountered. After months of research, it became evident that the history of foundlings needed to be first studied within the context of the history of children in eighteenth-century Malta, which thus far has received limited and sporadic attention. Thus, I seek to study the history of children, rather than childhood, of eighteenth-century Malta, with a particular focus on the period from c. 1740s to 1790s, although the research does venture beyond those chronological parameters. The quest for answers invariably created new questions. My hope is that this dissertation will be a first step towards a deeper engagement with the history of foundlings in eighteenth-century Malta.

The sources consulted for this dissertation do not provide us with a clear-cut indication of the age at which eighteenth-century Malta marked the transition from childhood to young adulthood. For the people living during this period age and the phases of life were

³ NAV R124/2 ff.150r-151r (20 February 1747). See Rakele Fiott, 'The Economy, Women and Social Interactions in eighteenth-century Malta: A study of the acts of Notary Bernardo Maria Callus, Vol.2, 1746-1748', (Unpublished B.A. History Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 2019).

rather flexible and liquid. However, one must bear in mind that this social reality is built on legal sources and makes part of a superstructure, that is, Roman Law which corresponded to a particular phase in life. One can take for example the writings of Censorinus ‘*De Die Natali*’ and Thomas Sanchez’s work on the Canon law and marriage, particularly, ‘*Disputationes de Sancto Matrimonii Sacramento*’ and ‘*Consilia Moralia*’.⁴ From the sources studied for this dissertation, particularly those related to the notarial acts of the *Concessio puellam/puerum*, the age of eight is a marker for when the child was to start receiving some form of formation or education however at no point do the documents specify that they have entered adulthood. It appears that the age of eight was, for administrative and legal practices, a marker for when the child would be on the onset of adulthood, even though a child may have continued to be called a child by the people around him/her. The age of twelve for girls and thirteen for boys was the age at which they could be married under Roman law, which was in force in Malta. The sources under study, that is, court records, notarial acts and the foundling register, do not refer to what one might call church or spiritual matters, hence they do not relate to that age-factor in a direct manner. Due to the limitations of time and word limit, Church and Inquisitorial records could not be consulted to provide further detail on the issue of age during this period. The discussion on age presented in this dissertation is limited and based only to the documents under study.

This research’s main focus is on children and young people in eighteenth-century Malta and thus a historiographical analysis and discussion is required to better understand the way children and young people lived and were portrayed. While this dissertation builds on research and studies done by local historians such as Frans Ciappara, Emanuel Buttigieg and Carmel Cassar on children and young people in Malta’s history, it also pays attention to works such as that of Robert Attard and Romina Azzopardi who, in their understanding of children and childhood, presented the reader with a stereotypical and generalised representation without enough evidence. Hence, the present dissertation seeks to build on work that has already been carried out by others, while addressing generalised ideas. The records consulted can place children and young people within the bigger picture of Malta’s social life. This dissertation is a social analysis of young people, both males and females, in society, the court room, the street and within the family. It is a study of children and young

⁴ For further reference see Censorini, *Liber De Die Natali*, (Hamburgi: In bibliopolio Heringiano, 1614); Rafel Domingo, ‘Thomas Sanchez’, *Christianity and Family Law: An Introduction*, John Witte Jr. and Gary S. Hauk (eds.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Wim Decock, *Theologians and Contract Law: The Moral Transformation of the Ius Commune (ca. 1500-1650)*, (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2013).

people as individuals and as a group, rather than looking at the process of childhood as a collective. While there is an element of quantitative analysis, this dissertation applies a micro-historical approach by focusing on the narrative of events, actions, behaviours and reactions. The dissertation examines the social reality revolving around young people in eighteenth-century Malta and seeks to understand the place of children in society and the family. Young people are placed at the centre of the historical study to answer questions related to their behaviour, treatment, roles, rights and duties within the community, and within the boundaries of the legal procedures, and society's norms. Questions about the concept of love and care, as well as emotional and familial bonds are examined and discussed through a social and emotions history perspective to further understand the relationship between young people and their family, and their adult counterparts in society, their relationship with the state and authority, how much their voice influenced decision-making or how silent they were made to be, and the impact law and the community left on young people. While it was difficult to outline the life of a young person through a narrative of the life cycle, this research takes the different stages of a child's life in perspective via several themes which emerged from the documents under study. Instead of outlining the life cycle and the 'typical' day-to-day activities of a child in urban and rural areas, this research looks at behaviours, attitudes and actions taken by, or for young people in their different stages in life, and analyses how these influenced their being, and how crime and violence were an everyday occurrence, just as much as discipline and punishment. Foundlings are studied as a sub-group, but in relation to the wider picture, in order to start putting together some pieces of the puzzle. This provides some answers to questions related to the placement of foundlings in new families and conservatories, their education, work and payment.

In the secondary sources dealing with early modern Malta, I have not encountered any research directly concerning and solely focusing on young people, except for two papers by Emanuel Buttigieg.⁵ Although there are historians who have abundant and very important research about eighteenth-century society, communities and families, such as Attilio Critien,⁶

⁵ Emanuel Buttigieg, 'Growing up in Hospitaller Malta (1530-1798): An Overview', *Religion, Ritual and Mythology: Aspects of Identity Formation in Europe*, Joaquim Carvalho (ed.), (Pisa: PLUS, 2006), 97-114; 'Growing Up in Hospitaller Malta (1530-1798): Sources and Methodologies for the History of Childhood and Adolescence', *Bridging the Gaps: Sources, Methodology and Approaches to Religion in Europe*, Joachim Caravahlo (ed.), (Pisa: PLUS, 2008) 129-146.

⁶ Attilio Critien, 'A round of the Holy Infirmiry Wards', *Scientia*, 14:3, (1948), 112-127; 'The Foundlings under the Order and After', *Scientia*, 15:1, (1949), 3-19.

Frans Ciappara,⁷ Carmel Cassar,⁸ Christine Muscat,⁹ and Simon Mercieca,¹⁰ young people are only mentioned in passing with reference to other subjects. My research tries to extract the child from the primary sources and from the wider narrative, while still keeping in mind the broader context. It attempts to read against the grain to understand young people's perspective on life, the reasons behind their actions, their emotions, and the expression of their voice. In order to fill this historiographical gap, I turned to different styles of history research and niches including the history of women and history of emotions, while also delving into the history of archives and archiving in order to understand better not only the history of the child, but also the history of the medium which is providing me with the information. Because the history of children must be studied through a multidisciplinary approach, psychological and sociological studies were also used to enhance my research process. Additionally, each chapter begins with an overview of background information and context to the arguments, theories and places mentioned within the chapter. This is done because no story and no historical fact can be read and discussed in a vacuum. Thus, by providing this background, the reader will be able to better understand Malta, its administration, and people during the period under study and provide the reader with a more holistic explanation of young people and children in eighteenth century Malta.

On 2 February 1747, Catharina Magri, (mentioned above) an orphan of the Holy Infirmary, declared through a notarial deed that she had received the sum of 35 *scudi* from her 'proxy-parent' Claudiana Allegritto, widow of Lazzaro Allegritto. 1 *scudo* and 2 *tari* were given in money and the rest 33 *scudi* and 10 *tari* were given in moveable objects and clothing including table clothes, bedsheets, a dresser, a table and a scrittoir. Following the death of

⁷ Frans Ciappara, *Marriage in Malta in late eighteenth century*, (Malta: Associated News Ltd, 1988); *Society and the Inquisition in Early Modern Malta*, (Malta: PEG Ltd, 2001); *The Social Religious History of a Maltese Parish: St Mary's Qrendi in the Eighteenth Century*, (Malta: Malta University Press, 2014); *Church-State Relations in late eighteenth-century Malta: Gio. Nicolò Muscat*, (Malta: Malta University Press, 2018).

⁸ Carmel Cassar, *Daughters of Eve*, (Malta: Mireva Publications, 2002); *Witchcraft, sorcery and the Inquisition: A study of cultural values in early modern Malta*, (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1996); Yosanne Vella, *Women in 18th Century Malta*, (Malta: MKS, 2017).

⁹ Christine Muscat, *Public Women: Prostitute Entrepreneurs in Valletta, 1630-1798*, (Malta: BDL, 2018)

¹⁰ Simon Mercieca, 'Community Life in the Central Mediterranean: A Socio-Demographic study of the Maltese Harbour Towns in Early Modern Times: Bormla 1587-1815', (Unpublished Ph. D Dissertation, University of Paris, Sorbonne, 2001-2002). 'Community life in the Central Mediterranean: A Socia-Demographic Study of the Maltese Harbour Towns in Early Modern Times, Bormla: 1587-1815', (Unpublished Ph. D Dissertation, University of Paris IV -Sorbonne, 2001-2002); 'Demographic Politics and Urban Development in Malta in the Nineteenth Century: The Story of Casale Novo', *Tribute to Alain Blondy*, Foundation de Malte (ed.), (Malta: Foundation de Malte, 2018), 267-296.

Anna Maria Petrazzini, mother of Claudiana and previous ‘proxy parent’ of Catharina, Claudiana took over the care of Catharina until her age of majority instead of returning her to the Holy Infirmary.¹¹ Although it has not been possible to discover Catharina’s date and reason for abandonment, and when she found her new home with Claudiana Allegritto, it has been possible to ascertain the reason why such a notarial deed was drawn up, and the reasoning behind the action taken by Claudiana. This was possible thanks to a better overall understanding of the reality of eighteenth century-children, particularly orphans and foundlings, in Malta, that emerges from this dissertation.

The coming chapters are a snapshot of children’s and youths’ life in eighteenth-century Malta, particularly that of poor and middling individuals. It is the story of their engagement with the people around them, their neighbours, parents, masters, and friends. It is a snapshot of the child’s voice and expression, through their court testimonies and words spoken by them recorded in court records. Although difficult and rare to find in primary sources, this dissertation tries to capture the young in their authentic form, their speech and their perspective of society through court testimonials. Furthermore, this dissertation also presents the parent’s role in a child’s life and upbringing, as well as the child’s involvement in crime and criminal acts against them. Additionally, this is a narrative of foundlings and orphans, who were at times perceived as a marginalised groups in society, how they found their way to the Holy Infirmary and their journey to find their way to new families.

¹¹ NAV R124/2 ff. 150r-152v (2 February 1747).

Chapter 1

History and Historiography

1.1. Introduction

A tiny hand wrapped around your finger, messy clothes, faces stuffed with ice cream, screaming and laughter, running around playing in fields on a warm sunny day. In a flash, years pass, and every day is a new adventure, ready to conquer the world. Childhood is a unique experience for each individual, past and present. We lived it, we read and talked about it, and we all have an image of what it ought to be. Nevertheless, the history of childhood and adolescence is still an incomplete puzzle. Defining childhood, adolescence and youth might not be as straight forward as one might think, and even less so when one is tasked with the mission to define an eighteenth-century Maltese child or young person. One wonders what it was like to be young in eighteenth-century Malta. The definition of being a child changed over time and thus, the history of children and childhood has changed with time. It is challenging to think how one can describe eighteenth-century children, how to categorise them, and to try to compare them with contemporary experiences on a Euro-Mediterranean level. Historiography plays an important role in piecing together a picture of the eighteenth-century child, but other key pieces of this puzzle are to be found in a range of varied and scattered primary sources.

1.2. Modern and pre-modern definitions

Childhood, adolescence, and youth are today recognised not only as a stage in an individual's development, but also as a concept created by adults and conditioned by cultural, political, religious, economic, and psychological factors, changing from one society to another. Meanwhile, children, adolescents and youths are nowadays recognised as individuals of a particular age at a specific time in their development and life cycle. The twenty-first-century western perception of childhood is that of a time when the child should be without a worry in the world, allowed to play, be educated, nourished, loved, kept safe and encouraged by loving family members or care givers, which in turn reflects the importance of young people in

society.¹ In 1989, the United Nations drew up the first human rights treaty and adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) whereby childhood was officially recognised as a separate space from adulthood.² Today, the United Nations and the European Union,³ in accordance with the UNCRC, and together with the World Health Organisation, define a child as anyone under the age of eighteen; however, more specific terms are used to identify phases, as sub-groups under the umbrella of the term child. Infancy is recognised to be under the age of one, adolescence between the age of ten and nineteen and anything in between is referred to as a child.

Despite having guidelines on how to describe a child, it might not be easy to define the psychological, physical, and social aspects of what makes a child. Often, we try to define what makes a child by creating categories of what makes children different from the ‘normal’ adult, with the physique first to strike the eye. However, this creates a two-fold problem. The physical appearance of an individual may not always reflect the chronological age, or intellectual and emotional maturity, since it is not always directly proportional to biological ageing.⁴ The perception of a childlike behaviour is subjective; it depends on the social construct of a particular society at a particular time.⁵ Thus, today’s ten-year-old boy who attends school and is fully dependent on his parents would have seemed too childish and cushioned in the eyes of an eighteenth-century poor Maltese boy who was responsible almost as much as his father to bring food to the table. Secondly, it begs the question why a child is by default compared to an adult. Children are perceived to be on a journey of development reaching its completion in adulthood. They have a special status which distinguishes them from adults and allows them to get away with certain behaviour while also demanding from them a behaviour appropriate to their age. Consequently, adults feel obliged to care for and discipline children, while at times belittling their opinion or rendition of facts by considering

¹ N.A., *Childhood Defined*, <https://www.unicef.org/sowc05/english/childhooddefined.html>. [Retrieved 15 May 2020].

² N.A., *Convention on the Rights of the Child: Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989; entry into force 2 September 1990, in accordance with article 49* <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>. [Retrieved 15 May 2020].

³ N.A., *EU action on the rights of the child* https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/rights-child/eu-action-rights-child_en. [Retrieved 15 May 2020].

⁴ Chronological aging is the amount of time that has passed from one’s birth date while biological aging depends on biological and psychological development factors.

⁵ Anna Davin, ‘What is a child?’ *Childhood in Question: Children, Parents and the State*, Anthony Fletcher, and Stephen Hussey (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 17-18.

them less experienced and unable to understand,⁶ but this is subjective to the child's experience and maturity.

Throughout the early modern period, one notices a shift in the way children and childhood were perceived. In the sixteenth century, the attention given to children, their perception and study was more focused on religion and catechism due to the tension created by the Reformation. In time, the focus became more secular and philosophical through philosophers like Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and John Locke (1632-1704).⁷ During this period, children and their upbringing were a topic of discussion.⁸ In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), originating from letters of advice, and *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), John Locke describes the child's mind as a blank sheet who nonetheless must be treated with respect as an individual. It was the parent's role to help the child achieve the faculty of reason. Locke did not adhere to the Puritanical ways of teaching. If one looks at the oldest nursery rhymes and fairy tales, fear appears at the epicentre of stories. Locke advocated against physical punishment of children, as he believed that a system of reward would bring up a self-disciplined, socially responsible child.⁹ Thus, children were not to obey out of fear but because they were taught to reason and to put aside desire to choose good from bad.¹⁰

Like Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile, or On Education* (1762) eliminates the idea of original sin and goes a step further to emphasise that children are born innocent and become corrupt through their experience with the world and the adults surrounding them. *Émile* is a fictitious account of an experiment in upbringing through a different method. Rousseau believed that God made everything perfect, and it is only when man meddles that things turn evil.¹¹ Thus, he theorised that if one were to be left with nature following his naturally healthy instincts instead of being heavily instructed by adults, one would turn out to be a much finer citizen.¹² Even though this method was criticised by some as impractical,

⁶ Tamar Schapiro, 'What Is a Child?', *Ethics*, 109:4, (1999), 716-717.

⁷ Larry Wolff, 'Childhood and the enlightenment', *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, Paula S. Fass (ed.), (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group Ltd, 2013), 78-79.

⁸ Anthony Fletcher, and Stephen Hussey, 'Introduction', *Childhood in Question: Children, Parents and the State*, Anthony Fletcher, and Stephen Hussey (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 9.

⁹ Andrew O Malley, 'The Eighteenth-century child',

https://www.representingchildhood.pitt.edu/eighteenthcent_child.htm [Retrieved on 21 May 2020].

¹⁰ Hugh Cunningham, Re-Inventing Childhood, (15 September 2006), <https://www.open.edu/openlearn/history-the-arts/history/re-inventing-childhood> [Retrieved 21 May 2020].

¹¹ Nickolas Tucker, *What is a Child?*, (London: Fontana/Open Books Publishing Ltd., 1977), 7.

¹² Anthony Fletcher, and Stephen Hussey, (1999), 1-2.

irreligious, and limiting in gender, both philosophers were interested in education as a way to maintaining a self-sufficient individual with the aim of controlling obstreperous childhood. This reflected the very Enlightenment idea that one was to acquire knowledge from one's own encounters and observations to generate new ideas and improve society.¹³

The child's mind captured the interest of scientists and philosophers as part of the great explorations of identity and human science, resulting in the rise of the child study movement and the development in the study of psychology and psychoanalysis. The French philosopher and later Lord Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc, in his *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (1749–1804), discussed every aspect which could possibly relate to a child, from hygiene to his/her origin of knowledge. Buffon emphasised that by observing the child one would be able to understand the mind. Like Rousseau, Locke remarked that knowledge is not innate but is gathered through experience.¹⁴ Due to this, Rousseau, believing the child has no true memory but only retaining sensations, advised caution to the environment surrounding a child as it would impact his/her future ideas and judgement.¹⁵

The local contemporary understanding and perception of young people is limited to a few writings, however, in line with contemporary discussions, one finds Dr Salvatore Bernard's (a Maltese physician) book *Trattato Filosofico-medico dell'Uomo e sue principali operazioni* (1749) which sheds light on understandings of psychology in mid-eighteenth-century Malta. As a self-declared Christian Philosopher, he based his medical and psychological thought on the assumption that man was made up of the material part, i.e., the body, and a spiritual side, i.e., the soul. He confessed he did not know the answer to how these two united to form man, but he believed that they were interdependent.¹⁶ Psychiatry was at this time chained with superstitions even when it came to pregnancy and the idea that cravings could result in physical markings on the unborn child,¹⁷ endangering one to develop as a monster baby.¹⁸ Eighteenth-century Malta's perception of childhood is an ambiguous one. No document containing a definition of how to define an eighteenth-century young person

¹³ Andrew O Malley, 'The Eighteenth-century child',

https://www.representingchildhood.pitt.edu/eighteenthcent_child.htm [Retrieved 22 May 2020].

¹⁴ Adriana S. Benzaquen, 'Childhood, Identity and Human Science in the Enlightenment', *History Workshop Journal*, 57, (2004), 35-39, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/169708/pdf> [retrieved on 21 May 2020].

¹⁵ Larry Wolff, 'When I Imagine A Child: The Idea of Childhood and the Philosophy of Memory in the Enlightenment', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31:4, (1998), 377-378.

¹⁶ Paul Cassar, 'The Neuro-Psychological Concepts of Dr S Bernard', *Scientia*, 15, (1949), 20-22.

¹⁷ Paul Cassar, (1949), 28-29.

¹⁸ Paul Cassar, 'The Birth of Monsters in the Maltese Islands in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Medi-Scope*, 1, (1983), 6-7.

has yet come to light. Thus, a closer look at the terminology used in primary sources is imperative. As is observed for the local eighteenth-century scenario, Ilaria Taddei remarks that the terminology used for infancy and youth in sixteenth-century Florence are not as equivocal as it is usually thought.¹⁹ An awareness of the past is crucial to understand the interconnection between the present, the past and the future, but one cannot expect to understand the past with one's perception of today's world's experiences because the way of life changes.²⁰ In the following chapters, I will be providing a working definition and explanation of what it meant to be a child in eighteenth-century Malta by using primary sources in relation to how young people experienced their lives in the family, the neighbourhood, in the street, in court, at work and in charitable institutions.

It is paramount to approach the understanding and the definition of childhood and children from a broad perspective. In the period under study, one cannot place young people under one label with clear borders and in clearly defined boxes. It is important to keep in mind that time changes our perception of the things we see as most obvious in our day-to-day life, including the difference stages in an individual's life. To understand and discover concepts of the past it is important that one looks at the temporal structure of the same concept or experience.²¹ Whereas today we have clear ideas about childhood and young people, we can never quite escape our own perception of things in the past. My research emphasises the importance of empathy, of trying to walk in their shoes to try to understand their reasoning and to try to feel their emotions. In doing so, I strive to extract a picture of what life was like from the point of view of the protagonists of this research, that is, young people, although we can never fully extract their direct voices. The overarching legal framework for Malta was Roman Law, which did establish certain basic points of references, such as the age of eight as marking the ability to take on certain responsibilities, and the age of 12 and 13, for girls and boys respectively, to be able to get married. At the same time, from the documents under study, it can be observed that practice was not always strictly in line with theory. In the judicial records, such as the testimonies at the *Magna Curia Castellania* (the law courts) and notarial contracts there are terms which are used specifically for young people. These include *bambini*, *creature*, *figli*, *giovani*, *zitelle*, *ragazzi*, *alumni*, *puellæ* or

¹⁹ Ilaria Taddei, 'Images and Conceptions of Youth in Florentine Society During the Renaissance', *The Premodern Teenage: Youth in Society 1150-1650*, Konrad Eisenbichler (ed.), (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2002), 15.

²⁰ [Daniel Carr, *Time, Narrative and History*, \(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991\), 18.](#)

²¹ [Daniel Carr, *Time, Narrative and History*, \(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991\), 45.](#)

pueri. Very often, these terms are interchangeable except for *bambini* and *creature*, which were exclusively used for babies or toddlers. *Giovani* and *zitelle* were usually used for those who were in their teens or past the age of ten while *figli*, *ragazzi*, *alunni*, *puellæ* and *pueri* were used as a general term to refer to a child in their various life stages before reaching the age of majority which Emanuel Buttigieg suggests being eighteen. Thus far, this is a flexible and undefined definition as further research needs to be conducted to continue to build on what we know so far and to create a more detailed understanding of the boundaries of childhood with regards to age, as well as a concept understood and perceived by eighteenth-century individuals.²²

1.3. Historical framework

‘No period can outmatch the catalogue of fundamental changes that come to pass during the eighteenth century’.²³ The second half of the eighteenth century was an eventful one, both locally and on a Euro-Mediterranean level. Between 1740 and 1798, Malta went through four Grand Masters: Manuel Pinto de Fonseca (1741-1773), Francisco Ximenes de Texada (1773-1775), Emanuel De Rohan-Polduc (1775-1797) and Ferdinand von Hompesch zu Bolheim (1797-1799), each with his own agenda, priorities, method of governance, turbulence, and unrest. Malta’s history ought to be viewed in its broader Euro-Mediterranean context. With its arrival in 1530, the Order of St John brought Europe to Malta, not only because they were from different European states but also because of their connections in terms of landed estates and commercial network. By the eighteenth century, the Order of St John had moved away from their eleventh century mission of protecting the pilgrims as a Hospitaller Order, to also become a military religious order with the aim of protecting the Christian faith by providing security to its surrounding lands thanks to its efficient and well-ordered fleet.²⁴ The Order’s four main roles as soldier fighting for faith, servant of the sick and poor, a feudal lord and

²² Emanuel Buttigieg, ‘Growing Up in Hospitaller Malta (1530-1798): Sources and Methodologies for the History of Childhood and Adolescence’, *Bridging the Gaps: Sources, Methodology and Approaches to Religion in Europe*, Joachim Caravahlo ed., (Pisa: PLUS, 2008), 133-134.

²³ Derek Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-century Europe*, (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2005), 1.

²⁴ Ann Williams, ‘The Constitutional Development of the Order of St John in Malta, 1530-1798’, Victor Mallia Milanese ed., *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798*, (Malta: Mireva Publications Limited, 1993), 285.

religious dimension, shaped the Order's function in Malta and pushed it to be the 'living force in the Mediterranean'.²⁵

From 1530 to 1798, Malta was governed by the Order of St John which had a dual façade; the ecclesiastical side as a religious order as well as a secular and political side portrayed through its princely gubernatorial system. Within this system, the Grand Master, as the head of the Order, was also the prince of the islands. The Grand Master held the most prestigious and highest rank within the Order, carrying with it great power and responsibility over the Maltese islands. Although the Grand Master was the prince of the islands, he was different from other European rulers since being the head of a religious organisation, he answered to the Pope. Thus, while the Grand Master ruled the islands as he pleased, he had to also consider not only the political situation of the time but also keep in line with the objectives and directions from the Pope.²⁶ It was impossible for Malta to be isolated from all that was going on in the rest of Europe and the Mediterranean. Throughout this period Malta's economy and politics were influenced by several factors, including wars and revolutions such as the Austrian War of Succession (1740-1748), the Seven Years War (1756-1763), the War of American Independence (1775-1783), the Industrial Revolution (1760s onward, mainly in Britain at this stage) and the French Revolution (1789-1799).²⁷

This dissertation comprises the years 1741 to 1798, thus the society represented coincides with the election of Grand Master Emanuel Pinto de Fonseca (1741-1773), the longest reigning Grand Master of the Order of St John. During these thirty-two years, Malta witnessed several changes and additions with a new diplomatic policy, re-building of prominent structures like the *Auberge de Castille*, developments to Valletta's wharf, the establishing of the town of Hal Qormi as Città Pinto, the expulsion of the Jesuits (1768) and the foundation of a university in Valletta (1769).²⁸ During this period, Europe went through several wars in which Malta was inevitably involved due to its geographical location in the

²⁵ Victor Mallia-Milanes, 'A Living Force of continuity in a declining Mediterranean: The Hospitaller Order of St John in Early Modern Times', Borna Fuerst-Bjeliš ed., *Mediterranean Identities - Environment, Society, Culture* (London: Intechopen, 2017), 28.

²⁶ Carmel Testa, *The Life and Time of Grand Master Pinto 1741-1773*, (Malta; Midsea Books, 1989), 16-17; Victor Mallia-Milanes, 'Introduction to Hospitaller Malta', Victor Mallia Milanese ed., *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798*, (Malta: Mireva Publications Limited, 1993), 1-3.

²⁷ Hamish Marshall Scott, *The Birth of a Great Power System 1740-1815*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 39-70, 96-110, 117-142.

²⁸ Testa, 283; Emanuel Buttigieg and Simone Azzopardi, 'L-Università ta' Malta: A History', *The University of Malta: Legacies & Bearings*, Keith Sciberras, Emanuel Buttigieg, Mark-Anthony Falzon, Dominic Fenech and Gillian M. Martin (eds.), (Malta: Malta University Press, 2020), 8.

middle of the Mediterranean and due to the Order's mission as protector against the 'infidel'. Pinto emphasised early on that the weapon of war would be that of diplomacy and peace, and not the sword. This was demonstrated in his efforts of negotiation during the Austrian Succession War. On the other hand, these rules of diplomacy did not apply to his encounters with the Ottomans; here he sought to retain the Order's title as protector of the faith, as well as safeguard its waters and trade routes.²⁹ Consequently this also created issues with the Republic of Venice which despite being a Catholic nation, had trade agreements with the Ottoman Empire which the Order of St John regarded as a problematic issue in their mission of refusing the Ottomans easy access to the Mediterranean and making sure not to give them the possibility of obtaining a potential role in European politics.³⁰ In 1752, the Venetian Magistracy for Trade, the *Cinque Savi all mercanzia*, remarked on the strategic value of Malta with respect to privateering. At the very root of the problem between Venice and Malta lay the privateering activity of Malta. Due to these turbulent relations, a Venetian representative, Fra Massimilano Buzaccarini Gonzaga, was sent to Malta and served here between 1754 and 1776. He reported on, and improved relations in terms of trade. This relationship reached its apex in the 1780s during the appointment of Fra Antonio Miari as Venice's representative, with a trade agreement during Venice's war with Tunis.³¹

Malta's economy was based on its geographical location. At their arrival in Malta, the Order's first remarks were on the scarcity of natural resources. Malta depended on Sicily for grain, which was imported duty free.³² By the late eighteenth century, Malta was characterised by its relatively high standard of living and expanding material prosperity, which was attributed to the security, law and order offered by the Order of St John to the Maltese islands. While Rodrick Cavaliero notes that in the mid-eighteenth-century Malta's standard of living was the highest in the Mediterranean, the Venetian resident-minister in Malta, Massimiliano Buzzaccarini Gonzaga remarked about Malta's lack of natural resources. It must be noted that Malta produced limited amounts of ashes and cotton fibres

²⁹ Joseph Attard, *The Knights of Malta*, (Malta: Publishers Enterprise Group Ltd, 1993), 126-128.

³⁰ Victor Mallia Milanese, *Venice and Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Aspects of a Relationship*, (Malta: PEG Ltd, 1992), 15.

³¹ Mallia Milanese, (1992), 214-223, 271-276; see also Massimiliano Buzzaccarini Gonzaga, *In Service of the Venetian Republic: Massimiliano Buzzaccarini Gonzaga's letters from Malta to Venice's Magistracy of Trade, 1754-1776*, Victor Mallia Milanese (ed.), (Malta: PEG Ltd., 2008).

³² Carmel Cassar, 'Popular Perceptions and Values in Hospitaller Malta', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Victor Mallia-Milanese (ed.), (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 429.

while it had to import almost all its resources, including grain.³³ The grain trade was of great concern for the Knights when considering that the local wheat production was not sufficient for the growing population.³⁴ By the second half of the eighteenth century, Malta's population increased from 20,000 in 1530 to 87,536, when excluding the members of religious orders and the Knights of St John. The growth of the population led to the emergence of new towns and villages.³⁵ Eighteenth-century Malta had its agricultural patterns and directed its economic efforts towards the planting and production of cotton, which generated a good profit. This was also an industry, which provided work to several Maltese families through a system of cottage industry where the whole family was involved in the process and production of cotton.³⁶

In Hospitaller Malta, the harbour area, which is the main focus of this dissertation, was the centre of a cash economy since it was a place of manufacturing and exchange. Valletta and the harbour towns (Birgu, Bormla and Senglea), attracted a very diverse population of locals and foreigners, people from different social classes, from the highest-ranking Knights to people from the lower class, including slaves, orphans and abandoned individuals. Because Malta's economy was based on its maritime activities, these were the places of employment. Valletta was especially vibrant and a busy cosmopolitan area, housing people of different cultures, languages, and religions. Malta's earliest known documented renting of rooms in a hostel dates back to 14 January 1560 in Birgu, just five years before the Great Siege.³⁷ Travellers and merchants were coming and going. People from the rural areas went to the cities for their economic, social, and spiritual needs. Valletta comprised diverse professions and craftsmanship and it provided for various everyday needs. There were bakers, shoemakers, fish vendors, blacksmiths, a gunpowder factory and wharfs, barbers, tailors, carpenters, lawyers and notaries, hospitals and charitable institution, gambling houses, prostitutes and taverns.³⁸ Although Valletta was initially intended to be the Convent City, the

³³ Cassar, (1993), 429-430; Rodrick Cavaliero, *The Last of the Crusaders*, (London: Hollis & Carter, 1960), 101; Victor Mallia Milanese, 'Introduction to Hospitaller Malta', Victor Mallia Milanese (ed.), *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798*, (Malta: Mireva Publications Limited, 1993), 26.

³⁴ Joan Abela, *Hospitaller Malta and the Mediterranean Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018), 66-70.

³⁵ Frans Ciappara, *Society and the inquisition in Early Modern Malta*, (Malta: PEG ltd, 2001), 1, 56; Stanley Fiorini, 'Demographic Growth and the Urbanization of the Maltese Countryside to 1798', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Victor Mallia-Milanes (ed.), (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 309-310.

³⁶ Carmel Cassar, Society, *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Malta*, (Malta: Mireva, 2000), 31.

³⁷ NAV R224/17 (14 January 1560), f.510v-511v.

³⁸ Ciappara, (2001), 11-13; Mallia Milanese, (1993), 19-20.

collachium where the members of the Order would remain behind walls separate from the rest of society never materialised.³⁹

By the eighteenth century, Valletta became an *entrepôt* for goods crossing from the East to the West and Malta became ‘an important pawn on the European chessboard’.⁴⁰ Ships were the main means of Malta’s connection to the rest of the Mediterranean through *caravans*, trade and merchant pursuits, corsairing, as well as migration.⁴¹ Being on the southern periphery of Europe, by the eighteenth century, Malta developed a highly commercialised urban sector, centred on its new capital city, Valletta and its main harbours, the Grand Harbour and the Marsamxett Harbour.⁴² Thus, the economy became hugely dependent on the income from the Commanderies (estates belonging to the Order as a religious institution) all over Europe, trade – especially the export of cotton, corsairing, and the trade in slaves. This contributed the resources that were necessary for the efficient manning of the Order’s navy, which in turn helped it retain its reputation of prestige among the other European states, provide security for the surrounding lands, and create more income to continue fostering the economy.⁴³

A large proportion of Maltese males of different ages were engaged with the seafaring industry including the Order’s navy, corsairing and merchant shipping because, despite its dangers, it was a reliable income and profitable.⁴⁴ Being a child did not exempt one from being at risk like the rest of society, being captured in raids or while on the galleys. Working on galleys brought with it the dangers of death and enslavement for both Maltese and foreigners. It is worth noting that it was not uncommon for Malta to have a high number of (mainly Muslim) slaves on the islands. During the eighteenth century, some of the slaves planned a revolt, led by Mustapha Pasha, who had earlier been captured in a mutiny by Christian slaves and brought to Malta in 1748, to eventually be released and choosing to remain in Malta in 1749. The plan was to have a trusted slave at the Grand Master’s palace cut Grand Master Pinto’s head off and then inform the slaves of the stables and the kitchen to disarm the guards and set the rest of the slaves free on 29 June 1749, on the feast day of St

³⁹ Ann Williams, (1993), 285-286.

⁴⁰ Ann Williams, (1993), 294-195; Mallia Milanés, (1993), 14-15.

⁴¹ Carmel Cassar, (2000), 64.

⁴² Carmel Cassar, (1993), 435.

⁴³ Carmel Cassar, (1993), 435; Mallia Milanés, (1993), 27.

⁴⁴ Carmel Cassar, (1993), 435; Alexander Bonnici OFM Conv, ‘Maltese Society under the Hospitallers in the light of Inquisition Documents’, *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Victor Mallia-Milanés (ed.), (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 312.

Peter and St Paul, when most of the Maltese would be feasting in Mdina. However, the plan was discussed in a coffee shop when a Jew named Giuseppe Cohen heard them and revealed the plot to the Grand Master.⁴⁵

This was not the only instance of an uprising during the second half of the eighteenth century. Victor Mallia-Milanes notes that in a 1776 document by Ange Goudar, between 1760 and 1775 there were at least six different uprisings.⁴⁶ In 1773, Francisco Ximenes de Texada succeeded Pinto in becoming Grand Master and ruler of the island (1773-1775). Despite reigning for only two years, Malta was involved in the brewing of the War of American Independence due to the movement of fleets through the Mediterranean on their way to raids on the North African coast. With the increased price of wheat, the debt left behind by Pinto and the reduction of booty from raids by local fleets, Ximenes lowered government salaries, which was met by protests. Consequently, Ximenes wanted to find a way to increase the food supply to try to appease the people. He ordered them to stop rabbit hunting with the aim of increasing the meat supply. However, rabbits were destroying crops, which in the long run would have resulted in famine. The people continued to protest with the support of the Bishop and the clergy which left the Grand Master no choice but to relax the law in their favour. Nevertheless, some people were not satisfied and even sent petitions to the King of Naples. On 9 September 1775, a small group of rebels took hold of two of Valletta's fortifications, St James Cavalier and St Elmo, however the show of public support they had expected did not materialise and it did not take long for the Order to bring this uprising to an end. A few days later, Ximenes impaled the heads of three of the leaders to set an example.⁴⁷

Two months later Ximenes died and was succeeded by Emanuel De Rohan-Polduc (1775-1797), who was elected at a moment when the Enlightenment was in full force. The philosophical and enlightened theories of Voltaire and Rousseau were spreading all over Europe and started a movement for change. When elected, De Rohan aimed at adopting new methods of governance and laws, one without torture and somewhat representative of the people, as he hoped to bring the people closer and settle the turbulence. Thus, he set the ball

⁴⁵ Godfrey Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo ca. 1000-1812* (Malta: PEG Ltd, 2002), 145-151; Attard, 128-129.

⁴⁶ Mallia-Milanes, (1993), 41-42.

⁴⁷ Attard, 141-144; See also Anthony Joseph Borg, *The Reform of the Council of Trent in Malta and Gozo*, (Malta: Il-Hajja Press, 1975); NA, *The Grand Masters of the Order of St John in Malta*, (Malta: Malta Libraries, 2013), 59.

rolling with the drawing up and implementation of the Code De Rohan, which was the basis of common law. He changed Casal Zebbug to Città Rohan (Haż Żebbuġ) and started the building of the Malta Library, today's Malta National Library. Due to the French Revolution of 1789, he soon had to focus his attention on the political situation and trying to keep the Order together despite the partisan spirit spreading among the Knights.⁴⁸

Malta's last Grand Master, Ferdinand von Hompesch zu Bolheim (1797-1799), succeeded de Rohan and had to face the expulsion of the Order of St John from Malta due to the invasion by the French under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798. Hompesch was the only Grand Master who could speak Maltese thus making him more popular with the Maltese, however, the Order was in a dire financial situation, its members were split in their ideas about the French Revolution, and the Order was unprepared for the invasion by the French. Thus, when the French fleet entered the port requesting water, it was only a matter of time until the French take control of the islands.⁴⁹

For some time it has been believed by traditional historians that by the end of the eighteenth century, the Order of St John had reached its end due to a drawn-out process of secularisation, and that the surrender of Malta to the French was its direct result. However, these are both misconceptions because, despite the Order's internal crisis, the fall of Hospitaller Malta was a result of a powerful outside force, the French Revolution, rather than any internal crisis.⁵⁰ The Order retained its resilience and capacity to quickly recover from dire situations and has to this day continued to flourish and adapt according to the needs of the time. Malta, on the other hand, went through three different governments in the last three years of the century, making the eighteenth century a very particular and unique period in Maltese history. After the departure of the Order from Malta, this was technically part of France; however, the Maltese soon rose against this government and almost took control of their own country. French forces were blockaded in Valletta. The British came to Malta with the plan of helping with the blockade, and then decided to remain in Malta until the 1960s and 1970s.

⁴⁸ Michael Galea, *Grand Master Emanuel De Rohan 1775-1797*, (Malta: ebug Local Council, 1996), 30-45; NA, *The Grand Masters of the Order of St John in Malta*, (Malta: Malta Libraries, 2013), 61; Attard, 145-149.

⁴⁹ NA, *The Grand Masters of the Order of St John in Malta*, (Malta: Malta Libraries, 2013), 63; Attard, 149-150.

⁵⁰ Victor Mallia-Milanes, (2017), 27-45; Victor Mallia-Milanes, 'Decline and Fall? The Order of the Hospital and its Surrender of Malta, 1798', *Symposia Melitensia*, 12, (2016), 117-137.

Although it is possible that young people were not always completely aware of such larger forces as the political and economic circumstances and their effects on society, their childhood, youth, and adolescent experience were affected by it. They still lived within a socio-political framework, and the child can only be properly understood when viewed alongside the rest of society and life.

1.4. Historiographical survey

Much has been written about early modern childhood in Europe since Philippe Ariès' much-discussed 1960 publication *L'Enfant et la Vie Familiale sous l'Ancien Regime*, later translated as *Centuries of Childhood*.⁵¹ One cannot start to ponder about children's presence in history without first looking at Ariès' work. His thesis paved the way to a new mode of thinking and a flow of research by two contrasting camps, those agreeing with his theory and those who strove to provide evidence to contradict it. This resulted in a series of scholarly investigative research of, as Margret L. King puts it, 'that once-neglected target, the child'.⁵² Historians like Peter Laslett,⁵³ Lawrence Stone,⁵⁴ Edward Shorter,⁵⁵ Lloyd de Mause,⁵⁶ Michael Anderson⁵⁷ and Linda Pollock⁵⁸ can be considered giants in this field of study. Since then, this lively and colourful field of study has gone through an evolution, moving away from solely criticising and contradicting Ariès to establishing new theories and evidence to put children at the centre of social history.

Philippe Ariès' book explores how certain practices of child rearing and childhood came into being, when they started or whether they ever existed. Ariès analyses childhood concepts and beliefs from the medieval period to modern times and argues that the idea of childhood changed over time through the example of parent-child relations and childhood

⁵¹ See Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A social History of Family Life*, translated by Robert Baldick, (New York: Random House Inc., 1962).

⁵² Margret L. King, 'Concepts of Childhood: What We Know and Where We Might Go', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60:2, (2007), 371.

⁵³ See Peter Laslett, *Household and Family in Past Time*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

⁵⁴ See Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, (London: Harper & Row Publishers 1977).

⁵⁵ See Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family*, (California: Basic Books, 1975).

⁵⁶ Lloyd De Mause, 'The Evolution of Childhood', *History of Childhood Quarterly*, 1, (1973): 503–606.

⁵⁷ See Michael Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500-1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁵⁸ See Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

experiences across the centuries. While the book discusses various aspects of childhood, Ariès received the most criticism for his argument that childhood did not exist in the medieval period and started to appear in the upper classes in the sixteenth and seventeenth century until it was solidified in the eighteenth century for the upper classes who had the means to differentiate between the adult and the child. He started to base this theory on art and iconography. He notes that even when children started to become recognised as a different age group than the adult, they were nonetheless perceived as miniature adults, however, he does not imply that they were neglected and refers to contemporary sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works, which portray children as being fussed over by their parents and nannies during the child's infancy.⁵⁹ One must keep in mind that Ariès based his theory on the idea that pre-industrialised medieval families lived together and children mixed with the adults at an early age. These arguments led to the discussions of whether children were loved and whether the notion of childhood really existed.

Ariès' ideas have long been debunked. During the 1960s and 1970s, several historians went on a quest to find proof for and against Ariès' theory and by analysing whether children were loved. Lloyd de Mause asserted that the further back we go in history the lower the level of care and he outlines the evolutionary change in parent-child relations.⁶⁰ His theories were later emphasised by Henry Ebel who takes De Mause's work and builds on it, as he believed that the parent-child relations were the central force for change.⁶¹ Ariès' hypothesis that parents were discouraged from emotionally investing in children because of high infant mortality rates was another factor, which created discussion among the historians. Lawrence Stone agreed with Ariès; however, Linda Pollock and Alan Macfarlane did not.⁶²

Margret L. King notes that although discussion about Ariès' theories have petered down, several opening chapters of books pertaining to childhood go through the process of arguing Ariès' points. Furthermore, she notes that it is time to move past this and focus more on the history of the child.⁶³ A new generation of historians has emerged focusing more on the experience of the child, especially within the family, or taking a new approach to the history of childhood altogether. During the 1970s, historians started to give more attention to the history of the family and psycho-historical approaches to the history of childhood as they

⁵⁹ Ariès, 33, 42, 128-133.

⁶⁰ De Mause, 1-74.

⁶¹ Henry Ebel, 'The evolution of Childhood Reconsidered', *The Journal of Psychohistory*. 5:1, (1977), 67-80.

⁶² King, 372-387.

⁶³ King, 372.

realised that such a subject can never be studied only through a historical point of view. From the 1980s onwards, historians like Michael Anderson and Hugh Cunningham started researching and publishing the history of childhood on a more thematic basis.⁶⁴ Hugh Cunningham⁶⁵ focused on the history of children in England and on the aspect of work and employment. Michael Anderson took the approach of the history of the family in western Europe from the early modern period to modern times in an attempt to find the child's place within the family,⁶⁶ while Linda Pollock⁶⁷ focused on the relationship between the parent and the child, discussing the concept of love and care within the family, the rearing of children and the rethinking of the child's place within society. Paul Griffiths and Ilana Ben-Amos focused on youths and adolescents in society,⁶⁸ while Arlette Farge⁶⁹ focused on a history of discipline in the eighteenth century by following their life experience from childhood to adulthood in Paris. On the other hand, John Boswell⁷⁰ and David L. Ransel⁷¹ focused on the idea of child abandonment and strangeness in Russia and Western Europe, respectively, providing a new perspective to the study of childhood. As the new generation of childhood historians, these 'giants' were re-writing and correcting the errors made to the history of childhood.

Hugh Cunningham emphasized the difference between children and childhood as he also noted that this branch of history had been moulded by concerns of the world resulting in different approaches to looking at the history of children and childhood. In doing so, he provided two opposing approaches. The first emphasised that the ideas and different cultures

⁶⁴ King, 372-387.

⁶⁵ See Hugh Cunningham, 'Histories of childhood', *The American Historical Review*, 103:4, (1998), 1195-1208; 'Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London (Review)', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 12:1, (2007), 154-158; *Time, Work and Leisure: Life changes in England since 1700*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005); 'Histories of childhood', *American Historical Review*, 103:1195-1208; 'The Employment and Unemployment of Children in England c. 1680-1851', *Past & Present*, 126, (1990), 115-150.

⁶⁶ See Anderson, (1995).

⁶⁷ See Pollock, (1983); 'Childbearing and Female Bonding in Early Modern England', *Social History*, 22:3, (1997), 286-306; 'A global history of children, parents and family 1500-1900', Nick Frost (ed.), *The Handbook of Global Child Welfare*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 3-18; 'Anger and the negotiation of relationships in early modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 47:3, (2004), 567-590.

⁶⁸ See Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560-1670*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006); Ilana Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

⁶⁹ See Arlette Farge, *Fragile Lives: Violence, Power and Solidarity in eighteenth-Century Paris*, (Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993).

⁷⁰ See John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

⁷¹ See David L. Ransel, *Mothers of Misery: Child Abandonment in Russia*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988).

surrounding childhood shape a child's life and society's perception of it. Thus, advocates for the rights of children often opt for this approach in an attempt to create awareness for children as agents. On the other side of the spectrum is the belief that biology determines children's development, how people relate to them and so they use history as evidence for this theory. Through this approach, family history and the history of motherhood and midwifery are often merged with the history of children.⁷² Authors like Karin Lesnik-Oberstein,⁷³ Lawrence Stone⁷⁴ and Edward Shorter⁷⁵ used the idea of a common biological pattern of development to define children and create a 'universal child', meaning that the physical and brain development has been trans-historically and trans-culturally consistent.⁷⁶

The social-scientific study of adolescence, as an independent field, is believed to have started in 1904 with G. Stanley Hall's work⁷⁷ and started to gain momentum in the 1950s and 60s with Anna Freud⁷⁸ and Erik Erikson.⁷⁹ In line with Hugh Cunningham, John and Virginia Demos recognised the importance of the subject with contemporary concerns, attributing the study of youth to the rapidly developing literature on child-rearing advice.⁸⁰ Paul Griffiths,⁸¹ Natalie Zemon Davis,⁸² Ilaria Taddei,⁸³ Ilana Ben-Amos⁸⁴, and Michael Mitterauer⁸⁵ are a few of the historians contributing to this study. Together with the history of children and childhood, the history of youth and adolescence requires a multi- and inter-disciplinary

⁷² Cunningham, (1998), 1195-1196.

⁷³ See Karin Lesnik-Oberstein, *Children in culture: approaches to childhood*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998).

⁷⁴ See Stone, (1977).

⁷⁵ See Shorter, (1975).

⁷⁶ See Maxine Rhodes, 'Approaching the history of Childhood: Frameworks for Local Research', *Family and Community History*, 3, (2002), 123.

⁷⁷ G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology, and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education*, (2 Vols.), (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1904); See also Richard M. Lerner and Laurence Steinberg, 'The Scientific Study of Adolescent Development: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives', *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology Volume 1: Individual Bases of Adolescent Development*, Richard M. Lerner and Laurence Steinberg (eds.), (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Inc, 2009), 1-5.

⁷⁸ Anna Freud, 'Adolescence', *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, (New York: International Universities Press, 1958).

⁷⁹ See Erik Erikson, *Youth and Crisis*, (New York: Norton, 1968).

⁸⁰ John Demos and Virginia Demos, 'Adolescence in Historical Perspective', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 31:4, (1969), 632-633.

⁸¹ See Griffiths, (1996).

⁸² See Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France', *Past & Present*, 50, (1971), 41-75.

⁸³ See Taddei, (2002).

⁸⁴ See Ben-Amos, (1994).

⁸⁵ See Michael Mitterauer, *A History of Youth*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992).

approach. Thus, as a field, it utilizes tools, models and interpretations from anthropology, demography, psychology, and sociology.⁸⁶

When discussing children, adolescents, and their history, one automatically thinks of how the adults in society perceived it, but little thought is generally given to how children themselves looked at their experience.⁸⁷ Children do not leave much evidence behind, and the only exceptions are the few diaries written by children themselves, and records selected to be kept for them by adults in charge of their care. Seventeenth-century Europe produced substantial private literature by parents and even children.⁸⁸ Linda Pollock's work *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900*,⁸⁹ based on diaries and memoirs of elite and middle-class children, provided a window unto how children perceived the world around them. Unfortunately, these diaries shed light only on a selection of children, who unlike the majority, were able to read and write and had the resources to do so. In Malta, no such diaries have emerged to date and thus this creates an obstacle in trying to piece together the history of childhood and children through the child's perspective.

In the past ten years or so, the history of childhood has taken another leap in producing a more in-depth analysis of the child and different groups of children within society.⁹⁰ It is undeniable that these aspects are mostly sought and reflected within family history. Thus, in her edited volume on early modern childhood, Anna French⁹¹ provides us with a new narrative of illegitimacy, household relations, aspects of identity and adversity. On the other hand, Grace E. Coolidge⁹² focused on guardianship and the child's formation in early modern Spain. Although she focuses more on the upper classes, it too provides a

⁸⁶ Tamara K. Hareven, 'The History of the Family as an interdisciplinary Field', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2:2, (1971), 401.

⁸⁷ Davin, 15.

⁸⁸ King, 378.

⁸⁹ See Pollock, (1983).

⁹⁰ Pollock, (2017), 3-18.

⁹¹ Anna French, 'Locating the early modern child', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2020), 3-15; Katie Barclay, 'The Early modern family', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2020), 16-32; Tara Hamling, 'The Household', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2020), 33-54; Anna French, 'Infancy', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2020), 74-93; Adriana Benzaquèn, 'Illness and death', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2020), 196-216; Katie Barclay, 'Illegitimacy', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2020), 217-234.

⁹² See Grace E. Coolidge, *Guardianship, Gender, and the Nobility in Early Modern Spain*, (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2011); 'Introduction', *The Formation of the Child in Early Modern Spain*, Grace E. Coolidge (ed.), (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 1-18.

glimpse at the child's perspective of growing up. Bernard Capp's⁹³ study of siblings and the family provided a new angle from which one could look at the child's experience, not only within a family, but also within the ties one creates with one's community. Patricia Crawford⁹⁴ and Joanne Bailey⁹⁵ adopted the perspective of parenting to look at the emotions and identity of generations of children.

Ariès' hypothesis posed a question, which started to develop a new kind of history of childhood and part of the new generation of research on children. All these works have influenced the way this dissertation has been approached and written. So much has been written about the history of childhood and children and it is almost an impossible mission to list and discuss all the contributions. However, Malta seems to have lacked behind in this matter as there are topics which have not yet started to be discussed, and those studies which include children do not focus on the merit of the child in history but as part of a wider narrative such as in medical history.

No local historian has ventured to gather and analyse Malta's historiography on children and adolescents except for Emanuel Buttigieg in his 2008⁹⁶ papers on aspects of growing up in Hospitaller Malta. Buttigieg remarks that locally, 'children and adolescents have suffered from pseudo-exclusion'⁹⁷. They have only been mentioned in passing, analysed, and seen through the shadow of other aspects which were given priority, particularly the political, educational, and medical aspect. Dissertations in history from the 1970s provide very detailed demographic research which includes children. While this research is essential for the understanding of society, most of it does not pertain to the eighteenth century.⁹⁸ When the rest of Europe was going through a movement of social and

⁹³ See Bernard Capp, *The Ties That Bind: Siblings, Family and Society in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁹⁴ See Patricia Crawford, *Parents of Poor Children in England, 1580-1800*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁹⁵ See Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760-1830: Emotion, Identity & Generations*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁹⁶ Emanuel Buttigieg, 'Family life and neighbourliness in Malta (c.1640-c.1740): some preliminary observations based on evidence from the Magna Curia Castellaniae', *Arkivju*, 1, (2010), 139-155; (2008) 47-58.

⁹⁷ Buttigieg, (2008), 142.

⁹⁸ Josephine Baldacchino and Margret Rose Psaila, 'A Demographic Study', (Unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Malta, 1973); J. G. Testa and H.E. Zammit, 'The Parish of Porto Salvo 1600-1613: A Demographic Study', (Unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Malta, 1973); Edwin Camilleri and Joseph Pirota, 'The Parish of Naxxar 1600-1650: A Demographic Study', (Unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Malta, 1973); See also Henry Franz Gauci, 'A Demographic Study of Haż-Żebbuġ, 1550-1650', (Unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Malta, 2006); Simon Mercieca, 'Community Life in the Central Mediterranean: A Socio-Demographic study of the Maltese Harbour Towns in Early Modern Times: Bormla 1587-1815', (Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, University of Paris, Sorbonne, 2001-2002). For the study of

feminist history writings in the 1970s, Malta was still focusing most its research on political and economic history, partly because of the archives available at the time. It was also because the political and economic history that can often be considered as the groundwork to be able to then study and delve deeper into what society entailed was still being written. Nonetheless, by the late 1980s and 1990s, practitioners like Godfrey Wettinger⁹⁹ and Frans Ciappara¹⁰⁰ started giving importance to the ‘common people’ by analysing society through slavery and parishes, respectively. The turn of the century provided more opportunities for the study of social history, including women’s history, especially in works by Carmel Cassar, Yosanne Vella and Christine Muscat for the early modern period and by John Chircop for the modern period,¹⁰¹ with the increasing availability of the records at the Mdina Cathedral,¹⁰² more access to the National Library and the National Archives from the mid-1980s onward, and later the opening of the Notarial Archives in 2005. In the last ten years, people’s history has been given great importance even with university students being encouraged to tap in the pool of unstudied notarial volumes and petitions.¹⁰³

demography see also Simon Mercieca, ‘Community life in the Central Mediterranean: A Socia-Demographic Study of the Maltese Harbour Towns in Early Modern Times, Bormla: 1587-1815’, (Unpublished Ph. D Dissertation, University of Paris IV -Sorbonne, 2001-2002); ‘Demographic Politics and Urban Development in Malta in the Nineteenth Century: The Story of Casale Novo’, *Tribute to Alain Blondy*, Foundation de Malte (ed.), (Malta: Foundation de Malte, 2018), 267-296.

⁹⁹ See Godfrey Wettinger, ‘The Abolition of Slavery in Malta’, *Archivium: The Journal of Maltese historical research* (1981), 1-19; ‘Early Maltese popular attitudes to the government of the Order of St John’, *Melita Historica*, 6:3, (1974), 255-278; *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo ca. 1000-1812* (Malta: PEG Ltd, 2002).

¹⁰⁰ See Frans Ciappara, *Marriage in Malta in late eighteenth century*, (Malta: Associated News Ltd, 1988); *Society and the Inquisition in Early Modern Malta*, (Malta: PEG Ltd, 2001); *The Social Religious History of a Maltese Parish: St Mary’s Qrendi in the Eighteenth Century*, (Malta: Malta University Press, 2014); *Church-State Relations in late eighteenth-century Malta: Gio. Nicolò Muscat*, (Malta: Malta University Press, 2018).

¹⁰¹ See Carmel Cassar, *Daughters of Eve*, (Malta: Mireva Publications, 2002); *Witchcraft, sorcery and the Inquisition: A study of cultural values in early modern Malta*, (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1996); Yosanne Vella, *Women in 18th Century Malta*, (Malta: MKS, 2017); ‘Women Victims of Crime in Eighteenth-Century Malta’, *Proceedings History Week*, (2003); Christine Muscat, *Public Women: Prostitute Entrepreneurs in Valletta, 1630-1798*, (Malta: BDL, 2018); John Chircop, *Colonial Encounters: Maltese Experiences of British Rule, 1800-1970s*, (Malta: Horizons, 2015), 147-171, 256-263; Patrice Bourdelaise and John Chircop, ‘Introduction: Situating and Defining Vulnerability in Historical Perspective’, *Vulnerability, Social Inequality and Health*, Patrice Bourdelaise and John Chircop (eds.), (Lisboa: Colibri, 2015), 7-14; John Chircop, ‘Female Vulnerabilities and Coping Strategies in the Poor Neighbourhoods of Three Colonial Port Districts: Corfu, Malta and Gibraltar, 1815-1870’, *Vulnerability, Social Inequality and Health*, Patrice Bourdelaise and John Chircop (eds.), (Lisboa: Colibri, 2015), 35-60.

¹⁰² See N.A., <https://www.metropolitanchapter.com/mdina-metropolitan-archives/about-the-archives/the-cathedral-archives/> [retrieved on 14 June 2022].

¹⁰³ Liam Gauci, ‘The organisation and activities of the Maltese corsairs between 1775-1798’, (Unpublished M.A. History dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2012); Valentina Grima, ‘Insights into Social Life on Hospitaller Malta and Gozo: Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Petitions to the Grand Master’, (Unpublished B.A. History dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2019); Ryan Grech, ‘A study of Maltese society based on the Acts of Notary Matteo De Brincat: late 1564’, (Unpublished B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 2017); Vanessa Buhagiar, ‘A cultural history of German-speaking Hsopitallers’, (Unpublished B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 2017).

Children are not just a number on a statistical chart, but they have a voice and an experience to tell. While his research does not focus specifically on the child, Frans Ciappara¹⁰⁴ gives children their due importance, providing details on their stories. When going through secondary sources one will notice that there is no academic work focusing solely on an analysis of children in eighteenth-century Malta. The only writings dealing specifically with children are the ones written by Emanuel Buttigieg,¹⁰⁵ Joe Bugeja's book about children in Floriana in 1930-1950,¹⁰⁶ and the unpublished dissertation by Sarah Buttigieg¹⁰⁷ which is also the only work dedicated to abandoned and orphaned children in Malta. While devoting half a chapter to children in eighteenth-century society, Robert Attard and Romina Azzopardi do not delve deep into the socio-economic situations of the time and over-generalise about eighteenth-century children and childhood. Their contribution reflects the misconceptions on early modern children and their book continues to add to the pseudo-reality believed by many when they theorise that children allegedly 'lived like dogs',¹⁰⁸ lacked love provided by parents to their sons and daughters, led a terrible grown-up life forced on them by society, and lost their innocence at a tender age, all this without providing enough concrete evidence.¹⁰⁹

Since Malta's history of children and childhood is full of lacunas and is shrouded by mystery, it is imperative for one to start by developing a broader idea of what life was like for a child in eighteenth-century Malta before delving deeper in the history of niche subjects like the history of foundlings and orphans. Hugh Cunningham points out that in the eighteenth century, abandonment and illegitimacy in Europe increased but they were not necessarily directly proportional to each other.¹¹⁰ As of yet, research about abandonment and illegitimacy

¹⁰⁴ See Frans Ciappara, (2001); (1988); 'Private Life, religion and enlightenment in Malta in the late eighteenth century', *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 1:71 (1994), 109-126; 'Perception of marriage in late-eighteenth century Malta', *Continuity and change* 16:3, (2001), 379-398; 'Religion, Kinship and Godparenthood as elements of Social Cohesion in Qrendi, a Late-Eighteenth-Century Maltese parish', *Continuity and Change*, 25:1, (2010), 161-184; *Enlightenment and Reform in Malta, 1740-1798* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2006).

¹⁰⁵ See Emanuel Buttigieg, 'Childhood and Adolescence in Early Modern Malta (1565-1632)', *Journal of Family History: Studies in Family, Kinship and Demography*, 33:2, (2008), 139-155; 'Growing up in Hospitaller Malta (1530-1798): An Overview', in *Religion, Ritual and Mythology: Aspects of Identity Formation in Europe*, Joaquim Carvalho (ed.), (Pisa: PLUS, 2006), 97-114; (2008) 129-146.

¹⁰⁶ Joe Bugeja, *Reminiscences of Childhood in Floriana: Malta in Peace and War, 1930-1950*, (Malta: Floriana Local Council, 2010).

¹⁰⁷ Sarah Buttigieg, 'Orphans and Foundlings in Malta 1800-1880', (Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, University of Malta, 2011).

¹⁰⁸ Robert Attard and Romina Azzopardi, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century Malta*, (Malta: Midsea Books Ltd, 2011), 116.

¹⁰⁹ Attard and Azzopardi, 112-119.

¹¹⁰ Cunningham, (1998), 1204.

in Malta is very limited, leaving a gap in the history of children and childhood. Children in general, together with abandoned and orphaned children, have been discussed by medical historians like Paul Cassar,¹¹¹ Attilio Critien¹¹² and Charles Savona Ventura¹¹³ within a wider study on the history of medicine and hospitals. Museums and archives, such as the *Museo degli Innocenti*¹¹⁴ and the *Istituto degli Innocenti*¹¹⁵ in Florence, and the Foundling Hospital in London¹¹⁶ dedicate resources toward further study on the subject. In Malta, the public's exposure towards the history of eighteenth-century children is limited and focuses mostly on the history of rich or moderately rich families. While in Florence one can find a section of an archive dedicated to foundlings, local sources about the topic are limited. Records pertaining to children are not found in boxes or sections of an archive. Rather, they are scattered and sometimes hidden within wider contexts, or even lost, thus making the search for foundlings, even more difficult.

1.5. Primary sources

This dissertation is built on primary sources from four main archives: the National Library of Malta, including the Archive of the Order of Malta (NLM and AOM), the Notarial Archives (NAV), the National Archives (NAM), and the Parish Archive of St Paul in Valletta (ASP). Each archive is unique and holds an immeasurable amount of information, experiences, emotions, and stories to be discovered. The primary sources researched, studied and analysed

¹¹¹ Paul Cassar, (1978), 201-204; (1983), 6-9; 'Change of Sex Sanctioned by a Maltese Law Court in the Eighteenth Century', *British Medical Journal*, Vol.2, (1954), 1413; 'Gleanings of maritime life in the mid-18th century in Malta, *Friends of the Maritime Museum, Proceedings during a seminar about "The Navy of the Knights of St. John" held at the Malta Maritime Museum, Vittoriosa, on 10th June 1995*, (Vittoriosa: Friends of the Maritime Museum, 1995), 26-41; *Medical History of Malta*, vol 5, (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1964); *The Holy Infirmary of the Knights of St John 'La Sacra Infermeria'*, (Malta: The Mediterranean Conference Centre, 2005).

¹¹² Attilio Critien, 'The Foundlings under the Order and After', *Scientia*, 15:1 (1949), 3-19; 'A round of the Holy Infirmary Wards', *Scientia*, 14:3, (1948), 112-127.

¹¹³ Charles Savona Ventura, *Outlines of Maltese Medical History*, (Malta: Midsea Books Ltd., 1997); *Devotees of Venus: A History of Sexuality in Malta*, (Malta: DISCERN, 2003).

¹¹⁴ See N.A., *Firenze, visibile l'archivio storico del museo degli Innocenti*, (5 December 2019)

https://firenze.repubblica.it/tempo-libero/articoli/cultura/2019/12/05/foto/firenze_istituto_degli_innocenti_archivio-242662875/1/?refresh_ce and N.A., *Museo degli Innocenti* <https://www.museodegliinnocenti.it/> [retrieved 18 May 2020].

¹¹⁵ See N.A., *Online l' inventario dell' archivio dell' Istituto degli Innocenti, un nuovo sistema informatico per la ricerca dei documenti dal 1218 na oggi*, <https://www.istitutodegliinnocenti.it/content/online-linventario-dellarchivio-dellistituto-degli-innocenti-un-nuovo-sistema-informatico-0> [Retrieved 18 May 2020].

¹¹⁶ See N.A. *The Foundling Museum*, <https://foundlingmuseum.org.uk/> [Retrieved 20 May 2020].

in this dissertation are all of a legal and judicial nature, be it codes of law, court records or notarial deeds, with the exception of the *Status Animarum* records which are church records.

When entering the National Library, you enter a majestic building which does not only have a rich architectural history, but it is also a dream of every book and history enthusiast. The quietness of the library and archive is pleasantly disturbed by the smell of coffee and *pastizzi* coming from the cafeterias below and the chatter of tourist in various languages making me think of the cosmopolitan society present in Valletta in the eighteenth century. As the National Library of Malta, this library's primary duty is to preserve Malta's literary heritage. Furthermore, the National Library holds extensive collections of catalogues, volumes and manuscripts pertaining to the Order of St John, as well as a vast collection of books dating back centuries. The Archives of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, Rhodes and Malta is only a section of documents within the National Library. This section consists of documents obtained or generated by the Chancery of the Order, covering 700 years of history, from the Order's origin to its departure from Malta in 1798.¹¹⁷ My focus here was on items such as the codes of law, particularly the *Codice de Vilhena* or *Leggi e Costituzioni Prammaticali* (1724) written under the administration of Grand Master de Vilhena (r.1722-1736), the *Del Diritto Municipale* (1781) and *Codice De Rohan* (1784) written under the administration of Grand Master de Rohan (r.1775-1797). Additionally, I will also be referring to the Regulations of the Holy Infirmary as described in AOM1713 and AOM1714, which provide a detailed description of the roles of individuals working at the Holy Infirmary, the regulations which they had to abide by, and the way the infirmary was to be administered. Although these sources have already been extensively researched to obtain an understanding of Malta's contemporary administration, or for the study of medicine (e.g., Attilio Critien and Paul Cassar)¹¹⁸ for this dissertation I have consulted these documents and manuscripts specifically to obtain information about how the law, and the Order itself, perceived young people.

¹¹⁷ John B. Sultana, 'Facilities for the Research Worker at the National Library of Malta', *Libraries and Research in Malta*, P. Xuereb (ed.), (Malta: Malta university Press, 1988), 25-29; Lilian Sciberras, 'National Memory in Malta: the extended role in libraries' *IFLA Journal*, 30:3, (2004), 208-215; see also N.A., <https://web.archive.org/web/20150310152005/http://education.gov.mt/en/education/malta-libraries/Pages/National%20Library/Catalogues.aspx> and <https://web.archive.org/web/20150310152011/http://education.gov.mt/en/education/malta-libraries/Pages/National%20Library/Collections.aspx> (retrieved on 11 June 2022).

¹¹⁸ See Paul Cassar, 'The Holy Infirmary of the Order of St. John at Valletta', *Heritage: an encyclopaedia of Maltese culture and civilization*, 11, (1978), 201-204; *The Holy Infirmary of the Knights of St John 'La Sacra Infermeria'*, (Malta: The Mediterranean Conference Centre, 2005); Critien, (1948), 112-127.

Still of a legal nature, but allowing for insights into daily life, the volumes at the notarial archives were another major source tapped for this dissertation. Since my undergraduate dissertation was based on the second volume of Notary Bernardo Maria Callus, I wished to explore the notarial deeds related to foundlings and orphans in the care of the Order of St John at the Holy Infirmary. Hence, I went through 11 volumes of Notary Callus's work (broadly covering the years 1746-1763) to try to extract the child's experience. Because the notarial archives were scheduled to close for the rehabilitation of the documents and the building, I rushed to the archives to take photographs of these eleven volumes before its closure. A few months later, when a few of the documents were coming out of storage and available for quick consultation, the whole country, including its archives, shut down due to Covid-19 (2020-2021) and I was unable to consult other notaries. While a copy of the notarial acts is held at the Office of the Government's Notary at Mikiel Anton Vassalli Street, these documents do not correspond with those held at the Notarial Archives at St Christopher Street, and so I had to limit myself to the digital copies I had managed to make earlier on. The Notarial Archives were set up by Grand Master Jean Paul de Lascaris Castellar in 1640¹¹⁹ however the current Notarial Archives of about 2 km worth of documents, is a relatively new archive, dating to 2005. The dedicated staff and volunteers of the Notarial Archives changed it from a storage for documents to a living archive.¹²⁰ While notarial deeds might not answer all our questions, they provide a personal perspective on the past and create a link with the present and the future.

The notarial deeds under study are of the *Concessio Puellam/puerum* type, that is, they are documents that detail the transfer of care of a young person to adults for a period of time. Within their formal language, they allow for aspects like behaviour, mentality, ways of life and attitudes towards children and people in need to emerge. They also shed light on the socio-economic situation of the time and the political situation which led young foundlings to be sent to various families for care. The deeds under study are an agreement drawn up between a representative of the Holy Infirmary and a couple, or a man on behalf of other individuals, as was obliged by law, for the placement of a foundling or orphan with a family. Since notarial deeds were legal documents, these deeds had to have witnesses and legal

¹¹⁹ Joan Abela and Emanuel Buttigieg, 'NAV: A Survey of the Past, Present and Future of the Notarial Archives of Valletta, Malta', *Nuovi annali della Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari*, 43, (2020), 7.

¹²⁰ See N.A., [Preserving Maltese history and heritage thanks to the restoration of notarial archives - Regional Policy - European Commission \(europa.eu\)](#) and [Malta's notarial documents: just as precious as Caravaggio paintings and the temples - The Malta Independent](#) [retrieved on 11 June 2022].

representatives.¹²¹ Like most other contemporary notarial deeds these documents are written in Latin and follow a sequence which might seem pedantic or repetitive,¹²² however it is worth noting that these volumes are written in a very legible calligraphy and on well-preserved paper.

The volumes of Notary Bernardo Maria Callus had not been researched before my undergraduate dissertation. At the time, I lacked a deep enough understanding of the *Concessio Puellam/puerum* because of the limitations of time and space to be able to delve into them. These types of deeds have been briefly studied and mentioned by Giovanni Bonello,¹²³ however this dissertation is the first study to focus on these documents as a collection of deeds shedding light on children and their situation, rather than the legislative or medical aspect pertaining to it.

The next set of records that were consulted for this dissertation were those of the secular law court of Malta, the *Magna Curia Castellaniae*. On 13 April 1757, Grand Master Pinto started the refurbishment of the *Magna Curia Castellaniae* premises. The prisoners awaiting trial were taken to the basement cells of St James Cavalier and the Courts' documentation and archives were temporarily transported to a house in Archbishop Street, Valletta, until November 1760 when the reconstruction of the building in Merchant street was finished.¹²⁴ During the French period, the *Magna Curia* went through several changes in its administration and use of the building, and thus, there is no guarantee that the court records remained in the place they were in during the Order's administration. During the British protectorate years, the Palace of Justice returned to its former name of Grand Court of the *Castellania*, a jury system was introduced and the title of Castellan was abolished. His duties were transferred to the Inspector General of Executive Police.¹²⁵ By 1840, the *Castellania* Palace did not provide sufficient space, so in 1853 the Law Courts were transferred from the *Castellania* Palace to the *Auberge d'Auvergne*, which became known as the Palace of the Courts Justice.¹²⁶ Despite my efforts to try to trace the movement of records during this

¹²¹ Laurie Nussdorfer, *Brokers of Public Trust: Notaries in Early Modern Rome*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 5.

¹²² Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*, (California: Stanford University Press, 1987), 5.

¹²³ Giovanni Bonello, *Histories of Malta: Mysteries and Myths*, Vol. 8, (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2007), 139-140.

¹²⁴ Testa, 241.

¹²⁵ Paul Cassar, *The Castellania Palace: From Law Courts to Guardian of the Nation's Health*, (Malta: Department of Information, 1988), 38-41.

¹²⁶ Paul Cassar, (1988), 44-45.

period, I was unable to come to any conclusion. Between 1974 and 1989, *Magna Curia Castellaniae* records, as part of the Palace Archive, were transferred to the National Archives. The Miscellaneous boxes, which are analysed in the second and third chapter were at an unknown date dumped at Fort St Elmo and were saved by the National Archives at a later stage. The series of boxes pertaining to the second half of the eighteenth century which have been consulted for this dissertation were transferred to the National Archives in 2004.¹²⁷ Therefore, one must keep in mind that the documents studied were not always archived at the National Archives of Malta, specifically at *Santo Spirito* in Rabat. The movement of documents could have also brought about the misplacement of documentation and change from the original order of storage and record keeping.

While Anthony Fletcher, Stephen Hussey and Ralph Houlbrooke have remarked that the history of childhood in English society has been so widely researched that it is almost impenetrable¹²⁸, Malta's reality is different. There is always an element of mystery and surprise as one ventures to open the boxes of Miscellaneous and petition boxes at the National Archives. These documents provide a snapshot of various events from people's everyday life. A 'Book of Abandoned Children', the sixty-six Miscellaneous boxes at Santo Spirito covering the years 1746 to 1795, and the boxes of *supplicae appellationis*, archived at the *Mdina Banca Giuratale*, were studied and researched for the first time for this dissertation. Whereas records pertaining to the Inquisition have been thoroughly researched and discussed, records pertaining to the *Magna Curia Castellaniae* have not been as widely researched. The records analysed so far refer mostly to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with a few exceptions such as William Zammit's book¹²⁹ and the 2011 dissertation by Matthew Caruana¹³⁰ about crime and punishment. Emanuel Buttigieg, Noel Buttigieg and Noel D'Anastas too, have researched from the Miscellaneous documents and the *supplicae appellationis* documents at the national archives, however they did not research the same boxes used for this dissertation.¹³¹ Therefore, this repository of priceless documentation

¹²⁷ This information was kindly provided to me by Dr Charles Farrugia on 19 January 2021.

¹²⁸ Anthony Fletcher, and Stephen Hussey, (1999), 1.

¹²⁹ William Zammit, *Kissing the Gallows: A Cultural History of Crime, Torture and Punishment in Malta 1600-1798*, (Malta: BDL Publishing, 2016).

¹³⁰ Matthew Caruana, 'Aspects of social life in late 18th century Malta as seen through the records of the Magna Curia Castellaniae', (BA History, University of Malta, 2011).

¹³¹ Noel D'Anastas, 'il-Hajja illeċita fl-Imqabba f'Nofs is-Seklu 18', *Soċjetà Filarmonika Madonna tal-Ġilja*, (2019), 185-189, https://issuu.com/noeldanastas/docs/mqabba_2019 [retrieved 12 June 2022]; Noel Buttigieg, 'People of an urban night culture', *Arkivju*, 1, (Malta: National Archives of Malta and the friends of the National Archives of Malta, 2010), 59-72; Emanuel Buttigieg, (2010), 47-58; (2006), 97-114; (2008), 139-155.

together with notarial documents require further research to help piece together the daily life of eighteenth-century children.

When it comes to studying the history of children, it is very difficult to find primary sources which portray the child's life as it was. Since this dissertation focuses on the study of ordinary young people from the lower and middle classes, rather than the high and professional classes, one cannot expect to find primary sources which were directly written or drawn up by these young people. This is mainly because the children under study often did not have the means, resources, or the education to pen down their life stories. Unlike diaries and autobiographies of young people,¹³² which I have not been able to find, legal and judicial documents only provide that which seemed irregular to society. While they allow us to extract the child from within his/her social reality, they do not allow us to have the child's opinions and thoughts, the first-hand account of what really mattered to him/her. The primary sources under study allow us to jigsaw puzzle the various pieces of children's social reality of the time, be it work, education, the family or lack of it, and their involvement in their community. While testimonies, petitions, registers and notarial deeds do not show the complete picture of a life from beginning to end, they do give us a glimpse of what possibly went through a child's mind in particular circumstances, how they acted, and how they were perceived by the people around them.

1.6. Conclusion

Just like all aspects of life, childhood and adolescence are complex and ambiguous, changing in definition according to one's perspective and experience. Nowadays, we have – or are meant to have – clear legal boundaries where childhood and adulthood start and end, however, these boundaries were not defined as clearly for eighteenth century-Malta. It is evident that the child's mind and actions have been of interest to many, however, we do not know, despite various assumptions, what life for the eighteenth-century Maltese child was like. There are a lot of questions still awaiting to be answered. Is it vital to remember that no child grew up in a vacuum, thus, the political, social, economic, and religious reality of the time helped in shaping him/her in becoming the future adult we so often look for in our study of history. Mid-eighteenth-century Malta witnessed a change in leadership with the election

¹³² Pollock, (1983), 68-77.

of four Grand Masters, several protests and an economy based on naval activities due to Malta's geographical position. At the same time, everyday life kept rolling on. Children might not have been always aware of what was going on, however, the socio-political atmosphere they grew up in influenced their lives. This study is a historical one, but one cannot eliminate the anthropological, economic, psychological, and sociological aspects to it, as after all this study deals with human beings and their experiences, expressed and governed by different actions and emotions in a particular society at a particular time. Plenty has been written about childhood in early modern Europe, but Malta's history and historiography on this subject is still in its infancy. As we are experiencing a movement in Maltese early modern history of giving a voice to people's history, it is now the time to start giving children's history its due importance. It is also the time to start tapping into the pool of archives and fonds still waiting to be opened after centuries of being written down, without fear of reading against the grain and having to piece a story together through scraps of papers. Past, present, or future, children are a voice to be heard and a force to be reckoned with.

Chapter 2

The Dynamics of the Courtroom Experience

2.1 Introduction

The life and experiences of young people in the past were not always the idyllic picture we so often think of. It was not always sunshine and rainbows, but because of this stereotypical belief, young people's first-hand accounts have been forgotten or overlooked in quests to identify Malta's past. This chapter aims to analyse how young people's voices were portrayed in criminal records, how often they were heard, and how they portray eighteenth-century Malta. It also aims to outline the place of the minor in society, within the legal system and in the courtroom. While describing the various aspects in which their voices were transcribed in testimonies, denunciations and supplications, this chapter tries to outline the relevance of studying the way young people have been described and perceived by adults in criminal documents and how minors themselves viewed the social reality they lived in. Studying individual life experiences provides a particular kind of understanding of the past. Although it is difficult to obtain a clear picture of children's lives in eighteenth-century Malta, these criminal records provide a glimpse into a part of their life. These texts are expressive self-representations of eighteenth-century individuals, particularly young people, their experiences with the law and their everyday social encounters.

2.2 The *Magna Curia Castellaniæ* and its key roles

Eighteenth-century Malta's judicial system was comprised of three entities, the court of the Grand Master, of the bishop, and of the Inquisitor. Despite working separately, they all strove to keep the islands' people in check. In cases of lack of morality both the Grand Master's and the Inquisitor's tribunals were fit to try the case and in fact in some instances the case would go through both tribunals. Since the Order of St John was both a governing body and a religious order, the distinction between church and state is not always clear cut but rather overlaps. While the Inquisitor's and Bishop's courts sought to discipline the people on a religious level, the state court aimed at regulating criminal rather than moral activity in Malta.

The *Magna Curia Castellaniae* was introduced in Malta by the Order of St John upon their arrival in continuation of their judicial system. When the Order, in its first few years in Malta settled in Birgu, so did the Grand Court until it moved to Valletta in January 1572.¹ The *Curia Capitanealis* existed prior to the arrival of the Order and was administered by the *Hakem (Capitano della Verga)* of Mdina. After the arrival of the Order, the *Curia Capitanealis* became known as the *Curia Capitanealis Notabilis*. While this had jurisdiction over Mdina and its nearby *casali* including Mosta, Naxxar, Rabat, Żebbug, Lija, and Siggiewi, the *Magna Curia Castellaniae*'s jurisdiction extended to the inhabitants of Valletta, the Three Cities and the remainder of the *casali*,² except for Gozo which was under the jurisdiction of the *Curia Gubernatorialis*.³

Since its establishment in September 1533,⁴ the *Magna Curia Castellaniae* was comprised of two branches, one for civil lawsuits and the other for criminal cases. As a Tribunal of the First Instance, the *Curia Castellaniae* was composed and presided over by two judges, one for each branch, a Castellan, who was a member of the Order, two notaries, treasurer and vice-treasurer and several clerks.⁵ The state's judicial system was a hierarchical one,⁶ with the Grand Master as the head of this entity. He retained the right to change or confirm any sentence and was the only one who had the last say in instances of capital punishment. The Grand Master was followed by the Chief Justice, then the Criminal Judge, followed by the Legal Auditor whose subordinates included notaries, lawyers and a prosecutor. Next in rank was the Castellan who had the Lieutenant-Castellan in his charge, followed by the *Gran Visconte* (equivalent to a chief executive police officer). The latter had to oversee and ensure the good conduct and implementation of work of the Lieutenants, Superior and Assistant Health officers, the captains, night captains and *casal* heads as well as the viscounts and assistant viscounts.⁷

¹ Paul Cassar, *The Castellania Palace: From Law Courts to Guardian of the Nation's Health*, (Malta: Department of Information, 1988), 21.

² *Del Diritto Municipali di Malta*, (Malta: Stamperia del Palazzo di S.A.E per Fra Gio. Mallia, 1784), Lib. 1, Cap. 2, pp.3-6.

³ Charles Farrugia, 'The Records held at the *Banca Giuratale*, Mdina', in *The National Archives Newsletter*, No.2, (2000), 6-7.

⁴ Emanuel Buttigieg, 'Family life and neighbourliness in Malta (c.1640 - c.1740): Some preliminary observations based on evidence from the *Magna Curia Castellaniae*', *Arkivju*, 1, (2010), 47.

⁵ Farrugia, 6-7.

⁶ For a detailed depiction of this hierarchical system see Christine Muscat, *Public Women: Prostitute Entrepreneurs in Valletta, 1630-1798*, (Malta: BDL Publishers, 2018), 281.

⁷ Paul Cassar, (1988), 23-27; Antonio Micallef, *Juris Fontes: Lectures on the Statutes of the Sacred Order of St John at the University (of Studies) of Malta 1792*, Wolf-Dieter Barz and Michael Galea (eds.), (Karlsruhe: Kit scientific publishing, 2012), 131.

The Castellan's duties included administering the oath to judges, notaries and doctors before taking office, being present for the compilation of evidence, and ensuring that the *Gran Visconte* and his men were on constant patrol of Valletta at night.⁸ Since the decree by Grand Master La Cassiere of 1572, the *Gran Visconte* was also to report to the Castellan and the judge any criminal activity happening at night, and escort to court any detained lawbreakers.⁹ The *Gran Visconte*, together with the *Capitani di notte* (Night Captains) were responsible for implementing the judge's sentences. The *Cancelliere* (Master Notary) was responsible for preserving judicial acts and keeping record of the judges' sentences. Since it was not only the seat of the Law Courts but also a place of imprisonment, other key personnel of the *Magna Curia Castellaniae* included the *carceriere* and *sotto-carceriere*, archivist, advocate of the poor and an officer charged with ensuring the protection of prisoners and their just and humane treatment.¹⁰ Within this system there was also one key role which bridged a gap between the law and the people. The *Fiscale* was in charge of transmitting the knowledge and content published by the Grand Master in the *bando* by not only reading the contents of the *bando* but also translating from Italian to Maltese for the general illiterate public to understand and follow.¹¹ Although the status of the *fisco* within the judicial institution is unclear and vague, from the few references to *il fiscal* in documentation of court records, similar to the *Promotore Fiscale*¹² of the Inquisitor's Court, he was part of the public prosecutors, aiding in the compilation and presenting of information to the court and the condemnation of the accused.¹³

At the beginning of his reign, during the first meeting of the Sacred Council after his election, Grand Master Emmanuel De Rohan-Polduc (r.1775-1797) promised to promote good government in public and judicial affairs.¹⁴ In keeping with his promise, he ordered the re-structuring of courts and the re-organisation of laws by entrusting the compilation of the new code to the Neapolitan lawyer, Giandonato Rogadeo. According to Michael Galea, Rogadeo was unable to acquaint himself with the needs of the locals. He disagreed with

⁸ Paul Cassar, (1988), 23-27; Micallef, (2012), 131.

⁹ Paul Cassar, (1988), 21-23.

¹⁰ Paul Cassar, (1988), 31, 35.

¹¹ Michael Galea, *Grand Master Emanuel De Rohan 1775-1797*, (Malta: Żebbuġ Local Council Publication, 1996), 39.

¹² Simon Mercieca, 'How Was Judicial Power Balanced in Malta in Early Modern Times - A cursory Look at the Maltese Legal System through a Historical Perspective', *Journal of Civil Law Studies*, Vol. 4, 2011, 476.

¹³ NAM NA 92/04 19 June 1759 box 468, NAM NA 92/04 9 September 1780 box 529, NAM NA 92/04 box 449 (12 September 1752) (n.f.), NAM NA 92/04 box 447 (15 June 1751) (n.f.), NAM NA 92/04 box 437 (21 February 1748) (n.f.).

¹⁴ Galea, 13.

members of the legal profession and experienced a great clash in ideas about the implementation of torture as a method of investigation.¹⁵ It was surprising for a man considered by his contemporaries as an enlightened and progressive individual to advocate the retention of torture given that its efficiency and reliability was being questioned and discussed throughout Europe. Rogadeo's venture into Maltese legislative reforms was short lived and he seems to have returned to Italy with a sour taste. After his departure, Rogadeo published several distasteful comments on Malta's judicial system and its people, particularly, according to him, the ignorance and stupidity of lawyers and judges.¹⁶ The compilation of the new code entitled the *Diritto Municipale di Malta*, was then entrusted to Federigo Gatto who dedicated its first book to the *Magna Curia*, its administration and the duties of the members working within it.¹⁷



Figure 2.1:

Façade of the *Magna Curia Castellania* building, today the Ministry for Health (26 November 2020).

¹⁵ Galea, 41-42.

¹⁶ Giovanni Bonello, *Histories of Malta, Deceptions and Perceptions*, Volume 1, (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2000), 155-156.

¹⁷ Galea, 43-44; See *Del Diritto Municipali di Malta*, (Malta: Stamperia del Palazzo di S.A.E per Fra Gio. Mallia, 1784).

2.3 Legal Framework

A trial is ‘the finding out by due examination of the truth of the point in issue, or the question between the parties whereupon judgement may be given’.¹⁸ The ceremonial and linguistic elements encompassing the court emphasise the court’s and community’s authority in society because the person on trial has not only acted unlawfully but s/he committed a crime against society and offended society’s norms.¹⁹ The *Magna Curia*’s judicial process was similar to the Roman Inquisition²⁰ and to the Papal Magisterial Courts in Rome.²¹ The detail in procedures during trial and the systematic formation of the documentation for the case was of great importance. The trial was implemented in two phases. The initial phase was the *processo di informazione* which entailed the collection of information by the court, which would be followed by the *processo di giudizia* which included the sentencing and the implementation of the punishment ordered by the court.²²

Witnesses played a crucial role during a trial. The testimonies, statements and confessions from victims, suspects, and spectators was the evidence gathered for a judge to convict or free the accused. In a world without the examination of forensic evidence, sentencing depended on what oral evidence could offer. The word of a witness could make or break the case. The official profession of investigator did not exist, therefore, the criminal court acted as an investigative body. As in Rome, the Maltese court gathered denunciations and testimonies and examined the suspects, or the ones involved.²³ Occasionally the court would also present the accused and have him/her confronted by the alleged victim as a means to try to extract the truth.²⁴ Inquisition trials in Malta were also taken in private. Witnesses did not give their testimony or rendition of the events in front of the accused or other witnesses as a way to encourage more people to come forward. It was the Inquisitor who decided whether the report was true or false. Unlike the Roman model, which took

¹⁸ Maureen Mulholland, ‘Introduction’, *Judicial tribunals in England and Europe, 1200-1700*, Maureen Mulholland and Brian Pullan (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 5.

¹⁹ Joseph Jaconelli, ‘What is a trial?’, *Judicial tribunals in England and Europe, 1200-1700*, Maureen Mulholland and Brian Pullan (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 27.

²⁰ For similarities between the *Magna curia* and the Inquisitor’s judicial process see Mercieca (2011), 449-480.

²¹ Elizabeth S. Cohen, ‘Court Testimony from the past: self and culture in the making of text’, *Essays on life writing: From Genre to Critical practice*, Marlene Kadar (ed.) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 83-95; Thomas V. Cohen and Elizabeth S. Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome: Trials Before the Papal Magistrates*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993).

²² Cohen and Cohen, (1993), 16-19.

²³ Cohen and Cohen, (1993), 17.

²⁴ NA 92/04 box 437 (21 February 1748) (n.f.).

testimonies all over the city in private office spaces of legal officials or individuals' homes,²⁵ in Malta, testimonies and depositions were given at the *Magna Curia Catellaniae*. Similar to the English system²⁶ but contrary to the Inquisition Tribunal, which only required an individual's suspicion to investigate a case, the *Magna Curia Catellaniae* required a denunciation and evidence in order to begin prosecution.²⁷

While it is clear that trials did not take place in a public square but in the Law Courts, it is uncertain whether the courtrooms were open to the public. However, from the documentation analysed in this chapter it appears that it was possible that examinations and testimonies were given in front of the people involved in the case. Despite being a small island where people know each other, the lay court chose to keep its witnesses public. Thus, this makes one wonder whether this was the court's method of weeding out false allegations from the truth as by being public one might have felt the need to be cautious in making false accusations. On the other hand, one might also wonder whether having testimonies in public threatened the security of both the witness and the accused, and possibly resulted in further violence. One can observe that criminal activity was often known by many individuals who were not necessarily witnesses of the crime, thus, it can be considered that the issue was already public before finding itself in the court. From the case of Vincentia Caramia, one can observe how far and how fast news and gossip travelled in Malta. Twelve-year-old Vincentia was engaging in sexual intercourse with Giuseppe, the Holy Infirmary's undercook, but news of her escapades and her mother's demand to bring it to a halt were soon discovered by her neighbours and the undercook when eight-year-old Agostina, her neighbour, who was asked to relay messages between them, told her parents about it. Agostina's father, Alberto happened to be a *bastaso* (a carrier) at the Holy Infirmary. Ingra di Lazzaro, *serva nella lingerie* (she worked in the laundry department), spoke to Vincentia's mother, who then told her married daughter Palma.²⁸

²⁵ Cohen, (1992), 88.

²⁶ Elizabeth S. Cohen, 'She Said, He Said: Situated Oralities in Judicial Records from Early Modern Rome', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 16, (2012), 416; See Julie Gammon, 'A denial of innocence': female juvenile victims of rape and the English legal system in the eighteenth century', *Childhood in Question: Children, parents and the state*, Anthony Fletcher and Stephen Hussey (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 74-95.

²⁷ Mercieca, (2011), 466-467.

²⁸ NA 92/04 box 499 (29 October 1770) (n.f.).

2.4 Encountering the young in the documents under study

The documents studied in this chapter, although similar to the preliminary investigations on cases that appeared before the Magistrate Court, are not part of the collection of the *Processi Verbali*. Very few of the cases include a note to where one can find the individual imprisoned and his/her folio number and date in the *Libri dei Carcerati* at the back of the last page. The *Libri dei Carcerati* detail the individuals' reason for, and duration of imprisonment. The *Acta Originalia* documents, which are also found at the National Archives and pertain to the *Magna Curia Castellaniae* criminal and civil cases, are documents in the form of a dossier, bound together and titled on the outer cover. They usually consist of the accusation in Latin, followed by the witness statements, interrogations and the final sentence as a complete and finalised case, and sorted in volumes according to the year. Despite not having a title on each case file to describe the documentation, the primary sources pertaining to this chapter seem to be part of the first phase, the information gathering. When dealing with these documents, especially because they are Miscellaneous boxes, it is difficult to be sure whether they were originally meant to be bound with other documents such as those from the judgement trial, or whether they were meant to remain as they are. It is also uncertain whether copies of these documents are also included in already existing and bound dossiers within the National Archives. Clearly, a lot more is still to be learned about the history of the *Magna Curia Castellaniae*, its procedures and administration, as well as the surviving documentation. It is hoped that one of the contributions of this study is precisely to shed further light on this complex organisation.

The documents under study, like other legal records, are formulaic in the manner in which documents are sorted in each case file and in the way they are written. Each document starts in Latin by noting the day, month and year at the top of the page, the person testifying or denouncing, their relatives and where they are from, followed by a declaration that this act is done as requested by the law, 'touching the cross and sworn in the following fashion'.²⁹ This is followed by the individuals' statement of accusation written in Italian. Examinations have a different formula whereby the document includes the name of the person questioned centred at the top of the folio and followed by some 10cm of space to the first question, typically asking the witness to tell the court his/her age, locality, and work, all written in

²⁹ 'datum di medio eius iurto, pⁱ iurto tacta cruce, est ut sequor'. See NAM NA 92/04 box 430 (1 March 1746) (n.f.).

Italian. Whenever the witness is a minor, s/he are asked to disclose who the parents are. Although Maltese is the language spoken by most of the individuals before the court, no words in Maltese are included in these documents. *Supplicæ* also follow a formula whereby in short, usually not more than half a folio, the supplicant discloses one's name and where one is from and why one requires favour from the Grand Master. At the back page, one would find the date the *supplica* was deposited, and the date of its authorization, if ratified. In the case of the latter, and if it is not the first *supplica* sent, a short description of the supplicants' situation is provided.

From the way these documents are written, similar to notarial deeds, it is probable that they are not *ad verbatim* but possibly copied notes or statements taken beforehand. They appear to be well thought and composed. The calligraphy is legible and consistent, except when the documents were exposed to humidity, thus leading to the fading of ink and deterioration of the paper. The writing is framed by margins, with straight lines of equal length and space from the next line, following a consistent style and uniform layout. One can also find small loose paper within case files, with a less legible handwriting, like rough points related to the case as can be observed in Figure 2.3. In the case of examination, it is often noted that questions are transcribed as told, and thus despite having the same calligraphy they are *ad verbatim* but not necessarily written while being spoken.

Dia. 22. 1770.
 Ditta Vincenza fil. Horatio Camp.
 mia et Christina aug. de Crudo
 Stato araty amio. de d' corso
 dato modo eij vari pt. iud. rati
 Cucco modo q. v. d.
 Coll' occasione che io abito nella strada di S.
 Francesco, e voglio andar a scuola nella p. del
 Convento della Sac. Infermeria, ed anche vado
 da mia madre che è convalescente nella Ven. Casa
 Materna e Parco di S. Bartolomeo, ed in tal occasi-
 on ho continuamente passato per la strada, dove
 vi è la galleria dell' Hosp. S. S. Infermeria, e
 nei giorni del corso carnovale il sotto cuoco di
 S. S. Infermeria, dalla d. galleria mi chia-
 mò con dirmi di portarmi l'indimani mattina
 ad ore nove, nelle stanze di S. S. Inferme-
 ria, qualche volta dirmi cosa per riferire
 a mia sorella; nella mattina poi che fui da
 mia sorella di carnovale, mi portai in det. apposta-
 mento del S. S. Infermeria, ed ho trovato al
 tal. sotto cuoco di nome Giuseppe solo, quale
 m'introdusse in una stanza vicino la cucina,
 mostrandomi quantità di danaro d'argento mi
 disse di dovermi dare da quella, e mi condusse
 al letto, con aver detto meco carnal.
 con avermi causato qualche dolore, dopo mi die-
 de alcuni grani, e mi promise di darmi delle
 monete d'argento quando ritornavo: di tutto
 tanto ritrovatomi lui nella galleria quando

Figure 2.2: First page of Vincenzia Caramia's rape trial (n.f.)

n. g. Vincenzia figlia di
 mia e Cristina aug. de Crudo
 Stato araty amio. de d' corso
 dato modo eij vari pt. iud. rati
 Cucco modo q. v. d.
 Coll' occasione che io abito nella strada di S.
 Francesco, e voglio andar a scuola nella p. del
 Convento della Sac. Infermeria, ed anche vado
 da mia madre che è convalescente nella Ven. Casa
 Materna e Parco di S. Bartolomeo, ed in tal occasi-
 on ho continuamente passato per la strada, dove
 vi è la galleria dell' Hosp. S. S. Infermeria, e
 nei giorni del corso carnovale il sotto cuoco di
 S. S. Infermeria, dalla d. galleria mi chia-
 mò con dirmi di portarmi l'indimani mattina
 ad ore nove, nelle stanze di S. S. Inferme-
 ria, qualche volta dirmi cosa per riferire
 a mia sorella; nella mattina poi che fui da
 mia sorella di carnovale, mi portai in det. apposta-
 mento del S. S. Infermeria, ed ho trovato al
 tal. sotto cuoco di nome Giuseppe solo, quale
 m'introdusse in una stanza vicino la cucina,
 mostrandomi quantità di danaro d'argento mi
 disse di dovermi dare da quella, e mi condusse
 al letto, con aver detto meco carnal.
 con avermi causato qualche dolore, dopo mi die-
 de alcuni grani, e mi promise di darmi delle
 monete d'argento quando ritornavo: di tutto
 tanto ritrovatomi lui nella galleria quando

Maria J. di Carlo Alafato
 Maria Danico d' Alajo
 Chirurgo Antonino
 Antonino delicata fi. Gio.
 Chirurgo.
 no. giudi in circa lo rigo una foglio.
 la fig. di Giorgio del. alon don.

Figure 2.3: Loose paper in NA 92/04 box 499, 20 October 1770 (n.f.)

The Miscellaneous boxes at the National Archives in Rabat offer the researcher ample material to analyse and discuss the social and individual experiences of the time. They include individuals from different social classes, different locations, and incidents from any civil or criminal situation imaginable. Since this chapter aims at identifying the voice of minors and the way they perceived situations around them, the primary sources selected are criminal case files within the Miscellaneous boxes which include either a denunciation or a testimony from individuals below the age of nineteen. Out of sixty-six boxes,³⁰ I encountered only a total of nineteen cases, which include a total of three testimonies, seven examinations, and twelve denunciations. While analysing these sources, I did not manage to find any such documentation pertaining to an individual younger than eight years even though they are occasionally mentioned in the case information as being present and witnessing the criminal act. Sexual abuse, followed by violence resulting in the need for medical attention, appears to be the most common crimes for which children and youth appear in court. In both cases, the minor is either the accused or the victim.

These records are sets of *bifolios*, each case separate from the next, unbound, untitled, and typically containing information about the case. Frequently the information is kept in the following order: the denunciation by the alleged victim, testimonies, examination and questioning of suspected individuals and a *supplica*, except for those case files which seem to be incomplete or misplaced. A *supplica* was a plea before the court, particularly the Grand Master, either by the alleged victim for justice for his/her cause, or by the accused for a change in his/her sentence. When faced with a *supplica*, the court was to refer to the case again and provide an informed opinion to the Grand Master to decide whether the supplicant's wishes are to be granted. It is worth noting that *Supplicæ* are not only part of case files but could also be loose within the Miscellaneous boxes and even in separate boxes.³¹ Depending on the case brought before the court, one can also find notes written by doctors and midwives who examined the alleged victim in which they indicate their professional opinion.

³⁰ NAM NA 92/04 box 429 to 472, NAM NA 92/04 box 483 to 487, NAM NA 92/04 box 499 to 502, NAM NA 92/04 box 514 to 518, NAM NA 92/04 box 525 to 529, NAM NA 92/04 box 547 to 555, NAM NA 92/04 box 566 to 569, NAM NA 92/04 box 588 to 590, NAM NA 92/04 box 605 to 606.

³¹ Such *supplicæ* are found at the National Archives, *Banca Giuratale*. By January 2021, these boxes were in the process of being catalogued.

The concept of 'age' in the past was significantly different from today's. According to Philippe Ariès, from the time a child starts to speak, parents teach the child his/her name, but many forgot the exact date of birth. Unlike today, age was not part of a scientific category but rather based on physical description and thus, according to Ariès, childhood was tied with the idea of dependence.³² Frans Ciappara notes that a child's birth year was important information to remember for the administration of sacraments, however, age in the *Status Animarum* was approximate.³³ While age was used and required for statistical purposes and religious sacraments, age was also fluid. Age, like time, is a concept. Today, knowing your age is a necessary requirement for many of our day-to-day activities. A great emphasis on safeguarding children from violence and bad example had made age a buffer or border between that which is suitable or less suitable for children to listen, witness and practice. Unlike today, age was not always a concern. One did not have to be over the age of sixteen to work and there was no age of compulsory education. Most of the everyday necessities did not require a prescribed age. In most cases age was an estimate based on what another person perceived the other to be from the way a person looked, spoke, and from the company s/he kept and by the person's level of maturity as perceived by the people around him/her. Even in court records where precision is a requirement, age is an estimation. Whenever a child's age is noted in the documents under study, age is referred to as *circa* or in few cases it is noted as *compiti* or *non compiti*.³⁴ The terms *figlioli*, *giovani*, and *zitelle* were used loosely and interchangeably. For instance, twelve-year-old Vincentia Caramia was referred to by midwives as a *zitella*, and the case of twenty-year old Vincentio di Gregorio and Giuseppe Schembri who were referred to as *figlioli* and *giovani*.³⁵

The term *zitella* in modern Italian stands for a spinster, an old maiden beyond marriageable age. Christine Muscat identifies *zitelle* as unmarried women who passed what was generally perceived marriageable age and women who were considered unlikely to marry due to a lifestyle or social circumstance that did not conform with society's idea of being appropriate for marriage, such as being *pubbliche donne*.³⁶ On the other hand, Emanuel Buttigieg noted that in the selection of archival sources he looked at, *zitella* was only used for

³² Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A social History of Family Life*, translated by Robert Baldick, (New York: Random House Inc., 1962), 15, 19.

³³ Frans Ciappara, *Marriage in Malta*, (Malta: Associated News Ltd, 1988), 18.

³⁴ NAM NA 92/04 box 449 (12 September 1752) (n.f.); NAM NA 92-04 box 470 (29 January 1760) (n.f.).

³⁵ NAM NA 92/04 box 437 (21 February 1748) (n.f.).

³⁶ Muscat, (2018), 137.

girls up to the age of ten.³⁷ Roberto Benedetti, in his analysis of a Sardinian thirteen or fourteen-year-old girl who found herself slave of the *bey* of Tunisia, notes that the documentation refers to the girl as a *zitella* who rejected the sexual advances of the *bey*.³⁸ Thus, from the documentation I have studied so far, the term *zitella* does not refer to an unmarried woman advanced in age. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the term *zitella* referred to an unmarried girl or woman without negative connotations. I have not yet found a difference in meaning between *zitella* or *giovane* when used as a description for an individual's age, however, the term *giovane* is more frequently used to refer to males and *zitelle* is used exclusively for females.

While age was not an exact number, from a petition of 22 November 1775, it appears that society was aware of a distinction between the age of minority and majority, and at times this was used and manipulated to suit one's needs. In his *supplica* Felice Magro noted that he had fourteen more months short of being of age. On 6 October 1774, he was accused by fifteen-year-old Franco Azzupard of insulting him in the street, trying to take away his money and blaspheming in public. Subsequently, he was sentenced to five years of community work. After fourteen months he petitioned the Grand Master to reassess his sentence for he was working without pay and considered his punishment excessive for the crime he committed. Thus, he asked the court to consider his age, reassess his sentence and be pardoned the remaining three years nine months and few days.³⁹ Regretfully, no further notes on the outcome of this plea were found, but it shows an instance where an individual used his young age as an argument for clemency.

2.5 Being a witness

'When are we going to give up, in all civilized nations, listening to children in courts of law?' asked Belgian psychologist J. Varendonch in 1911. According to Gail S. Goodman, the question of a child's value and reliability of statements has existed for as long as children have been testifying. Children have been considered 'the most dangerous of all witnesses',

³⁷ Emanuel Buttigieg, 'Growing up in Hospitaller Malta (1530-1798): Sources and Methodologies for the history of Childhood and Adolescence', *Religion, Ritual and Mythology: Aspects of Identity Formation in Europe*, Joaquim Carvalho (Ed.), (Pisa: PLUS, 2006), 134.

³⁸ Roberto Benedetti, 'Madri, figlie, mogli, schiave. Le istanze di liberazione inoltrate all'Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone (Secolo XVIII)', *storia delle donne*, 5, (2009), 147-165.

³⁹ NAM NA 92/04 box 515 (22 November 1775) (n.f.).

that their testimonies will retard the course of justice and that their testimonies are more suggestive and dramatic than those of adults. It was believed, that children were to be seen not heard and were to avoid speaking critically of their elders, but by allowing them to testify, one could also be allowing them to defy their superiors and challenge adult authority.⁴⁰ Children's testimonies and denunciations could result in harsh punishments towards their accusers.⁴¹ One such case is that of Salvatore Borg who was accused of touching inappropriately a four-year old girl. Without facing trial, but only on the basis of the girl's and her mother's accusations, Salvatore Borg was exiled from the Maltese islands, and he was kept in exile even after the girl died.⁴² The study of children's reliability, through psychological research, gained momentum during the late twentieth century. Today, it has been proven that children are able to retain memories of traumatising events in detail.⁴³

However, the history of children in society and, more particularly, in the courtroom is more complex than one might think. Within this judicial and political framework, one needs to ask where the place of the child and youth was in the judicial context and society at large. The *Diritto Municipale* and the *Codice de Vilhena* does not include any details about the requirements for being a witness. The first chapter of the second book of the *Diritto Municipale* outlines the judicial procedures for criminal cases. Complaints, deposition of witnesses and other appropriate acts against offenders were to be kept in writing (*in scriptis*), questions and interrogations made by the plaintiff, the offender, and witnesses, were to be written in full and without any abbreviations. The criminal judge was to pay special attention to the words of the victim and makes sure the plaintiff her/himself understands and follows what is being said. Offenders were not allowed to obtain a copy of the names and surnames of witnesses but after their examination it was necessary to compare their testimonies with the offender.⁴⁴ Since torture was not to be used unless given direct instruction otherwise, judges and councillors were to compile the criminal cases against delinquents and their accomplices with proof resulting from examination of offenders, accomplices and

⁴⁰ Elizabeth A. Foyster, 'Silent Witness? Children and the breakdown of domestic and social order in early modern England, *Childhood in Question: Children, parents and the state*, Anthony Fletcher and Stephen Hussey (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 65-66; Gail S. Goodman, 'Children's Testimony in Historical Perspective', *Journal of Social Issues*, 40:2, (1984), 9-11.

⁴¹ Gail S. Goodman, 'Children's Testimony in Historical Perspective', *Journal of Social Issues*, 40:2, (1984), 9-11.

⁴² NAM NA 92/04 box 516 (1 March 1776) (n.f.).

⁴³ See Goodman, 811-832; Fiona Davis, "I Fought. I Screamed. I Bit": The Assertion of Rights Within Historic Abuse Inquiry Transcripts', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 42:2, (2018), 217-230.

⁴⁴ *Del Diritto Municipali di Malta*, (Malta: Stamperia del Palazzo di S.A.E per Fra Gio. Mallia, 1784), Lib 2, cap 1, pp.81-82.

witnesses.⁴⁵ In procedures for civil cases, as outlined in chapter three, any examination of witnesses carried out without interrogation was to be considered null, even if the witness did not wish to be interrogated.⁴⁶

Despite my efforts I was unable to find any legal information pertaining to the possibility of children being witnesses, and their presence in general in court. In England, it is noted that children had to understand the nature of an oath. Elizabeth A. Foyster points out that although society tried to keep children outside of court to preserve their innocence, occasionally they would have to provide testimony.⁴⁷ In England, children were sometimes asked to testify, even in ecclesiastical courts, especially in cases of sexual and domestic abuse. Although infrequent, children in Malta did find themselves in court. Therefore, the lack of regulations or writings about people's opinion on this matter poses a few questions.

First, one could question whether the act of testifying or denouncing a crime in court made the child act as an adult, especially when noting that out of the nineteen examples given in Table 1, only four are females. Thus, this leads one to wonder whether boys would appear more often because it was the 'manly' thing to do in such circumstances. Additionally, when faced by such a lack of legal documentation related to children in court, one questions whether society thought of the child in the same manner as it did for an adult, and thus would not require any specific instructions on how one should treat children in court. On the other hand, it might also lead one to wonder whether the occurrence of a child in court was such a rare circumstance that it was up to the discretion of the court to decide how it should deal with the child. In England it was upon the discretion of the judge to examine how much the child understood the concept of taking an oath, and it was upon the discretion of the same judge to decide how to educate him/her about it, be it sending him/her to classes or take a few minutes to provide an explanation before the trial. In most cases, if they understood that lying while under oath was a sin, and could be proven, children could testify regardless of age.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, no such evidence has yet presented itself locally thus these questions remain to be answered.

⁴⁵ *Del Diritto Municipali di Malta*, (Malta: Stamperia del Palazzo di S.A.E per Fra Gio. Mallia, 1784), Lib.2 cap 1 pp. 84.

⁴⁶ *Del Diritto Municipali di Malta*, (Malta: Stamperia del Palazzo di S.A.E per Fra Gio. Mallia, 1784), Lib 2, cap 3, pp. 96.

⁴⁷ Foyster, 57.

⁴⁸ Gammon, 82.

Table 1: Data from Testimonies, Denunciations and Examinations

Date	Box	Name	Age	Gender	Testimony, Examination or Denunciation
11 July 1746	430	Francesco Attard	19/20	Male	Examination
1 July 1747	432	Salvatore Borg	9	Male	Denunciation
21 February 1748	437	Giuseppe Schembri	16	Male	Testimony
		Salvatore Bautin	13	Male	Examination
15 June 1751	447	Antonio Camenzuli	16	Male	Examination
24 August 1751	447	Evangelista Brudet	12	Female	Denunciation
12 September 1752	449	Alessio Micallef	9	Male	Examination
23 April 1754	457	Balthassaro Mamo	15	Male	Denunciation
9 November 1754	457	Caroli Mallia	9	Male	Denunciation
9 June 1755	458	Paschale Zerafa	12	Male	Denunciation
10 July 1755	458	Giuseppe Pace	9	Male	Denunciation
		Francesco Casha	19	Male	Examination
30 July 1755	458	Gratia Attard	18	Female	Denunciation
19 June 1759	468	Theresia Compagno	14	Female	Testimony
13 July 1761	469	Giuseppe Ferrandes	8	Male	Denunciation
29 October 1770	499	Vincentia Caramia	10	Female	Denunciation
25 July 1775	514	Nicolai Zammit	16	Male	Denunciation
14 October 1780	526	Alexandro Summa Compagno	19	Male	Examination
18 November 1780	526	Laurenti Mallia	18	Male	Examination
9 September 1780	529	Michele Grech	18	Male	Testimony
14 June 1794	589	Giuseppe Pace	10	Male	Denunciation

The lack of children present in court could be linked to the importance of maintaining the child's innocence and protecting the child from dangerous situations which could corrupt them. Foyster notes that society was disinclined to putting children in a position of repeating what they witnessed. Children, like women, were believed to be easily influenced therefore, their testimonies were sometimes discredited. On 29 January 1760, Maria, widow of Magnifico Petro Buhagiar, reported that she was in the cellar of her house near the Convent of Santa Catarina in Valletta with her three children, Caterina and Rosario, twelve-year-old twins, and eight-year-old Liberato, when she heard a knock at the door. When she inquired who it was, she learnt that it was Felice Tagliana whom she had full knowledge of and even recognised by his voice. When he entered the house, Felice lit a candle, and wanted to speak to her but wanted her to get dressed, as there was another in his company. She recorded there was Salvatore *il Bahri*, and as he entered the house Felice struck her with a cane, four *palmi* in length, first on her right shoulder, on her chin, and then near the temple in the presence of her children. With a loud voice, she called for help and when Paolo the carpenter answered her cries, she told him what happened.⁴⁹ Although the children were witnesses to this crime, their testimonies are not included in the case file. While this could be to protect them, this situation denies them a voice. It is also worth noting that Paolo's testimony is also not included and thus, while it looks like the file is complete, it is possible that their transcripts are misplaced. The child was believed to be very likely to repeat not only what s/he witnessed but also what was heard from the people around him/her, which could be both a hindrance and an aid. Children were understood by their physical rather than their psychological competence. Furthermore, having children repeat what they heard or saw would expose them further to the corrupt, violent adult world.⁵⁰

In addition, the relatively few number of cases in which a child appeared in court must be considered. One must look at how children were seen by society. According to Philippe Ariès, because they are 'fragile creatures of God',⁵¹ children's life was separate from that of adults, and were privileged not to witness the problems and violence of adult life. On the other hand, as Elizabeth A. Foyster notes, this sort of isolation and complete

⁴⁹ NAM NA 92/04 box 470 (19 January 1760) (n.f.).

⁵⁰ Foyster, 57, 62.

⁵¹ Ariès, 133.

protection from the outside world was practically impossible.⁵² As fragile, innocent creatures who are constantly in their own imaginative world, their word and opinion about serious matters, such as crime, could have been questioned for its reliability. However, children witnessed community and domestic dispute every day which in turn taught, or rather exposed them to how adults were expected to fulfil their roles.⁵³ So is the case for Malta. By being so much in the streets witnessing everyday life,⁵⁴ children seem to have been less oblivious to the adult world and rather, in fact, were part of it, working and running errands. They heard their talk and were present in their arguments, sometimes even being scapegoats or subject to a neighbourly feud. Thus, they surely were not as oblivious to the adult world as one might think. By being present and witnessing such situations made them an integral part of society, ready to take responsibility rather than being passive self-interested individuals.⁵⁵

2.6 Oral and written communication

It is fascinating to explore the use of language and try to extract the voices of the past. Language is a guide to social relationships. It provides a glimpse into a reality so unfamiliar to us. According to Peter Burke, trying to identify speech acts from almost three hundred years ago is not only a difficult but a presumptuous task. When embarking on such a study one must resign oneself to studying the oral through the written. One would have to try to examine the language of the common people through records made by a particular sector of society, most often the professional or high classes.⁵⁶ Due to this, Arnold Hunt also cautions not to overanalyse written sources in ones' quest to extract the oral, as more often than not, the written records were not written *ad verbatim*. Human mistakes could have occurred while transcribing the documents, the notary or the scribe could have misheard and subsequently created errors in what they wrote.⁵⁷ The mere translation from the language used by the individual in court, i.e. Maltese, to the language of the court, i.e. Italian or Latin, can create misinterpretations or changes in message.⁵⁸ Three main languages are important to be

⁵² Ariès, 128, 412; Foyster, 57, 62-63.

⁵³ Foyster, 63.

⁵⁴ Further analysis and discussion on young people and the street will be provided in chapter 3.

⁵⁵ Foyster, 63-64.

⁵⁶ Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 79-81.

⁵⁷ Goodman, 88.

⁵⁸ Arnold Hunt, 'Recovering Speech Acts', *Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, Hadfield, A., Dimmock, M., & Shinn, A. (Eds.). (London: Routledge, 2014), 17.

considered when analysing oral-written communication, i.e. Maltese, the language with which the common people spoke and communicated daily in their various vernaculars, Italian and Latin, which were the languages of the Order, the Church, and the professionals. More importantly, they were the language of the court. Thus, the significance of these languages is important not only for its necessity in writing but also for its presence in the spoken domain.⁵⁹

Written records provide very little in terms of popular speech.⁶⁰ Court records, particularly testimonies, provide a glimpse into the past as they include very detailed notes on what the individual said and on rare occasions even a person's body language.⁶¹ Speech was important because one's supplication, testimony, and denunciation, which was written down after it was spoken, had to be convincing enough for the judge to determine one's fate. According to Natalie Zemon Davis, they are 'self-interest recitals', a historical account of a person's past actions and a story. Thus, such records are not always the most reliable source to extract the speakers' words since the one speaking was not always in control of the outlining of the narrative. However, despite the formulaic nature of legal processes, we must 'peel away the fictive elements in our documents so we could get at the real facts', to identify the fact from the fiction because ultimately life's true events, unlike stories, do not occur with an introduction, middle and an end. Nonetheless, the fictitious and exaggerated elements in such narrative provide a story, a perception and thought process of their own.⁶²

Very often children and youths are barely mentioned in our quest to document the voices and experiences of the past, but they too have a voice as protagonist of their story which they themselves decide how to interpret. We can only analyse what has been left for us. Hence when analysing such documents, it is imperative not to forget the interventions from court officials and legal professionals, and in the case of children, the influence of parents and neighbours could have had on the way they present the facts. It was a collaborative effort in wording the story in the most believable and factual way possible. Therefore, despite our greatest effort, it is difficult to have complete separation of fact from fiction. While the researcher must work with what is available, one must also keep in mind

⁵⁹ Burke, (1987), 84.

⁶⁰ Arnold Hunt, (2014), 16.

⁶¹ Although it seems that in Italy, it was very common for notaries and scribes to jot down the persons expressions and movements, I have not come across such notes about the body language or gestures of individuals throughout my research.

⁶² Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), 3,5.

the importance of *publica fides* which gave the public trust and credibility in legal officials.⁶³ While aided by a legal professional to translate the experience and bring it before the court, the first author of the story is the supplicant. This had to conform to the oral testimony given before the judge as well as the information given by other parties about the case. When sixty-year-old Giovanni Refano was interrogated by the court for sodomising thirteen-year-old Salvatore Bautin, he kept insisting before the court that he did not act in this manner despite the eyewitness accounts stating otherwise.⁶⁴

Despite the unavoidable changes from speech to text, these documents can still provide a study of the life and values of a person trying to save his neck, sometimes quite literally.⁶⁵ Sodomy was not only a sin but also a crime punishable by death.⁶⁶ On 21 February 1748 Angelo Busuttill, as Viscount of the *Magna Curia Castellania*, reported that he was near the *Piazza* of Bormla when he was told that a certain Giovanni and another *Tal Ahmar* were committing the ‘nefarious’ act. He went to the indicated place and discovered they were not there. Sometime later he saw one of the individuals taking refuge in the church by Corradino near the Garden of Signor Bali Don Francesco de Sousa Menezes, from where he captured him and led him to the prison. On the same day, twenty-one-year-old Vincentio Di Gregorio and sixteen-year-old Giuseppe Schembri, testifying separately, both testified that he was with Giuseppe Schembri the day before in the area of San Giovanni Elemosinario in Bormla when they observed a man approaching them known as *Nigra* and a boy from Bormla whose name they did not know. They testified that they saw them entering a *grotta* (cave) located in the vicinity and how when they approached closer to the wall, the boys said, ‘I want so much’ without specifying the amount, while the man known among the people of the area as ‘the sodomite’, replied ‘only if you are very good’. They reported that after fifteen minutes both the man and the boy exited the *grotta* and Vincentio and Giuseppe approached them and confronted them on their suspicion of sodomy. Despite denying the accusations, the witnesses were not convinced and continued to confirm their suspicions when they saw them taking refuge in the Church of St Francis in Paola. In his testimony, Vincentio added that two years prior the same *Nigra* was reported for sodomizing another man and the children talked about

⁶³ Vanessa Buhagiar, ‘Renaissance humanism and notarial practice in sixteenth-century Malta: the case study of Notary Brandanus de Caxario (c.1508-1565)’, (M.A dissertation in Early Modern History, King’s College London, September 2020), 23-27.

⁶⁴ NAM NA 92/04 box 437 (21 February 1748) (n.f.).

⁶⁵ Zemon Davis, (1987), 25.

⁶⁶ See Giovanni Bonello, *Histories of Malta: Deceptions and Perceptions*, 1, (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2000), 85-92.

his fame among them and despite not remembering the names of the individuals Vincentio told the court that he remembered some of the other children saying they were sought after by him to do the same deed.⁶⁷ This information is very important in analysing the reality of children in the past. While at the time of the testimony, Vincentio was twenty-one years old, he recounts aspects which left an imprint in his memory from his childhood. It is possible that he was reporting the advances of this certain *Nigra* made on another child not only because it was a sin and a crime, but also to protect other children. On 23 February, Salvatore Bautin was interrogated as follows:

Q: Your name, son of whom, age, homeland and profession?

A: My name is Salvatore the son of Claudio Bautin, I am thirteen years of age. I live in Bormla near the parish church. I was a boatman and at present I live off my father's income.

Q: How long have you been in prison and for what conduct, and if you know or can imagine, the cause of your incarceration, present exam and disposition?

(Court interjected in this transcript by noting that it was written as said)

A: Around two or three days ago, I was at the *ponte della Bormla* and I passed by a boatman called *Barbanegra*, who asked what I was doing there, and I answered him that I was taking care of a boat of *Cheili il negro*, and he replied by inquiring about my business and my name. He gestured a sign with his head, and I walked with him. We went to a place near the district of San Giovanni Elemosinario outside of Bormla, where he told me to go from one street and him from another and we met in a *grotta*. After entering the place, he offered me 15 *grani*. He placed his hands on my *membro genitale*, by which he inferred that he wanted to sodomize me. I asked him for a *tari* with the intention of running away after giving me the *tari*. He then invited me to let him approach me and I refused him. He told me that he did not want to give me the money before so I would not be able to escape and after I refused him, he told me that he will take both of us to a *stanza rurale* nearby. I went out first and he came out after me with the intention of meeting and for me to take the *tari* and escape, but I met

⁶⁷ NAM NA 92/04 box 437 (21 February 1748) (n.f.).

two boys (*figlioli*), one named Vincenzo and the other named Mazzuna. I left without going to the *stanza rurale*.

Q: Did you commit the nefarious act with the said man in the *grotta* as told by Vincenzo and Mazzuna?

A: Mazzuna inquired about what I was doing in the said *grotta* with the said man and replied that I had done nothing and added that he had heard that I was negotiating with the said man the sum for me to commit the nefarious act.

(The court interjected with a warning to tell the truth if he had committed the nefarious act/sin)

A: The truth is that which I said above, and I did not commit the aforementioned nefarious

Q: Were you touched in your private parts by the said man?

A: Sirs, no.⁶⁸

On the same day, Giovanni Refano known as *Barbanegra* was examined by the court. When asked why he was imprisoned he replied that he was taken to the prison around midday because he was smoking the pipe and there, he observed two young men (*giovani*) who approached him, threatening him, and scolding him for a reason he was not aware of. He denied being in the company of Salvatore and denied knowing him or his family. He kept denying his knowledge of the boy and the event, he reported that he was not that kind of man and that whoever was saying such words wanted him to suffer. At which point the court interjected by presenting Salvatore Bautin with his curator and referred to each individual present by name, recognised them personally and told the truth, as presented above, as was required of him under oath. The accused was asked whether he knew who the boy was, and

⁶⁸ NAM NA 92/04 box 437 (21 February 1748) (n.f):

D': se detti Vincenzo, e Mazzuna avessero detto che commise il nefando con detto uomo in detta grutta

R': detto Mazzuna mi ricerco, che cosa stavo facendo dentro detta grotta con detto uomo, ed lo gli rispose, che non avevo fatto niente e mi soggiunse, che aveva sentito, che patteggiavo con detto uomo la somma per commettere il nefando

Monito a dire la verita, se avesse commesso iul nefando

R': la verita e quella, che ho detto di sopra e non ho commesso il nefando suddetto

D': se fu esso Cost: palpato nelle sue parti secrete da detto uomo

R': signori no'.

See Appendix 1 p.168-173.

he replied loudly that he did not know him and that what he was being charged with was false. Due to the tension and quarrels which occurred at that point, they were removed from the examination room. Giovanni Refano was advised and decided to tell the truth because, as stated in the examination, he had no place left to deny it, seeing himself so convicted by the deposition of the two young men but retold the court that he was alone smoking his pipe.⁶⁹

2.7 Voices

Most of the voices of the past, including those of children, have vanished like steam from a teacup. However, testimonies, denunciations and supplications are repositories of oral expression of individuals of different ages and social positions. Europe's culture, including Malta's, was a hybrid of written and oral modes of communication. The colloquial idioms and the talk of the street entered transcripts.⁷⁰ Because of this, Elizabeth S. Cohen suggests that 'while many nuggets of everyday oral gold do turn up, these materials must first be read as having a situated oral mode of their own'.⁷¹ Oral testimonies and interrogations provided the neighbourhood's talk of ordinary people in their everyday life. For many, speaking in front of a judge and other legal officials, and being in court was not an everyday occurrence. Natalie Zemon Davis notes that it would have been difficult for the unlearned to memorise a false story and recite it exactly as memorised given the pressure one would be under during a trial. Not all testimonies sound alike, thus, detail provides an opportunity to identify the child's voice.⁷² Nine-year-old Antonio Micallef was examined by the court on 12 September 1752 where he gave a detailed description of the environment he was in before his imprisonment at four in the afternoon. He recounts how he was swimming with other children under the *Ggantija* when some Turkish slaves passed leading a dead Turkish man to their mosque. The children chased the slaves to the door which they closed behind them, leaving the children outside. He described (in general detail) the other children present as Carlo Cortelliere, a *bastardello* of the Piazza called *cadua*, a son of a certain Facendi, who had a sick ear, a boy who served as a shoemaker in the shop of Maestro Agostino, the son of the baker Giuseppe, and Fidele the son of the *Parruchiere* (barber) and others whom he could

⁶⁹ NAM NA 92/04 box 437 (21 February 1748) (n.f.).

⁷⁰ Cohen, (2012), 403-412.

⁷¹ Cohen, (2012), 413.

⁷² Zemon Davies, (1987), 20-21; Cohen, (2012), 414.

not remember their name. From this documentation, it seems that he was not the only one imprisoned as he could identify those next to him in prison.⁷³

Court records offer space for the language and sentiment of the individual, which the generally formulaic notarial contracts and state statistics do not always allow room for, making the meaning and setting of words said and written in testimonies more valuable.⁷⁴ Cohen notes that another way of observing oral communication is through out-of-court conversations mentioned by witness.⁷⁵ The case of Francesco Casha and Giuseppe Pace offers a glimpse into these dynamics. On 10 July 1755, Giuseppe Pace told the court that at around six in the evening he was returning from school located in *strada del Lino* (Strada Molin / Windmill street)⁷⁶ in Valletta and was on his way to his father's *magazzino*. At which point he made sure to specify he went to school to learn how to read and write. He passed from the tunnel (*mina*) and as he arrived near the gate⁷⁷ on the side of Agostino Naudi's *magazzino*, he saw a cart loaded with wood entering the tunnel. To avoid it he positioned himself behind the gate and in front of the wall but as the cart came out of the tunnel he was hit with the gate, he started to shout and realised that he had gravely injured his head. A paper signed on the same day by Michele Grille notes that he was called to the marina to cure Giuseppe Pace and found lacerations of the skin and damage to the skull which appear to have been made by a blunt object, placing him in danger of death. Antonia Galante, an eyewitness, confirmed Giuseppe's story and added that she saw the halter for the animals in the driver's hand but since the animals were not conducted as usual, the animal's breast touched the gate and injured the boy. She noted that after taking the child by the hand she realised that the skin of his forehead was hanging on his face. She turned to Francesco Casha, the driver of the cart, to scold him and said, 'You killed him!'. Martina Camilleri, another eyewitness even called him a dog. She recounts how she was begging in the street for charity when she witnessed this crime and heard the boy shouting '*oime* you killed me'.⁷⁸ Giuseppe Casha testified a month later that his brother Francesco sought refuge in the Church of Żebbuġ for wounding a boy near the *porta inferiore della marina di Citta Valletta* (that is

⁷³NAM NA 92/04 box 499 (12 September 1752) (n.f.).

⁷⁴ Elizabeth S. Cohen, (2012), 415.

⁷⁵ Elizabeth S. Cohen, (2012), 420-421.

⁷⁶ The location was kindly confirmed by Mr Liam Gauci 30 June 2022.

⁷⁷ NAM NA 92/04 box 499 (12 September 1752) (n.f.) The precise term used by the boy is *ristello*, while Antonia Galante refers to it as *grada*. *Ristello* was a kind of wooden gate, often positioned before the actual stone gateways. The reference to the *mina* probably refers to the Lascaris tunnel. Thus, this could possibly be happening in the area near Del Monte Gate (today Victoria gate).

⁷⁸NAM NA 92/04 box 499 (12 September 1752) (n.f.) '*oime m'ha ammazzato*'.

Porto Marina overlooking the harbour). On 23 September, nineteen-year-old Francesco Casha was examined and confessed to presenting himself in prison, to driving a cart loaded with wood, and that as he was being chased by slaves, he was not aware that there was a boy behind the gate and that as the cart swerved, he wounded the boy. He asked the court not to punish him for this action as it was not done on purpose.⁷⁹ This case provides a glimpse into the oral communication of eighteenth-century individuals, their reaction to these circumstances and the perception of adults towards justice for a child's misfortune. They mirror an emotion and are not simply clinical and methodological explanations of facts. They create a difference between the prosecution of a crime as a means to bring justice and seek protection, to the crime itself as the act of injustice or wrongdoing.

The alternating use of Latin and Italian language, and the changing of pronouns from I to s/he, the identification of witnesses, and strategic speech through the use of legal terminology or court-appropriate language, shapes the documents. However, the words of those children involved in court disputes are also framed by legalisms. According to Elizabeth S. Cohen, the demands of the law both shaped and deformed transcriptions as they included legalism which were unlikely used by the people. No individual, in an informal conversation, would refer to him/herself as *detto*, the said so-and-so, when referring to themselves. While everyday conversations include a direct exchange in communication, speech during trials is less direct and more interrogative. This verbal difference can be observed in the way each testimony or denunciation started. Each document, when referring to the narrative of the incident, always starts with *Signori*, a more formal address, while during an interrogation one occasionally replied in *Signor Si*, or *Signor No* to emphasise one's compliance.⁸⁰ Apart from the need to address the judge and representative of the Order of St John in a formal language due to their superior rank and status, it also shows the behaviour expected in such circumstances. These statements represent a concern about self-presentation.⁸¹ They aim to portray the individual as s/he wished to be seen in a particular situation. Flattering and empathetic words at the beginning or end of *supplici* can also be observed in hope of buttering up the situation or seem upstanding individuals. *Supplici* tend to start with words like 'the most humble and loyal servant of the Order of St John', while they occasionally end by asking for grace and add words like 'I humbly fall at your grace's

⁷⁹ NAM NA 92/04 box 499 (12 September 1752) (n.f.) '*Ah cane l'ha ammazzato*'.

⁸⁰ NAM NA 92/04 box 437 (21 February 1748) (n.f.).

⁸¹ Cohen, (1992), 88.

feet in respect'.⁸² On the other hand, in more uneasy and apprehensive situations, the speaker might speak loosely and say phrases like 'How should I know?' or 'I already told you this before'.⁸³

This can even be observed in the words used to describe one another. The cases which found their way to court and in the boxes studied are mostly related to verbal or physical violence. Women often called each other prostitutes, insulting their honour. Another potent insult was '*che tiene una faccia da sterco*', referring to someone who is shameless.⁸⁴ On 14 August 1760, Veneranda Cauchi from Valletta testified that her neighbour Angelica, daughter of the carpenter Domenico, was impregnated by Felice, a barber on the *sciambecchi*, the son of Captain Vincenzo Pace who was married at the time. She also noted that Felice was harassing Angelica, following her steps. On the eve of the feast of St Lawrence, Angelica was in the company of Rosalba, the child of one of her neighbours and her sister of minor age, Saveria, who were walking at night in the street near the house of Signor Dottor Clinchant, when Veneranda saw Felice passing back and forth in front of Angelica's house. The next morning, at seven o'clock Felice knocked on Veneranda's door and Angelica approached him about harassing and threatening her with insulting words such as '*una faccia da streco*'. In the meantime, Felice's wife, Catarina, arrived and began to insult Angelica and accuse her of being a prostitute. Veneranda added that 'if I'm not mistaken, it seems to me he even hit her sister Angelica's head'. Despite being witness to her sister's mistreatment and suffering physically at the hand of the accused, Saveria's word is not recorded in the transcript. However, her words are recorded indirectly through Veneranda's testimony as she noted that while Felice was accusing Angelica of stealing his money, Saveria confirmed that it was not true.⁸⁵

The vocabulary used to describe sexual activity and reproductive organs is an interesting way of analysing the legal and the colloquial language.⁸⁶ The colloquial phrase '*per nettare li seminati*' was used in court by Giovanni Refano to describe the need to relieve himself in a grotto while he was out of the house.⁸⁷ The phrase to know carnally (*conoscere carnalmente*) or to sodomize (*sodomizzare*) was the legally appropriate phrase. When

⁸² NAM NA 92/04 box 447 (15 June 1751) (n.f.); NAM NA 92/04 box 516 (1 March 1776) (n.f.).

⁸³ See Cohen, (2012), 418-419.

⁸⁴ In Maltese it would translate to *wiċċek ta' ħarja*, literally a 'shit face'. Information kindly confirmed by Dr Olvin Vella in 01/07/2022.

⁸⁵ NAM NA 92/04 box 470 (14 August 1760) (n.f.).

⁸⁶ Cohen, (2012), 427-428.

⁸⁷ NAM NA 92/04 box 437 (21 February 1748) (n.f.).

referring to the reproductive organs, the most common words were *membro* and *vaso naturale* for the male and female genitals, respectively. Julie Gammon notes that it must have been an ordeal for a child to testify or be interrogated for a sexual crime, especially for girls who were not only testifying in front of the adults but also to a male dominated world. In many cases the child was believed to have been tainted by corruption at a tender age, perceived as sexually an adult but socially a child. The child was asked to describe the crime, and like in all other investigations, detail was a requirement. However, children's innocence regarding sexual matters restricted their ability to describe the crime. By describing in full detail how the sexual activity occurred, the child would be at risk of seeming not innocent enough as s/he knew exactly what occurred and have the vocabulary to describe it. However, by not giving enough detail the crime would not be able to be investigated.⁸⁸

This double standard created issues about the reliability of a child's word. However, from the documents encountered pertaining to sex crime which include the first-hand experience of the child as the victim, the child appears to have been protected both by the court and by the parents who insisted on bringing the accused to justice. On 1 July 1747, Eufemia di Giovanni from Senglea reported that an hour before night fall, Margarita di Nicola brought a *cinquina*⁸⁹ and gave her news that a slave of the Galleys of San Nicola named Hsuna had given a *cinquina* to Salvatore Bonello, her brother who gave it to their mother. It happened that at that same time, the slave was with Salvatore and five-year-old Vincenzo near the *Guardiola della Senglea* known as *Di San Giovanni*. The slave who according to Margarita was wearing a *berretta rossa* (red hat), long white trousers, and a Turkish shirt, was said to have kept his trousers loose and sat on a step in front of the *Guardiola* (guard room) behind Vincenzo di Giovanni. Margarita, terrified by this vision, even states she lost her voice, with a hand gesture signalling to Vincenzo to leave but he turned his face the other way to look at the *Guardiola*. Nine-year-old Salvatore Bonello gave his short version of the story and testified that an hour before nightfall he was playing with Vincenzo di Giovanni near the *Guardiola* of Senglea when a slave named Hsuna approached them and gave him a *cinquina* and told him to go and change it, remaining alone with Vincenzo. Salvatore took the *cinquina* to his mother who immediately told Vincenzo's

⁸⁸ Gammon, 74- 75.

⁸⁹ A *cinquina* was a currency equivalent to five *grani*. For further reference see Carmel Cassar, *Society, Culture and Identity in Early Modern Malta*, (Malta: Mireva, 2000), xvii; Christine Muscat, *Magdalene Nuns and Penitent Prostitutes Valletta*, (Malta: BDL Publications, 2013), 113; Anthony M. Vassallo, 'Prices of Commodities in Malta and Gozo, 1530-1630,' (Unpublished B.A. (Hons) History, Department of History, University of Malta, 1976), 12.

mother, Eufemia and gave her the money.⁹⁰ Although stigma towards the actions of slaves was very present at the time, it also shows the mother's neighbour's concern for the child. However, when *chirurgo* (surgeon) Antonio Brincati examined the child, he noted that his anus was intact. It is interesting to note that the testimony of the alleged victim and accuser are not included in this case file and at no point is the child's version of the story told, however, the other boy's testimony is included. It begs the question whether this was related to age. At the age of five, although not expected to have an extensive vocabulary and knowledge to describe the action, he would have been able to speak and give a short description of what happened. One must also note that all testimonies found in the boxes under study were of children of eight years or older. Thus, it also presents the question of whether age seven represented a new phase in childhood where the child is no longer considered an infant and starts to be given more responsibility to teach him/her about their place in society, their roles, and duties.

The case of Vincentia Caramia creates doubt about the innocence of a child and how society's expectations about sexual knowledge determined their decisions. Twelve-year-old Vincentia Caramia lived in the street of the Franciscans in Valletta and went to school⁹¹ in the area of the Holy Infirmary's cemetery, from where she normally went to the Parish Church of Porto Salvo to visit her father, a servant there. On 29 October 1770, she told the court that on the last day of carnival she was passing from the street near the *galleria* of the Holy Infirmary, as she normally did, when the undercook called her to tell her to meet him the next morning at nine to take her to the rooms of the *Signor Infermiere* as he needed her to relay a message to her sister. Carnival Sunday morning, Vincentia was on her way to the room of the *Infermiere* and found Giuseppe, the undercook, alone. He took her into a room near the kitchen. He showed her an unspecified amount of silver coins and told her that he would give her the money, then laid her down on the bed and got to know her carnally, causing her physical pain. He gave her a *grano* and promised that if she returned, he would give her some silver coins. From time to time, whenever she passed from in front of the *galleria* or he sent for her, she would go to his room to engage in sexual interactions and he would give her sometimes 5 *grani*, at other times, seven or even a *carlino*. He warned her not to tell her parents, but her mother was washing her clothes and saw some blood and suspected

⁹⁰ NA 92/04 box 432 (1 July 1747) (n.f.).

⁹¹ In the Primary source (NAM NA 92/04 box 499 (29 October 1770) (n.f.)) the school is referred to as 'scuola' however no mention to the name of the school is indicated. Despite my best effort to identify the school and what was being thought to Vincentia Caramia, I was unable to find the exact location and name of the school.

something was wrong. She beat her daughter and threatened her until Vincentia confessed. When asked by the court the frequency of her sexual engagement with Giuseppe and whether there were any witnesses, Vincentia replied that the *commercio carnale* happened about ten times. She recalled that on her way to the undercook's room she would pass by the *sala delli feriti* (hall of the wounded) and she was certain that the wounded, and Antonio the barber, would have seen her enter his room. She reported that sometimes he would send word for her with her neighbour, eight-year-old Agostina, the daughter of Alberto, a *bastaso* (a carrier). When her mother discovered her escapades, she was no longer allowed to visit him and he got word of this from a woman known as *Ta Ingra*, a *serviente nella Lingeria* (servant of the linen). This denunciation ends with Vincentia's mother Cristina accusing Giuseppe and asking for an urgent implementation of his penalty. On the same day, Maria Calafato and Maria Damico, midwives from Valletta, reported that they visited the girl, who according to them was nine or ten years old. From their examination they concluded that her hymen was broken but was barely touched on the inside, however they also reported that the last time she was violated was about four to five days prior to their examination. *Chirurgo* Antonio Delicata had also examined the girl some twenty day prior to this denunciation but no notes of his conclusions were added to the case.⁹²

In cases of sexual abuse, the factor of reliability played an important role. The court had to determine whether the alleged victim was innocent. It seems that in most cases, in eighteenth-century Malta the court sided with the alleged victim. In this case, the concept of innocence of the alleged victim is an interesting one to study. Unlike today's mantra not to talk to strangers and for parents to ensure their children are constantly supervised by a trusted adult, eighteenth-century Malta was different. Children were used to playing alone in the street, partly because everyone would know each other in their neighbourhood. It was common for children to walk alone to various places and to bid a good day to people from where they frequently passed. It was also common for children to run errands or deliver messages for their families. It is therefore likely that Vincentia innocently believed Giuseppe when he said that the *Infermiere* needed her to relay a message to her sister. However, suspicion of her lack of innocence comes in when she describes how often she visited Giuseppe. If she was innocent the first time she visited him, her innocence or knowledge of sexual activity was no longer so intact, even more so when she confessed that she was paid each time. The different terminology used by Vincentia and the midwives is also an

⁹² NAM NA 92/04 box 499 (29 October 1770) (n.f.).

interesting factor. The transcript notes that Vincencia refers to this sexual activity as *commercio carnale*, therefore she knew and understood that she was getting paid for it, however, the midwives noted that she was raped. One must also keep in mind that not all the details pertaining to this matter are included in this case file. The family's financial situation might have been a factor of consideration in taking the undercook's money and so could be his age. By today's standard, while she does not appear to have been physically forced to visit him each time, she can be considered to have been sexually and psychologically abused due to her minor age and his insistence to keep it a secret. Thus, although it might have been something Vincencia did willingly, her situation was perceived by her family, her neighbours, and the legal and medical professionals as rape. This in itself shows at least a level of protection and care toward children and adolescents by families and society more generally.

On the other hand, a child's innocence, and sometimes even before the court, can be observed in the case of twelve-year-old Evangelista Brudet from Valletta. On 24 August 1751 she described how she was near her parent's house close to bastion of Marsamxett in the company of Rosa, a four-year-old child of the Holy Infirmary, when at around two o'clock they saw two young men aged twenty and eighteen near their door, wanting to enter their house. Seeing that her parents were not at the house she rushed to close the door. One of the young men grabbed Evangelista and wanted her to lie down on the ground to get to know her carnally and promised her 2 *tari*. He placed one hand on her chest forcing her to remain on the ground while with the other he touched his trousers, to which she believed he was signalling he wanted to let something out of his pants. As she cried the other young man offered her another 2 *tari*, but she refused so the latter left. She recalled that there was a certain Giuseppe, Filippo and one known as Gerrieri who sold *pastizzi* (savoury pastries), who saw her shouting and the young men enter and leaving the house. The report notes that she caused them some pain and went running out of the house. She shouted and cried and threatened to report them to the authorities. In her report, she does not describe the act or provide details as to what the young men intended to do in explicit language but rather used suggestive terms leaving her to appear innocent and reliable.⁹³

The case of Salvatore Borg – who was accused of attacking a six-year-old girl – offers another window unto such events. Salvatore Borg was a sentinel at Porta Reale as a soldier of the ships, when six-year-old Anna, daughter of Maddalena Spiteri, passed from the

⁹³ NAM NA 92/04 box 447 (24 August 1751), NAM NA 92/04 box 515 (24 September 1775).

Guardiola. He was accused of touching the girl's behind and scratching her thigh while holding her. On 11 July 1768, he was imprisoned and on 4 August he was exiled. After a year in exile, he returned to Malta without a licence, suffering from an illness affecting his feet's nerves, making him unable to work. He was sent to the prison of the Holy Infirmary for treatment. His petition from 1775 notes that he had a stroke and was in use of mercurial treatment to send himself back in exile. Salvatore Borg sent petitions on 5 October 1773, 23 May 1775 and 1 March 1776. In these petitions he notes his state of hunger and suffering, his want to return to this 'happy dominion' and asked for grace and clemency to return to Malta, especially noting that he was married, had a wife and that Anna Spiteri had died some time in 1772. As was requested by the law, each time a petition asked for a reassessment of a sentence, the court had to put together a case file with all the information about the accused. From the petitions sent, it appears that Salvatore's fate decided by the court was not to return to Malta. In this series of petitions, the child or her family did not testify because this was only the side of the accused. The mother reported the incident and the bleeding scar on her daughter's thigh, and this was deemed enough for the court to exile him from the Maltese islands.

Through their testimonies and denunciations, children and youths also voiced their concerns about violence inflicted upon them. Eighteen-year-old Nicolai Zammit was a shoemaker at the *bottega* situated near the *Chiesa dell'anime del Purgatorio* (Church of St Nicholas, Valletta) and the house of Signor Giacchino who lived with his father-in-law Paolo Mallia, Treasurer of the Università.⁹⁴ On 25 July 1775, he reported that Paolo Mallia's five-year-old son spent his time teasing Nicolai Zammit while at work. The Wednesday before the denunciation, the boy started throwing things at Nicolai, putting things in his clothes, taking tools and placing them in the middle of the street. He sat up and the boy took away his chair, but the cherry on the cake was when he dipped his pen twice in ink and rubbed the pen with the ink on his white shirt. At which point Nicolai threatened the boy to stop otherwise he would tell his mother and the boy ran inside the house. Seeing his son cry, the Treasurer stormed out of the house in fury and gave Nikolai two slaps, two kicks, and threw him to the ground. He then took a hammer from the table and gave him two or three strikes with it on his shoulder from the back right below his neck. He overturned the tables the shoemakers were working on to the middle of the street, together with the workers and their tools. In his

⁹⁴ The document under study does not specify whether this refers to the *Università di Studi* or the *Università dei Grani*.

report, Nicolai accused Mallia of mistreating him, for he had not laid a finger nor pushed the boy as was alleged by the father. Nicolai's testimony was supported by the evidence given by his co-workers Vincentio Baldacchino, Giuseppe Galea, and Francesco Cassar who also suffered from Mallia's actions and reported to have even drawn a sword at them.⁹⁵

Despite the constant patrolling in Valletta by *sbirri* (police) and troops of the *Gran Visconte*, and by village companies in the countryside, eighteenth-century Malta still experienced problems with criminality. Due to the problems with the Valletta Militia, in 1760, Grand Master Pinto assembled a new volunteer corps and on 6 February 1764 banned the possession or carrying of weapons except for soldiers, sailors and butchers.⁹⁶ Just five years earlier, on 19 June 1759, the *Magna Curia Castellaniæ* opened a case against Vincenzo Compagno, signed by the *Fisco* Francesco Xaverius Farrugia. Ignatio Debono, night captain of Senglea, Paschali Attard, Viscount of the *Curia Castellaniæ*, and Giuseppe Busuttil, reported that at eight in the morning they were in the house of Anastasi Campagna as demanded by *Signor Giudice Civile* of the Gran Corte Castellaniæ. After they arrived at the house to execute the mandate, they found a young man at the door of the same house who approached them and took out a bayonet which was at his side. Giuseppe Portelli held his hand when in the meantime, a female exited the house with a *stanga* (iron bar) in her hand, trying to beat Paschali Attard with it but he took it from her hand. Some soldiers from the Guardia of St Elmo arrived and entered the house, took Giuseppe from the officer's hand and arrested Vincenzo Compagno who took out the bayonet. Finally, they transported them to the Grand Court. Particularly interesting in this case is the testimony of fourteen-year-old Theresia Compagno, the accused's sister who testified that she asked the officers to wait until her mother arrived, but they did not do so. When the officers tried to enter the house, her brother went to the door but did not use any violence. She noted that her brother's weapon was on him because he was part of the militia, denied using a *stanga* (iron bar) against the officers and did not want them to imprison him as a criminal.⁹⁷

Stone throwing seems to have been a common method for children to exact revenge on each other or as play. On 13 July 1761, eight-year-old Giuseppe Ferrandes from Senglea reported that he was swimming near the *macina* and when he went to shore to towel-dry, there were several children from Bormla throwing rocks which wounded him and two other

⁹⁵ NAM NA 92/04 box 514 (25 July 1775) (n.f.).

⁹⁶ Carmel Testa, *The Life and Times of Grand Master Pinto, 1741-1773*, (Malta: Midea Books, 1989), 236-240.

⁹⁷ NAM NA 92/04 box 468 (19 June 1759) (n.f.).

children from his locality. The *Chirurgo* of Senglea, Giuseppe Celestri, and the *Chirurgo* of the Holy Infirmary, Felice Camilleri, examined the boy and despite him having wounds near his eye canal towards the nose, there were no fatal injuries.⁹⁸ Law dictated that in crimes of murder, poison or any form of wound, professors, doctors and surgeon were to be called upon to examine the individual, provide treatment and draw up a report of what they detected to be the cause, especially in case of a fatality, with clarity and precision.⁹⁹

On 27 August 1775, fourteen-year-old Ferdinando Delia reported that on Sunday at around one in the afternoon, he was swimming with other children in the area of the wharfs in Valletta under the *Gigantei* (in front of Del Monte Gate)¹⁰⁰ and wanted to give Pietro Cabrese a *mainata*, that is to force him under water. Despite Pietro's insistence not to, Ferdinando did it anyway. Pietro got out of the water and threw a stone in the sea, hitting Ferdinando who then had to go to the Holy Infirmary for medication. On 2 September, it was noted that Ferdinando was operated on 13 August due to a wound in the upper and anterior part of the right parietal lobe. By 26 August he developed a fever, started vomiting and after a consultation, they discovered that his wound was not healing, there was further fracturing, depression of the bone and detachment of the vitreous body. On the night of 31 August, Ferdinando was pronounced dead. This note was signed, among others, by the *Medico Principale*, *Medico*, *Medico Prattico*, and *Prattico Chirurgo* of the Holy Infirmary. A short side note informs us that on 17 November, Ferdinando Delia's mother informed the court that her son died by a wound inflicted by Pietro, seeking justice for the death of her son.¹⁰¹

2.8 Conclusion

Since the primary sources studied and analysed are criminal records from the *Magna Curia Castellaniae*, the Malta portrayed by these documents is a violent and criminal one. Children and youths' testimonies and denunciations provide their first-hand experience, their reactions, their emotions and their voice. Despite the few cases which include these first-hand accounts, the rarity of these documents makes them even more significant to study. Because such few cases were encountered, one cannot say with certainty how relevant the voice of the child was

⁹⁸ NAM NA 92/04 box 469 (13 July 1761) (n.f.).

⁹⁹ *Del Diritto Municipali di Malta*, (Malta: Stamperia del Palazzo di S.A.E per Fra Gio. Mallia, 1784), Lib.2 cap 1, pp.82.

¹⁰⁰ The location was kindly confirmed by Mr Liam Gauci 30 June 2022.

¹⁰¹ NAM NA 92/04 box 514 (27 August 1775) (n.f.).

in this adult dominated world and how reliable their word was. However, the fact that their testimonies and denunciations were crucial in confirming suspicions gave children and youths a power which was usually denied. Although testimonies and denunciations by children and youths were always followed by adult testimonies, it does not mean that their word was not considered. It was common practice that for any case, the Court would gather as much evidence as possible. From the cases under study, the procedure of the collection of evidence was the same for both child and adult. Within language of clarification,¹⁰² one can still extract the children's perspective on reality and the voice of their opinion.¹⁰³ While several forces shape a text, these documents do not only provide evidence of the judicial reality or the trial, but they also tell a story, an experience of an individual, the way people tried to manipulate or bend the truth while others strove to bring justice to the injustices around them.¹⁰⁴ There is a story behind every person, and child testimonies and denunciations are not rigid transcripts, but rather a self-representation of a child's story filled with emotion waiting to be heard.

¹⁰² The language of clarification is the meaning, form and pronunciation why which one is writing as the components to clarify language and to having others understand what one is writing or saying.

¹⁰³ Cohen, (2012), 415-417.

¹⁰⁴ Cohen, (1992), 90.

Chapter 3: The street

3.1 Introduction

If space could talk, it would ‘brag, mock, shout, argue and throw things’.¹ With the growing interest in socio-cultural perspectives, the study of the street and street culture has in recent years gained popularity among historians, sociologists and anthropologists. This is because the street is no longer studied only for its geographical and architectural purposes, but it is now viewed as the stage on which the story of people as individuals and as a community unfolds. Through this perspective, the study focuses more on people's everyday experiences and interactions rather than on the purpose of the buildings. However, in these studies children and adolescents are rarely the focal point, unlike their adult counterparts who are studied in relation to gendered spaces, work, transportation, criminality, and construction. Therefore, this chapter aims to look at children’s movements, activities and behaviour in the streets, their neighbourhoods, and their communities.

3.2 Everyday life

Fabrizio Nevola notes that research on early modern streets emerged from the study of urban area as a niche study to focus on the social interactions occurring within a particular space and the impact and influence it has on society, both architecturally and socially. This is done through the study of everyday life, material culture and social, behavioural, and religious rituals, which characterise the people living or roaming those streets. It is an interdisciplinary analysis to reassemble and understand everyday life and the environment that it unfolds within. Furthermore, social spaces are vital for the creation, representation, and growth of individual and group identities,² of which children, adolescents and youths are part of. It is difficult to present a uniform definition of the eighteenth-century street and street-life that fits all of Europe or even the Maltese islands. However, the study of the street and street-life can be described as an amalgamation of physical and social multi-factors, which contributed to

¹ Laurie Nussdorfer, ‘The politics of Space in Early Modern Rome’, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 42, (1997), 161-162.

² Fabrizio Nevola, ‘Street Life in Early Modern Europe’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 66:4, (2013), 1332-1334.

the individual's life.³ The street is not only a geographical location on a map, or an architectural design, but it is also the place, which breathes the experiences, the emotions, and the voices of people's past.⁴ It is important to look at urban space as not solely the place of the elite who commissioned the architectural work, or the adult men and women who worked and constructed the buildings, but to also look at the younger generations who filled the streets and houses with life and with experiences of their own.

Early modern European streets are mostly described as noisy, dirty, and smelly due to the lack of lighting, sewage systems and paved ground we are accustomed to today.⁵ According to Riitta Laitinen and Dag Lindström, in their study of Swedish street regulations, the planning of the construction of the street is an essential component of urban environment, a space for social interaction, expression and needs.⁶ The planning and decisions by the Order of St John and its military engineers to build Valletta as a fortress city was determined by the prospective exigencies of the island, the Order and its people. Following the Great Siege (1565), a gridiron plan with one wide street leading from the main city gate to St Elmo gave the Order a strategic advantage in case of another attack, creating a central road with narrow sideroads to protect from the sun and the force of winds.⁷ By the eighteenth century, Valletta had continued to develop. More houses, hospitals and conservatories, shops, taverns, and churches were (re)built, and the city was extended to include Floriana as its suburb. At the same time, Birgu, Senglea and Bormla on the opposite side of Valletta, also experienced a steady growth of their populations as more people moved behind the fortification lines of the three cities to be closer to maritime work. After the Great Siege, Birgu, Senglea and Bormla became the three sister-cities to Valletta, growing in a somewhat more densely and unstructured manner due to the increasing maritime-work demand; they had narrow roads and clusters of houses.⁸ Simon Mercieca notes that in some eighteenth-century accounts, the three

³ Nevola, 400.

⁴ Edward Muir, 'The 2001 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture: The idea of Community in Renaissance Italy', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 55:1, (2002), 11.

⁵ Nevola, 134; Susanne Rau, 'Street Life in Early Modern Europe: Urban Form, Representation, Discourse, and perception', *Journal of Urban History*, 38:2, (2012), 399; Elizabeth S. Cohen, 'To Pay, to Work, to Hear, to Speak: Women in Roman Streets c. 1600', *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill's Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 95-96.

⁶ Riitta Laitinen and Dag Lindström, 'Urban Order and Street Regulation in seventeenth-Century Sweden', *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill's Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 78-93.

⁷ Roger de Giorgio, *A city by and Order*, (Malta: Progress Press Co. Ltd., 1985), 80-89; Denis De Lucca, *Giovanni Battista Vertova: Diplomacy, Warfare and military engineering in early seventeenth century Malta*, (Malta: Midsea Books, 2001), 51.

⁸ Christine Muscat, *Public Women, Prostitute Entrepreneurs in Valletta, 1630-1798*, (Malta: BDL Publishers, 2018), 54-58.

cities, Valletta and even Floriana were considered as one urban space.⁹ The Grand Harbour itself connected the maritime towns and cities together. Thus, the reconstruction and addition of buildings during these centuries also reflected the needs of the people living there.¹⁰

Valletta, being the convent of the Order of St John, was built and maintained not only for the need and security of the people but it was also an artistic expression of the grandeur of the Order. By the eighteenth century, the city had rigorous regulations for the construction or transformation of buildings, paved roads with spacious sidewalks, and a good supply of clean potable water.¹¹ Carasi noted that parallel to the splendid central Valletta, there was the *Manderaggio* which he considered ‘the veritable sewer of the whole city’, where according to him people lived in ‘dirt, filth, without straw for their bed, without bread to fight their hunger, with hardly any clothes to cover their bodies’.¹² Cleanliness and dirt have tended to exist side-by-side.¹³

The community itself generated filth. On 18 January 1747, Antonio Bonello from Bormla reported that around half past six in the morning, he was on his doorstep located under the *loggia* in the street which is described to have led from *Piazza della Burmola* to that of Santa Margarita, when he found human excrement at the edge of his doorstep. He lamented about this with his neighbours. Anna Cassar, one of his neighbours, testified that she was at her mother’s house when a young girl of about nine years, Anna, daughter of Giuseppe and Rosa de Nio, heard them talk about this incident and said that her mother

⁹ Simon Mercieca, ‘Valletta: The Foundation of a Christian Republic According to St Augustine’s Philosophic Principle of Humility’, *Humillima Civitas Vallettæ: From Mount Xebb-Er-Ras to European Capital of Culture*, Margaret Abdilla Cunningham, Maroma Camilleri and Godwin Vella (eds.), (Malta: Heritage Malta and Malta Libraries, 2018), 192

¹⁰ Mevrick Spiteri, ‘Social relations in Valletta: Preliminary studies of property disputes recorded in the *Officium Commissriorum Domorum*’, *Arkivju*, George Cassar and Charlies J. Farrugia (eds.) issue 6, (Malta: National Archives of Malta and The Friends of the National Archives, 2015), 3; Emanuel Buttigieg, ‘Early Modern Valletta: Beyond the Renaissance City’, *Humillima Civitas Vallettæ: From Mount Xebb-Er-Ras to European Capital of Culture*, Margaret Abdilla Cunningham, Maroma Camilleri and Godwin Vella (eds.), (Malta: Heritage Malta and Malta Libraries, 2018), 173-181.

¹¹ Giovanni Bonello, *Histories of Malta: Deceptions and Perceptions*, Vol.1, (Malta, Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2000), 35. See also Claude Busuttil, ‘The Building of a New City’, *Cities, Harbours and Artefacts: Transformations of an Early Modern Landscape*, Maroma Camilleri and Mevrick Spiteri (eds.), (Malta: Malta Libraries, 2021), 16-27; Mevrick Spiteri, ‘Properties of the Order of St John: Structural transformations in Valletta’s houses’, *Cities, Harbours and Artefacts: Transformations of an Early Modern Landscape*, Maroma Camilleri and Mevrick Spiteri (eds.), (Malta: Malta Libraries, 2021), 28-63; Spiteri, (2015), 3-7; Rodrick Cavaliero, *The last of the Crusade: The Knights of St John and Malta in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Hollis & Carter, 1960), 54-59; Carasi, *The Order of Malta Exposed*, Translated by Thomas Freller, (Malta: Gutenberg Press, 2010), 134.

¹² Carasi, 134-135.

¹³ See Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, (London: Routledge, 1966).

defecated in a vase and her father threw it behind Antonio's doorstep. The neighbours collectively agreed that they all heard the same thing from de Nio's daughter Anna, however, the couple denied the accusation and the husband insisted that he would never throw away their waste behind someone else's door, especially that of Antonio Bonello since they were good friends and even went to each other's houses to work. Antonio Bonello remarked that a few days earlier the wives had insulted each other. Rosa de Nio was asked whether she insulted Teresa Bonello by calling her a whore, and her husband a cuckold;¹⁴ Rosa denied this. Her husband, Giuseppe, said that about twenty days earlier Rosa and Teresa had had an argument because Teresa was accusing Rosa of leaving excrement behind her door, but he admitted that he was not present for this argument. Their testimony was not believed, and Giuseppe de Nio was incarcerated on 8 February 1747.¹⁵

This case brings together the young and the adults. Anna De Nio was at Catarina Mifsud's house, mother of Anna Cassar, when she spilled the beans. That which happened outdoors moved indoors in a discussion among neighbours. Additionally, the girl, who was legally considered still a child, was in real life among the adults running an errand when she felt comfortable enough to speak, as it was a common place for her to be in. During the interrogation, Giuseppe de Nio said that he had two daughters, Modesta and Anna, of twelve and nine years old, respectively. The court asked Giuseppe:

Q: Is the said Modesta capable of making good judgement and decisions or is she an idiot?

A: She can give good enough judgement as much as a twelve-year-old can.

Q: Do you occasionally beat your daughters?

A: I never beat them, on the contrary, I argue with my wife because I do not beat them when they do not do their work.¹⁶

In these questions one might note the importance age was given in determining the decision-making of young people and whether this could be used in favour or against the concerned party. He was then asked whether he ever beat the girls to which he adamantly

¹⁴ NAM NA 92/04 Box 433 (20 January 1747) (n.f), '*una puttana futtuta, e se e uomo, e un cornuto*'.

¹⁵ NAM NA 92/04 Box 433 20 January 1747 (n.f.).

¹⁶ NAM NA 92/04 Box 433 20 January 1747 (n.f.)

D^f: *se detta Modesta sua figlia sia giovane di giudizio, o pure in qualche maniera scema*

R^t: *tiene giudizio bastante, quanto le puoi suggerire l'età di dodici anni*

D^f: *se suole bastonare a detta sue figlie*

R^t: *non soglio mai bastonarle anzi contrasto co mia moglie per che non le bastona quando non travagliano*

replied no and insisted that he argued with his wife because he did not even lay his hands on them when they did not do their work. While no explanation was given for these two questions, the implication seems to be related to the factor as to whether the children might be afraid to speak the truth because they feared their father. It shows an element of understanding, by the court, of the set-up in which family dynamics unfolded.

The street is an outdoor space which provides a passageway for the movement of goods, products, animals, and people. It is surrounded by fields, shops or houses which allow one to move from one place to the next while also bringing people together once one steps outside their dwelling. Ultimately, it is the community and the people who define the street and its use through their everyday life routine conditioned by the social, economic, political, and religious atmosphere of the time. It is the way people talk, gossip, fight or help each other which distinguishes the street and the community.¹⁷ During daylight hours, Maltese cities' streets were filled with the hustle and bustle of adults and children, both neighbours and foreigners, some moving purposefully to their place of work, hawkers selling and distributing goods, children playing, running, and screaming and women performing chores with the door open to watch the children and socialise with their neighbours.¹⁸ The environment in which one lives reflects one's way of life and in turn shapes the younger generation growing up in these areas. Growing up in maritime cities, in close proximity to the Order's convent and observing and even participating in maritime work, or employment at the Holy Infirmary, a tavern, or a *bottega*, is different from living in rural villages where one's livelihood depended more on agriculture.

By studying young people from the perspective of street life, one unavoidably has to analyse and challenge the concepts and boundaries between the public and the private and question whether young people were part of the public or private realm, whether they belonged to a category of their own, or even found in both. It is worth noting that the terms public or communal, and private or domestic are categories used to differentiate and describe space. However, space is a concept which cannot be specified or perfectly labelled. Space is

¹⁷ Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen, 'Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets', *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill's Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 1, 6.

¹⁸ Emanuel Buttigieg, 'Everyday life during the Hospitaller period: sources and approaches', *Melita Historica*, 16:4, (2015), 167-186; Noel Buttigieg, 'People of an urban night culture', *Arkivju*, 1, (Malta: National Archives of Malta and the friends of the National Archives of Malta, 2010), 59-72.

defined by individuals each time it is used, and it is a negotiation of the public effort with private use.¹⁹

Paul Griffiths notes that ‘drawing boundaries is a reassuring and satisfying gesture because it defines problems and limits it to a particular place’.²⁰ Mary Douglas and Tannenbaum remark that society cannot deal with what is undefined, thus people are categorised as outsiders or insiders, and use boundaries to define and control criminal activity.²¹ The parish is where the community was constantly reproduced, a place where structure and behaviour were created, maintained, and sometimes challenged a sense of belonging. The community brought with it an ideal of how people, including the young, should behave and how they should be disciplined.²²

The parish represents margins and boundaries for communities because it was not only a physical boundary, but there were also social and economic roles at play. Thus, outsiders were strangers because they brought with them a different behaviour and reputation.²³ Alexander Cowan remarks that in Venetian parishes information quickly became shared public knowledge, thus neighbours knew each other’s strengths and weaknesses and even secrets. They were interested in each other’s lives and observed their comings and goings.²⁴ This is because it ensured the community’s and their children’s safety. In all the cases consulted from the *Magna Curia Castellaniae*, the one reporting an alleged crime mentions the people who witnessed it. These short notes are essential not only because the witnesses could provide more information about the case, but they also show how much the neighbours were aware of what was happening, how much they observed and spoke about everyday issues, as well as how they could have been of help to the people around them. Such is the case of 15 September 1761, when Albin Apap reported that he was at his shop in Valletta, close to the *Gran Corte Castellaniae* and went to the house of his neighbour Signora

¹⁹ Georgia Clarke and Fabrizio Nevola, ‘The Experience of the Street in Early Modern Italy’, *I Tutti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 16: 1/2, (2013), 52; Riita Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen, ‘Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets’, *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riita Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill’s Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 2-5.

²⁰ Paul Griffiths, ‘Overlapping circles: imagining criminal communities in London, 1545-1645’, *Communities in early modern England*, Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 116.

²¹ Griffiths, (2000), 116, 125.

²² Steve Hindle, ‘A sense of place? Becoming and belonging in the rural parish, 1550-1650’, *Communities in early modern England*, Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 96-97; Frans Ciappara, ‘The Parish Community in Eighteenth century Malta’, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 94:4 (2008), 671-694.

²³ Hindle, (2000), 96-97.

²⁴ Cowan, 124-126.

Teresa Pisani, and his thirteen-year-old daughter, Rosa Maria, called him back because a small *caretton* (cart) passed by the street and hit his youngest daughter Speranza of two years and two months. The wheel broke her left femur, so he took her to his shop. After the incident he discovered from the neighbours that his daughter was playing in the street near the windows of the house of the Prior of St John's, whose residence was near the *Magna Curia*, and that the cart was driven by the son of Paolo called *Ta Samra*.²⁵ Although we do not know how this case ended, it is evident that the help of the neighbours and their information were welcomed.

The community enables economic growth and political change while also bringing people together to tackle challenges. It holds a collective together not only through physical boundaries but also through one's association to neighbourhood, kinship, and friendship. The community represents a collective identity which is reflected at a smaller scale in activities related to the street. Individuals belonged to different social groups depending on their work, sexuality and gender, religious and political views, and economic stability, resulting in overlapping circles which all together are an assemblage of social processes and practices.²⁶

Colin Arnaud hypothesises that the bigger attachment one had to the home, the more frequently one interacted with one's neighbours. If one lived far away from one's workplace, one's possibility to interact with one's neighbours was far less. He also remarks that there are places where neighbours met frequently such as churches, taverns, and bakeries. In this way the regular sociability enhanced the community.²⁷ Regular social exchanges resulted in a greater sense of community trust and reliance. Public spaces nurtured the idea of a

²⁵ NAM NA 92/04 Box 469 (15 September 1761) (n.f).

²⁶ Justin Colson and Arie van Steensel, 'Cities and Solidarities. Urban communities in medieval and early modern Europe', *Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe*, Justin Colson and Arie van Steensel (eds.), (New York: Routledge, 2017), 1-4.

²⁷ Colin Arnaud, 'Mapping Urban Communities. A comparative topography of neighbourhoods in Bologna and Strasburg in the late Middle Ages', *Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe*, Justin Colson and Arie van Steensel (eds.), (New York: Routledge, 2017), 60-66.

community as there were repeated interactions and turns in places of memory, nostalgia, sense of belonging which can be passed on through generations.²⁸

David Sabeian notes that the community's commonality is not shared understanding, but its engagement in an argument where misunderstandings and conflict values are resolved.²⁹ Peter Burke goes a step further by warning not to perceive the community as a homogeneous group but as the amalgamation of overlapping circles within a bigger circle of fluid boundaries.³⁰ Edward Muir remarks that underneath the edifice of collective trust, there are always continuous social tensions lurking.³¹ In fact, 'conflict is an integral part of community dynamics, and children would have witnessed this on a regular basis.'³² Francesco Hagius went from Valletta to Mdina in a *calesse* (mule-drawn carriage) driven by the son of *Gnieddo delle Porta Reale* for the feast of the rosary with his children, a boy of eleven years going on to twelve, and three minor aged girls. When the festivities were over, Hagius, his children and the driver were supposed to go back in the *calesse* but they stopped at Ħ'Attard. They disagreed on where the driver was to take them, so the driver was signalling the mule to keep going while Francesco Hagius tried to remove the reins from his hand to stop the gig and fell to the ground, and the wheel missed him by a hair's breadth which led to a physical altercation. This resulted in stone throwing, bleeding, and bruising, so Francesco was taken to a house in Ħ'Attard where they tried to treat the wound with wine and dress it with cloth. Francesco managed to arrive at the Church of St Joseph in the *calesse* driven by *Gnieddo*, where the latter abandoned his vehicle and sought refuge in the church. A certain *tal Ciappaslo*, a porter (*burdnaro*) was passing from the same street and drove his *calesse* and that which Francesco was in. Francesco then petitioned the *Magna Curia Castellniæ* to be repaid for the expenses caused.³³ Unfortunately, aside from a short note remarking that the children saw the altercation, there is no mention of what happened to the children after this accident and whether they were in the same *calesse* with their father when *tal Ciappaslo* provided assistance. We know they witnessed these events, but not how they experienced them.

²⁸ Muir, 5, 11.

²⁹ Karen E. Spierling and Michael J. Halvorson, 'Introduction: Definitions of Community in Early Modern Europe', *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, Michael J. Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling (eds), (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 6.

³⁰ Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004), 5.

³¹ Muir, 3-4.

³² Spierling and Halvorson, 6.

³³ NAM NA 92/04 Box 455 (10 October 1754) (n.f.).

Laurie Nussdorfer defines private space through political terminology as non-governmental space, and distinguishes the public and the private as the ‘visible space outside’ and the ‘invisible space inside’ respectively.³⁴ The fact that a house was considered an enclosed space was meant to secure the honour of the family and the husband and wife, but it was very easy for one’s dirty laundry to be aired.³⁵ A sharp separation of the street from the domestic more private interior, especially in key points such as balconies, roofs, and doorsteps, is highly debatable.³⁶

On 9 June 1747, Rosa Gatt recounted that her daughter Anna Maria Cremona was at her house and that her grandson Crispino, aged two years and six months, was playing with Fortunata, a neighbour’s child of two years and four months, daughter of Francesco and Teresa Cachia. Fortunata’s mother noticed that she had a bruise and was bleeding from her nose. Two hours later Fortunata’s brother Tomaso started beating Crispino in the face. Crispino’s grandmother Rosa Gatt saw what was happening and rushed to help him. She grabbed her grandson to move him away from Tomaso and with the other hand she grabbed Tomaso by his hair. Tomaso managed to escape her grasp, so she sat Crispino down at the side and started running after Tomaso and being unable to reach him she threw a small stone at him which did not hit him. Tomaso’s side of the family, his mother Teresa and his sister Madalena, together with his grandmother Rosa Conti de Navara, came out of their house. Rosa Gatt stood there with one stone in hand and started to approach her house when Teresa grabbed her and slapped her. Anna Maria Cremona dragged her mother, Rosa Gatt, inside the house and closed the door. Madalena, Teresa’s eighteen-year-old daughter, a *zitella*, threw a rock at their closed door. Rosa Gatt went up to her terrace and Madalena threw a rock at her weighing about half a *rotolo* (approx. 0.793787kg),³⁷ which landed on the ground next to Rosa, breaking part of the stone. Later that day, close to the *Commemorazione Dei Defunti* (between 8-9 pm), Madalena climbed the dividing wall between their houses and started insulting Rosa calling her a crazy female rower (*pazza e buonavogliara*), a truly strong insult given the low reputation of the so-called volunteer rowers (the *buonavolgia*) and that there were no female rowers. As soon as Madalena got down from the wall, Rosa sent for a priest,

³⁴ Nussdorfer, 161-162, 164.

³⁵ Nussdorfer, 165.

³⁶ Cowan, 120-122.

³⁷ For further detail about weights and measurements see Joan Abela, *Hospitaller Malta and the Mediterranean Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018), xxvi.

Giuseppe. During the interrogation, a few days after the report, Tomaso's family denied most of the accusations, which resulted in a lengthy court battle between the two families. The neighbours gave accounts of what happened while they were watching from their properties. Eighteen-year-old Francesco Camilleri said that Rosa Conti de Navarra told Rosa Gatt that they would beat her before ever beating Tomaso for his actions, however, while he heard Madalena's voice as she was up on the wall and heard the stone fall, he was unable to see her throwing stones from where he was. Natale Zamit, a carpenter, stated that he saw everything from his shop. Joanna Cachia remarked that she was in her balcony when she saw the fight among the women.³⁸

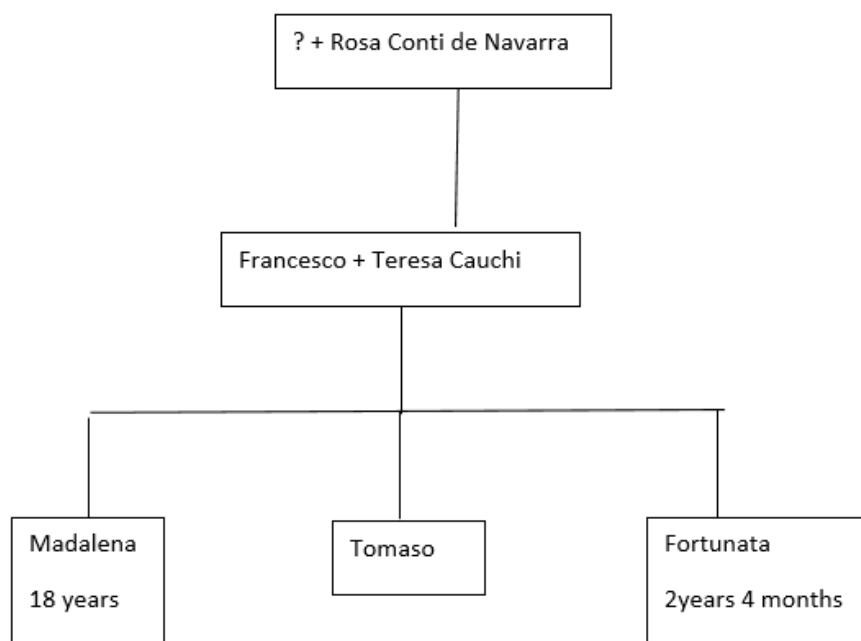


Figure 3. 1 Tomaso's side of the family.³⁹

³⁸ NAM NA 92/04 Box 436 (9 June 1747) ff.1r-31v.

³⁹ NAM NA 92/04 Box 436 (9 June 1747) ff.1r-31v.

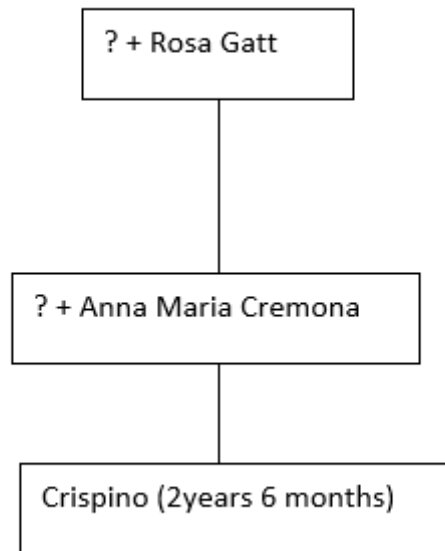


Figure 3. 2 Fortunata's side of the family.⁴⁰

This case shows the blurred lines between the public and the private space and how doors, balconies, terraces, and courtyards were a combination of both. Such spaces allowed observation of one's neighbours and their actions while remaining in the safety of their private spaces. In this case, the actions taken by their children in a public space resulted in a violent argument between neighbouring families. From the documents under study, it is evident that young people were part of both the public and the private spaces, as their adult counterparts did. They were present for conflict and peace-making, they ran in the streets and observed actions, and participated in what was going on, and were often the reason or excuse for the conflict between families in public. On the other hand, they were also at home or in very close proximity of their guardians. They shared and looked over the internal spaces of each other's houses and shared outdoor space.⁴¹

The house is usually considered a closed private space for the family, however, during the day, the house was also an open space. Carasi notes that women were often visited by

⁴⁰ NAM NA 92/04 Box 436 (9 June 1747) ff.1r-31v.

⁴¹ Cohen, 104.

others at their homes.⁴² People went in and out of their relatives' and neighbours' houses to talk or borrow goods and occasionally lived temporarily in the same household. Andrea Briffa reported that Grazia *Ta Ciat* and Onorato went to live with him in his house which he rented in Floriana and left his house on the first day of Lent. At Easter day, as Andrea met Annuzza, daughter of Grazia and Onorato in Floriana, who began to insult him. Andrea returned home at around lunchtime and having found Grazia there, he complained to her that after receiving her family for several months into his house because they had nowhere to live, she sent her daughter, a minor, to insult him. Grazia responded by slapping Andrea in the face, and while neighbours tried to intervene to stop them, they continued to push each other until Andrea was pushed to the ground. As the shouting increased, the *Capitano* (local law enforcement officer) of Floriana Paolo Lucano, who lived adjacent to him, went to see what was happening. Maria Gristi, their neighbour, heard Andrea call Grazia a thief and while she could not hear Grazia's response, she heard Andrea crying '*Hoime, Hoime, you killed me*',⁴³ thus, she rushed into the house. Maria Gristi, Maria Tagliana, another of her neighbours, Grazia's husband and Paolo Lucano tried to separate them. Onorato ended up with his shirt thorn and Grazia shouted '*oime, oime, my heart*'⁴⁴ as they all parted ways.⁴⁵ In the case of Andrea Briffa, and Onorato and Grazia, a private matter turned into a public one which attracted the attention and worry of several people from their neighbourhood. The neighbours felt a responsibility and a duty to interfere in a private matter as it disturbed the public order. It is additionally to be noted that a minor girl was in the middle of this private-public altercation, further illustrating how young people were part of the public sphere as much as they made part of the private sphere.

Elizabeth Cohen remarks that that at times the street was safer than the indoors. Abuse put families, including children, in harm's way, something which neighbours might have kept an eye out for.⁴⁶ This can be observed in the case reported on 6 November 1747. Natalia Borg went to her mother-in-law Argenta's house, and when she returned home, she found the door unlocked so she searched around the house and found no one there; she took her little girl in her arms. As she was about to leave her house she heard her husband Giovanni's voice, who was hidden, described as a devil (*anima di diavolo*). She re-entered

⁴² Carasi, (2010), 115.

⁴³ NAM NA 92/04 Box 463 (13 April 1758) (n.f.), '*Hoime, Hoime m' hai ammazzato*'.

⁴⁴ NAM NA 92/04 Box 463 (13 April 1758) (n.f.), '*Hoime, Hoime, il mio cuore*'.

⁴⁵ NAM NA 92/04 Box 463 (13 April 1758) (n.f.).

⁴⁶ Cohen, 106-107.

her house and told him that she was only looking for her children. She sat down at the side of the bed and Giovanni grabbed her. As he tried to drag her around, she threw herself to the ground, hit the side of the bed and he hit her in the waist with an iron bar and wounded her in her right arm with a knife. Her neighbour Catarina entered her home and tried to speak to Giovanni to stop him from beating and mistreating Natalia. In her report she stated that her neighbours knew of the domestic abuse occurring at their house.⁴⁷ This is one example of how the neighbours and family tried to help and defend each other and the children involved.

This community feeling of duty to protect the young and vulnerable from the dangers of the world extended also to policing the young generations who tried to stir up trouble in their neighbourhood. On 16 June 1755, at about nine in the evening, Giuseppe Agius was walking to his house in Valletta when he passed by a young man from Luqa who was beating Giuseppa Psaila, a prostitute, in front of three of his brothers. Giuseppe tried to stop him and ended up suffering several punches and bruises himself.⁴⁸

Emese Bálint notes that in sixteenth century Kolozsvár, a small town in Transylvania, the implementation of the hue and cry procedure⁴⁹ gave power to the public to interfere in private matters in case of danger, extending the private sphere. Thus, the community was involved in maintaining order and policing their neighbourhoods.⁵⁰ Although the hue and cry was not part of Malta's legal system, a parallel can be drawn to how people felt responsible for the safety of their neighbours and helped each other whenever it was needed. This can be observed in the previously mentioned case of Petra Buhagiar⁵¹ whose shouting for help, after she was beaten with a cane and left injured unable to help herself, was heard by her neighbour who was able to assist her.⁵² Her shouting did not result in her neighbour witnessing the crime, however, he was able to testify to the state he found her in.

⁴⁷ NAM NA 92/04 Box 426 (6 November 1747) (n.f.).

⁴⁸ NAM NA 92/04 459 (16 June 1755) (n.f.).

⁴⁹ The hue and cry was a legal process in Transylvania by which bystanders were called to help in the apprehension of a criminal who had been witnessed committing a crime. Once someone witnessed a crime, the witness was to shout out as a signal for the rest of the neighbourhood to come out and they too witness the crime. By doing so, they should help the court in its case against the alleged criminal. At times this system was manipulated by the criminal by shouting after the crime was committed to try to convince people that it was not him/her who did the crime, but one found the victim at the scene.

⁵⁰ Emese Bálint, 'Mechanisms of the Hue and Cry in Kolozsvár in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill's Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 54-55.

⁵¹ See Chapter 2 page 70, NAM NA 92/04 box 470 (19 January 1760) (n.f.).

⁵² NAM NA 92/04 box 470 (19 January 1760) (n.f.).

At times, the help that was offered after a shout or a loud noise attracting someone's attention was considered as interference in personal matters. On 21 May, Vincentio Dimech told the court that at around four in the afternoon he heard a noise in the street and leaned out of the door of his *bottega* and saw a Turk who was holding the son of a *Signor Capo Maestro* (a master builder) and shortly thereafter a *bastaso* (carrier-boy) arrived and also grabbed the same boy/young man.⁵³ Both men were heard saying 'thief, thief, you stole my meat',⁵⁴ when Ignazio the carpenter tried to separate him from them, but they did not leave until they took the meat from him. By that time, the boy/young man was more dead than alive and full of bruises. One of the witnesses, Giuseppe Ellul also noted that the *bastaso*, after seeing how much attention they were getting, and to look tougher in the eyes of the people around him, started challenging the witnesses to fight, however no one answered him so he went off boasting that nobody would do anything to him.⁵⁵ In this case, the noise and shouting from the men was not to seek help but to shame the boy/young man and show that he was a thief.

'Doorstep sociability bred conflict'⁵⁶ as the street was often the place for rivalries and accidents to happen.⁵⁷ Mevrick Spiteri notes that dwellings and commercial spaces, being highly frequented places, were often linked to disputes.⁵⁸ It is axiomatic that interpersonal conflict occurred at the junction of these borders between people who knew each other because it was the place where people of different genders, professions or trades and status came together. According to Nussdorfer, the association of women with houses made sexual insults a target behaviour by both genders which can also be observed locally. The baker Natalizia insulted Giovanna, wife of Francesco, a carpenter of the galleys, telling her that she was a whore and had been since her youth, a *gifa* (coward) and that her sister Graziulla's race were all whores. The reason why the argument broke out is unclear, however, one witness said that this was done after a two-year-old boy holding a knife or a razor wanted to hurt another boy. Giovanna lamented that if he were her son, she would beat him and kill him, to which words Natalizia took offence. Other witnesses noted that the argument was about a small cat, stolen from Giovanna, who in turn began to curse whoever robbed her.⁵⁹ On 24

⁵³ In this document, the son of the Capo Maestro is referred to both as *ragazzo* and *giovane* and there is no specific age recorded.

⁵⁴ NAM NA 92/04 Box 588 (21 May 1794) (n.f), '*Ladro, Ladro, co hai rubbata la carne*'.

⁵⁵ NAM NA 92/04 Box 588 (21 May 1794) (n.f.); 'me nessuno gli ha risposto ed ando cia millantandosi che nessuno gli avrebbe fatto niente'.

⁵⁶ Cohen, 116.

⁵⁷ Cohen, 104.

⁵⁸ Spiteri, (2015), 3.

⁵⁹ NAM NA 92/04 Box 459 (13 September 1755) (n.f.).

September 1747, Magdalena Lorienti reported that for a month Ursula, the *zitella* of a certain Naibu from Senglea and her neighbour, met several times together with Magdalena's four-year-old son Aloysio and frequently insulted them badly. When her son passed by Ursula's house, together with Margarita, his maternal grandmother Ursula insulted Magdalena by telling her she was married to a baptised Turk (*un torco battezzato*). At another time Ursula told Magdalena that her son had the face of an Imhamet, possibly meaning the face of a Muslim,⁶⁰ which resulted in a physical altercation. This was considered a highly insulting comment towards her son as she was comparing the boy to the enemy and possibly a slave. A few hours later Ursula brought her mother Agata to Magdalena's mother's house and threatened and insulted them, at which point they also threw stones at each other resulting in Magdalena bleeding. Ursula was wounded in the head while Magdalena, eight months pregnant, fractured her nose.⁶¹

In most of the cases where young people, especially children, are present, parents, particularly mothers or female relatives, insult each other and fight, young people are either an excuse for two families to pick a fight with each other or else because they want to protect their children and their reputation. Occasionally one comes across cases where children themselves fight among each other due to insulting words. Such is the case of Giacomo, the six-year-old son of Anna Maria, who threw a stone towards another boy named Gregorio because he had insulted him.⁶²

It is commonly believed that space in Europe was gendered, meaning that the outside was predominantly for males and the inside for females. However, the picture, including for Malta, tended to be far less clear cut than this. Elizabeth S. Cohen opts for a wider definition of the outside and moves away from the perception of the outside being a 'male, governmental domain' by perceiving space as an 'interactive social landscape' and divides space into the domestic inside and the urban outside.⁶³ In the case of children, both girls and boys were expected to spend most of their day with the mother who was usually at home during the day, played together in the street and fought with each other. From the documents under study, it appears that when children are around the age of eight, they start to be given a

⁶⁰ NAM NA 92/04 Box 447 (24 September 1751) (n.f.), '*ingiuriava di brutto, e faccie d'Imhamet*'.

⁶¹ NAM NA 92/04 Box 447 (24 September 1751) (n.f.).

⁶² NAM NA 92/04 Box 463 (11 September 1758) (n.f.).

⁶³ Elizabeth S. Cohen, 'To Pay, to Work, to Hear, to Speak: Women in Roman Streets c. 1600', *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill's Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 57; Rau, 399.

few responsibilities and duties, be it running an errand or assisting their parents in small simple tasks at work. They started to move away from the confines of the home. Thus, when it comes to young people, space in Malta in the broader sense, without micro-analysing particular areas, was not strictly gendered.

Alexander Cowan's study of Venice remarks that the street was a man's place while women remained more in private quarters except for churches and doorways. While men used open spaces for their work to transport and to pass their time between jobs, women used the streets for short moments as to get from one place to the next and this is reflected in their habitual spaces for gossip.⁶⁴ According to Laurie Nussdorfer, in Rome, space was gendered because when analysing conflict, women rarely featured in conflict in public spaces but were protagonists of interactions in their neighbourhoods and houses, thus, reflecting the different usage of space for men and women. Although they are present on the streets, they are in an enclosed setting causing very little disputations.⁶⁵

The street was a place where young people, particularly children, could play and socialize. It was not the first time that this recreational space and time turned into a fight among people in the neighbourhood. It was not a rare occurrence that children enraged a neighbour because of their teasing or mishaps. On 3 January 1755, Francesco Stuzzini from Valletta reported that his eight-year-old son, Pietro, on Saturday at four in the afternoon, was with other boys his age playing with rocks in the *parapetto* (parapet) and bench of a house located in front of the Auberge d'Aragon. One of the boys had a piece of a cane in his hand and threw it into the living room of Anna Maria nicknamed *del Ciacciarone*. She went out of the house, grabbed Pietro who was sitting on a stone-bench and threw him to the ground resulting in him bleeding. His father filed a report so that the said Anna Maria be punished accordingly.⁶⁶ Gratia Vella faced a similar problem with her neighbouring children. On 14 September 1758 she was washing her infant's clothes at her door when seven-year-old Antonio grabbed a handful of mud from the middle of the street and threw it at her face and dirtying her clothes. She immediately went to his mother Catarina with this mud, but she grabbed her and threw her onto the parapet of the mezzanine of a certain Vincenzo, soldier of

⁶⁴ Alexander Cowan, 'Gossip and Street Culture in Early Modern Venice', *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill's Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 130-131.

⁶⁵ Nussdorfer, 163-164.

⁶⁶ NAM NA 92/04 Box 458 3 January 1755 (n.f.).

the galleys and punched her.⁶⁷ It is clear that the child's place was not allocated to one particular space. Children made part of the public as much as the private space and they were present for the everyday life occurrences within their neighbourhood be it by other fellow children or by the adult counterparts. In everyday life, space was neither strictly gendered nor specific to a particular age.

3.3 Crime

“The history of a society is also the history of a clash that exists between its instinct for survival and desire for union and collaboration”.⁶⁸ Crime history is inevitably a history of relationships and it is not autonomous from the circumstances and politics of everyday life.⁶⁹ Court records reflect the implementation and processes of criminal justice and social relations as they work hand in hand to establish order and control.⁷⁰ Because community politics entailed the resolution of social conflict to keep public peace which was necessitated for good community relations,⁷¹ a good measure of interference by a higher public authority was required in the process of dispute and reconciliation. Therefore, by analysing court records one can obtain a better understanding of relations between different genders and ages and their actions.

While eighteenth-century crime and acts of violence are widely researched on a local and European level, there is no extensive research focusing on young people's involvement in criminal activities, how violent or mischievous they were, how they were perceived and treated by society in relation to such actions, why they committed crime, whether it was an issue of age and gender and whether they were more or equally victims and perpetrators.⁷² This shortcoming denies agency to young people as historical actors within the legal process and the study of everyday life. Due to the lack of literature, the same method of research and analysis used for the history of women in society, particularly in relation to crime, must be adopted to study the presence of young people, especially children in relation to crime. This

⁶⁷ NAM NA 92/04 Box 463 14 September 1758 (n.f.).

⁶⁸ Steve Hindle, 'The Keeping of the Public Peace', *The Experience of Authority in Early modern England*, Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, Steve Hindle (eds), (New York: Macmillan Education, 1996), 213.

⁶⁹ Mario Sbriccoli, 'Fonti giudiziarie e fonti giuridiche. Riflessioni sulla fase attuale degli studi di storia del crimine e della giustizia criminale,' *Studi storici*, 29:2, (1988), 493-494.

⁷⁰ Sanne Muurling, *Everyday Crime, Criminal Justice and Gender in Early Modern Bologna*, (Leiden: Brill Publications, 2019), 5.

⁷¹ Hindle, (1996), 213.

⁷² Muurling, (2019), 2-3.

is not because children are an extension of women's lives or because the two fields of study are strictly an extension of one another, but the history of women and that of young people are both considered minority groups which deal with similar situations within society and within the available literature which focuses more on the adult male role in society.⁷³

From the sources under study, young people within the age bracket of five and nineteen were almost equally victims and perpetrators (see figure 3.3). However, a great difference in gender appears when analysing the number of male and female children, adolescents and youths as perpetrators or victims of crime and violence. As can be observed in the charts below, females were less likely than males to be victims of violence and were even less likely to be perpetrators of criminal activities (see figure 3.4 and 3.5). These numbers are only a reflection of a selected number of Miscellaneous boxes of criminal records. Thus, while they do paint a picture of how many females and males were reported or mentioned for acts of violence, these numbers do not portray the complete statistical local reality. This leaves out instances of unreported criminal activities which could have possibly been resolved among families outside court, cases unrelated to the *Magna Curia Castellanica* which are archived in different sections within the National archives and other archives as well as documentation from other courts.

⁷³ See Suzannah Lipscomb, 'How can we recover the lost lives of women?', *What is History, Now?*, Helen Carr and Suzannah Lipscomb (eds.), (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2021), 178-196; Charles Savona Ventura, *Devotees of Venus: A History of Sexuality in Malta*, (Malta: DISCERN, 2003); Cohen, 95-118; Margret R. Hunt, *Women in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, (New York: Routledge, 2010).

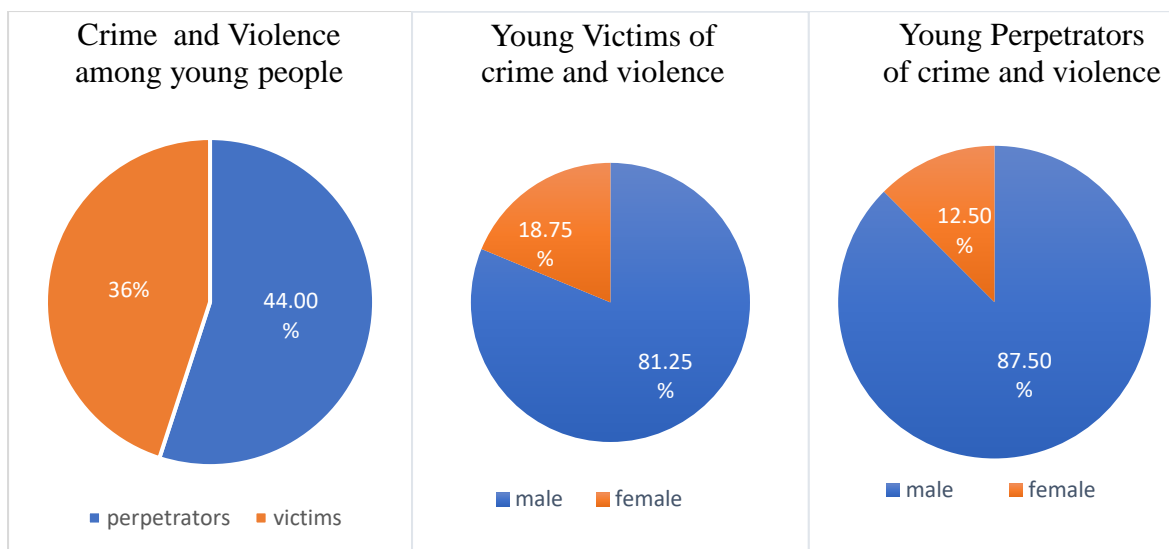


Figure 3. 3

Figure 3. 4

Figure 3. 5

While in this case it is evident that females appear less violent than males, the notion that women were naturally less likely to commit a crime because their gender makes them docile beings incapable of such actions has been largely discounted.⁷⁴ Young girls were more likely to be close to home, under the watchful eye of the parents and boys were allowed to roam the streets more freely which made them easier targets of violence and more susceptible to violence. Without excluding the physical altercations among neighbourly females, girls and young women were more likely to insult one another or have one of the parents, especially the mother, deal with the situation immediately as the incident happened. Boys were closer to the adult activities, near men at work and in places like *bottegi* and taverns where trouble was almost inevitable. The sampling of the documents and the nature of the sources studied can partially explain, therefore, the low number of females as victims and perpetrators.

Occasionally, there is the tendency to look at children with rose-tinted glasses and imagine that most of them were innocent creatures; the girls attached to their mother's hip and the boys slightly more energetic, while the young men and women were up to no good because that is what we expect from youths. However, life is not as clear-cut. The sources under study, being criminal records, shed light on the problematic and criminal young. According to Mario Sbriccoli, one must be careful not to have a naive understanding of

⁷⁴ Muurling, (2019), 5.

criminal court records as to simply reflect criminality because history is a by-product of the law, how it is observed and how it is applied. There is always a reason for someone to commit a crime or to be violent towards others, as does the increase or decrease of criminality in different areas. However, sources do not always satisfy our curiosity as to why one would take such actions. It is also a question of measures, context, and space.⁷⁵ Young people's misbehaviour, criminal activities, violence, and their relations with the criminal court must be viewed as part of a broader network of both formal and informal control mechanisms.⁷⁶ Neighbours and bystanders played a very important role in keeping them in check. When this informal control failed, the community had to resort to higher more powerful authority.

At nine o'clock on a Sunday night, Giuseppe Fenech was minding his own business walking in the streets of Valletta when he met a certain Giovanni Battista Saguna and witnessed the beating of some boys by two young men. Saguna testified that while he was walking in Valletta, he saw two young men, one dressed in a dark petticoat and the other one with the flaps of his shirt on the outside,⁷⁷ and saw them teasing a woman and, according to him, they appeared drunk. A few moments later, he met with Giuseppe Fenech and as they walked together, they saw these two young men slapping the two boys and pulling their hair for no reason. Giuseppe Fenech intervened and said: 'why, brother, are you doing this to him, aren't we Christians or are we Jews?',⁷⁸ but he kept pulling his hair to which Giuseppe added: 'why are you treating him like this? If he were my son, I would have shown you what I would have done [!]'.⁷⁹ At this point, Saguna tried to remove the boy from the young man's grasp and the latter replied: 'what would you have done to me?',⁸⁰ and at that instance, the boy was freed, and Giuseppe was struck by a knife and wounded in his stomach. Another bystander, Bartholomeo Paris, saw this and tried to separate them but they started to fight again. Saguna tried to restrain one of the perpetrators and dodged being struck with a knife in his abdomen. By the end of this fight, more people started to gather around them, called for soldiers as the

⁷⁵ Sbriccoli, (1988), 495-6.

⁷⁶ Muurling, (2019), 13.

⁷⁷ *'A me incamminarsi due uomini vestiti, uno con sottoveste oscura, e l'altro con le falde della di lui camigia fuori'*.

⁷⁸ NAM NA 92/04 Box 472 (7 July 1760) (n.f), *'perché fratello gli fai così, o siamo Xpiani, o siamo ebrei'*.

⁷⁹ NAM NA 92/04 Box 472 (7 July 1760) (n.f), *'per che lo tratti così, se fosse un figlio mio, si avrei fatto vedere quello si avrei fatto'*.

⁸⁰ NAM NA 92/04 Box 472 (7 July 1760) (n.f), *'cosa m'avresti fatto'*.

two young men ran away singing and shouting, and sought refuge in the Church of All Souls.⁸¹

While this incident ended up with the unfortunate death of Giuseppe Fenech, this case study shows the importance of witnesses and the intervention of the public to keep order. The public gaze was a means of keeping people in check and report whenever needed. Good behaviour and lawful attitudes towards each other and the community, particularly in the street, being a public space, were of great importance. Georgia Clarke and Fabrizio Nevola note that civic order depended on the processes of observation between the citizens and the government and not only that which was imposed from above.⁸² In this case, if it were not for the help and intervention of Giuseppe Fenech, Bartholomeo Paris and Giuseppe Battista Saguna, the victims would have suffered a harsher fate. It is also worth noting the importance of the joint effort between the community who offered its first assistance and the authority, in this case, the soldiers and the court itself who investigated the incident.

It is commonly accepted that in Malta, as in Europe, children were everywhere. Young people were a main characteristic of traditional society. Children were the reason why many couples married.⁸³ They created a lot of movement and noise in the street as they played, raced, and ran the family's errands. Frans Ciappara notes that children irritated people around them by teasing beggars and people at work, as was observed earlier in the case of five-year-old Paolo Mallia and Nikolai Zammit,⁸⁴ arriving late at home or not at all, going up the church steeples and quarrelled and fought among themselves.⁸⁵ In his study of society and social life through records of the Inquisition, Ciappara points out several instances of lawlessness and inappropriate behaviour among young people: fighting, swearing, stealing, gambling and begging.⁸⁶ It is no surprise that people were involved in crime and violent acts, both as victims and perpetrators from a young age.

On 9 November 1754, nine-year-old Caroli Mallia reported that at around four in the afternoon, he found himself victim of thirteen-year-old Francesco Hagijs, his *condiscépolo*,⁸⁷

⁸¹ NAM NA 92/04 Box 472 (7 July 1760) (n.f.).

⁸² Clarke and Nevola, (2013), 53.

⁸³ Frans Ciappara, *Marriage in Malta in the Late Eighteenth Century*, (Malta: associated News Ltd, 1988), 104.

⁸⁴ See Chapter 2 p. 84, NAM NA 92/04 Box 514 (25 July 1775) (n.f.).

⁸⁵ Frans Ciappara, (1988), 112, 118; *Society and the inquisition in Early Modern Malta*, (Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group Ltd, 2001), 27.

⁸⁶ Ciappara, (2001), 25-27.

⁸⁷ In this context, *condiscépolo* probably refers to someone who is a co-worker or someone who is working or training for the same trade under the same *maestro*. See <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/condiscipolo/>

in Valletta near the Church of Santa Teresa. He tried to avoid blows by stones by running away from him but fell to the ground, hit his forehead sustaining a severe injury, after being persecuted by the same Hagius for the previous three days.⁸⁸ Stone throwing was a very common practice to execute one's violent intentions and was a regular feature of young people's behaviour. Sanne Muurling notes that stones were 'opportune weapons',⁸⁹ easily found in the street and could cause significant damage. As can also be observed in Malta, Muurling remarks that in Bologna, stone throwing was a practice used by both children and adults, however, it was more commonly an act committed by the young and was an act of not only inflicting pain upon the opponent, but also to cause them shame.⁹⁰

According to Julius R. Ruff and Robert Muchembled, in the early modern period, people from all social classes were more prone to violent behaviour.⁹¹ Violence was a common occurrence in people's everyday life and considered 'part of the fabric of popular society'.⁹² For both the adult and the young, violence was an inescapable reality.⁹³ In fact, Ruff notes that 'violence was less a problem to be solved than an almost accepted aspect of interpersonal discourse'.⁹⁴ Emanuel Buttigieg remarks that like in the rest of Europe, violence in Malta was a widespread component of everyday life and young people participated in this violence as victims, witnesses and perpetrators.⁹⁵

Turmoil, noise, fights, and shouts were very common in the street; however, they were not always tolerated or deemed appropriate behaviour. On a Friday in late November 1785, at around the time of the *Commemorazione dei Defonti* (between 8-9 pm), in Senglea, Michele Borg, together with two other young men, was heard singing in the streets near the house of Marcella Amaria of Saverio Boggi and singing insulting words directed towards

⁸⁸ NAM NA 92/04 Box 457 (9 November 17540 (n.f.).

⁸⁹ Muurling, (2019), 142.

⁹⁰ Muurling, (2019), 132, 142-143.

⁹¹ Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 2; Susan Broomhall, 'Introduction: Violence and emotions in early modern Europe', *Violence and Emotion in Early modern Europe*, Sarah Broomhall and Sarah Finn (eds.), (New York: Routledge, 2016), 2-3.

⁹² Julius R. Ruff, 'Popular violence and its prosecution in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France', *Crime, Law and Popular Culture in Europe, 1500-1900*, Richard McMahon (ed.), (New York: Willan Publishing, 2008), 33.

⁹³ John Cech, 'The violent Shadows of Children's Culture', *Handbook of Children, Culture and Violence*, Nancy E Dowd, Dorothy G. Singer, Robin Fretwell Wilson(eds), (Sage Publications, Inc, 2008) (22 June 2009), Accessed from https://sk-sagepub-com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/reference/hdbk_childculture [retrieved on 20 July 2021].

⁹⁴ Ruff, (2001), 117.

⁹⁵ Emanuel Buttigieg, 'Family life and neighbourliness in Malta (c.1640-c.1740): some preliminary observations based on evidence from the Magna Curia Castellaniæ ', *Arkivju*, issue 1, (Malta: National Archives and the Friends of the National Archives, 2010), 50.

Marcella. The latter went out of the house and told them to go away, because she was not bothering them, after which Michele Borg headed to Michael Xiculuna's *bottega*.⁹⁶ Michele Borg took Saverio to the said *bottega* and offered him some wine, which triggered an argument between them. Saverio removed himself from the verbally charged conversation with Michele Borg and started to argue with Marcella. In this instant Michele Borg took a knife, which was around his belt and told Marcella to go about her business otherwise he would strike her too. Giuseppe Borg testified that a day before this incident, close to the hour of the Castellana, he saw an unrecognisable hooded man with a cap stopping by Marcella's house.

Michael Xicluna was then asked to give his version of the incident and he recounted the following. Michele Borg asked for a *quartuccio di vino* which was shared among the three young men and just a little wine was left in the glass. At that instance Michele told the *bottegaro* that he did not do well leaving light at the door of his *bottega* the previous Wednesday because he was unable to pass from that street and Xicluna replied that the light was supposed to benefit him at night, but Michele did not want people to recognise him because he was going to look for Saverio who lived with Marcella, a friend of the *bottegaro*. Because of this light, Borg said that that Wednesday around the time of the Castellana he found himself at Xicluna's *bottega*. He was wearing a *cappotto* (overcoat) not to be seen, as was witnessed by Xicluna himself, and so he thought it was a *Visconte* of the *Gran Castellania* (a law official). Michele Borg assured Xicluna that he was hooded because he had a problem with Saverio Boggi due to jealousy between them (which was probably over Marcella). After leaving the *bottega* Michele and the young men, with a soldier named Alberto who was with the galley squadron, tried to catch up with Boggi and took him to the *bottega*. While they drank some more wine bought from the *bottega*, Borg offered his wine to Boggi but said that he did not need him and that he had wine and had the money to pay for it. They continued the heated discussion they had before entering the *bottega*, and Xicluna made them leave and closed the *bottega*. Xicluna was at his home and heard some words between Borg and Boggi but did not take notice of it because it was raining. He also noticed that there was another voice, that of Marcella and a certain Bellizia and Elisabeta, friends and neighbours of Marcella. Xicluna noted that he did not know whether Borg had a knife. He

⁹⁶ In his testimony, Michael Xicluna refers to his *bottega* as '*bottega di facchino*'. While there is not direct explanation to why he is referring to his own *bottega* as such, it is likely, since it is in a Harbour town, in Senglea, that this *bottega* was frequented by porters.

was then asked by the court whether the *Capitan di Marinari* (captain of the mariners) was informed of this incident. He replied that the previous Sunday around four in the afternoon, the *Capitan di Marinari* went to Xicluna's *bottega* with someone whom he did not know, asking him to tell him what happened next. Moreover, he related the above said story. Thus, the *Capitan di Marinari* let him go and because of this, the Captain of the Magna Curia asked him who he thought was in the right. However, he replied that he did not know who was right because it was not his job to decide.⁹⁷

Natalie Zemon Davis notes that in France there were the Abbeys of Misrule, organised youth groups which kept a watchful eye on their communities and during their festivals ridiculed and brought to the attention of the public the misdeed of the members of the community, such as those who beat their wives and adulterers.⁹⁸ Although no such youth groups are as of yet known to have existed in Malta, young people did have a tendency to tease or bring to attention personal private matters. In this instance, Michele Borg's insulting songs directed towards Marcella might have uncovered more than his dislike of this woman as things escalated at the *bottega*.

The most common criminal act by young people, both males and females, in the documents under study, was theft. On 7 December 1748, Balthassar Barbarossa from Senglea testified that on the previous Thursday after the Pater Noster, he was on the frigate of Padrone Antonio Bonavia, behind Senglea, and saw a young man known as Busa and a certain Gaspare *ta Cinili* from Bormla, who entered the frigate and came to the frigate with a boat which according to Balthassar was stolen. The young men stole a *pignatte piena si pece* (pot full of fish), which weighed approximately six *rotoli*. Then, Balthassare, Giovanni, the son of aforementioned Padrone, a Pantallarese whose name he did not know, and a Sicilian Giuseppe, placed themselves in the *caique* of the frigate and chased the two thieves who escaped with the fishing boat. They were close to Senglea, stopped them and chased them. They caught Gaspare, who had earlier fled, and Busa was taken to Senglea's Captain Paolo Lucano, however, the *pignata di pece* was not found and Balthassare presumed that it was thrown into the sea after being chased.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ NAM NA 92/04 Box 549 (21 November 1785) (n.f.). 'io gli replicai, che non sapevo chi potrebbe aver ragime, poiche non spettava a me di decidere'.

⁹⁸ Zemon Davis, (1972), 45, 50.

⁹⁹ NAM NA 92/04 Box 439 7 December 1748 (n.f.).

At ten in the morning on 20 June 1750, fifteen-year-old Bartholomeo Debono known as Ta Patacca from Bormla who worked on ships as a *muzzo*,¹⁰⁰ sixteen-year-old Gaspare Busuttil, known as Ta Cinili, a *marinero* (a skilled mariner) on ships, twenty-year-old Santo, a fisherman, sixteen-year-old Giuseppe Ta Sciavvel who worked on French and Maltese ships as a *muzzo*, ten- or twelve-year-old Giovanni Antonio known as L'isuet¹⁰¹ who worked on the ship San Giovanni, sixteen-year-old Giacomo *Ta Remedeus*, and ten-year-old Mio, were caught stealing a quantity of figs and breaking tree branches in an enclosure of land near the *Polverista* in Bormla in the street leading to Żejtun. When they were scolded to stop by Giuseppe Minuti who was in a nearby enclosure and seemingly guarding the fig trees, the young men threw stones at him. In his report Giuseppe Minuti remarked that if he had not been wearing a *beretta e cappello* (flat cap and hat), he would have suffered an injury. To force them to get out of the enclosure he fired four blank shots in their direction. Paulica, widow of Angelo Bonavia from Żabbar, added further detail on how the young men were positioned in the field, noting that six of them were inside the enclosure and three others remained by the walls of the enclosure. Bartholomeo Debono denied stealing any figs or breaking any trees and admitted that when he met his companions at the quay of Bormla, they had agreed to go to the enclosure of the baptised slave of Giacche *il mercante*, which was close to the enclosure they actually went to.¹⁰²

It is evident that this criminal act was not by chance but was premeditated and they were there with the intention of stealing. On the other hand, the fact that they met at Bormla's square with the intention of going to an enclosure to commit theft could have also been their mischievous way of having fun. Animals were also a common target for young people to steal. While the documents note what animals were stolen and sometimes witnesses even estimate their worth, it is not clear whether the theft was done for genuine reasons, and the animals were stolen because the thief was poor, or whether it was an act of truancy.

¹⁰⁰ Muzzo means a person of service. In this case, a muzzo, or mozzo, was a low-ranking sailor boy, usually in his early teens. See <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/ricerca/mozzo/> [retrieved 26/04/2022]; and Alberto Guglielmotti, *Vocabolario Marino e Militari*, (Rome: Mursia Editore, 1889), 557. See also Liam Gauci, *In the Name of the Prince: Maltese Corsairs 1760-1798*, (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2016), 217 and Joseph Muscat, *Il-Flotta ta' l-Ordni ta' San Ġwann*, (Malta: PIN Publications, 2000). Simon Mercieca notes that *muzzi* were usually in their early teen apprentices in seafaring. See Simon Mercieca, 'The Spatial Mobility of Seafarers in the Mediterranean: A case study based on status liberi documentation (1581-1640)', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 12:2, (2002) 385-410.

¹⁰¹ L'isuet is phonetic for *l-iswed*, the black one.

¹⁰² NAM NA 92/04 Box 443 20 June 1750 (n.f.).

Just three days later, the same young men were caught red handed once again. At around three in the afternoon, eighteen-year-old Lorenzo Portelli, a *bastaso* from Bormla, was seen near the *Polverista* (gunpowder store) in Bormla carrying a black pig in a blanket worth about 2 *scudi*. When questioned by the court about this, Lorenzo noted that as he was passing from Bormla, near the *Polverista*, he met a boy known as *Ta Sebhu* carrying a little black pig given to him by Antonio *L'isuet* of Bormla, and because the boy did not have anything to carry the pig in, Lorenzo offered to help take him home as he had a sack with him in which they could put the pig. When asked from where he obtained the pig, Lorenzo said that one of his companions had bought it from Floriana and delivered it to him in Bormla. Lorenzo was then asked by the court whether he was in the company of Antonio *L'isuet* to which he remarked that he was in his company at least five times to pick figs from different lands but was never caught and he was not with the other young men who were earlier caught stealing figs from the enclosure of land in Bormla. He later added that he had stolen some fruit and almonds from a garden in the area of Santa Margarita in Bormla with Antonio *L'isuet* and fifteen-year-old Giuseppe Bezzina known as *Ararra*. He also denied being with Antonio to steal hens from Bormla, Senglea and Vittoriosa. Giuseppe Vella who brought this incident to the attention of the court noted a silver buckle in Lorenzo's hands worth eighteen *tari*, which according to Lorenzo, belonged to his brother. At the end, the buckle and the pig were given to Giuseppe Grima, Captain of Bormla. Giuseppe Vella also confirmed that Lorenzo did not know whether the items were stolen however, Vella knew that *L'isuet* was already imprisoned for theft of fruit. Because of this the court inquired from where he obtained the buckle and replied that he found it in the ditch of Valletta and affirmed that he had not stolen it.

During his questioning a few days later, sixteen-year-old Antonio Calleya *L'isuet*, a *muzzo* of the Order of St John, was questioned by the court about the stolen pig. Antonio admitted that he and Lorenzo stole some pigs of *Tal Arrigo* from land near the 'new warehouses' in Valletta. Lorenzo ran after them and he gave him the sack, the same sack mentioned earlier by Lorenzo. Antonio *L'isuet* also noted that the buckle was found by Lorenzo together with a silver cross-filled with relics which opened and locked, and a small bag and they sold them for three *carlini* and he estimated that the pig could have been sold for twenty *tari*. Antonio denied having to persuade Lorenzo to commit the theft.¹⁰³ On 21

¹⁰³ NAM NA 92/04 Box 443 (23 July 1750) (n.f).

July 1750, eighteen-year-old Lorenzo Portelli was imprisoned for stealing a pig and was released from imprisonment on 12 August 1750.¹⁰⁴

These two incidents, so close to each other in time, together with the number of young people involved in these thefts, provide a glimpse to some to the criminal action that young people were involved in at the harbour cities. It also shows that similar to today, young people influenced each other, and such groups of friendship led them to get caught up in such inappropriate behaviour. It is also worth noting that one's actions had repercussions upon oneself, the family and the community.¹⁰⁵ Honour was a very important element to families because one member's honour and reputation reflected upon the whole family. Honour depended on the esteem held by one's friends, neighbours, and associates. A man's reputation depended on his honesty, loyalty, manliness, and his competence in what he did, while a woman's honour was associated more with sexual matters such as fidelity and modesty, retaining her innocence and femininity. One's standing in society and livelihood depended on how others perceived them.¹⁰⁶ When one's honour was questioned it challenged the reputation of all those who could be connected to them. Thus, one's children's reputation, good behaviour, and honour, at any stage and age in their life, was a concern for the whole family, and even the neighbourhood.

Fortunato Duranti recounts an interesting anecdote from the activities in the street in relation to stone throwing. In his testimony he noted that he was with Bartolomeo Zamit, known as *Slielah*, and with Giovanni Debono, and he saw some young men (*giovani*) playing with a few small boats (*vascelli*) in the rainwater that had gathered in the street. The Hospitaller Conventual Chaplain Fra Vincenzo Pellerano passed near the young men and in that moment, Bartolomeo raised a stone from the ground and the boat moved but it did not hit Fra Pellerano. The latter approached Bartolomeo and told him: 'You rascal (*briccone*) why did you throw it and not wait for me to pass?',¹⁰⁷ and at the same time he slapped him on the cheek. Bartolomeo replied: 'I do not respect you, but your collar'.¹⁰⁸ Shortly before the *Commemorazione dei Defunti* (between 8-9 pm), according to his testimony, Giovanni

¹⁰⁴ NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1750-1750 (21 July 1750), f. 19.

¹⁰⁵ Emese Bálint 'Mechanisms of the Hue and Cry in Kolzsvár in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill's Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 57.

¹⁰⁶ Ruff, (2008), 34-35.

¹⁰⁷ NAM NA 92/04 Box 449 (11 December 1752) (n.f) , '*Briccone perche avete scagliato, detta pietra, e non havete aspettato ha che io havessi passat*'.

¹⁰⁸ NAM NA 92/04 Box 449 (11 December 1752) (n.f), '*non porto rispetto a voi, ma al vostro collaro*'.

Debono was with Fortunato and Bartolomeo standing by the door of Giovanni's house, by the bastions behind the church of Santa Lucia,¹⁰⁹ very close to the house of Signor de Mora, when Fra Pellerano passed by them and saw them. Bartolomeo approached him to inquire why he slapped him, and Fra Pellerano said that it was what he felt like doing and slapped him again. Bartolomeo was not going to stand for it and was ready to rough him up. Bartolomeo started to punch him, however, Fortunato intervened. He picked Fra Pellerano's hat from the ground, gave it to him and they all parted ways. Fra Pellerano remained with a wounded hand and thus he reported this incident to the Night Captain to seek justice for his alleged mistreatment.¹¹⁰ In this instance, since it seems that there was no love lost between Bartolomeo and Fra Pellerano, the stone was not thrown directly at the opponent but in his proximity as to signal the dislike and the intent of violence towards the other person. On the other hand, they both did not shy away from raising their hand on one another. While Bartolomeo was still young and Fra Pellerano's actions could be interpreted as a way of disciplining the young man, Bartolomeo's actions might have been more frowned upon as he raised his hands on a man who was not only older than him in age, but also a priest.

When discussing the behaviour and actions of young people, it is important to keep in mind the importance of age hierarchy in society and the unwritten rules of maintaining behaviour appropriate to one's age group. Age structure demanded that those of older age were expected to have more authority over younger ones.¹¹¹ As the saying goes, it takes a village to raise a child, and the older generations, neighbours of the families raising children, were indeed there to observe, teach and discipline these children to help instil in them proper conduct to become well behaved adolescents and honourable men and women.

3.4 Discipline and protection

Cases of interpersonal violence, both verbal and physical, were heard daily by the courts and it was a desire and need of both the court and the community to discipline such actions.

Interpersonal violence had the ability for the victim to be further wounded by ruining one's

¹⁰⁹ Although the locality of the church is not specified, it is very likely that this refers to the Church of St Lucy in Valletta.

¹¹⁰ NAM NA 92/04 Box 449 (11 December 1752) (n.f.).

¹¹¹ J.A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760*, Second edition, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1997), 187-188.

reputation and provoking a snowball effect of further violent actions towards the wider family network.¹¹² The state was in charge of disciplining the young to ensure they were well behaved, growing up to be moral adults of good conduct.¹¹³ Felice Magro, a minor, was accused by fifteen-year-old Francesco Azzopard of insulting him in the street, trying to take money from him and cursing in public. Felice was sentenced by the court with a penalty of serving in public works for five years. In his appeal, Felice Magro noted that he only had fourteen months before he would no longer be considered a ‘minor’ and inquired about his remaining time of punishment which he considered to be excessive to his crime.¹¹⁴ Although no relation between the age and punishment can be objectively noted in this case, Felice Magro tried to use age to appeal his case and hoped that in doing so his sentence would be reduced.

On 11 October 1751, Michael Caparotta from Senglea testified that the previous August, while at the *Magna Curia* prison, he was speaking with a certain *Tal Antionio* from Bormla, who worked on various merchant ships; the latter told Michael a story about the night captain Demetrio Sabinet and a young man dressed as a cleric from two days earlier at Bormla’s square. According to Michael, the night captain struck two boys who were at the square with a rod to slow them down and at that moment, the young man dressed as a cleric arrived. He grabbed the rod from the captain’s hand, saying it was enough and suddenly the captain slapped him. When discussing the matter among themselves, Antonio and Michael agreed that the matter should be reported to the Ecclesiastical court.¹¹⁵ While it is not specified what kind of crime or disturbance the two young boys had committed, and there is no clear indication whether the night captain was abusing his power and being too rough with the boys to show he was in charge, the young man cheekily disguised as a priest intervened on the behalf of the children, arguing for leniency. The men discussing this incident in prison believed it ought to be reported to the ecclesiastical court because it was not right to impersonate a priest. They were apparently much more concerned about this travesty than the fate of the two boys.

J. A. Sharpe notes that in England several writers were concerned with the upbringing of children, defining adolescence and youth as a strange and difficult age. It was commonly

¹¹² Muurling, (2019), 123.

¹¹³ See Christine Muscat, ‘Regulating Prostitution in Hospitaller Malta: the Bonus Paterfamilias way’, (Emanuel Buttigieg (ed.), *Storja 2018-2019*, (Malta: Malta University Historical society, 2019), 121-153.

¹¹⁴ NAM NA 92/04 Box 515 (22 November 1775) (n.f.).

¹¹⁵ NAM NA 92/04 Box 446 (11 October 1751) (n.f.).

believed, as was also the case for Malta, that young people were prone to bad behaviour which if not disciplined would hinder their spiritual development and the running of a well-ordered society. It was feared that they would fall into idleness, immorality, and crime, all of which were considered sinful.¹¹⁶ Teresa, wife of Melchior Borg, noted that her brother died about seven years earlier leaving two daughters, Teresa and Concetta aged eight and four respectively. They were taken care of by a certain Rosa who, according to Teresa Borg, instead of educating them in the love of God and keeping and honouring her word to care for them in such manner, allowed them excessive liberty, '*libertinaggio*', to run wild. Teresa petitioned that as their paternal aunt, moved by feelings of honour and in fear that their morals and honour were being neglected, they should be placed at the *Conservatorio*.¹¹⁷

Family members and neighbours felt obliged to report any lack of care or suspicion of abuse to the court in the best interest of the child. Carola, wife of Francesco Bondi from Valletta, reported that around 20 March 1758, she placed one of her children with the wetnurse Rosa, also from Valletta, for breastfeeding. However, Carolo found out that Rosa was not taking care of her and mistreated the child, so she removed her child from Rosa's care and gave it to a certain *Tal Eugenia* from Valletta. When Rosa was still in her service, Carola had bought from her a big scarf or sash of blue fustian cloth (*fascia di fostiano torchino*)¹¹⁸ and a *cappone*¹¹⁹ for her baby for which she paid 2 *tari* and 2 *grani*. A few days later Rosa and Eugenia went to Carola's house demanding the return of the objects. Carola was willing to give back the items if Rosa gave her back the money she paid her for them, after which, Rosa accused Carola of not paying her for the eleven days she cared for her baby and at that point Rosa started beating and threatening Carola who was four months pregnant. Her neighbour, the widow Francesca Casha, heard noise and commotion in the street and went out to see what was happening and heard Rosa call Carola a whore (*puttana*) and face of the devil (*faccia di diavolo*). Another neighbour, Marcella Ratt, testified that Rosa tried to take off the sash from the baby's body and affirmed that Carola was an honest, well-off woman of

¹¹⁶ Sharpe, 188.

¹¹⁷ NAM NA 92/04 Box 590 (28 August 1795) (n.f.). Although it is not directly mentioned the Conservatorio referred to in this case is the Conservatorio del Gran Maestro which housed and cared for girls. This will be further discussed in chapter 4.

¹¹⁸ The term *fostiano* is a typical dialect of Salento, Italy. It refers to a big scarf or sash, a *grande fazzoletto*. Other terms used to refer to this are *cuperciere*, *faccioletto per la testa*, *facciolettone*, *fostiano*, and *giuppetto*. This information was kindly provided by Ms Caroline Tonna and Mr Charles Dalli on 26/06/2022.

¹¹⁹ Although *cappone* is sometimes referred to as a hood or cape, in this context it refers to castrated cock before reaching maturity in order to fatten up and provide tender meat. This information was kindly provided by Ms Caroline Tonna on 26/06/2022.

good principles. Carola, together with her neighbours, testified to the well-known ill-behaviour of Rosa who was not only threatening Carola's well-being but was also endangering a child's life.¹²⁰

The mistreatment of children was not taken lightly, and people spoke out about it. On 23 July 1760, Catharina, second wife of Michele, from Valletta reported that she had heard very worrying news from a certain Nicoló (see figure 3.6), soldier of the *Compagnia Magisteriale* who also worked as a tailor. Catharina lamented that her husband Michele was not taking proper care of their children, putting them in danger as much as he could to try to kill them. One of their children, who was seven years old, had been with his father Michele at the feast of Saint John the previous Sunday and Michele made him climb a fence to see the race. He fell and since his father was absent, he was not seen to by his father. He was also abandoned along the way and fell again and was run over by a *calesse* over his face and was left there alone to die. Then, on 20 July, Michele took another son of theirs, Gaspare, near the Lazzaretto to swim and with the excuse of teaching him how to swim, he gave him a piece of wood and left him alone to return to the city. Consequently, this boy was left to drown, if not for a woman known by Nicoló who noticed the boy and started shouting to Nicoló to jump in the water because he would surely have drowned. Nicoló managed to pull him to shore half dead, pulling him by the legs and helped him spit out a great quantity of water and even some blood. In her report, Catharina asked for Michele to pay for the wrong he did and wanted him to be punished and made to care for his sons Ludovico, Giuseppe and Gaspare.¹²¹ There is an intriguing tension in these documents between the wonderful social details and descriptions of the cultural landscape, and the apparent desire of a father to be rid of his own children.

¹²⁰ NAM NA 92/04 Box 464 (21 July 1758) (n.f).

¹²¹ NAM NA 92/04 Box 470 (25 July 1760) (n.f).

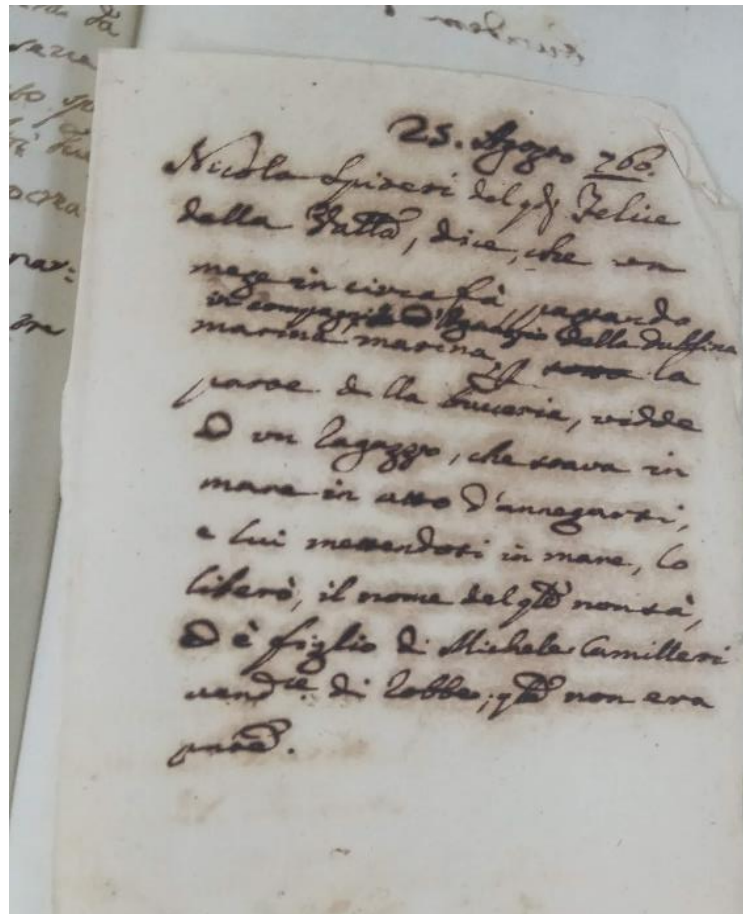


Figure 3. 6 Nicolò Spiteri's short testimony.

Families often became involved whenever they heard or witnessed the mistreatment or abuse of one's child, both minor and grown up. Antonio Turpiano and his wife Maria, from Bormla, noted that they felt obliged to cooperate and participate in the court's inquiry into the actions of Rocco Camilleri, their son-in-law. Rocco was a soldier of the Galera Capitana, and he ill-treated his wife and their daughter Bernarda Camilleri. Antonio recounted how on the day before their report, Rocco Camilleri had the audacity at around four in the afternoon to go to Antonio and Maria Turpiano's street and house and violently throw his baby outside the house. When they tried taking the baby away from him, Rocco replied in a loud voice that he would throw it to the devil (*buttare al diavolo*) after he threatened to kill Bernarda, calling her mother a whore, and hit her head against a wall, holding stones in his hand. Their neighbours came out after they heard shouts from their homes and tried to scold him or stop him from acting violently and in return, he threatened to hurt them or kill them. Antonio scolded Rocco for insulting his family and he did not take this lightly, however, Antonio grabbed him by his hair and threw him to the ground, at which

point he started hurling stones at them. He was shortly taken to prison by the night captain.¹²² For Antonio and Maria Turpiano, it did not matter what Rocco Camilleri could do to them as long as he left their grown-up daughter and her infant alone and safe. They made it a point to mention in their report that he was not only endangering the life of the mother, but he was also violent towards the child. By emphasising this element, they hoped to show the court how extremely violent he was.

While it is commonly believed that fathers did not spend as much time with their children as the mother did, there also exists a misconception that this was directly related to how much they cared or not for their children. It is true that in most families, children spent more time with their mother as she was at home in charge of domestic affairs while the father was out at work. However, this does not always mean that the father was less interested or invested in caring for his children. Angela Borg petitioned the court to go reside with and care for her eleven-year-old daughter who was at the *Conservatorio*. In her petition, Angela mentioned that she had been separated from her husband Salvatore for five years and by the approval of the court she left Floriana and lived in exile in her hometown Birkirkara. While she was in Valletta, she was constantly molested so she returned to Floriana together with her sister, but immediately as she did so her husband requested for her to be prohibited from living in Floriana. Salvo Borg's petitions from a year earlier was consistent in his requests to keep Angela away from Floriana for she was living a scandalous life, getting worse by time and exposing her daughter to such a life. Because of this, the Gran Corte has ordered the 'divorsio' of Angela and Salvo to avoid more disorder. A note from 13 March 1774 points out that their then ten-year-old-daughter, Maria, was placed in the *Conservatorio delle Zitelle* in Floriana to be taken care of since her mother was leading a 'libertina and scandalous life'¹²³ as a prostitute.¹²⁴

This case is only one example of the lengths a father would go to protect his child. Maria was taken to the *conservatorio* with the aim of being taken care of and be protected from the scandalous life of her mother so that she would not be influenced by her mother's actions, with all expenses paid by her father, and not as a means for her father to brush off his responsibilities as a father. One must also keep in mind that while today we speak of the men and women doing equal work at home and in raising their children, the eighteenth-century

¹²² NAM NA 92/04 Box 432 (15 February 1747) (n.f.).

¹²³ NAM NA 92/04 Box 515 (27 June 1775) (ff.6r-6v), '*vita libertine e scandalosa*'.

¹²⁴ NAM NA 92/04 Box 515 (27 June 1775) (ff.1r-9v).

family had different dynamics and a different structure. The man of the family was expected to go out and work and thus, he was not always in a position to be physically at home to watch over the children. In his petitions, Salvo Borg emphasised that he had always provided for the needs of the family, and he would still be providing for his family, but requested the Court, and by extension, the Order of St John, to help in raising his child in a safe environment where she could be given a good education and the example of a good life.

At around ten at night, Valletta's night captain, Vincentio Pace was doing his rounds and he banged on the door of the house of Teresa Muriglia known as *Gozzitana*, located in Valletta close to the *due balle*, while he was searching for two foreigners, as ordered by his superiors. After some time, the door opened and he found a young woman, whom he was ordered to take to the *Casa dell'Invalidi*. Therefore, he ordered the house to be searched but there were no men in the house. Then, he took the aforementioned young girl, thirteen- or fourteen-year-old Paola Caruana from Bormla and sent her to prison and told the viscounts to keep an eye on her house to see whether there were any men, however, they did not find any. Teresa's daughter told Vincentio Pace that there was a man in their house who fled by going up the terrace and he immediately followed him. Teresa and her mother Domichilla were taken to the court's prison.¹²⁵

Cases related to prostitution were not taken lightly, especially when young people were involved. A woman's honour depended on her sexual integrity and the kind of people she surrounded herself with.¹²⁶ The court's decision to imprison Paola Caruana was both a disciplinary action against her misconduct as well as a means of protecting her from further harm. People of a young age, particularly females, were sent to the *Casa delle Povere Invalide* or the *Conservatorio delle Zitelle* instead of the state prison. The *Casa delle Povere Invalide*, inside the *Casa della Carità*, was a detention centre for females who led a dishonest and dishonourable life. Christine Muscat notes that the females sent to the *Conservatorio* were perceived to be at risk of leading an immoral life. The *Conservatorio* was the place where the Grand Master and his court placed prostitute's daughters, and where fathers placed their rebellious and unruly daughters to receive education, protection from vices and be provided with moral, economic, spiritual, and physical help.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ NAM NA 92/04 Box 450 (22 September 1752) (n.f.).

¹²⁶ Carmel Cassar, *Daughters of Eve: women, gender role and the impact of the Council of Trent in Catholic Malta*, (Malta: Mireva, 2002), 39; Muurling, (2019), 110.

¹²⁷ Muscat, (2018), 257-259.

While Maria Borg was removed from her mother's house due to prostitution, other women who were known as *publice meretrice*, were allowed to care for abandoned children.¹²⁸ These paradoxical realities pose several questions as to how society operated, how it perceived the care of children and how it could differentiate between biological children and adopted ones. According to the rules of the Holy Infirmary, anyone who was to care for an abandoned child had to be of good repute and conduct and had to have good morals. The biological child of Angela Borg was separated from her mother; in this case, one must note that the child was separated from her mother on the request of the father and with the approval of the court. Meanwhile in the case of Paula Caruana, she might have been taken to the prisons and later to the *Conservatorio* as a form of punishment as it was possible that although she was of a young age, she was already sleeping with men.

On 8 November 1777, Giulio and Lorenza Attard from Valletta petitioned the *Gran Corte Castellania* to help them discipline their disobedient and unruly fifteen-year-old son by imprisoning him and work the *cottonine*¹²⁹ there for they feared he would mess up and become incorrigible.¹³⁰ While researching documents of the *Supplica Appellationis* at the *Banca Giuratale*, National Archives, the abovementioned case was the only petition I encountered which directly requested the aid of the Court in disciplining a child. I was unable to locate the tribunal to which parents were meant to appeal for help in cases of truant children, and thus this limited the possibility of a more quantitative research on the number of parents who requested help, and qualitative research on the behavioural patterns of young people which led their parents to seek such legal aid. Nevertheless, it did not seem uncommon for parents to ask for the assistance of the state in disciplining their children, as the following examples illustrate.

On 2 September 1794, Giuseppa Demare from Valletta, widow of Antonio Demare, told the court that her sixteen-year-old son was paying her little respect and according to her he did nothing but threaten her, shout at her and others around him and sometimes strike her. He once laid his hands on her after she ordered him to clean the meat she had put on the fire, grabbing a knife, attacked her and hurt her. She started shouting, a neighbour came in and

¹²⁸ Christine Muscat, (2018), 168.

¹²⁹ Cottonine generally refers to cotton-based cloth which were used in various ways, including on ships such as to make sails. This information was kindly provided by Mr Charles Dalli on 26/06/2022. Within this context, *cottonine* probably refers to cotton material produced for the needs of the Order, including its galleys.

¹³⁰ NAM Supp/app 1777/90 (n.f.).

grabbed him and he left insulting her.¹³¹ Although this document does not ask directly for aid, it is implied that Giuseppa was looking for some help or justice for her son's actions as she could not control him or his actions anymore.

As has been observed from the case studies thus far, young people were subject to the state law as their adult counterparts. Hence, the *Libri dei carcerati* provide added information about the sentencing and punishment of young individuals. While they do not always specify the age of the individual, whenever young people are mentioned, their age and status are indicated with terms such as *ragazzo/a* or *giovine*.¹³² The youngest age of a child in prison between 1741-1798 was eight, and such cases were few. Eight-year-old Rosa Tabuni from Żabbar was sent to the *Conservatorio delle Povere* on 5 February 1766 because she asked for alms from a 'Turchina' (a Turkish female possibly referring to a female Muslim slave). On the same day, she was released from imprisonment by order of the *Signor Presidente*.¹³³ The age range of the imprisoned young was between eight and eighteen, except for a two-year-old girl, daughter of Maria and Nicola Renda. Maria was sent together with her daughter to the *Casa dell'Invalidi* by order because of her relatives' accusation of living a dissolute life. Maria and her daughter were released the next day.¹³⁴

Between 1741 and 1795, the mid- to late-teenage years are the most encountered in these *libri*, however a small number were also listed and imprisoned in their pre- or early-teens. From the documents under study,¹³⁵ on average, more males than females between the age of eight and eighteen were listed as imprisoned either at the court's prison or one of the conservatories. It is important to note that those who became orphaned and were waiting for all procedures to be finalised before being able to be sent to their family members or those who for some reason, even though they had not committed a crime were to be sent to one of the conservatories, were also listed in the *Libri dei Carcerati*. Thus, for instance, Maria, daughter of the late Giuseppe Grech, was imprisoned to be sent to the *Ospizio delle Povere* to be cared for and receive an education. She was sent to the *Ospizio* on 11 October 1785, and

¹³¹ NAM NA 92/04 Box 588 (2 September 1794) (n.f.).

¹³² See NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1781-1788 10 October 1785 f.208; NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1781-1788 (13 November 1785) f.251; NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1788-1795 (20 November 1788) f.10.

¹³³ NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1764-1767 (5 February 1766), f.118.

¹³⁴ NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1781-1788 (27 November 1786), f.253.

¹³⁵ NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1741-1743; NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1750-54; NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1764-1767; NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1781-1788; NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1788-1795; NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1796-1798.

on the 25th, she reported to the prison and was taken to one of her relatives.¹³⁶ Orphans and abandoned girls between eight and twenty years who were not yet married or found employment in domestic service were moved from the Holy Infirmary to the Grand Master's *Conservatorio*.¹³⁷

From the *Libro dei Carcerati* it is also evident that girls and young women were more frequently sent to a *conservatorio* rather than to the court prison. Such was the case of fourteen-year-old Maria Fenech, daughter of Anna and Giovanni from Balzan, known as *Tal Harsan*, who was imprisoned on 8 October 1784 because she was found wandering in Valletta after running away from her parents' home. On 13 October 1784, she was sent to be educated in the *Ospizio delle Povere* in Floriana.¹³⁸ On 8 May 1784 fourteen-year-old Anna Attard, daughter of Battista and Brigita from Bormla, was imprisoned and sent to the *Ospizio delle Invalide* the next day, however, no reason was given for this decision.¹³⁹ In contrast, entries about males contain a broad range of mischievous, everyday crime. Sixteen-year-old Costanzo Arnaud was imprisoned for tearing the pocket of the blazer (*busta del gilecco*) of Ali, son of Abbrahmel d'Algeri, while he was asleep inside the Auberge of Italy, and took his money.¹⁴⁰ Salvo Borg, *figliolo*, was imprisoned for playing gambling games under the Gallery of the Magisterial palace.¹⁴¹ Ten-year-old Benigno Valletta was imprisoned for injuring a twelve-year-old slave of Captain Giacomo Natale in his chin with a small razor.¹⁴² The *Codice de Vilhena*, or the *Leggi e Costituzioni Prammaticali*, specifically notes that any gambling games, be it cards or dice were not permitted. In the instance of getting caught playing such games, the owner of the shop and the people involved were to be fined and taken to court.¹⁴³ At about four in the afternoon Filippo Azzupard, known as *Ta Cordi* from Żebbuġ, was playing cards with a young man from Valletta near the *posta di Castiglia* and they came to a disagreement about the game which ended up in stone throwing.¹⁴⁴ In contrast to the previous case, Filippo openly spoke about the games and the report focused on the fight between them and no mention of a penalty against gambling was recorded.

¹³⁶ NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1781-1788 (10 October 1785), f.208.

¹³⁷ Ciappara, (1988), 110.

¹³⁸ NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1781-1788 (8 October 1785), f.165.

¹³⁹ NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1781-1788 (8 May 1784), f.140.

¹⁴⁰ NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1741-1743 (30 March 1742), f.80.

¹⁴¹ NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1741-1743 (10 January 1742), f.58.

¹⁴² NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1750-1754 (18 December 1752), f. 176.

¹⁴³ *Leggi e Costituzioni Prammaticali*, (Malta: Stamperia di Sua Altezza Serenissima Di Giovanne Andrea Benvenuto, 1724), pp.133-134.

¹⁴⁴ NAM NA 92/04 Box 466 (24 September 1759) (n.f.).

As much as the mistreatment of children was given importance, so was disciplining their misconduct and misbehaviour. Being an unruly child would have meant a troublesome future not only for himself/herself and the family but also to the neighbourhood and community at large. Thus, through the documents under study, it is observed that it was not only the obligation of the state to ensure that the law was adhered to, but it was also perceived to have been the duty of the community to look out for and discipline children whenever it was needed and turn to the state for help when things seemed to be getting out of hand.

3.5 Night-time

The ringing of church bells did not only indicate a time of prayer, but it also indicated the time of day. The *Pater Noster* rang at four in the morning, followed by three Ave Marias at eight, at noon and at sunset depending on the season. The latter, together with another one at eight in the evening known as '*is-siegħa tal-lejl*' indicated to people who were at work, especially the men, to return home.¹⁴⁵ The ringing of the *Commemorazione dei Defunti*, the commemoration of all souls, apart from being a feast celebrated by the Catholic church in the beginning of November, was also a reminder set by the ringing of church bells in the late evening to pray for the dead.¹⁴⁶ From the documents under study, several individuals recall the time when an event happened according to the time when the church bells rang. In the case of the *Commemorazione dei Defunti*, it is believed that in the eighteenth century, as it still does today, this was rung at nine in the evening, with some witnesses recalling the time between eight and nine at night.¹⁴⁷

In addition, to the Church bell's sound, the *Castellania* bell, the state's signal, which was rung in between the latter and the *Pater Noster*, probably between nine to ten at night or even later depending on the season, indicated the end of night activities. Although the laws do not specify whether they apply to a certain age group or whether young people were to be at home earlier, it is understood that the same law applied for both adults and minors. Following this toll, night captains increased their surveillance through night-patrols and

¹⁴⁵ J.F. Porsella-Flores, 'Il-Qniepen Fil-folklor', *L-Immara*, 5:4, (Malta: Għaqda Maltija Tal-Folklor, 1997), 87-90.

¹⁴⁶ See <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/commemorazione-dei-defunti> [retrieved 27 July 2021].

¹⁴⁷ See NAM NA 92/04 Box 431 (26 September 1746) (n.f.) and NAM NA 92/04 Box 472 (27 July 1760) (n.f.)

closed the city gates, bringing an abrupt end to the day's socio-economic relations between the city, harbour towns and the nearby countryside. According to Noel Buttigieg, the ringing of the *Castellania* announced the immediate retreat to one's home and indirectly ordered sleep.¹⁴⁸ All *bottegari*, *tavernari*, and *meretrice* were to close their house and shop doors between the toll of the *Castellania* and the *Pater Noster*, otherwise making themselves liable to a fine.¹⁴⁹

At night, the street held the ambiguity and paradox of being both an 'open and closed, private and shared, seen and hidden' space.¹⁵⁰ Night-time restricted movement to certain people and conditioned the use of space. Some people chose the inside for privacy and security, others took the opportunity to get up to no good. Darkness created both fear and freedom, it was 'a break from routines, duties and obligations'. Noel Buttigieg asks whether it was a means of nocturnal freedom to have fun. It was the time of the day when they could choose to be with family or friends, away from their superiors.¹⁵¹ In darkness, people could move around unnoticed unless their actions purposefully got the attention of the residents and would immediately change from a private to a shared public world. He further notes that 'darkness is here seen as a conduit which empowered men and women with the necessary motivation to express innate impulses and realise repressed desires irrespective of how innocent or unorthodox they may be'.¹⁵² 'The line between licit leisure, drunken disorder, and violent crime was easily crossed at night'.¹⁵³ After the *Castellania* rang, Felice, a trumpeter for the Galere, Andrea, Felice's brother-in-law, Giuseppe, and a young man called *bin it tallaba* met with three *zitelle* who held oil lamps in their hands. The young men told the *zitelle*¹⁵⁴ they wanted to know them carnally and said lustful words. When they realised that the night guard noticed them, Felice said 'if I knew that that was the Captain, I would have broken his law, and his officials'.¹⁵⁵ The night captain of Senglea approached them and they

¹⁴⁸ Noel Buttigieg, (2010), 61-62.

¹⁴⁹ NLM 740, Costituzioni di Malta 1509-1681, f.171r-171v.

¹⁵⁰ Riitta Laitinene, 'Nighttime Street Fighting and the Meaning of Place: A Homicide in a seventeenth-Century Swedish Provincial Town', *Journal of Urban History*, 33:4, (2007), 616.

¹⁵¹ Noel Buttigieg, (2010), 59-60, 66.

¹⁵² Noel Buttigieg, (2010), 60.

¹⁵³ Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 8.

¹⁵⁴ No specific age is given to the *zitelle* mentioned in these documents; thus, they could have been older than the young men mentioned in the same case.

¹⁵⁵ NAM NA 92/04 Box 461 18 October 1757 (n.f.), '*se sapevo, che quelle era il Capitano, ci avrei rotto la sua lege, e del ufficiali suoi*'

ended up in a physical altercation until the night guard managed to take them to the prisons.¹⁵⁶

Night captains played a very important role in the system of night-time streets in the eighteenth century, thus order in the street was tied with the guards. They were targets for youths who were adamant on causing disruption.¹⁵⁷ Gennaro Frangalanzo was in Vittoriosa at around the *Commemorazione dei Defunti* and he passed by the *bottega* of Gerolama Spinata near the small marina and heard some chatter. He got curious and entered the shop and discovered that Giovanni Bonanno Casalotto, who was enrolled on the Galleys, was requesting a *terzo di vino* which Gerolama was refusing to give him because he was already drunk. Gennaro convinced Gerolama to give him the wine, but she again refused to give wine to Giovanni. Giovanni refused to pay Gennaro – who gave him some of his wine – even though he had several 4 *tari* in his pouch. Giovanni took out a knife and threw it at Gennaro trying to harm him but failed to do so. Giovanni ran towards Gennaro with a knife in his hand and ran after him to the small marina and further to the gate of the city. Gennaro told a little boy, Giuseppe to go get the night captain. At half past eight in the evening, Demetrio Cabinet, night Captain of Vittoriosa, was at his place in Vittoriosa and a young boy called Giuseppe Ferrandi informed him that near the *porta inferiore* of Vittoriosa, there was a man holding a knife in his hand about to kill another young man. The night captain went immediately to the indicated location and tried to disarm him and thus the aggressor attacked him and tried to take his weapons away from him. Three young men, Giuseppe Ferrandi, Tomaso Cases and Gennaro Frangalanza went to his aid and helped him get up from the ground. The *sottovisconte*, Giuseppe Varra arrived, tied up Giovanni and arrested him.¹⁵⁸

When encountering several instances of fights in streets at night, one wonders whether these activities were some sort of ritual of male honour or simply rowdy behaviour because of drunkenness.¹⁵⁹ In Germany, rounds of gambling and drinks, and tavern brawls were considered acceptable behaviour by authorities as long as they kept by the rules. Such rules consisted of having a reason to fight, such as someone insulting your honour and fighting fairly.¹⁶⁰ Elizabeth Crouzet-Pava notes that such groups engaged in collective rape,

¹⁵⁶ NAM NA 92/04 Box 461 18 October 1757 (n.f.).

¹⁵⁷ Laitinene, (2007), 608.

¹⁵⁸ NAM NA 92/04 Box 436 (23 March 1747) (n.f.).

¹⁵⁹ Laitinene, (2007), 610.

¹⁶⁰ Laitinene, (2007),610-611.

acts of vandalism and violent outburst as part of their admission to youthful gangs.¹⁶¹ In the case of Malta, there are no clear signs whether these fights were a formal rite of passage to a youth group with a collective identity, however, it seems that fighting in streets and taverns or *botteghe*, especially at night, was an informal rite of passage for young males to show their strength and masculinity. This indicated the point at which they were no longer little boys but could handle their own business.

Many night-time incidents encountered in court records took place on the street, the in-between place between the tavern and the home, and thus they saw the 'limit of honour and dishonour, order and disorder, the allowed and not allowed, and ours and theirs were negotiated'.¹⁶² Susan Broomhall notes that the spatial context is important when analysing crime and violence because the violence done in certain spaces received different reactions and thus were perceived differently depending on the social norms of the community, class, and gender.¹⁶³ While these court records do not enlighten us about what streets mean to people's everyday life because they do not focus on the street but on the people involved in the crime at hand, they shed light on the relations people had with certain places such as the tavern, and with time, particularly in this case, the night.¹⁶⁴

The *bottega* and the tavern are spaces which mediate between the public and domestic realms and a particular form of social interaction occurred in such places. They were important intersections for everyday interactions as they were hubs of the community and an expression of the social practices and behaviour for people. It was the place where people met after a day's work or in between errands, where they conversed, gambled, fought, and laughed.¹⁶⁵ Taverns were spaces where a community assembled, mostly males and depending on their locality and work occupation, gendered spaces holding rather 'masculine' activities related to public drinking. Thus, it is no wonder they ended up featuring fights and drunken brawls.

On a Sunday evening, in the first week of February 1790, Baldassare Camilleri was with Giuseppe Rinaldo, a soldier of the Order of St John, between the first and the second

¹⁶¹ Elisabeth Crouzet-Pava, 'A Flower of Evil: Young Men in Medieval Italy', Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt (eds.), *A History of Young People*, Vol.1, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1997), 187-189.

¹⁶² Laitinene, (2007), 602.

¹⁶³ Broomhall, 6.

¹⁶⁴ Laitinene, (2007), 603.

¹⁶⁵ Nevola, 1337-1338.

Ave Maria. He entered a tavern¹⁶⁶ in Valletta asking for a drink. An old woman gave him a grappa (*acquavite*)¹⁶⁷ and after he drank it, three young men arrived in the shop to drink a little brandy themselves and eat some hazelnuts. They were eighteen-year-old Emmanuele Michallef who sometimes worked as a *tavernaro* in the *strada delli Francesi*, twenty-eight-year-old Giuseppe Spagnol, seller of lard and food at the *piazza* and public roads, and the other young man was a carriage worker, brother of a lame shoemaker. Emmanuele invited Baldassare to drink with him, but he rejected his invite. Giuseppe Rinaldo testified that without being provoked by anyone, Emmanuele placed his hands on Baldassare's chest. On the other hand, Emmanuele testified that when Baldassare rejected his invite, he was slapped by Baldassare and the latter grabbed his index finger, placed it in his mouth between his teeth and bit him. What is certain is that Emmanuele challenged Baldassare to try his strength on him and Baldassare rushed up the stairs of the shop, but the others caught up with him, dragged him to the street, punched him and with a weapon in his hand Emmanuele wounded him in his head until a large number of people rushed to the site and moved him away from them.¹⁶⁸

Night-time required artificial light which was generated by candles and lanterns both in the street and in the home. The absence of natural light restricted several activities, but darkness did not stop people from continuing their activities. No one was allowed to go out at night without visible light. If they did otherwise, they were to pay a fine to the *Castellania* and were to be considered suspicious individuals. There were also rules about the type of light used since those carrying iron lanterns (*lanterni de ferro*) were to be fined while those who had lost their lantern were to be brought before the lieutenant and if found to be suspicious, they were to spend the night in prison.¹⁶⁹ Artificial light throughout the night helped to thwart unwanted intruders and behaviours, but for those looking for trouble, this was not necessarily a hindrance. Michele Borg complained to the *bottegaro*, Michele

¹⁶⁶ In this primary source (NAM NA 92/04 Box 568 (3 February 1790) (n.f.)) the words *tavern* and *bottega* are interchangeable and the source refers to the tavern as *bottega* but refers to the person in charge as *tavernaro*. Thus, from the context it is understood that the sources is in fact referring to a tavern and not a *bottega* It is worth noting that a tavern is a place of drinking while a *bottega* is a workshop. See <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/bottega> [retrieved on 22/06/2022].

¹⁶⁷ Information kindly provided and clarified by Liam Gauci. While *acquavite* could be translated to brandy, Liam Gauci clarified that in the Maltese context it is more plausible to have been grappa.

¹⁶⁸ NAM NA 92/04 Box 568 (3 February 1790) (n.f.).

¹⁶⁹ NLM 740, Costituzioni di Malta 1509-1681, f.91r.

Xiculuna, because he kept a light at the door of the *bottega* when he planned to go confront Saverio at his house about Marcella and their arguments fuelled by jealousy over the said Marcella.¹⁷⁰ The light of the *bottega* did not allow him to go on with his plan as he would have been recognised by the neighbours and would have eliminated his power of surprise over Saverio and the power of disguise if the case had to appear in court.

On 12 December 1748, Francesco Schembri from Valletta remarked that in the morning he was in the company of Angelo called *Il Melliha*, and another young man from Floriana on the terrace of a *bottega del pubblico gioco* (*bottega* for public games), near the prison of the slaves in Valletta when the son of Fabio Debono arrived there and started throwing stones at each other. One of the stone hit Francesco's foot, upon which Debono took his cap and threw it in the pile of human excrement placed at the corner of the shop, took another stone in his hand, and gave Francesco another ten blows to his head.¹⁷¹ Brawls and physical altercations happened at any time of the day in *botteghe* and taverns. Such matters were not solely reserved for the night, however, because of the darkness and night-time connotations of evil and mystery, it made such matters more suspicious. Craig Koslofsky, notes that while for some the exhaustion from a long workday resulted in doing nothing else but sleep, for others the night was the focus of one's free time. However, it was not free from suspicion. For the court, irrespective of being the victim, witness or defendant, the fact that one was out at night was cause for suspicion.¹⁷²

Females were not to be seen alone in the dark without a male chaperone as it would challenge her dignity and integrity.¹⁷³ Francesco Cachia reported that he was in Senglea at eleven at night in the company of Anna Maria, his sister-in-law, wife of his brother Michele Cachia, who was holding her baby in her hand. Anna Maria was molested in the area of San Giuliano by Balthassare, son of Michelangelo from Bormla, telling Francesco he had a whore in his company and attacked him, threw him to the ground. This led to a brawl which was broken off by the night captain who escorted them to a boat to take them to Bormla.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ NAM NA 92/04 Box 549 (21 November 1785) (n.f.).

¹⁷¹ NAM NA 92/04 Box 437 (12 December 1748) (n.f.).

¹⁷² Koslofsky, 7-8.

¹⁷³ Buttigieg, (2010), 59-60.

¹⁷⁴ NAM NA 92/04 Box 464 (19 June 1759) (n.f.).

In the absence of the husband, the head of the house, from their home, women at times opted to spend the night at a friend's or relative's house.¹⁷⁵ However, those who opted to stay alone were sometimes disturbed by men roaming the streets looking for trouble or some fun. Maria, wife of Salvatore Matafia, was at her house in Senglea in the street known as *Della Blata* at the hour of the *Castellania* and saw a foreign man entering her house even though it was closed. He wanted to light his pipe from her lamp and then she realised that he was undressing himself to go to bed after taking the lamp so that he could open the door. Facing her, she saw Ignazio Gambin, and begged him to give her the lamp and in his company, he had four other young men named Francesco, Giuseppe Doranta called *Ta Tanga*, Giuseppe known as *Dodu* and Baldassare Dingli the son of the baker. Since the foreigner was still there, they made him get out of her house and Ignazio Gambin and Baldassare remained there talking to her. The door was suddenly kicked in and when Maria looked at her front door, by the edge of it she could see a foreigner with a firearm, and she recognised his voice to be the same one who earlier took her lamp. The foreigner wearing a *calzone torchino* (blue trousers), white and yellow bodice, a hat, and his real hair, went back into her house, shot his pistol and wounded Ignazio at the back of his neck. The next day Maria discovered that the same foreigner had come to Malta on a Venetian ship but because it was said that he killed a man, he was forced to leave the ship.¹⁷⁶ In many European towns, as well as in Malta, foreigners, travellers, and youth created nocturnal disturbances. They made noise, vandalised property, fought, and disturbed people around them.¹⁷⁷ Although it was known that youth teased women who were alone at home, and it is presumably expected that youth at night went out to blow off some steam and get in some trouble, these four young men seem to have felt a duty to come to Maria's rescue and help as best they could. The foreigner, who was probably drunk strolling the street looking for trouble, could have done way more damage to Maria if it were not for the four young men who helped her in trying to get rid of him.

Night-time was trouble hour for adults as much as youths and adolescents. It could be because of these ideas of scandal and suspicion, and fear of putting oneself in danger that almost no children were mentioned in documents to have been out of their home late at night,

¹⁷⁵ Noel Buttigieg, (2010), 66.

¹⁷⁶ NAM NA 92/04 Box 466 (24 January 1759) (n.f.).

¹⁷⁷ Laitinene, (2007), 604-605.

especially after sunset. The young men and women mentioned as being out late at night can be considered to have already acquired some level of independence in making their own decisions. It could also be that they had reached an age when society believed it was important for young men and women to be their own person and was expected for them to be more energetic, curious, and get into some trouble.

Adolescence and youth can be recognised as a period between ‘infantile dependency and adult autonomy’.¹⁷⁸ It is a time when the potential of childhood is on its way to reaching its adult fulfilment. They are years of constant change leading to sexual maturity and the formation of intellectual maturity. This period of adolescence and youth is a period of transformation and socialization and includes, as can be observed in Malta too, a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood.¹⁷⁹ It is a time when the young are expected to make mistakes and learn from them, to take risks and make irrational decisions as can be perhaps observed in the case of Antonio Luchesse.

At about half past ten at night, Antonio Luchesse, who was known for making clay figures, went to the door of the *Conservatorio delle Zitelle* in Floriana, also known as *Degli Invalidi* and was seen with another young man, Carlo Azzupardo and Michele Xuerep. Carlo Azzopardu testified that he was on his way from the chaplain’s office when he saw Antonio behind the door of the *Conservatorio* and he notified the Guardian of the Conservatory. Captain Augustini Galdes sent some night captains and officials to go for him, but Antonio went to seek refuge in a church nearby. It was believed that it was not the first time that Antonio found his way by the *Conservatorio* as he would stay behind the door talking to one of the women residing there, Carmina. Antonio was heard saying that if his relatives agreed to it, he would marry the young lady.¹⁸⁰ Antonio seems to have fallen head over heels for Carmina, and his emotions led to him being perceived by the people around him as behaving inappropriately. It could be because he was still young and was not his time to run after females, acting irrational as was expected for his age as he is described by one of the witnesses to be about eleven years old. On the other hand, it is very likely that since it was a Conservatory for females, males were not allowed to interact with females.

¹⁷⁸ Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt, ‘Introduction’, Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt (eds.), *A History of Young People*, Vol.1, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1997), 2.

¹⁷⁹ Levi and Schmitt, 2, 5-7.

¹⁸⁰ NAM NA 92/04 Box 466 (9 June 1759) (n.f.).

Elizabeth Crouzet-Pava remarks that ‘through lack of restraint and control, youth indulge in wrongdoing’.¹⁸¹ At about nine or ten at night on a Saturday during the last week of July 1746, fifteen-year-old Vincenzo Tedesco decided to have some fun and started shooting firecrackers (*suffarelli*) at the corner of the street where he lived with his parents and one of the *suffarelli* went up the street. One of his neighbours grabbed him from his hair and from his shirt and bruised his arm and chin. Vincenzo’s mother, Anna, reported the neighbour to the court for grabbing her son because she believed she heard him cry as he did so and he suffered injuries because of him. Other neighbours supported Anna’s allegations with their testimonies because they believed that the man handled the boy too roughly and threw him to the ground. Michael Angelo Galea, who was later identified as the man who had the altercation with Vincenzo, remarked that he was by the door of his father's house with his two young nieces, and saw Vincenzo throwing the *suffarelli* and reacted against his actions.¹⁸² What is particularly interesting is that although Vincenzo could have put his neighbours in danger, the night captain was called to the scene for Micheal Angelo to be taken to prison probably because he was the one who laid his hands on a minor and because he acted without knowing for sure whether Vincenzo threw it purposefully or accidentally in their direction. From what can be understood from the witnesses, the neighbours who knew the family, not only expected such behaviour from a young man his age but they also defended his actions against those of an adult.

3.6 Conclusion

As conflict generates numerous archival papers, uneventful days and trouble-free individuals leave very limited fragments of their everyday lives. Thus, one would have to rely on descriptions given by contemporary observers and try to extract the necessary information through second-hand accounts. The street provides an additional source from which one can extract information as it is pervaded by the materiality of the location, the inhabitants and their objects, diverse conversations, and exchanges,¹⁸³ extending the house to the public space. Young people roamed busy harbour town streets and wandered in countryside fields as if these were their playgrounds. However, this space was not exclusively theirs but their presence and their activity within these streets portrays a particular street-life. Because the

¹⁸¹ Crouzet-Pava, 173.

¹⁸² NAM NA 92/04 Box 430 (1 August 1746) (f.1r-10r).

¹⁸³ Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen, ‘Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets’, *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill’s Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 8, 9-10.

sources under study are Miscellaneous records of the *Magna Curia Castellaniæ*, *Libri dei Carcerati* and *Libretti del Prammattiche*, the picture portrayed of young people within the street of the harbour towns and Valletta is rather violent and criminal. In spite of this bias which emphasizes deviant behaviour within the documents, one can also obtain a better idea of the role of young people in society, their relationship with their families, neighbours and friends, and how they not only stirred trouble but were also there to help their neighbours. Furthermore, to a certain extent (because these were not autobiographical documents), such documents allow us to gain some understanding of how young people looked at society and perceived their age and how society perceived young people of different ages. While there is more to be discovered and studied about the activities and behaviour of children and young people in the street, especially what motivated them to commit crime, the difference in prosecution and sentencing between minors and adults, and how they were thought of by society, this study provides a glimpse into an intangible and different world to the one imagined by many twenty-first centuries readers.

Chapter 4

Child Abandonment and Guardianship

4.1. Introduction

The history of foundlings and abandonment on a social and cultural level has attracted the attention of historians for several years, however, there is so much yet to be discovered, especially locally. This chapter aims at providing a glimpse of the life of foundlings in eighteenth-century Malta by building on the works of Attilio Critien and Paul Cassar who had started research about foundlings at the Holy Infirmary, and introducing new discussions related to child abandonment. While during the eighteenth century the Order of St John was not the only body aiding foundlings, this chapter will deal solely with sources related to the Order of St John and the Holy Infirmary, mainly due to the primary sources available. This chapter will analyse the history of charity and care within the Order of St John, their work with foundlings and the roles of the *Prodomo*, *commendatore* and the *Ospedaliera* in relation to foundlings. It will then move on to discuss the primary sources available, or the lack thereof, while also focusing on themes of love and family bonds, work, baptism, death, guardianship, and custodianship.

4.2. Laws and institutions related to child abandonment

From its very origin the Order of St John's *raison d'être* was to care for the sick and the poor. When in Jerusalem, the Order's mission was to care for the pilgrims in the East, the beggars and the poor encountered along the way.¹ Although by time it did not remain solely hospitaller but became also a military religious order, the Order of St John retained its mission of charity and care in all the lands in which it resided, provided medical aid and built hospitals to offer medical care to members of the Order and the lands' inhabitants alike, regardless of nationality and religion.

¹ Victor Mallia Milanes, 'Introduction to Hospitaller Malta', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798*, Victor Mallia Milanes (ed.), (Malta: Mireva Publications Limited, 1993), 1.

The Order was well-known for its charities. Its twelfth century hospital in Jerusalem was praised by several travellers for its ‘works of mercy’, for the ‘diligent care for beggars’, poor children and adults and the reflection of the concept of *caritas* (care and charity) and *xenia* (hospitality) in its works and buildings.² *Caritas* played a central role in the works of the Order as it reflected God’s love, piety, and act of redemption towards His children. Charitable work brought them closer to God, who was considered love itself.³ Money was donated to the Order particularly because of its charitable work. By donating towards such deeds, it was believed that the donors were giving to the poor and to God while also making an offering towards the Order, and in return for their generosity they would be granted spiritual benefits.⁴

Wherever the Order went, it maintained a medical tradition and while it evolved into a predominantly military institution and moved to lands where the poor and the sick, particularly pilgrims, were no longer their main worry, the medical and charitable traditions had great significance spiritually and morally. Since the First Crusade of 1099, where one can trace the Order’s Benedictine origins, as ‘the Hospital’, the Order had a tradition of alms giving, providing both spiritual aid through prayer and medical aid by providing medical professionals to heal the sick and the wounded, and providing appropriate diets as well as financial aid and burial arrangements to those who could not or had no one to arrange it for them. Anthony Luttrell also notes that since its origins in Jerusalem, the Order’s hospital provided maternity wards and provisions for lepers and orphans.⁵ From travellers’ accounts one can note that the care for children by the Order of St John was provided as much as it was for the adults, even in its early stages.⁶

The building of the Order’s hospital in Rhodes was an expensive venture which also allocated a large sum for the expenses of grain for nurses, lepers, foundlings and orphans.⁷ Although, even here, foundlings and orphans are found in a category which seems to be

² Myra Bom, ‘The Hospital of St John, the Bedroom of *Caritas*’, *The military Orders: On land and by sea*, Judith Mary Upton-Ward (ed.), (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing limited, 2008), 85-86.

³ Bom, 86-89; Ann Williams, ‘*Xenodochium* to Sacred Infirmary: the Changing Role of the Hospital of the Order of ST John, 1522-1631’, *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the sick*, Malcom Barber (ed.), (Cambridge 1994), 101.

⁴ Bom, 89.

⁵ Anthony Luttrell, ‘The Hospitallers’ Medical Tradition: 1291-1530’, *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, Malcom C. Barber (ed.), (Cambridge: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 1994), 64-66.

⁶ Bom, 86.

⁷ Luttrell, 73.

putting together those individuals who stayed for a lengthy period in the hospital, it is evident that importance to the situation and care was provided to foundlings and orphans and does not seem that they were mistreated as the riff raff of society. Luttrell also notes that in 1373, at Genoa's seaside hospital, the Order allocated a female servant specifically for the caring of foundlings within the female section. Already in the fourteenth century, it is noted that foundlings were cared for by the Order of St John, providing wet nurses for each baby and providing dowries for the marriage of female foundlings.⁸

During the restoration of the hospital in Rhodes (built c.1440) and conversion into a museum in 1914-1921, the French architect Albert Gabriel remarked that its general layout was closer to a *xenodochium* (hotel) rather than the layout of other hospitals of its time, while contradicting his own theory by remarking that it was not unusual but a well-accepted design principal adopted by the Order early on.⁹ Arguably, this theory could reflect the importance of hospitality to the Order, not just for the use of medicine but also the aspect of care giving. This ties with the idea of *caritas*, that one does what one wishes to receive and that the actions taken were for the love of God and in the name of God. Thus, the Order made sure to have a state-of-the-art hospital for its patients and the best quality of care, going over and above their medical duties towards the sick and wounded and implementing *caritas*.

After losing Rhodes, the Order moved around the Mediterranean and set up temporary hospitals. When they settled in Malta, one of the Grand Master's first moves was to establish an area in Birgu to build a small ward, especially because there was its immediate need to aid the wounded. By time, new rooms were added, and the hospital remained in Birgu till 1574.¹⁰ After the Great Siege (1565), the Order decided to put its efforts into building a new city, which also meant the building of new public buildings, of which a new and bigger hospital was part of. The south-east of Valletta was chosen as the location for the new hospital, close to the water to provide easy access to the wounded arriving from ships. Within the Holy Infirmary's radius, one would have been able to find the *Casetta* (private women's hospital), St Mary Magdalene's monastery and church, the Holy Infirmary's cemetery, the *bagno* (slave prison with its own small infirmary) and the chapel of Santa Maria della Pietà¹¹ (chapel of

⁸ Luttrell, 76-77.

⁹ Fotini Karassava-Tsiligiri, 'The Fifteenth-Century Hospital of Rhodes: Tradition and Innovation', *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, Malcom C. Barber (ed.), (Cambridge: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 1994), 93-96.

¹⁰ Williams, (1994), 97-98.

¹¹ The chapel of Santa Maria della Pietà, the chapel of the cemetery of the Holy Infirmary, was originally built in 1612 by Fra Giorgio Nibbia and was destroyed in World War II. See

Our Lady of Mercy or Nibbia Chapel). Michael Ellul notes that in the sixteenth century, outside of the Holy Infirmary itself, there was a *Casa delle Alunne* (foundling house) and orphan's asylum adjacent to the *Casetta*, (which was probably integrated within the walls of the Holy Infirmary in the following years during its extension). The monastery of St Ursula in Valletta also had its *ruota*.¹²

This reality of abandonment did not start with the arrival of the Order of St John, rather, this was a continuation of the already existing local situation. Prior to the Order's arrival abandoned children were welcomed by institutions such as Santo Spirito Hospital in Rabat. It is worth bearing in mind that Malta had its own tradition of children's care dating further back in time, even during the Middle Ages and continued after Emperor Charles V offered the Maltese islands to the Order. During their stay in Birgu, the Order picked up where Maltese society was already offering in terms of children's care and even welcomed abandoned children in Birgu. That said, for the scope of this study, this chapter will mainly focus on the role of the Order of St John and its institutions. This is because because of the primary sources available, as well as because a discussion of childcare in orphanages and Malta's tradition of child care prior to the Order's arrival requires a complete study of its own.¹³

There are still many lacunas in the history of the Holy Infirmary as a structure and its administration, thus it is difficult to be certain of the exact location where the orphans and abandoned children were placed within the Holy Infirmary in different periods. What is certain is that the *ruota*, a rotating wooden cot within the walls of the Holy infirmary where one could leave an infant anonymously, with only the ring of a bell to notify of the child's arrival, was in fact located in the external walls of the *Sala del Magazzino Grande* in St Nicholas Street, at the end of the building.¹⁴ In the eighteenth century, the *Casa delle Alunne* was believed to have been close to the *Falanga*,¹⁵ a block at the back of the Great Hall built in 1596 and enlarged in 1636, which was originally an area within the hospital reserved for

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160322165941/http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20020916/local/chapel-remains-being-restored.167133> [retrieved 28/06/2022].

¹² I would like to Thank Prof Simon Mercieca for sharing this information with me.

¹³ See Stanley Fiorini, *Santo Spirito Hospital at Rabat Malta: The Early years to 1575*, (Malta: Department of Information, 1989) and Paul Cassar, *The Holy Infirmary of the Knights of St John 'La Sacra Infermeria'*, (Malta: The Mediterranean Conference Centre, 2005).

¹⁴ Attilio Critien, 'The Foundlings under the Order and After', *Scientia*, 15:1, (1949), 6.

¹⁵ Michael Ellul, 'The Holy Infirmary: The Hospitaller vocation of the Knights of St John', *Melitensium Amor: Festschrift in honour of Dun Ġwann Azzopardi, Toni Cortis, Thomas Freller, Lino Bugeja* (eds.), (Malta: Gutenberg Press, 2002), 149-150.

patients suffering from contagious and venereal diseases. This block was divided in two sections, one was the *stufa* which was the basement chamber below the ground level comprising of the *forno*, and the second section was the *Falanga* proper which was reserved for patients given mercury treatment. At the back of the infirmary, close to the *Falanga* block, one could find the *ruota*. When the English philanthropist John Howard visited the Holy Infirmary in 1786, he described the rooms where infants were kept until they were sent to wet-nurses and proxy-parents as ‘the Foundling Hospital’.¹⁶ While the *Casa delle Alunne* must have been close to the *Falanga*, it is difficult to visually localise its place at today’s Mediterranean Conference Centre.

¹⁶ See Attilio Critien, ‘A round of the Holy Infirmary Wards’, *Scientia*, 14:3, (1948), 112-127; Paul Cassar, *From the Holy Infirmary of the Knights of St John to The Mediterranean Congress Centre at Valletta*, (Malta: The Mediterranean Conference Centre, 1983), 12-14; Thomas Freller, *The Sword and the Boudoir*, (Malta: Midsea Books, 2018), 55.

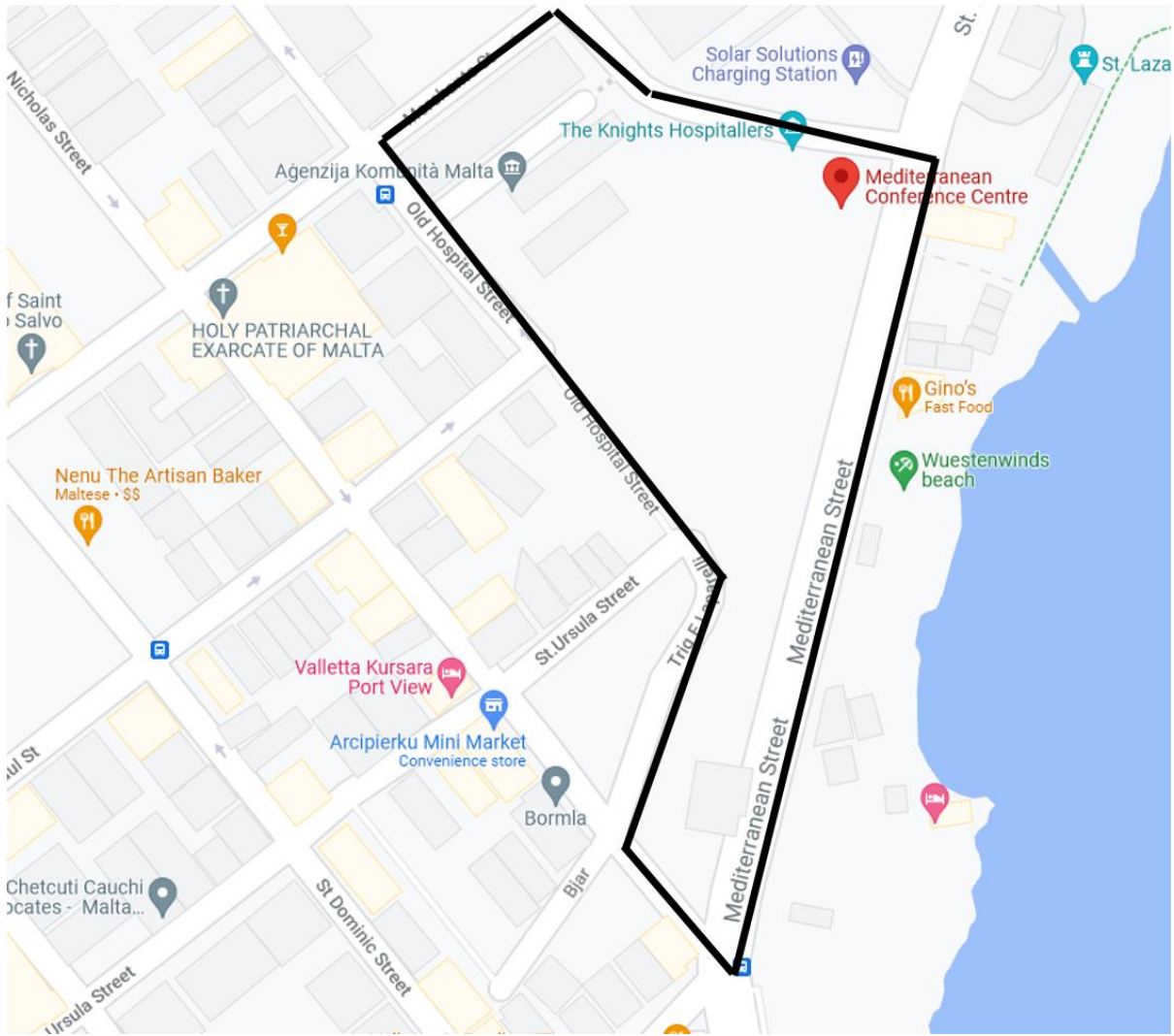


Figure 4. 1 Outline of the Holy Infirmary on today's Google maps (15/01/2022)

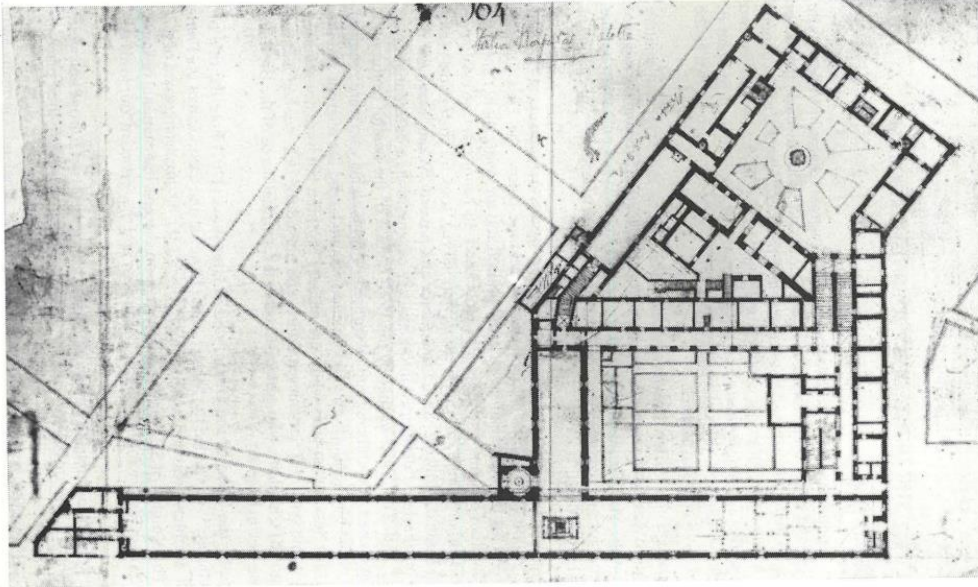


Figure 4. 2 Nineteenth-Century plan of the Holy Infirmary.¹⁷

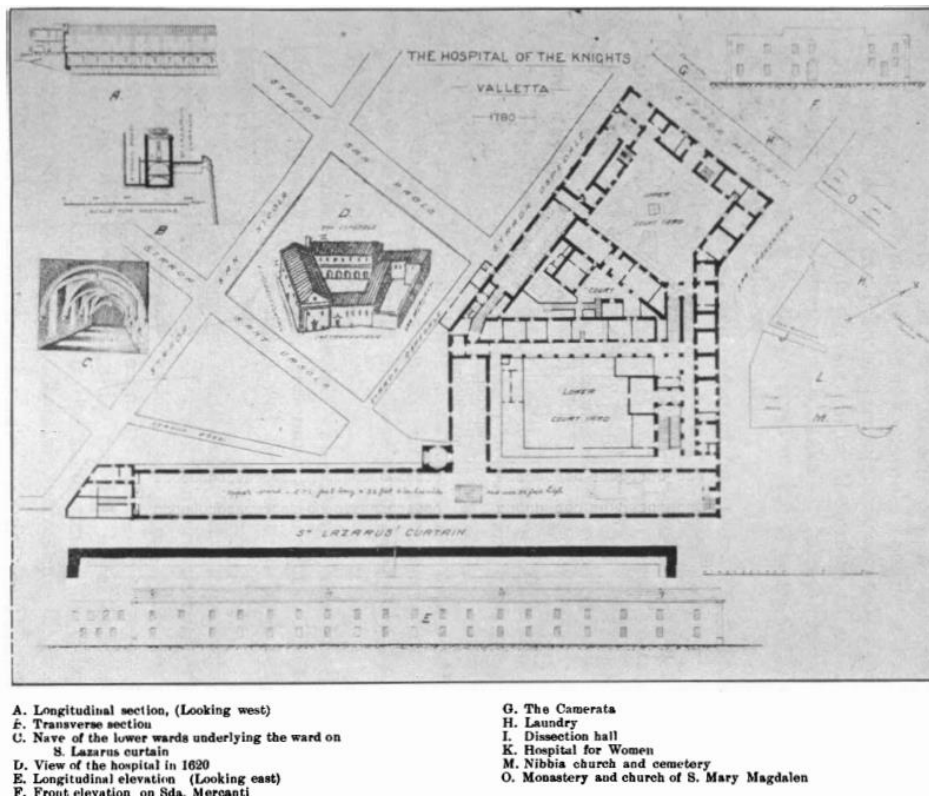


Figure 4. 3 Different sections of the Holy Infirmary.¹⁸

¹⁷ Paul Cassar, *From the Holy Infirmary of the Knights of St John to The Mediterranean Congress Centre at Valletta*, (Malta: The Mediterranean Conference Centre, 1983).

¹⁸ Alfredo Mifsud, *Knights Hospitallers of the Venerable Tongue of England in Malta*, (Malta: library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data, 1914), front piece.

While the Hospitallers themselves were prohibited from taking care of children, whether they were relatives or strangers, as a community, the Order of St John devoted its efforts in its entirety to the welfare of children left in their care. This is reflected in their oath of investiture as they swore to show special attention and care to children, orphans, widows and all suffering and distressed persons.¹⁹ Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, Hospitaller sisters lived alongside the brothers and because the brothers were forbidden from taking care of children, the sisters looked after children who, once abandoned, became adopted children of the Order.²⁰ By the sixteenth century, the role of the sisters was lessened only to prayer and a secluded life. Thus, the help of the community through incentives from the Order of St John was required. In this role of custodian of abandoned children, the Holy Infirmary took on the form of a socio-religious community.²¹ During the eighteenth century, foundlings were also received by other charitable organisations including the *Conservatorio del Padre Agius*,²² the *Conservatorio del Priore della Chiesa*²³ and at the *Casa di Carità* or the *Ospizio*.²⁴ During Grand Master Verdalle's administration (1581-1595) the hospital expanded its coordination of charitable activities, providing aid to the poor and those who were not grievously ill residing outside the hospital and expanded the hospital physically to incorporate the house for exposed infants²⁵ and a hospital for women. Ann Williams notes that this was not just a hospital, but it was a network of charity aids. She also remarks that the new hospital in Valletta was initially referred to as *Infermeria* or *xenodochium*, and the phrase *Sacra Infermeria* came in later under the administration of Grand Master Verdalle.²⁶

Once deposited in the *ruota*, the foundling would be welcomed to the hospital by a nurse on the other side of the wall and from that point forward, the child would be under the care and charge of the Common Treasury and the Grand Master. Once received at the hospital and before being handed to a wet nurse, the child's details were supposed to be

¹⁹ N.L.M., A.O.M. 1663, f.47.

²⁰ Jonathan. Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St John*, (London: Hambledon Press 1999), 61-62; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The History of the Order in the Levant, c.1070-1309*, (London; Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 105-106.

²¹ George Aquilina, *Is-Sorijiet Ġerosolomitani, il-Knisja u l-Monasteru ta' Sant'Ursola, Valletta*, (Malta: PEG, 2004).

²² The Conservatorio del Padre Agius was set up by Padre Agius's sister, Laura, and was under the protection of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. See Critien, (1949), 10.

²³ The *Conservatorio del Priore* was set up in 1606 by a Prior of St John's Cathedral, Fr Francesco Condulli, and housed individuals known as *orfane del Misericordia*; see Critien, (1949), 10.

²⁴ Critien, (1949), 10.

²⁵ Within this context, when one refers to exposed infants, children and young people, the term 'exposed' means left unprotected, typically by the parents.

²⁶ Williams, (1994), 100-101.

recorded by the *Scrivano dell'Infermeria* (clerk of the Holy Infirmary) in a Foundling Register including the date of arrival, sex, probable age, along with birthmarks or malformations that could identify the child. The name and address of the wet-nurse s/he would be given out to were also recorded. Additionally, the child was to be given a number for identification.²⁷ Babies were then handed over to the *Ospedaliera* (child carer) to find them a *balie* (wet nurse) for breastfeeding, who was paid 5 *scudi*. The foundling was physically delivered to the *balie comuni* (common wetnurse) by the *sotto ospedaliera*²⁸ (assistant child carer) for feeding. If a wet nurse was unavailable, until they were placed in the household of their new assigned family, babies were fed goat's milk provided by the Holy Infirmary.²⁹

Attilio Critien notes that once admitted to the Holy Infirmary, children were 'farmed out' to the so-called 'foster-mothers'³⁰ as soon as was possible. Every first Sunday of the month families in charge of these foundlings were to call at the Infirmary with the child and receive a payment of one *scudo*. Bi-monthly, the *prodomo* (superintendent) also visited the foundlings at their new placement houses.³¹ One should be cognizant that no documentary evidence of these visitations has been yet found. During the feast of St Martin, the *prodomo di mese* (superintendent of the month) was to draw up a *rollo* (list) of all the exposed children resident at the Holy Infirmary and send it to the *prodomo della Lingeria* (Superintendent of the linens) to distribute new clothing to them.³² The *Regolamento per il Governo Spirituale, Politico ed Economico del Sacro osepdale Del S. Ordine Gerosolimintana* (1796) notes the duties of the *prodomo*. The *prodomo* was in charge of keeping the *Libro de Bambini Esposti* up to date, with exactitude and good order. The *libro* was to include the registered child, the *Ospedaliera* in charge of them, the items which arrived with the child, their approximate age and baptismal status.³³ It is interesting to note that apart from the lack of physical documents, such as copies of the *Libro de Bambini Esposti*, no items are known to have been discovered from the items that had once belonged to the exposed children.

²⁷ Critien, (1949), 6.

²⁸ The *Ospedaliera* and the assistant, *sotto-ospedaliera*, were employed specifically to care for foundlings at the Infirmary. See Critien, (1949), 7.

²⁹ AOM 1714, ff.78v-79v; Critien, (1949), 7.

³⁰ It should be clarified that in certain publications, authors tended to use phases such as fostering in the modern sense of the word rather than in its historical meaning. The idea of fosterage will be further discussed in this chapter.

³¹ Critien, (1949), 8-9.

³² AOM 1714 f.79v.

³³ AOM 1714 ff.76r-77v.



Figure 4. 4 The 'old' *ruota* found on the inside of the National Archives in Rabat, former Santo Spirito hospital.

Figure 4. 5 The 'new' *ruota* found on the outside of the National Archives in Rabat, former Santo Spirito hospital.



The Holy Infirmary was not the only place which welcomed abandoned children; the Saint Julian Hospital in the Citadel, Gozo, founded in 1454³⁴ and Santo Spirito in Rabat, Malta, too provided such care. The Hospital of Santo Spirito in Rabat, dating back at least to 1372, had a *ruota*.³⁵ through which babies could be deposited to the hospital, however Stanley Fiorini notes that no mention of the *ruota* can be found prior to 1575.³⁶ Attilio Critien remarks that it can be presumed that there was no division of labour between the two hospitals because allocating villages to a certain hospital would have defied security and anonymity.³⁷ The arrival and care of children left at Santo Spirito, administered by the *Università* (the local municipal authority), seems to have worked similarly to that of the Holy Infirmary; children were provided with food, clothing, and medical attention until they reached the age of five, when they were helped to integrate to society through ‘foster’ families.³⁸ Even less is known in relation to children at Santo Spirito than is the case for the Holy Infirmary. While the Metropolitan Cathedral Archive holds documents pertaining to Santo Spirito’s administration during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, documentary evidence for the eighteenth century pertaining to Santo spirito in Malta’s archives is very scarce, more so about its foundling care. As was discussed earlier for the Holy Infirmary, the rooms where foundlings were cared for have not yet been identified. Eighteenth-century evidence for the way children were relocated from Santo Spirito and how they were brought up within this Hospital has not been discovered. The administrative history of the Holy Infirmary and its regulations towards foundlings can be observed through a codified set of regulations for the Holy Infirmary titled *Notizia della Sacra Infermeria di Malta*³⁹ written by the Order of St John in 1725. A later modified and more detailed publication by Grand Master De Rohan was printed in 1796⁴⁰ titled *Regolamento per il Governo Spirituale, politico*

³⁴ Chris Galea, ‘Medical Care on Hospitaller Gozo’, *Melita Historica*, 16:2, (2014), 61-63; see also Joseph Bezzina, ‘The Sacred Heart Seminary: The heart of Gozo’, *Gaulitana* 11, (Gozo: Sacred Heart Seminary, 1991), 11-13. *Melita Historica* is a journal, so you format it differently from an edited book.

³⁵ This ‘new’ *ruota* visible from the outside of Santo Spirito is not the original *ruota*. In fact, in a room on the inside of the building, there is a space where the first *ruota* was located. Unfortunately, there is no record found to this date which indicates when the new *ruota* (the one on the outside) was built however it is believed that it might have been installed there during the extension of the façade of the hospital. The ‘old’ *ruota* on the inside of Santo Spirito leading to the chapel, parallel to the ‘new’ *ruota* was not visible to the public since 2021-2022. During this period the National Archives have cleared the chapel and the room adjacent to it which used to house boxes of police records and cabinet of large maps. This information was kindly provided by Melvin Caruana on 17 May 2022 and 01 July 2022.

³⁶ Stanley Fiorini, *Santo Spirito Hospital at Rabat Malta: The Early years to 1575*, (Malta: Department of Information, 1989), 3-37.

³⁷ Critien, (1949), 12.

³⁸ Fiorini, 3-37.

³⁹ See AOM 1713.

⁴⁰ Critien, (1949), 5.

ed Economico del Sacro Ospedale Del S. Ordine Gerosolimitano.⁴¹ As both regulations overlap and build on each other, one can observe the Order's discipline as well as dedication towards their charitable work, especially pertaining to their custodianship and guardianship of abandoned or orphaned children.

The *Notizia della Sacra Infermeria di Malta* (1725 – hereafter referred to as 'the *Notizia*') records regulations pertaining to abandoned children. The section titled 'Ordinary and Extraordinary charities of the Holy Infirmary',⁴² notes that all abandoned children were admitted to the Holy Infirmary and provided with wet nurses who received a monthly payment, and the child was also to be provided with clothes. Seven orphan girls were yearly settled in marriage, each girl was to receive 50 *scudi* as dowry, while others who were not yet ready for marriage were to be placed at the *Conservatorio del Gran Maestro* or in the service of private households. Apart from foundlings there were a number of poor children left without relatives and unable to support themselves, thus they were to be assisted and cared for like foundlings, and in time returned to their families.⁴³

Additionally, in the section titled 'Regulation for the sick poor of Malta: of the exposed and those of little use (*disutili*)' the exposed poor were to be brought up by the Holy Infirmary in the *Falanga*. If they fell ill, they were to be taken to the Incurable section where they would receive double the allowances, better beds and the Religion would substitute for the role of the 'merciful Mother'.⁴⁴ It was also noted that a large number of poor people were received at the Infirmary, and all were to be given assistance. Those without a home were to be sent to the *Casa degli Incurabili*.⁴⁵

⁴¹ See AOM 1714.

⁴² '*Elemosina fisse & straordinarie, che esono dalla Sacra Infermeria*'.

⁴³ See AOM 1713, f.12.

⁴⁴ AOM 1713 f.19, 'le parti du una pietosa Madre'.; W. K. R Bedford, *The Regulations of the Old Hospital of the Knights of St John at Valletta*, (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1882), 38-41.

⁴⁵ AOM 1713 f.19; see also Bedford, 23-25.



Figure 4. 8: AOM 1713 Front Page 1



Figure 4. 7: AOM 1713 Front page 2

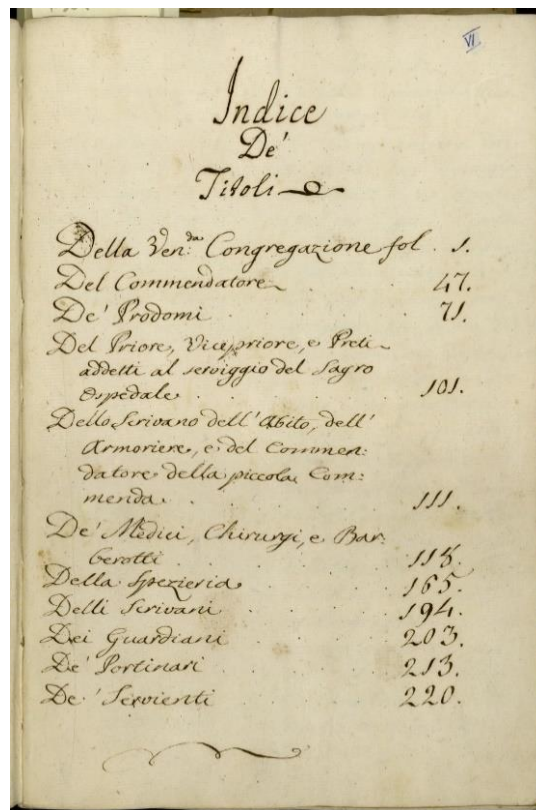


Figure 4. 6: AOM 1714 Index Page

The *Regolamento per il Governo Spirituale, Politico ed Economico del Sacro osepdale Del S. Ordine Gerosolimintana* (1796 – hereafter referred to as ‘the *Regolamento*’) provides a more detailed description of the administration of the Holy Infirmary. Within are also listed the regulations and instructions pertaining to the foundlings, orphans and poor within the walls of the Holy Infirmary. It affirms the Order’s strict obligation to accept exposed children, to give them the best education possible in the spiritual, temporal and the many interests they might have.

The Common Treasury together with the Venerable Congregation of the Holy Infirmary were to employ their attention and vigilance to the education of these children and to the people entrusted with their immediate care. One or two commissioners, a Bali or a Knight, were to visit the children and the places where they were being cared for, such as Fort Ricasoli, provide them with all the needed provisions to inspire the spiritual and temporal good of these ‘*alunni*’ and ‘*bambini esposti*’ (foundlings).⁴⁶ This *Regolamento* also lists the precautions taken to protect the abandoned child as well as a list how the child’s life ought to be. It stated that once the children were exposed, the *prodomo* and the *commendatore* had to ensure that the children were not to be recognised by anyone as their own and thus every care had to be taken to ensure the child’s anonymity. In case the child was recognised, the issue was to be immediately reported to the Venerable Congregation so that the necessary steps were taken.⁴⁷ When the child arrived, s/he were to be labelled with a tag around their neck to identify them. The 1796 *Regolamento* mentions this explicitly as a duty of the *Commendatore* who was instructed to be very attentive to the *alunni/e* in his care.⁴⁸

The *Commendatore* and the *Prodomo* were to carefully verify which *alunni/e* had reached the age of seven. Boys with a well-built form were to be taken to Fort Ricasoli while the girls were to start working as hospital workers.⁴⁹ The Chaplain of Fort Ricasoli and the Hospital had to give special care to educate and instruct the children in the Catholic faith, to exercise piety and to frequently administer to them the sacraments according to their age. Males were to be educated in the fear of God and in that which they showed most inclination to, including the military and the naval, and the Chaplain at Fort Ricasoli was to ensure that

⁴⁶ AOM 1714 ff.32v-33v.

⁴⁷ AOM 1714 ff.77v-78r.

⁴⁸ AOM 1714 ff.63r-65r.

⁴⁹ AOM 1714 ff.33v-36r.

he delivered them to their respective masters for apprenticeships.⁵⁰ It can be observed that a utilitarian philosophy and approach was implemented in respect to foundlings at the Holy Infirmary, as the Order possibly recognised them also as a potential pool of labour that could be direct towards the needs of the Order. This is reflected in the seven-year-old male foundlings being transferred to Fort Ricasoli to be given military and naval training, and to be cared for by the chaplain of the Fort, while girls were to be cared for by the *Ospedaliera* at the *Conservatorio del Gran Maestro*,⁵¹ employed by the Women's Hospital or in domestic service of a trusted family in the vicinity of the Hospital.⁵² This *Regolamento* adds that those who were unemployed by the Congregation of the Galleys by the age of sixteen were to be given the usual charitable grant.⁵³

Foundlings were not allowed to leave the care of the Chaplain or the *Ospedaliera*, for any reason including work, without a contract or a written permission allowing them to do so and ensuring that they were to receive the income they deserved. This shows an element of parental care mirrored in the Order's regulations and instructions for the control and protection of its children. Before leaving their care, particularly for girls, foundling had to be promised and bound by a contract to receive the promised dowry and salary held in the depository of the *Conservatorio*.⁵⁴ It was the responsibility of the *Commendatore* to ensure that this regulation was followed.⁵⁵

Evidence of the apprenticeship of abandoned boys and girls with organisations and institutions of the Order of St John is very scarce. In his account, Carasi recounts his experience at the Holy Infirmary when he was stricken with fever. One day, during his eight-day stay at the hospital, a physician went to his bed to bleed him and had an eight or ten-year old boy with him. The physician instructed the young boy to do it and so he grabbed a lancet to cut him. It is believed that the physician did so to teach the boy and probably was his apprentice, however, Carasi was unhappy about this and shouted to get the attention of the Commander who in turn gave a meaningful glance to the physician which Carasi believed to have signalled that the physician should do it and not the boy.⁵⁶ While such examples do

⁵⁰ AOM 1714 ff.33v-36r.

⁵¹ The *Conservatorio del Gran Maestro* was built in 1734 by Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena and served as an industrial school and home for girls.

⁵² AOM 1714 ff.63r-65r.

⁵³ AOM 1714 ff.78r-v.

⁵⁴ AOM 1714 ff.33v-36r.

⁵⁵ AOM 1714 ff.63r-65r.

⁵⁶ Carasi, *The Order of Malta Exposed*, translated by Thomas Freller, (Malta: Gutenberg Press, 2010), 146.

provide a glimpse of what could have possibly been the experience of an apprentice at the Holy Infirmary. It is also worth bearing in mind Carasi's pro-revolutionary and anti-Order agenda, which could have created bias in the way he perceived the experiences and behaviour of people around him.

In addition to the 1725 Regulations, the *Regolamento* (1796) adds that the Venerable Congregation of the Holy Infirmary was also to come to an agreement with the *Congregazione delle Galere, Vasselli e Regimento* to employ in their respective services *bastardi*⁵⁷ from the Holy Infirmary and the Congregation of the Galleys was to ensure to take the necessary measures to care for those who had not reached the age of majority, not to be left by themselves and care for their conduct and spiritual instruction. If they were to be employed, boys were released from the Holy Infirmary or the charitable institution at which they were being cared for and their care would be handed over to their new employers.⁵⁸

It is interesting to note that there are a few secondary sources which mention that boys were to be sent to Fort Ricasoli, however, they always cite either Attilio Critien who was the first person who ever wrote about it, or the Holy Infirmary Regulation which although they were supposed to be abided with, it was common for rules not be followed to the letter.⁵⁹ Very few accounts of activity at Fort Ricasoli are available or published thus far. One must keep in mind that Fort Ricasoli was like a village and not simply a fortress. It housed a community of people from various social realities and groups, including a group of foundlings. Further research needs to be done, and hopefully new documents identified to discover what truly happened to foundlings at Fort Ricasoli: their training, their behaviour, how they were treated and who cared for them, where they lived and much more. These are still silent stories begging to be found and heard.

While going through the Regulations of the Holy Infirmary (1725 and 1796) one cannot help noticing the lack of primary sources found pertaining to foundlings. In addition to the aforementioned tasks, the *Commendatore* was to visit the foundlings both at the

⁵⁷ In this primary source *bastardi* does not refer solely to those born out of wedlock but it incorporates all those left in the care of the Order.

⁵⁸ AOM 1714 f. 38r-38v.

⁵⁹ For such publications see Critien, (1949), 9; Charles Savona Ventura, *Social Services for unwed mothers and their children*, Conference organized [by] Dar Ġużepa Debono in collaboration with The Noble Military and Hospitalier Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, and Anawim Community on the theme of "Voluntary Work and Social Services for the benefit of single parents, (2016); Paul Cassar, *Medical History of Malta*, vol 5, (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1964), 353; Anton Quintano, *Ricasoli Malta: History of a Fort*, (Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group LTD, 1999), 105-109.

hospital and even more so when they were with the *balie comuni*⁶⁰ and provide a detailed report of how the children were being treated and cared for, and whether they were receiving the necessary help.⁶¹ The Order of St John is known to have been very meticulous in its record keeping and archiving, however, no evidence of these reports has yet surfaced. While there is the possibility that such records could have been misplaced between the different administrations and changes in the use of buildings housing these records, it is also worth noting that regulations and implementation did not always go hand in hand. Without evidence of their existence, one must leave a door open for the possibility that such records were not being meticulously kept, or that during certain periods, children were not even visited by officials to ensure that families were keeping to the regulations. The fact that the Order felt the need to record in detail these regulations at the end of the eighteenth century could also indicate that it saw the need to further explain what had to be done and enforce the regulations.

As I went through the several Miscellaneous boxes at the National Archives, I encountered several documents referring to ‘*tutori e curatori*’ which made me wonder what this particular phrase meant or what duties it brought with it. This had to do with the obligation of the father or the paternal and maternal relatives, in the absence of the mother, who was unable to provide the necessary maintenance for the child.⁶² Those who were suspected of bad behaviour could not be guardians and curators even if the care was noted by the testament. If their behaviour became suspicious during their period of protection and care, they were to be immediately removed. It was everyone’s right to make a recourse for the removal of guardians and curators, under just and sufficient causes. Those who were suspected of bad behaviour could not be guardians and curators even if the care was noted by the testament.⁶³

The *Diritto Municipale* provided very clear instructions for the guardianship of children. No guardian, curator or testator was allowed to interfere in the protection and care before they were given the confirmation by a judge’s report. Guardians and trustees were not allowed to care for children unless they were deemed fit by the judge in accordance with the

⁶⁰ Treccani’s definition of *balia* is a woman who nurses other people’s child against payment. See [bàlia in Vocabulary - Treccani](#) [retrieved on 18/04/2022].

⁶¹ AOM 1714 ff.63r-65r.

⁶² *Del Diritto Municipali di Malta*, (Malta: Stamperia del Palazzo di S.A.E per Fra Gio. Mallia, 1784), Lib 3, Cap 2 pp.115-118.

⁶³ *Del Diritto Municipali di Malta*, (Malta: Stamperia del Palazzo di S.A.E per Fra Gio. Mallia, 1784), Lib 3, Cap 3, p.118-121.

common laws. Additionally, they were obliged to provide legal accounts which were to be available to the children once the contract of protection was terminated and an inventory was required of all the assets of the pupils and minors (wards) and presented to the court. If the testator exempted them from making an inventory, the guardian was still obliged to give a detailed and faithful account of the assets of the minors and pupils in front of a notary public. The inventory was to make a minute and distinct description of the whole assets with the estimate of gold, silver, pearls, and other precious stones. As for the furniture, their description of quantity and quality would have sufficed. In the making of this inventory, all relatives and interested parties had to be cited personally, and the statements with public proclamation, indicating the place, day and hours established for making and publishing such inventory or description were also to be included. Neglecting to do so, the guardian and trustee was to be removed immediately from the protection and care of the children. For them to remain within the legal parameters, the inventory was to be done within a month starting from the day of confirmation obtained in the protection and care of minors.⁶⁴

Furthermore, it notes that guardians and curators were required to keep a record book with the income and outcome with their justification as well as a legal account of their administration which was to be examined by someone appointed by the judge. Lacking to produce this account meant the direct removal of minors or pupils for their protection and care.⁶⁵ Unfortunately during my research I have not encountered any such record books or inventories, further study of inventories in Notarial volumes should yield more information and would shed more light on the implementation of regulations related to the assets and property of foundlings and their guardians.

Care was not strictly limited to parents or individuals who wished to enter in the *concessio puellam/puerum* agreement. Care was often times assumed by relatives. Anna Caruana, the maternal grandmother appealed to the *Magna Curia Castellaniae*. Anna's daughter, Rosa Pace, died leaving behind her nine-year-old girl, still a minor, by the name Caterina. Anna Caruana decided on behalf of her granddaughter to claim the inheritance and pay the debts remaining. Additionally, she asked the court to become tutor and curator of Caterina and to retrieve the assets and hereditary effects.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ *Del Diritto Municipali di Malta*, (Malta: Stamperia del Palazzo di S.A.E per Fra Gio. Mallia, 1784), Lib 3, Cap 3, pp.118-121.

⁶⁵ *Del Diritto Municipali di Malta*, (Malta: Stamperia del Palazzo di S.A.E per Fra Gio. Mallia, 1784), Lib 3, Cap 3, pp.118-121.

⁶⁶ NAM Misc box 429 (17 April 1746) (n.f.).

It is also interesting to note that the documents related to *tutore e curatore* often times are related to the mother or wife who lost her husband and appeals before the court to obtain custody of her children and their inheritance instead of passing directly to the first-born son according to the primogeniture or to the Order to deal and handle their affairs. This was the case of Rosa, widow of Michel Angelo Azzupard, who had been dead for about eighteen months. However, she was in great debt and left behind three children Antonio, Giacinta and Francesco together with an infant. Thus, Rosa petitioned the court to be the children's main guardian and requested that instead of drawing up an inventory before the notary, she provided a simple repertoire of their hereditary assets. She also noted that since her children were all minors and her eldest born was to reach the age of majority in four years, she requested the court to be pardoned for those four years and pleaded them not to accuse the children of wilful misconduct since they were minors.⁶⁷

4.3. The Foundling Register

The *Regolamento* (1796) notes that the Venerable Congregation was to carefully examine the method that was observed in keeping the register of exposed children and in the distribution of wages.⁶⁸ To date, only one such register has been identified for the period of the Order of St John (and the early years of British colonial rule), the 'Foundling Register', covering the years 1778-1812. This volume, together with another one dating 1847-1891, are the only known surviving registers which found their way to the National Archives from storage at Saint Vincent de Paule Nursing home.⁶⁹ This register, of about 42.5cm, 29cm, and 7cm in length, width and height respectively, contains information on children admitted at the Holy Infirmary written in French and provides a glimpse into how their life evolved. The use of French in the formulation of this volume is likely because the Holy Infirmary was the special responsibility of the Langue and Knights of France within the Order.⁷⁰

The first page of the Foundling Register starts in the form of a title page which states as follows: 'Book of exposed children, where we find everything that concerns them. Made in

⁶⁷ NAM Misc. Box 433 (6 October 1747) (n.f.).

⁶⁸ AOM 1714 ff.36r-37r.

⁶⁹ Accession number 2010/23, See N.A., National Archives Annual Report 1 January – 31 December 2010 National Archives of Malta, (Malta: National Archives, 2011), https://issuu.com/nationalarchivesmalta/docs/nam_annual_report_2010 [14/03/2022].

⁷⁰ Paul Cassar, *The Holy Infirmary of the Knights of St John 'La Sacra Infermeria'*, (Malta: The Mediterranean Conference Centre, 2005), 21-22.

1778'⁷¹ (see Figure 4.8). This is followed by a forward, in French, explaining the nature of the register and a few regulations pertaining to the lists found in it. It explains that on each page one can find five columns. The first one includes the names, day of exposure, when and to where they were sent to wetnurses, and where the wetnurses lived. The second column includes children given in service with the wages they should earn, and when their term of service came to an end their master would return them back to the Holy Infirmary, as well as the wages due to them. The third column indicates when and to whom each child was given by deed, what was due in the event of restitution (the termination of a contract), and any special conditions they agreed upon. This column also includes the name of the notary who drew up the deed and the duration they were bound by this deed. The fourth column indicates the money received by the commander of the infirmary on their behalf with the times of receipt of each sum. The fifth and final column includes any observations related to the statements, which could not be included in the fourth column.⁷² Information about the individual was also added and edited over time to include an individual's marriage status or death (see Figure 4.9).

⁷¹ *Livre Des enfans exposes, où on trouve tout ce que les con cernc. Fait en 1778.*

⁷² NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register, p.2.

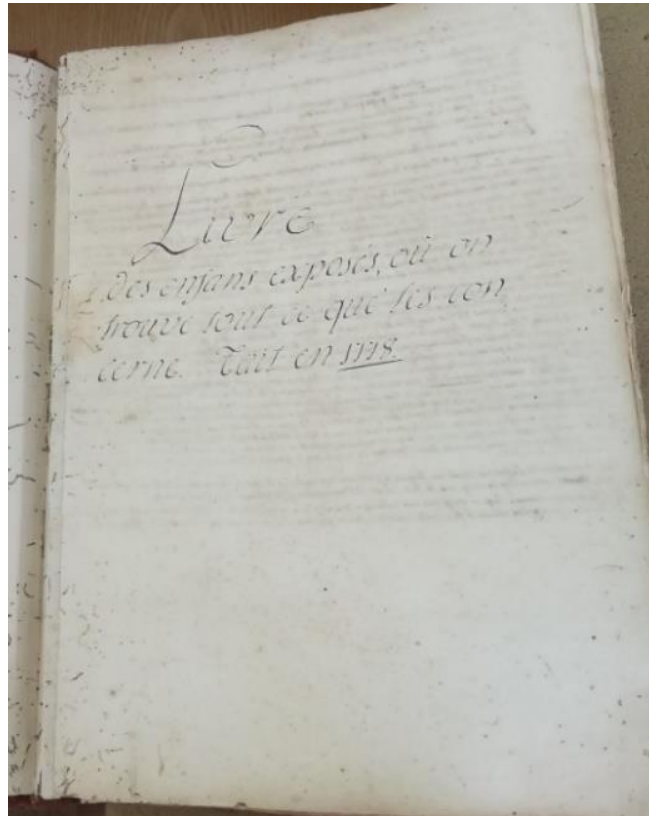


Figure 4. 9: Foundling Register Title Page

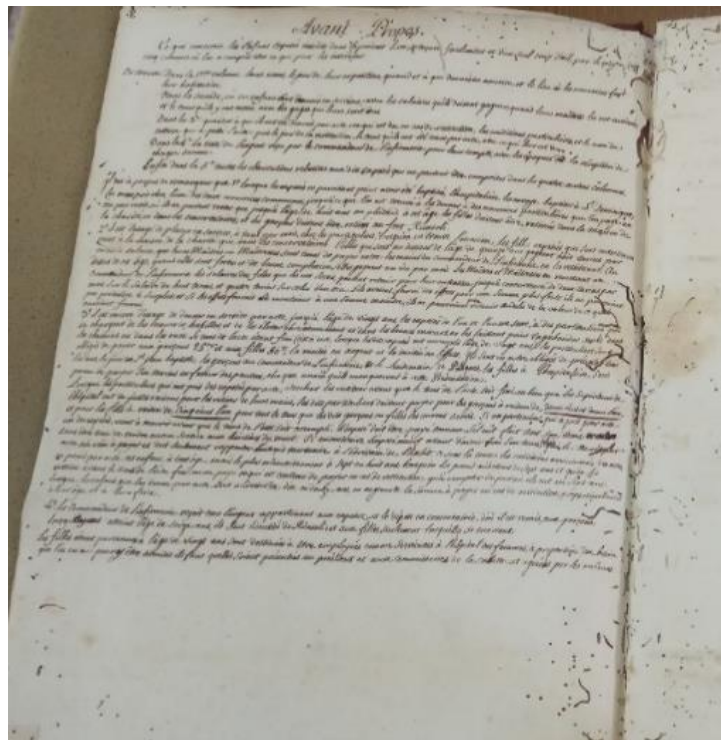


Figure 4. 10: Foundling Register: Foreword p.3

The foreword provides four points of instruction or regulations. First, when the exposed children do not appear to have been baptised, the Grand Hospitaller (head of the Holy Infirmary)⁷³ was to send them for baptism at the parish of St Dominic with one of the two *communes* (common nurses), until they were assigned to a wetnurse who was to be paid a scudo monthly. The child could only stay with her until s/he turned eight.⁷⁴ Attilio Critien notes that in the sixteenth century the duration of ‘fosterage’ was up to the age of three for girls and seven for boys, to be then kept at the Infirmary until marriage or apprenticeship respectively. By the eighteenth century, however, it was established that both girls and boys were to be withdrawn from fosterage at the age of seven.⁷⁵ At this age, the girls were to be moved to the house of charity or to the conservatories, while the boys would be taken to Fort Ricasoli.⁷⁶ Attilio Critien notes that as a precaution, foundlings were immediately baptised, held at the font by their godmother, chosen by the Holy Infirmary, and their records were to be kept in the Baptismal Registers of Saint May of Port Salvo and Saint Dominic (*Santa Maria di Porto Salvo e di San Domenico*) since it was the parish within which the Infirmary fell. He also notes that between 1787 and 1788 there were ninety *esposti* christened, recorded as *filiae hospitalis* (children of the hospital), with three or four baptised each day.⁷⁷

The information about abandoned infants is very limited and almost nothing is known about the type of information left with the child when abandoned. Thus, it is very difficult to know whether parents left notes about the child’s baptismal status. During my research I did not manage to find instructions or regulations for baptism of abandoned children, however, the foundling register provides a small piece of the puzzle. Conversely, this lack of information leads to further questions such as whether all infants were baptised at the chapel of the Holy Infirmary or the Church of Porto Salvo. Additionally, there is also the problem of rebaptism. Since children, most probably infants, were immediately baptised if there was no indication of already being baptised, it was possible that some children were rebaptised, even though baptism cannot be repeated. Furthermore, if s/he were in fact already baptised, would the child be given a new name so as not to be recognised by the biological family? It should

⁷³ The Grand Hospitaller was the head of the administrative hierarchy of the Holy Infirmary and this prestigious position was typically held for the head of the French Langue. See Paul Cassar, (2005), 21-22.

⁷⁴ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register, p.2.

⁷⁵ Critien, (1949), 8-9.

⁷⁶ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register, p.2.

⁷⁷ Critien, (1949), 7.

also be considered whether it is worth assuming that parents did not baptise the child themselves.

Since the Middle Ages, care institutions aimed at securing the spiritual lives of abandoned children through baptism as soon as they were recovered. Although it was important to avoid the multiple administration of the sacrament, this was superseded by the need to secure the child's salvation. Vincent Gourdon noted that the Roman Ritual of 1614⁷⁸ indicated how baptism was to be recorded and that for exposed children, the date of exposure, where and by whom the child was found, and the child's approximate age or date of baptism were to be recorded clearly.⁷⁹ It is likely that the lack of official regulations for the baptism of abandoned children found thus far can be explained by the fact that since the Order of St John was a religious order responding to the Pope, the Roman ritual could have been taken as the official guideline.

In a society so driven and revolving around religion, and knowing the high rate of death among young children, one wonders how likely it was that a parent would not baptise the child and risk their child's chance of going to heaven.⁸⁰ Given Malta's insularity and neighbourliness of households, one also wonders how likely it was for someone to hide their pregnancy, baptise a child and then abandon it without making it known to the people in their circle. Eighteenth-century Malta's church had rigorous records-keeping for every sacrament, thus in such a small island, it is unlikely that the biological family baptised their child before abandonment, even though the parish priest could have kept it a secret and baptised the child in secret to ensure the child's salvation, as it would have risked the whole parish learning of it. It is also possible that families did not baptise the child beforehand as they had their mind at rest that the Holy Infirmary would baptise the child.

The Foundling Register's index refers to the places of exposure which include Valletta, Bormla, Senglea, Birgu, Citta Vecchia (Mdina), Qormi, Żurrieq, Lija, Żebbug and Gozo, while a few are noted as 'not stated'. Thus far it is certain that there were two wheels, that of the Holy Infirmary (Valletta) and of Santo Spirito (Rabat). There is no reference in the

⁷⁸ The Roman Ritual is a collection of guidelines and regulations for the official rituals of the Roman Catholic Church. The one discussed in this section is from 1614 which was later updated in the twentieth century.

⁷⁹ Vincent Gourdon, 'Should abandoned children be baptised? The French case, the sixteenth to the early twentieth century', *Orphans and Abandoned Children in European History, Sixteenth to twentieth centuries*, Nicoleta Roman (ed.), (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 39-40.

⁸⁰ Anna French, 'Infancy', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, Anna French (ed.), (New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), 82.

documentation that there were wheels in the aforementioned localities, however, this possibility is not to be excluded. Since there is no evidence of such wheels in these localities, one would wonder where in these particular localities children were being abandoned, whether they were left at the doorstep of a convent or the parish parvis. If children were left at church convents, another question arises; were convents required to report the abandonment and hand the child over to the Holy Infirmary, even if they had the possibility of caring for the child themselves? Would this provide the possibility for the child to be raised in the convent, but receive some form of financial aid from the Order? And for those possibly abandoned at a doorstep and public areas, would these have been reported to the Order as well? If so, what was the system to do so? This is excluding the possibility of someone finding the abandoned child and taking it home to be raised as their own child.

The second instruction in the foundling register notes that it was customary to place children in service of private homes when the opportunity was available. Those under fifteen years of age were to earn 8 *tari* monthly, which their masters or mistresses were to give to the commander of the Holy Infirmary. Those over the age of fifteen, who were strong could earn a *scudo* monthly. When the masters and mistresses sent the wages of the girls who served them to the commander of the Holy Infirmary, the masters could keep 2 *tari* monthly for their upkeep from the eight *tari*. If the foundlings earned more, their masters could not keep the surplus. Additionally, the family in charge of their, which would in turn make them their masters could not keep any money for themselves if the foundlings earned 4 *tari* or less.

Third, it is remarked that according to notarial agreements it was customary for these individuals to remain in service until the age of twenty. Both males and females who were exposed⁸¹ were to be sent to individuals who would be responsible for feeding and clothing them and raising them in a Christian manner and with good morals, and not let them wander alone in the streets. When the agreement neared its end or the individuals in the contract died before the foundling completed their contract once the *alunno/a* turned twenty, their carers were obliged to give 25 *scudi* to boys and 50 *scudi* to girls, half of it in money and half in garments. It is further instructed that every year the exposed were to be presented

⁸¹ It is worth noting that within this chapter the term ‘exposed’ will be used instead of ‘abandoned’ because ‘abandoned’ would have meant that it is beyond doubt that the parent was never to recollect the child, but no such certainty is provided in the documents under study. Although it might sound outdated and eighteenth-century style of vocabulary, the term ‘exposed’ means left visible, unprotected, at least for the duration until recollected or until sent to a family. Thus, as a term ‘exposed’ is a perfect reflection of the situation in which these children was left in, unprotected in the *ruota* and with a status to carry their whole life as an identity visible for all to witness.

to the Commander of the Infirmary, the boys on the feast of St John the Baptist and the girls the day after Easter, under a penalty of 6 *tari* for each year they miss to present them.⁸²

When private individuals who had entered such agreements wanted to return the exposed before the term of the deed was over, they had to pay the Holy Infirmary 2 ½ *scudi* for boys and 5 *scudi* for girls for each year they had served them. If one of the individuals who took on this responsibility died before the term of the agreement was completed, to the agreement would come to an end, with no obligation on the part of the *esposti* to serve the heirs of the deceased. If the *alunno/a* died before finishing the term of service, the mortuary official of the Holy Infirmary had to be informed and have a note made in their register. In this section it is noted that while there were a few foundlings of a very young age in private service, most of the *esposti* were about seven or eight years old. Once they reached the age of twelve the sum of restitution⁸³ was to increase in accordance with their age and their strength.⁸⁴

The fourth and final instruction notes that the Commander of the Holy Infirmary was to receive all the money belonging to the *esposti* and deposit them with the Conservatory (the Treasury of the Order). The money was then given to the boys once they turned sixteen and are dismissed from Ricasoli, and once the girls are married. The girls who reached the age of twenty and were destined to be employed as servants in the woman's hospital were to be presented to and approved by the president and commissioners of the *Casetta*.⁸⁵

The foreword in this register is followed by a table with the five columns mentioned above. This register includes its own index at the back in alphabetical order according to the name starting from *folio* 473 to 592. Under each letter there is a list of names, the place of exposure and date, a page number, together with remarks on the individual. The folios in-between, being 272 to 472, contain blank rows and columns. Unlike volumes which started out as loose folio sheets which were then bound into a single volume within an archival unit, a register is an archival unit created already bound before being written.⁸⁶ Although there is

⁸² Critien, (1949), 7.

⁸³ Although in the documents under study there is no clear definition to what sum of restitution was, from the record of income/outcome of money noted in the foundling register the sum of restitution is the amount of money that was owed to the Holy Infirmary and the child once returned to the Holy Infirmary. It was a sort of insurance policy based on the child's strength; however, they were all given the same amount depending more on their gender rather than their strength.

⁸⁴ Critien, (1949), 7.

⁸⁵ Critien, (1949), 7.

⁸⁶ Information kindly provided by Dr Valeria Vanesio on 28 March 2022.

no direct indication why there are unwritten *folios* and why this register stops at the year 1812, it is possible that folios were left empty for the possibility of adding more information and entries when the need arose at a later stage, especially due to the nature of the document.

It is also worth noting that there are several entries crossed out (see figure 4.10) in ink which seems to signify that the individual was no longer the responsibility of the Order or no longer needed to be registered in their books, either because they got married (*maritato/a* or *mariée*), died (*morto/a* or *morte*) or were dismissed (*licenziato/a* or *licentié*). Additionally, these phrases are usually written in a larger font than the rest of the notes. It is also interesting to come across notes such as '*licenziato e soddisfatto*' (dismissed and satisfied),⁸⁷ or '*maritata e sodisfatta*' (married and satisfied).⁸⁸ This might indicate an attempt to note both the material and emotional state of the person at the point at which his/her relationship with the Holy Infirmary came to an end.

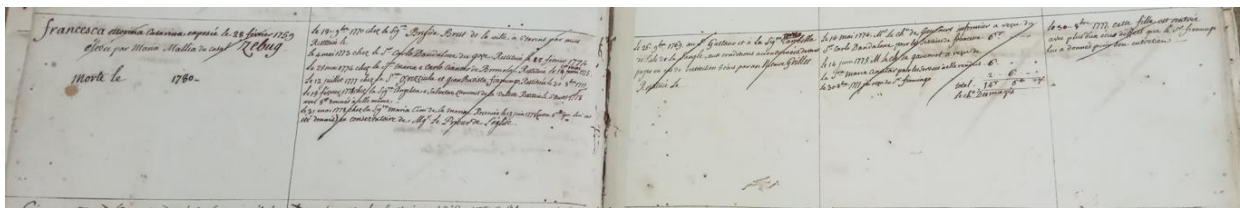


Figure 4. 11: Foundling Register ff.10-11.

Significantly less detail is available for boys than for girls, possibly because the majority of the boys went to Fort Ricasoli for training rather than in service in private homes. Thus, there was no need to record their every movement and payment with each change of household. When looking at the females' entries it is worth noting the frequency in change of households and what this could possibly mean for both the foundling and the family whom she was working with. Francesca (exposed 1759) changed six homes in the span of eight years (1770-1778) and was returned to the Holy Infirmary five times before staying at the *Conservatorio del Prior della Chiesa* for good, just two years before her death.⁸⁹ The frequent change in homes could have hindered her, and other girls like her, from creating

⁸⁷ See NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register p.80.

⁸⁸ See NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register p.52, p.56.

⁸⁹ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register ff. 10-11.

familial bonds, developing a sense of belonging to a place or roots of any kind within the society she lived in. It would seem indicate a situation where these families were primarily employers rather than carers. Aside from this, it should be noted that she was working, most probably as a domestic servant, from the age of eight and although I have not yet encountered a specific list of chores expected from her, one can only imagine that it was not the easiest of jobs. On the other hand, this was an opportunity for the girl to learn skills which she would need once she started her own family and earned some money which could in the future be beneficial for her to start a new life.

Leopoldo Dandalone had two girls from the Holy Infirmary in his service, Polixena and Francesca. In the case of Polixena, Dandalone was paying for her services through donations to the Auberge of Germany from 1 July 1756 to 1 July 1769. A few years later, from 4 May 1773 to 14 May 1774, Dandalone paid the Holy Infirmary for Francesca's services in his own home.⁹⁰ It is unfortunate that no information was discovered as to what led Leopold Dandalone to have these girls in his service and donating Polixena to the langue, whether this was out of care for the girls or simply because they were in need of a servant, what their work was and how they lived their day-to-day life and whether some form of familial bond was created.

Linda Pollock notes that 'the reconstruction of child life in the past is an area beset with difficulties'⁹¹ and the accounts of behaviour and treatment are very limited, as can also be observed locally. Getting a young person's emotional perceptions through documents is very difficult as most of the information provided to us is from the adult's perception and perspective. Several aspects of the past are hidden from us as young people were unable to write their own story. What is left to us is defined by the adults who birthed them, raised them and lived alongside them, thus, witnessing their life.⁹²

Such children and adolescents have often been forgotten and invisible not only in the day-to-day life but also historiographically. They were not the Kings and Queens of nations, neither were they able to write their own story to leave their own mark. They were ordinary

⁹⁰ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register pp. 4-5; pp.10-11.

⁹¹ Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-child relations from 1500 to 1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 43.

⁹² Peter N. Stearns, 'Childhood Emotions in modern western history', *The Routledge history of Childhood in the Western World*, Paula S. Fass (ed.), (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), 158; French, 'Infancy', (2020), 75-76.

people, even more so they were mostly uneducated, poor children, even worse abandoned or orphaned children, unable to take their own decisions however, forced, to a certain extent, to create a life for themselves on their own. As a discipline, history relies mostly on written documents, which such children were unable to present for themselves. The only moments when we come across children is through scraps of paper where they appear as fleeting observations through the eyes of others.⁹³ Several stories from everyday life are either partially available to the researcher due to their destruction or censored by their contemporary authorities. Thus, when it comes to the history of infants, children and adolescents, there are questions which the archives leave unanswered.

Primary sources are inevitably biased and sometimes have the tendency to provide to us information which reflects the needs of authorities.⁹⁴ This can be observed through the Foundling register and notarial documents (*concessio puellam/puerum*) which only give details related to money and the law of the contractor and contractees, especially due to the nature of the documents, unlike an autobiographic diary or letter. Keeping an account of rights and duties and what was owed was more essential than recounting children's lives. The legal parameters do give a glimpse of what life was like, but these aforementioned records show more what one could be accountable for rather than the lives of these abandoned children, who apart from being on the periphery because they were children, they were double disadvantaged because of their status. As a researcher of forgotten lives, one must contend with the fragments and archival limitations available and seek to unearth the stories of those in the shadows by 'brushing against the grain'.⁹⁵ It is our duty not to be complicit in continuing to marginalise the marginalised in our research.⁹⁶

Polixena was exposed on 7 July 1734 and immediately sent to Antonia Ciantar from Birkirkara (probably a wetnurse). On 31 April 1743, Polixena was sent to Mara Attard from Gozo and recorded in the acts of Notary Callus. Unfortunately, no information is given about whom and how the girl was taken to Gozo. On 1 July 1756, she is noted to have been in service of Leopold Dandalone as donation to the Auberge of Germany. On 26 August 1756, Leopold Dandalone, in his name and that of his late wife, the aforementioned Maria Attard

⁹³ Pollock, (1984), 52; Suzannah Lipscomb, 'How can we recover the lost lives of women?', *What is History Now*, Helen Carr and Suzannah Lipscomb (eds.), (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2021), 178-180.

⁹⁴ Lipscomb, 180

⁹⁵ In the 1940 Walter Benjamin emphasised on the term to brush against the grain, similar to Anna Laura Stoler's 'upside-down reading' to refer to extracting information indirectly which may be hidden between the lines. See Lipscomb, 182-185.

⁹⁶ Lipscomb, 187-188.

paid 2 *scudi* and subsequently paid another 24 *scudi* 1 *tari* for Polixena's services to the Holy Infirmary's nurse. This indicates that at some point close to this date, Polixena must have been returned to the Holy Infirmary. It is also noted that she was sent to the *Conservatorio del Padre Agius*, however, no date for each of these instances is indicated in the register. On 24 November 1777, Polixena went to the *Casa del Carità*. By this point it is recorded that the money for Polixena's services amounted to 134 *scudi* 1 *tari*.⁹⁷

Francesca was exposed on 18 February 1759. It is observed that on 18 November 1770, Francesca was in service of Brigida Brest and subsequently in the service of Carlo Dandalone on 4 May 1773. On 18 February, she returned to the Holy Infirmary and by 14 May 1774, Dandalone paid 6 *scudi*. On 25 May 1774, Francesca was in the service of Maria and Carlo Ciantar, was returned to the infirmary on 14 May 1775 and a month later Carlo Ciantar paid 6 *scudi*. On 12 July 1777, Francesca was sent in service of Graziulla and Gian Batista Fiamingo and three months later (30 October) she was returned to the Holy Infirmary and paid 2 *scudi* 6 *tari*. On 15 February 1778, she was sent in service of Angelica and Salvatore Zammit, returned by 6 March, sent to Maria Cini on 31 May and returned to the Holy Infirmary by 15 June, all in the span of one year. At some point after this, Francesca was residing at the *Conservatorio del Prior della Chiesa* with a total of 14 *scudi* 6 *tari* for her services. Francesca passed away in 1780 at the age of twenty-one.⁹⁸

A different kind of story can be seen for the male foundlings. Giovanni Francesco was exposed on 21 May 1771 and is recorded that he was sent to be raised by Grazzia Ellul from Valletta. On 5 March 1778, it is recorded that a notarial agreement by Don Pasquale on behalf of Michele Agius an apothecary from Valletta was made at Notary Grillet however, it is noted that he was returned to the Infirmary on 5 March 1781. On the same day, he was sent to Ricasoli to learn the trade of a barber. In June 1781, Giovanni Francesco fled from Ricasoli but was returned there two days later. On 20 June 1781, Jean Dominique Carbone paid 2 *scudi* 6 *tari*, and 1 *scudo* 3 *tari* paid two days later. Another set of payments by Jean Dominique are recorded of 1 *scudo* 3 *tari* on 17 February 1781, 16 December 1781, and 5 January 1782, amounting to a total of 7 *scudi* 6 *tari*. On 3 March 1782, Giovanni Francesco was in the service of Dominic Arnaud but nine days later a payment of 6 *scudi* 8 *tari* was made. On 31 October 1782, it is recorded that he obtained a salary: 7 *scudi* 5 *tari* 6 ½ *grani*

⁹⁷ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register pp.4-5.

⁹⁸ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register pp.10-11.

and returned to the Ricasoli in April 1782. At that point he had a total of 23 *scudi* 4 *tari* 6 ½ *grani* under his name. At the end of his record, it is noted that he was ‘dismissed and satisfied’. On the same page the register also includes a side note to direct the reader to another page for details about further payments, that of 1 *scudo*, 7 *tari*, 10 *grani*.⁹⁹ In this case it can be observed that boys too were exposed and needed in the domestic service however they also had the option of venturing into other trades. It would have been interesting if the register also included the reason why Giovanni Francesco ran away from Ricasoli, whether it was because he was unhappy or because he thought he would do better on his own.

A simpler description of a boy’s life is reflected by the record of Antonio Francesco de Bourg. The boy, who since he was noted by his surname could have been an orphan not a foundling, was exposed on 7 March 1744 and immediately sent to Maria Borg from Birkirkara on 11 November 1781 he was living with the same Maria and Salvo Borg from Birkirkara as can be noted in the acts of Notary Grillet. No information about changes in homes or payments were indicated in his record however he is noted as ‘married and satisfied’.¹⁰⁰

Within this register, a total of 204 entries are recorded, out of which there are 21 recorded deaths. Eight of these deaths did not specify the date or year of death, the remainder are presented in Table 2. Since children were often abandoned close after birth, for the purpose of this dissertation and due to a lack of evidence suggesting otherwise, the date of exposure is considered the approximate date of birth. This hypothesis is also based on the fact that throughout this register, although infrequent, there are instances where the specific age of abandonment is recorded. Such is the case of Antonia who was exposed on 3 July 1787 at the *ruota* at the age of seven.¹⁰¹ This appears to be unusually late and hence why the age was recorded. A further consideration this leads to is one of size: how would a seven-year-old have fitted into the wheel? Presumably she was just left nearby to it.

It is worth noting that the list of deaths included in table 2 is only a reflection of the deaths registered by the Order in the foundling register, however death was a common everyday occurrence and children, adolescents and youths were no exception. A high child

⁹⁹ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register pp. 60-61; pp.128-129.

¹⁰⁰ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register pp. 60-61; pp.128-129.

¹⁰¹ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register pp.114-115.

mortality rate can be observed across early modern Europe. Many families witnessed only a small number of children growing up to adulthood. The birth of infants was a momentous part of the life cycle, primarily because it signalled new life and a gift from God. A child could have been a gift as much as a burden. Expectant mothers were not always thrilled with the news of a new child, including unmarried or poor women. The birthing process was a death-defying business, and the infancy stage was no less troublesome. Adriana Benzaquén notes that in early modern Europe, about half the children did not live up to ten years, making the childhood experience and death inextricable.¹⁰² One must keep in mind the mother's diet and lack of nutrition especially in the lower classes, the lack of medication and inoculations of infants, and sanitary conditions they were born in or abandoned in.¹⁰³ Surviving was a great feat, and it was an even greater feat to survive abandonment and rescue, moving to a wetnurse's home, teething, and surviving the work of being in service of private homes or the Order at a young age.

If the date of exposure is taken as the approximate birth date, out of the 21 deaths, five were over 20 years, twelve between 5 and 19, four between 2 and 4 years and one had not even reached its first year. Gregorio, the orphan son of the late Gregorio and Maria Bonet from Valletta, only lived for about two years and three months after being exposed on 9 January 1781, just seven days after his birth. On 15 January 1781, he was sent to wetnurse Rosaria Carbone from Bormla, on 1 May 1781, he was returned to a common nurse, and then he was sent to Regina and Bartholomeo Xicluna from Isla on 16 May 1781. There is no information for June 1781 until his death on 24 April 1783, thus it is presumed that he remained with the Xicluna family until his death.¹⁰⁴ While it was common for people to die at home, or in the case of these foundlings, to die at the house they were in service of, there are instances in which they died elsewhere. Twenty-five-year-old Giuseppe Francesco is recorded to have died at the 'Ospedale'.¹⁰⁵ Twenty-two-year-old Cristina Gesuarda presumably died at the *Casa della Carità* as she was registered there just two months before

¹⁰² Katie Barclay, 'The early modern family', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, Anna French ed., (New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2020b), 16, 23-24; French, 'Infancy', (2020), 74-75; Adriana Benzaquén, 'Illness and death', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, Anna French (ed.), (New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), 197-198.

¹⁰³ Emanuel Buttigieg, 'Family life and neighbourliness in Malta (c.1640-c.1740): some preliminary observations based on evidence from the Magna Curia Castellaniæ', *Arkivju*, 1, (2008), 47-58; 'Growing up in Hospitaller Malta (1530-1798): An Overview', in *Religion, Ritual and Mythology: Aspects of Identity Formation in Europe*, Joaquim Carvalho (Ed.), (Pisa: PLUS, 2006), 106.

¹⁰⁴ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register pp.106-107.

¹⁰⁵ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register pp.50-51.

her death. ¹⁰⁶ Others like nine-year-old Francesca Aloisia¹⁰⁷ and Giovanna Nicola¹⁰⁸ died at the *Conservatorio del Prior della Chiesa* and the *Conservatorio Del Padre Agius*, respectively. No reason for their death is indicated in this register.

Table 2: Foundling Register Deaths

Folio	Name	Date of exposure	Date of death	Approx. years lived
10-11	Francesca	28 February 1759	1780	21 years
12-13	Cristina Gesuarda	13 September 1760	11 September 1782	22 years
44-45	Carmina Eleonora	11 December 1768	6 March 1781	23 years
48-49	Rosolea or Rosa de Bormla	3 September 1769	1780	21 years
50-51	Giuseppe Francesco	15 November 1769	31 March 1784 (died at the Holy Infirmary)	25 years
50-51	Catarina Benvenuta	2 February 1770	1 January 1781	11 years
56-57	Lorenza	21 October 1770	12 January 1780	10 years
56-57	Maria de Zebug	30 November 1770	February 1780	10 years
58-59	Francesca Aloisia	6 May 1771	12 March 1780	9 years
62-63	Giovanna Nicolina de la Valletta	5 December 1771	1780	9 years
64-65	Catarina Benvenuta	11 August 1772	1780	8 years
68-69	Giovanni	10 June 1778	27 February 1780	1 year and 8 months
68-69	Salvatore Antonio Tomaso	12 February 1772	1 January 1780	7 years 11 months
78-80	Maria Madalena	22 July 1772	39 January 1779	6 years 6 months
88-89	Elena	24 April 1772	27 April 1780	8 years
92-93	Maria Teresa	7 September 1772	27 July 1787	14 year 10 months
106-107	Gregorio orphan son of the late Gregorio and Maria Bonet from Valletta	9 January 1781	24 April 1783	2 years and 3 months
160-161	Francesco Rosario Racido	5 October 1786	11 august 1787	10 months
164-165	Maria Concetta Giuseppa Ponzia	11 December 1786	16 September 1789	2 years and 9 months
182-183	Paolo Stefano	10 February 1789	29 May 1790	1 year and 3 months
210-211	Lorita Innocenza Brigida	30 October 1789	19 June 1795	5 years and 8 months

¹⁰⁶ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register pp.12-13.

¹⁰⁷ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register pp.58-59.

¹⁰⁸ NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register pp.62-63.

4.4. Notarial Contracts: *Concessio Puellam/Puerum*

Through the exploration of the foundling register, several observations and leads to further research can be noted. One thing that is surely of help to expand the search for information about foundlings are the Notaries' names indicated in the third column as from this, one can then search for further details in the deeds of these notaries at the Notarial Archives. While this register starts from 1779 and the notarial deeds under study range from 1744 to 1760, one can observe the similarity in the reference to these deeds.¹⁰⁹ Additionally, one can also extract further information about wet nurses, a pattern of wages given to children for their service and the rates paid to the commander.

The *concessio puellam/puerum* notarial deed begins with the scribe of the Holy Infirmary presenting the foundling together with their age or date of exposure to the new family with whom they will be in service with from that point forward, together with the family with whom they were residing before. The deed specifies that the individuals in the contract were obliged to follow the agreement until s/he were twenty years of age. The new family was obliged to nourish, govern, clothe and teach good manners to the foundling and were to ensure that they do not walk the streets alone. The Foundling Register and the notarial contract of the *concessio puellam/puerum* overlap and reflect each other. In addition to what has previously been noted about the regulations listed within the Foundling Register, the notarial contract also stipulated the amount of money that the foundling was to receive in cash and clothing. Additionally, the contractee could be free from any obligations of the deed by returning the foundling to the Holy infirmary before they turned twenty, but the deed also stipulated the amount of money due to the Commander if this happened. On most occasions it was 3 *scudi* and 6 *tari* for the girls and 2 *scudi* and 4 *tari* for the boys, however, one might find instances where this agreed upon payment was different while still within 2 to 5 *scudi*, but the reason behind was not stipulated. On the other hand, a fixed penalty of 6 *tari* were to be agreed upon to be paid to the *utilita dei poveri* (that is, the service which provided aid to the poor and distributed 1 *tari* daily to each pauper who went to collect alms from the Holy

¹⁰⁹ During the period when this research was being carried out, the Notarial Archives were closed to the public for long periods of time, both because of Covid-19 and because of renovation works. Hence, it was not possible to access certain documentation. Hopefully this can be done at a later stage as part of forthcoming research projects.

Infirmary) if the families did not present the foundlings to the authorities yearly. The result of abiding by this agreement was to be reflected in the Foundling Register.¹¹⁰

While notarial acts are formulaic and might appear sequential, the pedantic repetitions, they provide detailed information about individuals and the society they live in.¹¹¹ One interesting aspect which emerges from the notarial deeds under study is the places where foundlings are in service with the families (see figure 4.5). The most frequently mentioned locality is Valletta, followed by Żebbuġ and Qormi. While I have not come across reasons as to why families from particular localities are more encountered than others, it is possible that it is because of their proximity to Valletta and the Holy Infirmery (see Figure 4.6). Logistically, both for transportation and for yearly visits, it was possibly more convenient and feasible to have young people in service in places like Valletta, Qormi and Siġġiewi, together with the port cities. These localities also provided their very own resources and opportunities to educate young people in terms of domestic work and apprenticeships. The port cities provided the possibility to learn maritime related trade, while the rural areas provided the opportunity to learn agricultural and day-to-day needs and trades such as working in the fields, managing small businesses such as carpentry, shoe making, and baking as well as the possibility of educating them in the domestic service around the home. Due to Floriana's very close proximity to Valletta, one would expect a larger number of young people in service at this locality. However, Floriana was not yet widely developed between the 1740s and 1760s and its population was relatively small.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Due to Covid restrictions at the archives and due to the time limit in pursuing this research, I have not yet been able to ascertain whether there exists a separate book of the Holy Infirmery specifically for the death of foundlings. While the foundling register under study does provide a note about the death of foundlings, a foundling registers for the period 1744 and 1762 correlating to the Notarial Deeds has not yet been discovered.

¹¹¹ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth Century France*, (California: Stanford University Press, 1987), 5; Emanuel Buttigieg, 'Social relationships in Mi-Sixteenth-Century Malta: An Analysis through Notary Juliano Muscat's Register R376/11', *Storja 30th Anniversary Edition*, Henry Frendo ed. (Malta: Malta University Historical Society, 2008), 52.

¹¹² This is based on information found in the Status Animarum of San Paolo, Valletta, of which Floriana was part of during this period. See ASP Status Animarum San Paolo (1734-1743), (1744-1753), (1754-1763), (1764-1773).

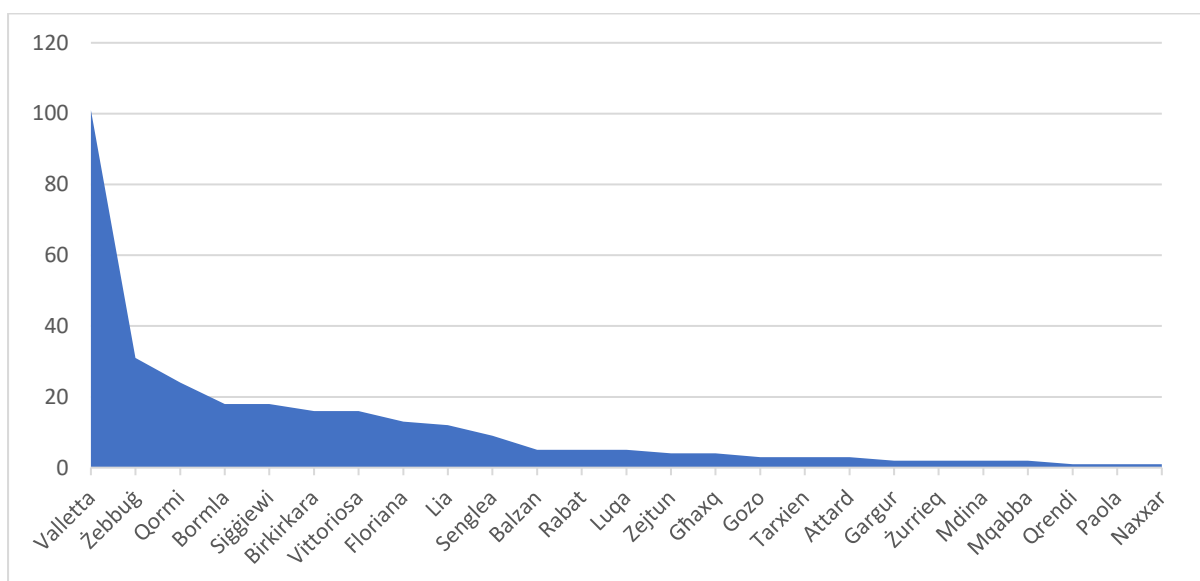
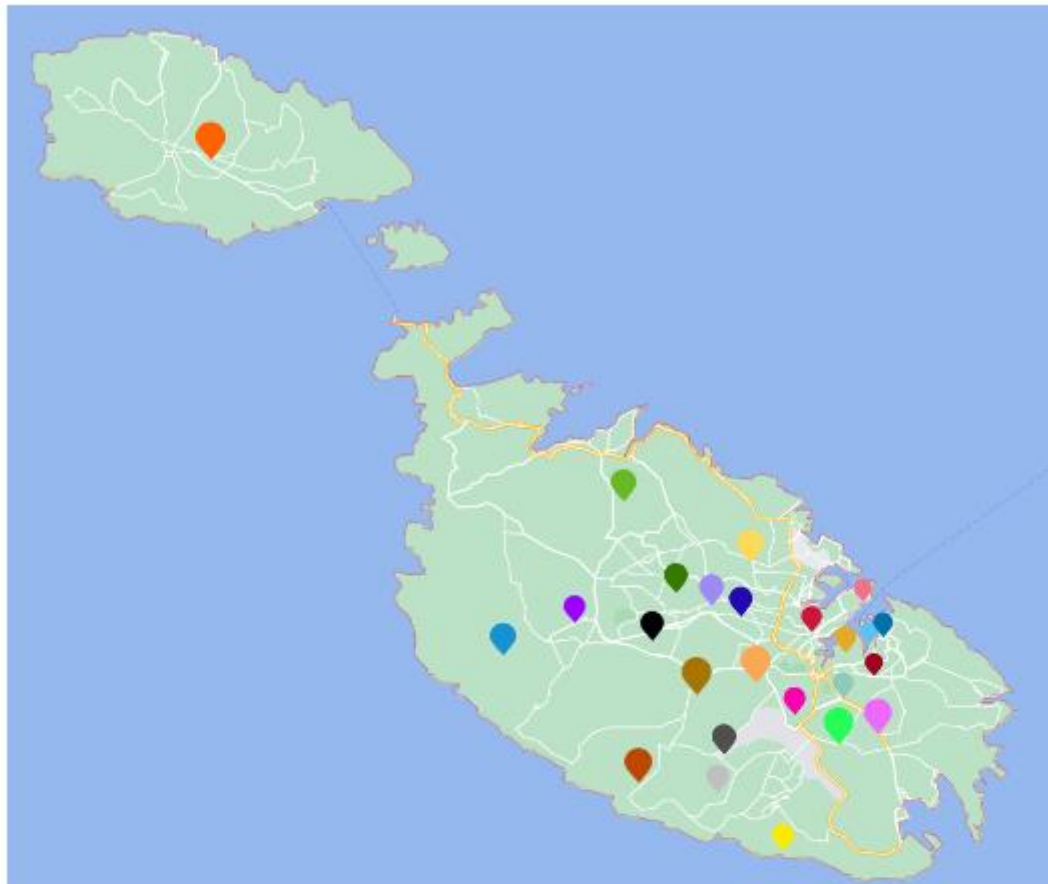


Figure 4. 12: Localities where foundlings are in service



- | | |
|--------------|------------|
| ● VALLETTA | ● LUQA |
| ● FLORIANA | ● ZEJTUN |
| ● BORMLA | ● GHAXAQ |
| ● SENGLEA | ● TARXIEN |
| ● VITTORIOSA | ● ZURRIEQ |
| ● RABAT | ● QRENDI |
| ● MDINA | ● MQABBA |
| ● NAXXAR | ● ATTARD |
| ● LIA | ● GARGUR |
| ● BALZAN | ● PAOLA |
| ● BIRKIRKARA | ● ZEBBUG |
| ● GOZO | ● QORMI |
| | ● SIGGIEWI |

Figure 4. 13: Map of Malta with localities where foundlings were found.

If one were to analyse these notarial deeds over the span of eighteen years (1744-1762), it is worth noting that the agreed upon terms remained consistent. Out of the 238 notarial deeds of Notary Bernardo Maria Callus analysed and researched, I only encountered one deed with a higher agreed upon payment for when the foundling turns twenty. In a year and nine months, *alunna* Catharina was in the service of two homes, that of Dominiuta Grech from Qormi and that of the widow Maria Sacco from Valletta, living in Floriana, being promised 50 *scudi* upon her twentieth birthday.¹¹³ On 3 October 1749, ten-year-old Catharina was placed in the service of Giuseppe Paolo di Lorenzo and his wife Antonia from Tarxien. Unlike her previous places of service, instead of 50 *scudi*, Francesca was to receive 100 *scudi*.¹¹⁴ This deed did not include any additional side notes or reasons why the payment was higher than usual.

When studying the *concessio puellam/puerum* deeds at the notarial archives, I frequently encountered studies that refer to these documents as adoption or fostering contracts and to the families drawing up these deeds as foster families.¹¹⁵ Although archival documents reflect the past, they are not silent accounts. They speak the contemporary society's language. The focus and perceptions of historians and their study changes with time.¹¹⁶ It is important to value the colloquial researcher's jargon as it usually reflects ideologies and personal interpretations, however, it is also worth investigating, discussing and possibly contesting these ideas in order to create a more precise and contemporary interpretation of document.

According to the Cambridge English Dictionary, in today's twenty-first-century language, adoption is the act of legally obtaining a child to be cared for as one's own and become part of one's own family unit,¹¹⁷ while fostering is the act of caring for a child for a limited time without becoming the child's legal guardian.¹¹⁸ Translation and language themselves are full of potential pitfalls to any history researcher as one cannot apply twenty-first-century language and meaning to eighteenth-century language and vice-versa, since

¹¹³ NAV R124/2, ff.139r-140r (8January1748).

¹¹⁴ NAV R124/3, ff.34r-24v (3 October 1749).

¹¹⁵ See Critien, (1948), 112-127; (1949), 7; Fiorini, 3-37; Giovanni Bonello, *Histories of Malt: Mysteries and Myths*, Vol. 8, (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2007), 139-140; Paul Cassar, (1964), 352-353.

¹¹⁶ Roy Porter, *English Society in the 18th century*, (London: Penguin Books, 1991), vii; Charlotte Lydia Riley, 'Why history should always be rewritten', *What is History Now*, Helen Carr and Suzannah Lipscomb (eds.), (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2021), 39.

¹¹⁷ See N.A., <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/adoption> [retrieved 03/04/2022].

¹¹⁸ See N.A., <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/foster> [retrieved 03/04/2022].

documents must remain authentic to their original meaning.¹¹⁹ According to Christine Adamec, in *The Encyclopaedia of Adoption*, the transfer of parental rights and responsibilities have been in existence for a long time. One of the earliest mentions of adoption encountered is the adoption of Moses by the Pharaoh's daughter.¹²⁰ Adoption satisfied the needs of society, the family, and the child. Despite the long history of adoption, of children being transferred from adults who could not parent to adults who wanted to parent for others, it appears that in Western Europe, the 'modern' idea of adoption as humanitarian aid is a relatively modern occurrence. The United States is considered to be the first western country to officially include adoption in the modern sense to its laws in 1851 and confirmed in the 1870s.¹²¹

Unlike Bucharest's Pauper Institute adoption contracts, Malta's notarial deeds under study do not specify in direct language to care for the child with 'parental love',¹²² but use the word '*servitium*'¹²³ which in Latin means slavery or servitude instead of '*ufficum*'¹²⁴ which means servitude with courtesy and kindness. Nevertheless, there must have been some form of emotion toward the foundling who would be in their service, be it selfishness, obligation, care, or empathy. Hence, one ought to ask what the meaning of service in this context is and what is the true nature of these documents. In this situation, these documents are like a puzzle left unsolved. It is difficult to come to a conclusion with a definite answer for this question because the documents themselves do not provide it directly.

Taking into consideration that the most common age for foundlings to be placed in service was eight years old followed by seven and then nine years, it is automatic for one to question and wonder how useful a servant would a child be. Although we should not look at the past from rose tinted glasses with today's perspective, it is also difficult to imagine how efficient it was to have an eight-year-old foundling servant, compared to a teenage paid

¹¹⁹ Arlette Farge and Michel Foucault, *Disorderly families: Infamous Letters from the Bastille Archive*, Nancy Luxon (ed.), Thomas Scott-Railton (trans.), (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 1-2.

¹²⁰ Christine Adamec, 'Introduction: A Brief History of Adoption', *the Encyclopaedia of Adoption*, third edition, Christine A. Adamec and Laurie C. Miller eds., (New York: Facts on File Inc., 2007), xxi- xxxvi.

¹²¹ Jean-François Mignot, *Child Adoption in Western Europe, 1900-2015*, (HAL Open Science: 5 February 2019), 1-2; See also 'What is the History of Adoption?', <https://adoption.org/what-is-the-history-of-adoption> [retrieved 1 June 2021]; Ellen Herman, 'Adoption History in Brief', *The Adoption History Project University of Oregon*, <https://pages.uoregon.edu/adoption/topics/adoptionhistbrief.htm> [retrieved 1 June 2022].

¹²² Nicoleta Roman, 'Constructing A Social Identity: State, abandoned children and family in mid-nineteenth century Bucharest', *Orphans and Abandoned Children in European History, Sixteenth to twentieth centuries*, Nicoleta Roman (ed.), (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 69.

¹²³ This term is used in all the notarial deeds under study. As an example, see NAV R124/1 f.13r-14r (7 December 1744).

¹²⁴ N.A., *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 234, 524.

servant. It is possible that eighteenth-century children were more used to domestic work and knowing that this was their fate they were more eager to work as servants than remain penniless in the streets. On the other hand, having an eight-year-old servant meant that heads of households had to take the time to teach them and even discipline them. They had to provide for them while making sure they are well-behaved. Thus, one wonders whether it would even have been more financially worth it for families to bind themselves with these foundlings in contract for about ten years, than pay for a servant who would be easier to let go if s/he did not fit in well with the family. While eight-year-olds could have possibly been able to do small tasks like help out in the fields or the trades, work in the kitchen and clean floors, they also demanded a lot of instruction and attention as at that age they do not have the maturity, or the understanding of how certain things were to be done. Although not in great number, families went also in contract for infants and toddlers who would definitely not be able to provide any service to the family. In these cases, the families were not simply their employers, but they were also their proxy-parents.

Patricia Crawford notes that in England, the masters and mistresses, as employers, were *in loco parentis* to their young servants, even though they were not obliged to love and care for them.¹²⁵ Paul Cassar notes that people of good character were sought to take children from the Holy Infirmary and bring them up as their own. This was done through a legal instrument which obliged parties to have parental kindness and assistance toward the children and provide a personal service to them until they reached the age of majority.¹²⁶ In this local situation, they were obliged by their contract to provide a level of care. In this system of having children in the service, the employers could be considered as their proxy-parents, after all, there could have been various meanings to motherhood and fatherhood.¹²⁷ Parenthood could be all-consuming as they would have been investing their time, thought and energy into these foundlings' lives and work.¹²⁸ Even if one were to understand eighteenth-century parenthood in the strict sense of the word as solely used for blood relatives, the fact that these foundlings were living with these families, witnessing their values and behaviour on a daily

¹²⁵ Patricia Crawford, *Parents of Poor Children in England, 1580-1800*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 21.

¹²⁶ Paul Cassar, (1964), 353-354.

¹²⁷ Anna-Maria Tapaninen, 'Names, Signs and Messages identifying foundlings in late 19th century Naples', *Between Sociology and History: Essays on Microhistory, Collective Action and Nation-Building*, Anna-Marija Castren and Marakku Pelton Lonika (eds.), (Finnish literature society, 2004), 54.

¹²⁸ Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760-1830: Emotion, Identity & Generations*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 28, 246.

basis, this influence would in the long term define their place in society, their sense of self, their actions and their beliefs.

Within this context, and in light of evidence showing payment in the Foundling register for the foundlings' work, it can be understood that they provided some sort of service towards the family, probably domestic work. When reading thoroughly these documents, they do not give the impression that foundlings were given the place of a slave or mistreated servant in the house, rather their maintenance and upbringing was well looked after legally by the government. Thus, the question arises as to whether one would interpret these documents as an adoption or fostering contract, or solely as a contract of employment. It is difficult to classify these documents as a direct form of adoption as we know it today.

The Holy Infirmary's foundlings were sent to wet nurses and then placed with other families to care for them until they reached the age of twenty, when they would be considered able and old enough to care for themselves, get a job, get married and create a life for themselves, after being given a sum of money to help them start their own life. On the other hand, until the foundlings reached the age of twenty, they could change homes a number of times, thus fitting in better with modern understandings of fostering. I am inclined to think that we cannot fit this process into terms of fostering and adoption as we know it today. From an in-depth analysis of these notarial deeds (*concessio puellam/puerum*), taking into consideration the Latin meaning of *concessio*, as granting of a permission,¹²⁹ and in light of the evidence available to us thus far, or even the lack of it, I have to refrain from labelling these deeds of *concessio puellam/puerum* as either fostering or adoption documents. Rather, I am inclined to believe they are a form of service relationship between the Holy Infirmary, the master/mistress and the child.

¹²⁹ N.A., *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 52. *Concessio* means permission, grant, plea of excuse or the act of yielding.

values that could influence the foundling to make good choices in the future.¹³³ Examining these notarial deeds, it is clear that various types of family units were created. It was very common for single women such as tertiary nuns,¹³⁴ virgin women,¹³⁵ siblings¹³⁶ and widows¹³⁷ to assume the care of a foundling, as well as for parents together with their daughters.¹³⁸ This would seem indicative of such individuals getting involved in contracts for foundling specifically because they needed some form of service, and / or an element of companionship.

It is worth discussing the importance that was to be given to find families and individuals of good morals and standing to care for the foundlings. Several individuals of different trades, professions and social rank could be involved in the bringing up of the foundling-servant. While the documents do not specify the individual's work or social standing, titles such as *Distinta*, *Magnifico*,¹³⁹ *Illustrissimo*, notary and reverend are often cited. As is done in notarial acts, to ensure the identity of an individual, the mention of the family's background together with their title such as the *Aromatario Magnifico* Paulo Azzupard son of the late *Magnifico* Giuseppe, and his wife, daughter of *Magnifico* Notary Joseph Calleya,¹⁴⁰ affirmed the individuals' and families' social standing. Giovanni Bonello remarks that the report on the Holy Infirmary of 1680 noted that the upbringing of foundlings by prostitutes was an investment in becoming future prostitutes themselves. Thus, it was prohibited for foundlings to be raised by *donne meretrice*.¹⁴¹ However, laws and regulations were not always adhered to. Christine Muscat notes that in the eighteenth century, prostitutes did in fact raise foundlings, mostly as a means of making money, as is evident in the *Status Animarum* of Porto Salvo, Valletta.¹⁴² During my research from the Notarial deeds and the Foundling register, there is never mention of *donne meretrice* in charge of foundlings but,

¹³³ Bailey, 28.

¹³⁴ NAV R124/5 ff.241r-142v (23 March 1753).

¹³⁵ NAV R124/1 ff.310r-310v (11 May 1746).

¹³⁶ For sisters see NAV R124/2 ff.321v-322v (22 August 1747); for brother and sister see NAV R124/2 ff.349r-350r (15 May 1748).

¹³⁷ NAV R124/1 ff.296v-297r (5 May 1746).

¹³⁸ NAV R124/2 ff.41v-43r (6 October 1746).

¹³⁹ Charlene Vella, 'The Notary Public in Malta from the Vilhena Code of 1723 to Ordinance V of 1855', (Unpublished Bachelor of Doctor of Laws, Faculty of Laws, University of Malta, 2006), 2; Petra Caruana Dingli, 'The "Culture of Writing" in late Sixteenth-Century Malta', *Journal of Baroque Studies*, (Malta: International Institute for Baroque Studies, 2018), 59.

¹⁴⁰ NAV R124/3 ff.185v-187r (10 April 1749).

¹⁴¹ Giovanni Bonello, *Histories of Malta: Mysteries and Myths*, Vol. 8, (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2007), 139-140.

¹⁴² See Christine Muscat, *Public Women: Prostitute Entrepreneurs in Valletta, 1630-1798*, (Malta: BDL Publishing 2018), 28, 112, 129, 168-169, 305.

while notarial documents often revealed many truths, such information could have easily been omitted from the record or deemed as useless information during a time when the Order needed more individuals to care for foundlings.

Out of 238 notarial deeds under study, there are only 15 cases where foundlings were placed in households of ecclesiastics. There are instances when clerics cared for foundling for only a short period of time, possibly an interim period between households, until the Order could secure a new safe place for the foundling. According to Notary Bernardo Maria Callus, Rev. Don Gregorio Fenech, a canon of St Paul's Church in Valletta, was to care for ten-year-old Joseph (7 May 1746).¹⁴³ Two years later, Joseph was then sent to Salvatore Bezzina and his wife Maria from Bormla (6 June 1748).¹⁴⁴ However, on 1 March 1746, he appears in a contract to care for a ten-year-old Joseph, presumably the same boy who was previously in the care of a certain Catharina Attard from Valletta.¹⁴⁵ On 7 May 1746, Rev. Fra. Nicolao Azzupard was in charge of the care of ten-year-old Joachim who a year later was re-housed with Magnifico Giovanni Bessiere from Valletta.¹⁴⁶ Additionally, on 18 July 1746, Magnifico Joseph Fenech appeared on behalf of his brother Don Gregorio Fenech in order to care of ten-year old Joseph Luca.¹⁴⁷ It is uncertain whether this is the same Joseph mentioned in the previous documents, however since the addition of a second name appears, one would be inclined to think them separate individuals.

Additionally, although very rare, there is mention of members of the Order assuming the care and employment of foundlings. On 18 October 1745, the Italian knight Fra Francesco Xaverio Cugurno agreed to raise and employ ten-year-old Benigno. A side note from 23 March 1755 notes that Benigno, this time identified as '*Benignus Spiteri alumnus*', received from Commander Fra Francesco Xaverio Cugurno 25 *scudi* in silver and gold coinage.¹⁴⁸ This document does not only reveal that in fact families paid the foundlings the money owed to them when they turned twenty, but it also reveals that for ten years, Benigno was cared for by a high-ranking member of the Order. The other case encountered is that of the Italian commander Fra Antonio Maria Capece de la Sommaglia, who agreed to raise nine-year old Nicolao Bartholomeo.¹⁴⁹ Since both Knights were high ranking members of the Order and

¹⁴³ NAV R124/1 ff.211r-212r (1 March 1746).

¹⁴⁴ NAV R124/2 ff.379r-380v (6 June 1748).

¹⁴⁵ NAV R124/1 ff.211r-212r (1 March 1746).

¹⁴⁶ NAV R124/2 ff.93r-94r (28 December 1727).

¹⁴⁷ NAV R124/1 ff.382r-384r (19 July 1746).

¹⁴⁸ NAV R124/1 ff.48v-49v (18 October 1745).

¹⁴⁹ NAV R124/2 ff.160r-161v (7 March 1747).

because it was forbidden for knights to be involved in the bringing up of children, it is very unlikely that these two knights brought up the foundlings themselves. However, it is possible that they contributed to their upbringing financially and by having them in their service.

It is worth noting that in Valletta, several households had a range of serving people living within them, from adult servants to child-foundling servants to slaves. There was a whole other reality of low paid, or non-paid household servitude in existence parallel. This upstairs-downstairs dichotomy is frequently neglected in our Maltese eighteenth century history of children. Very little is known about this social reality¹⁵⁰ and even less is written about it. Very often publications and representations of history tends to focus on the history of the upstairs however this downstairs reality of children should be given its due importance for it represents a different section of society and would provide a more holistic interpretation of eighteenth-century Maltese society.

These two realities bring forward the question of who was raising these foundlings. The bringing up of a child was assumed to be the women's role, traditionally perceived as being maternal, gentler, more passionate, and less rational.¹⁵¹ Thus, in these cases, would another family member raise the child? In the case of the Reverend Carolo Calleya, who along with his virgin sister Donna Flora Calleya, agreed to care for twelve-year-old Aloysia Bartholomea,¹⁵² one might assume that most of the upbringing would be in the hand of Flora. Similarly, Reverend Giuseppe Gilestri and his sister Anna, from Hal Lija, entered into a contract to care for nine-year old Laurentio who was previously in the care of Magdalena Xicluna from Lia.¹⁵³ In the case of the Gilestri siblings, it is interesting to note the location's proximity of the two households. Being such a small locality, it was possible that the Gilestri siblings knew of Laurentio before he was in their care, and it could have also been an incentive in their decision to care for him. Reverend Gabriele Romeo appeared on behalf of his virgin sister Hyeronyma to care for seven-year-old Anna Maria,¹⁵⁴ who four years later changed home to reside with *Magnifico* Emanuelli Habeli and his wife *Distinta* Angelica.¹⁵⁵ However, what about others who do not have female family members mentioned in the

¹⁵⁰ See Godfrey Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo ca. 1000-1812* (Malta: PEG Ltd, 2002), 375-410.

¹⁵¹ Bernard Capp, *The Ties That Bind: Siblings, Family and Society in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 96; Bailey, 28-29.

¹⁵² NAV R124/1 ff.66v-68r (17 January 1745).

¹⁵³ NAV R124/1 ff.121v-122v (4 January 1746).

¹⁵⁴ NAV R124/2 ff.94r-95r (28 December 1747).

¹⁵⁵ NAV R124/4 ff.135r-136v (8 January 1751).

contract? There are a few instances when the ecclesiastical member appears on his own such as the case of Rev Don Ignatio Azzuaprd with thirteen-year-old Caeitano Vincentio.¹⁵⁶

In most of these instances, the ecclesiastical member would appear on behalf of another couple or a female such as the case of Rev Fra Stephano Senarum, a Capuchin friar, who appeared on behalf of Andrea Felice Azzupard and Donna Anna Maria Cordina, from Gozo on 12 December 1751 for ten-year-old Rosaria.¹⁵⁷ It is possible that he was listed as a form of procurator or power of attorney¹⁵⁸ of this foundling-servant because they were believed to be reliable individuals, thus making it easier to obtain the child. This was even done out of convenience as was the case for Donna Theresia Haxac, a virgin from Gozo, was represented by Rev. Don Gregorio Attard from Gozo, living in Valletta, to care for eight-year-old Theodora Pelagia.¹⁵⁹

It is also possible that an ecclesiastic was appearing for women because, as was required by eighteenth-century law, a woman needed a man to represent her in front of a notary. In this case, she did not only have a male presence for the drawing up of the deed but, being a priest, she also had a man of trust. Rev. Don Francesco Ferrant from Valletta appeared on behalf of Distinta Aurelia Grima Long on 12 December 1751 to care for ten-year-old Rosaria who was previously in the care of Gratia Zarb from Għaxaq. The same priest appears earlier on 2 March 1751 on behalf of Distinta Aurelia Grima Long to care for ten-year-old Paschale who too was previously in the care of Gratia Zarb. Since there are no deeds indicating these children's movement up to 1762, it can be assumed that they remained in the care of Aurelia Grima Long. She was a widow of considerable wealth, which allowed her to remain single¹⁶⁰ and to be her own woman without needing a man to manage her life.¹⁶¹ Thus, in this case one can be sure that she had the means to raise these two children and would possibly live a comfortable life. It is difficult to discover the reason behind why she decided to care for both children and why at this particular time, but it is possible that since they were both previously with the same woman, Aurelia Long Grima might have seen a possible brother-sister bond or a form of familiarity between the two and decided not to

¹⁵⁶ NAV R124/1 ff.92v-94r (3 December 1745).

¹⁵⁷ NAV R124/4 ff.84v-85v (12 December 1751).

¹⁵⁸ See Hugh W. Harding, 'Foreword', *A Manual for Legal Procurators*, (Malta: P.E.G. Ltd., 1996), 7-8.

¹⁵⁹ NAV R124/4 ff.66r-67r (27 October 1750).

¹⁶⁰ Capp, 91.

¹⁶¹ Rakele Fiott, 'The Economy, Women and Social Interactions in eighteenth-century Malta: A study of the acts of Notary Bernardo Maria Callus, Vol.2, 1746-1748', (Unpublished B.A. History Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 2019), 56-58.

split them up. It is also possible that she needed two individuals of old enough age to work for her. Nonetheless, in this way a new family unit can be said to have been formed.

Another case which shows the idea of a family unit is that of Vincentio and Lucia Christina. These two children, Vincentio exposed on 5 April 1741, and Lucia Christina, exposed on 14 December 1738, were previously residing with Modesta Seychel from Valletta. On the same day, 24 July 1746, Julio Briffa and his wife Claudia, drew up the contract to be in charge of Vincentio and Lucia.¹⁶² Similar to the case of Aurelia long Grima, it is possible that in this case too, the couple saw that it would be more fitting to not separate the two. While it was possible that the two children were related, the documents do not show any evidence of this however familial bonds were created not only by blood but also through experience and commonality.¹⁶³

Child abandonment entailed the breaking of a family unit and family ties. Regardless of the reason why a child was abandoned, once left at the Holy Infirmary, the parents relinquished their rights, thus adoption, or rather the placement of young people in new families, was the best solution to integrate them in society.¹⁶⁴ A parent's death or illness, especially that of the women, could easily lead to the family's dismantlement.¹⁶⁵ In the eighteenth century, gender roles were more defined as it was believed the man needed a wife to care for children and manage the house.¹⁶⁶ Michaeli Borg and his wife Anna appeared before the Notary Bernard Maria Callus in a *concession puerum* for six-year-old Salvo who was exposed on 3 July 1743 (probably exposed at the approximate age of one). The couple declared that Salvo was in fact their legitimate and biological son (*procreatum*) after they had to abandon him at the Holy infirmary due to Anna's grievously ill health.¹⁶⁷ This was also the case of Raphaeli Magdalena Xicluna and their seven-year-old daughter Rosalba Margherita (exposed at the age of two months).¹⁶⁸ From the notarial deeds under study I only encountered two cases of parents appearing before the notary to retrieve their children. It is interesting to note that the terms, as well as the monetary payments, used when they retrieved their children are the same as the rest of the *concessio puellam/puerum* deeds. If these were

¹⁶² NAV R124/1 ff.395r-396v and ff.396v-397v (24 July 1746).

¹⁶³ Capp, 47.

¹⁶⁴ Roman, 64-80.

¹⁶⁵ Capp, 90; Nicholas Terpstra, *Abandoned Children on Italian Renaissance: Orphan care in Florence and Bologna*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 5-7.

¹⁶⁶ Capp, 91; French, 'Infancy', (2020), 75

¹⁶⁷ NAV R124/2 ff.140r-140v (8 January 1748).

¹⁶⁸ NAV R124/2 ff.145v-146v (9 January 1748).

the same conditions for their biological parents who were obliged to love, care and provide for their offspring, it means that those binding themselves to care for foundlings were, at least in principle, to love, care and provide for them as if they were their own biological children. Although these examples represent the breaking up of a family and the misfortune of abandonment due to illness, they also represent a family coming together once again.

Parent-child relationships are directly linked with the history of emotions.¹⁶⁹ Emotion is often difficult to extract from documents and it is even more difficult to understand the emotions of people in the past as they experienced and showed emotions differently.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, while reading through these documents one cannot help but think about the relationships that could have formed between the families and the foundlings. The documents under study and available thus far do not indicate the emotions and behaviours felt and experienced. However, the fact that a foundling was not returned to the Holy Infirmary and remained with the family for a considerable time, at least up to her twentieth birthday, shows that there was some form of relationship created. They lived with the family, they ate together, worked together and slept under the same roof. It is difficult to believe that no emotional ties, whether positive or negative, were created.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter has scratched the surface of the forgotten and silent stories of orphans and foundlings' lives, experiences and emotions in eighteenth-century Malta. It is like a puzzle with several pieces yet to be put together. Torn away from their mothers' arms, children were placed in a rotating cot in the thick hospital walls, welcomed by a woman unknown to them, baptised and sent to be fed and placed in a new family, hopefully to welcome them with open arms and a big heart. Eventually, if they managed to survive, these children were to be given an education or training preparing them for their adult life. From what we know thus far, this was the life of an abandoned child, but this is not sufficient to quench our thirst to know more about their everyday life, their thoughts and their behaviour. More research needs to be done on how an abandoned child's life unfolded, whether they received love and care from the new families, or whether there were cases of illtreatment. More information on the kind of work they did while with the new families and the relationships created among them is also needed.

¹⁶⁹ Bailey, 19.

¹⁷⁰ Helen Carr, 'Can our emotions have a history?', *What is History Now*, Helen Carr and Suzannah Lipscomb (eds.), (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2021), 135-136.

There is plenty left to be discovered. A continuation of research in different fonds and archives may lead to more unheard stories and further clarification. A more in-depth analysis of the courts and tribunals together with a wider search of notarial deeds is likely to prove fruitful.

Conclusion

The title of this dissertation is ‘*Puellæ et Pueri* aspects of the lives of children and young people in eighteenth-century Malta (c.1740s-1790s)’. As this dissertation comes to a close, a dissection of the title of this work is in order. The choice of using Latin in the title – *Puellæ et Pueri*, that is, Latin for girls and boys – was partly a stylistic one in that it creates an attractive, alliterative title. At the same time, there was a deeper consideration to it, one that stemmed from a desire to have a reflection of the language and nature of the documentary sources in the very title itself. Many of the documents consulted for this study were in Latin, with the other dominant language being Italian. These attest to the particular scholarly and professional preparation of a class of scribes, lawyers, notaries, judges and other legal officials that operated Malta’s administrative and legal structures. They forged the primary sources on which this dissertation is based, and the framework within which the individuals discussed here need to be understood. At the same time, especially when avalanched by dates, names, prices and statistics, countless curry- and coffee-scented paper and dusty boxes, it is often easy to forget that history is made up of people living their life without expecting to be remembered and without forcing to reflect their lives on paper through autobiographical accounts. These are ordinary people, or rather underestimated extraordinary people, who lived their normal everyday life, who left, most likely inadvertently, tantalizing, and fascinating stories behind, ready to be discovered; stories of how they navigated their own worlds, and sometimes had to delve into the unknown and reinvent themselves to forge new paths.

Henceforth, one ought to take a look at the sub-title of the dissertation: ‘aspects of’ the lives of children and young people in eighteenth-century Malta (c.1740s-1790s). It can be difficult to find stories about people who were not the leaders of lands. Yet the archives hold several marvellous stories waiting to be narrated and appreciated for all that they can offer. This dissertation provides a glimpse of the potentiality of ordinary young people shaping their lives, ‘aspects of’ rather than a claim to a total or final say on the subject. It shows a dimension of young people’s life that is often left out of our history books, TV dramas, poems and literature, or is skewed to fit very generic conceptions. Studying individual lives helps us understand how general trends are experienced, how these impact people’s decisions

in different stages in their life, and the opportunities and obstacles they place in people's lives. Additionally, when placing these individual experiences within the larger framework, and comparing it to other individual cases, we are allowed to better understand the diversities in society and how each individual in a community had an important role to play. Roman Law was clearly an important element in the legal framework of Malta, but the decision to use the terms 'children and young people' reflects a belief that there is a dynamic interstice between theory and practical reality. Furthermore, the specificity of the time-frame, i.e., the second half of the eighteenth century, needs to be constantly kept in front of our eyes. Here too, the claims being made are based on 'aspects of' rather than a claim to a total and final analysis.

As observed in this dissertation, it is evident that further research about the history of young people in Malta is required. A study focused on eighteenth-century children's lives can serve as a groundwork for future specialised research about topics such as young people's involvement in courts, crime and violence, their attitude towards their neighbours and society, their work and education, and their day-to-day tasks. Eventually, this may allow a deeper immersion into the history of specific groups of young people such as foundlings, orphans, and slave children. Greater importance must also be given to the history of young people since it reflects a mentality, way of life, norms, and perspectives. The adults that tend to feature in historical studies once lived their younger years within the same society and thus formed connections, ways of thinking and modes of taking action from what they were taught by those older than themselves, and through their experiences. Importance must be given to the study of young people who despite leading 'a normal life', still have plenty to offer us in understanding the societies of the past. These individuals might appear voiceless in the narrative, until we look afresh at well-trodden documents, and look out for different sources. Further investigation into the archival nature and the history and movement of the primary sources is also necessary since this constitutes a medium that can provide us with stories and insights into the laws, the methods of preserving information, and even of the people in charge of these documents.

While going through the various primary sources related to the Magna Curia Castellaniae court it became evident that a better understanding of its various tribunals and how they were administered is fundamental. Additionally, by better knowing the set-up of the tribunals it would be possible to find where parents appealed to the court for help in disciplining their

children. It should be remembered that this dissertation is partially built on legal sources which subsumed into them wider notions from Roman Law about age differences. At the same time, the judicial study of judicial regulations for adults and young people as witnesses is required. At the end of this dissertation, queries that remain unanswered include questions about how young people were prepared to be witnesses at court, by whom and how were they examined to determine their fitness to testify, and what requirements were needed to be a witness in court. All these are related to the larger question of what similarities and differences there may have been in handling adult and young witnesses. Although the miscellaneous boxes at the National Archives of Malta provide fascinating insights, these only show a fraction of the cases. A next step would involve creating a more holistic study to try to match the miscellaneous cases with the volumes of the *Magna Curia Castellaniae*.

Sexual abuse featured in several of the crime records and was discussed in this dissertation, however, there is still much to understand. A study on the difference – if any – between sexual abuse on females and males ought to be carried out, as well as their judicial outcome and the impact on young people and society at large. The study of crime by young people is another facet, and an interdisciplinary approach can be particularly useful to understand their motivations, difference in prosecutions between young people and adults, as well as the possibility of gangs or group crime. All of this can throw light on the material culture of the street.

The sections in this study dealing with abandonment and guardianship only scratched the surface and many questions remain. One wonders how one would follow a child from the Holy Infirmary or Santo Spirito into adulthood. There are missing registers, which may yet turn up, objects left with the child that hopefully survive somewhere, and inventories drawn up before leaving or being introduced to new families have yet to be discovered. The employment and work of young people is shrouded in dilemmas. An in-depth study on the types of work they performed in relation to their age and gender is required together with a study to discover a ratio of how many servants, adult and child foundlings, and slaves were present in households that could afford them. A whole world of low-paid or non-paid housework and servitude was present in eighteenth-century Malta, of which young people were part. Furthermore, one also ought to delve deeper in the study about the work of males with the Congregation of the Galleys, their training at Fort Ricasoli, regulations they were bound to, and measures taken to protect them.

Terms, phrases and concepts expressing the different phases of a young person's life need to be challenged, analysed and continuously updated according to the period under study, and the primary sources used and the context of what is being recorded in those same documents. This dissertation has affirmed that there cannot be one single definition. As Paul Griffiths notes, it is in our nature to try to fit everything in boxes and within boundaries, however, it is not always easy and clear to provide just one definition that fits all.¹ As in all aspects of life, young people's lives are complex to understand and are constantly changing, depending on one's experience and perspective.

Since most of the sources used are legal and criminal records, the Malta portrayed in this dissertation might appear as a violent and criminal one, however this is only one aspect of young people's life in eighteenth-century Malta. Young people's testimonies provide first-hand experiences, reactions, and emotions. Since only a few documents that provide young people's voices in the form of conversations or testimonies have yet been identified, it is difficult to provide a clear-cut answer to how relevant their voice was to the adults around them within an adult dominated world, and how reliable it was believed to be. Nonetheless, one cannot discount the importance young people had in the legal process and that their words were at times crucial in confirming suspicions, which in turn gave them power often denied to them. From the primary sources under study, one concludes that language was an important factor to portray young people's perspective, and reaction to what was happening around them. Thus, such documents are not only judicial evidence, but they are also the medium to tell a story of truth and justice, mishaps and mistakes, hope and community care; they are as close as we can get to a self-representation of a young person's story.

It is evident that young people were considered important to a family and to society at large and were thus placed in the centre of care and support, both by the state and society. On the other hand, in record-keeping and archival documentation of judicial and legal documentation, young people are often at the side-lines. They were unable to write their own stories, many were in fact illiterate or did not have the means to write since ink and paper were not found in every household. Young people were usually referred to through second-hand accounts or rendered irrelevant to record. Thus, a method of reading against the grain was applied to extract their voices, their expressions and their interest in what was happening.

¹ Paul Griffiths, 'Overlapping circles: imagining criminal communities in London, 1545-1645', *Communities in early modern England*, Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 116.

The street allows us to extract their conversations, exchanges, and their movement. The study of the street shows that there was no assigned space specifically for young people because young people were everywhere. They were part of the adult world as observers, instigators, and sometimes even as equal counterparts. Hence, although we often only have snippets of information from these second-hand accounts, we are still able to get a glimpse of not only their deviant behaviour, but also of their role in their community and neighbourhood, their relationships both good and bad, the way they aided each other, how they were understood and perceived by society according to their age, gender and family background, and how young people themselves perceived the society they lived in.

This dissertation has also attempted to provide a first glimpse into part of the forgotten reality of orphans and foundlings' experiences in eighteenth-century Malta, which still requires further research for one to be able to obtain a complete understanding of the situation. The fourth chapter brings together evidence from a fraction of foundlings' lives. From what has been discovered thus far, foundlings were cared for by the state at the Holy Infirmary, charitable institutions, or other hospitals like Santo Spirito Hospital in Rabat and Saint Julian Hospital in the Citadel, Gozo, run by the Università of Mdina and Gozo² respectively and later sent out to various conservatories, apprenticeships, or families.. While the law codes do not make specific reference to foundlings, the regulations of the Holy Infirmary together with the *concessio puellam/puerum* notarial deeds provided detailed steps and regulations for the care and safety of the child. This chapter attempted to find a definition, drawn from the *concessio puellam/puerum* deeds, of the idea of love and care within these newly formed families. From the sources under study, it is evident that foundlings were cared for and supported, and measures were taken to prevent their mistreatment. We get a glimpse of how foundlings and orphans found their way from their mothers' arms to new families or to their new places of employment, to eventually create their own destiny.

² The *Universitates* of Mdina and Gozo were municipal councils, responsible for the communities they represented. They were introduced by the Aragonese during the fifteenth century when Malta was part of the Kingdom of the Crown of Sicily. See Charles Dalli, 'Medieval Communal Organization In An Insular Context: Approaching the Maltese Universitas', *The Making and Unmaking of the Maltese Universitas*, J.Manduca (ed.), (Malta: Midsea Books, 1993), 1-12; Stanley Fiorini, 'The Municipal Councils in the Maltese Islands 1530-1800', *The Making and Unmaking of the Maltese Universitas*, J.Manduca (ed.), (Malta: Midsea Books, 1993), 13-24; Raymond Spiteri, 'The State of the Università of Mdina (Malta) in the Early 1700s', (Unpublished M.A in History, University of Malta, 1997).

Behaviours, actions and repercussions, emotions and relationships are central to this study of eighteenth-century children as it is a study about people in their environment and their everyday life. Relationships played an important role not only for adults but also for young people. As can be observed in the case of Catharina Magri,³ the relationships one built with the people around them had a great impact on the way their life unfolded. Claudiana Allegritto could have easily sent Catharina back to the Holy Infirmary, but she chose to keep her, even after Claudiana's mother and husband had passed away. Some form of relationship or bond, be it that of service or that of siblings provided Catharina with a good sum of money and induments. It is worth noting that throughout this research journey it was not always possible to obtain all the answers. Although the case of Catharina Magri was one which inspired me and led me to research the history of childhood and that of orphans and foundlings, I have encountered obstacles which did not allow me to find the answer to all my questions. Due to the closure of the Notarial archives and the outbreak of Covid-19, I was unable to continue tracing the life of Catharina Magri, how she ended up with the Petrazzini and Allegritto families and what happened to her once she reached the age of majority. However, through her story and others like it I was able to obtain a better understanding of the history of orphans and foundlings in Malta.

The child's world was not always an easy one and one cannot look at the history of children through rose-tinted glasses believing they were oblivious to what was happening around them. Their surroundings, life circumstances and the people around them played a vital role, and through the documents under study we are constantly reminded that the child was not alone in this world. Throughout this dissertation the saying 'it takes a village to raise a child' has been proven right. Neighbours helped in the upbringing of the child, even when unwanted, and together with the families more often than not tried to protect the child from all that could put them in danger. At times the law and the Order itself sought to care for the wellbeing of the child especially in cases of foundlings and orphans and, in the face of acts of crime and violence such as sexual abuse. Throughout this study the relevance of the child's voice, actions and behaviour has been proven essential to understand early modern society

³ See Introduction p.xxiv.

and it is because of this that it is essential that we continue to give the history of children and childhood importance in our local historiography.

Appendix 1

NAM NA 92/04 box 437 (21 February 1748) (n.f.)

The following transcriptions are an interrogation by the Magna Curia Castellaniæ of Salvator Bautin and Giovanni Refano known as Barbanegra about the alleged sodomisation of Salvatore Bautin by Giovanni Refano.

Die xxiii Februarii 1748

Salvator Bautin

Dim^{to} del suo nome, figlio di chi sia, età, patria e profess(ion)e

R^t mi chiamo Salvatore, sono figlio di Claudio Bautin, ho l'età d'anni tredici, abito nella Burmola vicino la Par(rochia)le della med(esim)a, e la facevo da barcaiuolo, ed al p(rese)nte vivo à spese di mio Padre.

Et attentat sup(li)c(a)ta respons sine ullo pre iudio iurium Fisci, et non alt(re) fuit de m^{to} deputatus ipsi Const Curator [m?] Claudius Chrisoforo, cui fuit delatum iurtum, p^t iur^t tacta cruce, de bene, et fide defend, et cum assistentia, et into eiusde curat(o)ris, fuit prosecutum examen p(er) modu ut seq(ue). Ult[?].

Dim^{to} quanto tempo fa, che si trova carcerato, e da chi fu condotto, e se sà, ò s' imagina la causa di sua carceraz(ion)e; p(rese)nte esame, e Cost[?].

R^t Ieri sera sono stato condotto carcerato dal Visconte Zrichzech, suppongo esser la causa, p(er) aver volute un tal nom(ina)to Barbanegra sodomitarmi.

Et ei dicto, che racconti d(ett)o fatto.

R^t due, ò tre giorni in circa sono, essendo lo sopra il ponte della Burmola postò da ivi un barcaiuolo agnom(ina)to Barbanefra, q(ua)le mi ricercò, che cosa stavo ivi facendo ed lo gli risposi, che stavo in cura della barca di[?] Chieli il negro, ed esso mi rispose, che non vi è

occasione di travaglio, che m'avrebbe portato seco à travagliare e scostatici p(er) alcuni passi, mi chiamò, facendomi segno colla sua testa, ed essendomi incaminato appresso di lui, ci portassimo per la volta delli terreni vi sono in contrada di s(an) Giovanni elemosiniere fuori della Bur(m)la, ove mi disse di passare p(er) una via, e lui per un'altra, e ci siamo incontrati in una grotto, ove doppo entrati m'offerse darmi quideci grani, con aver posto le sue mani sul suo membro genitale, dal che lo argui, che volea sodomitarmi, e gli addimandai un tari, con intenzione di fuggire, doppo che m'avrebbe dato detto tari, e sequito invitarmi p(er) avvicinarsi a lui, ed lo ruscasi di farlo, p(er) non avermi dato il danaro avanti, p(er) fuggire come sopra; e vedendo, che lo ruscavo d'avvicinarsi mi disse di portarci ambidue insieme in una stanza rurale ivi vicina à d(ett)a grotto, ed lo ho uscito p(ri)ma, e doppo di mi uscì lui, con intenz(ion)e lo d'incontrarmi in d(ett)a casa, e prendere forse il tari, p(er) fuggirmene come sopra ho detto a causa però, che m'incontrai con due figlioli, uno di nome Vincenzo, e l' altro Mazzuna, mi ritirai senz' essermi portato in detta casa rurale.

Dim^{to} se d(et)ti Vincenzo, e Mazzuna avessero detto che commise il nefando con d(ett)o Uomo in d(ett)a grutta.

R^t d(ett)o Mazzuna mi ricercò, che cosa stavo facendo dentro d(ett)a grotto con d(ett)o Uomo, ed lo gli risposi, che non aveva sentito, che patteggiavo con d(ett)o Uoo la somma per commettere il nefando.

Monito à dire la verità, se avesse commesso il nefando

R^t la verità e quella, che ho detto di sopra e non hi commesso il nefando sud(et)to

Dim^{to} se fu esso Cost[?] palpate nelle sue parti serrese da d(ett)o Uomo

R^t Sig(no)re nò.

Q(ui)bus habitit

Die xxiii Februarii 1748

Joannes Refano dice Barbanegra.

Dim^{to} del suo nome, che agnome tiene, età, patria, e profess(ion)e.

R^t mi chiamo Giovanni Refano, vengo agnom(ina)to Barbanegra, ho l'età d'anni sessanta, abito nella Burmola, e la fo da barcaiuolo.

Dim^{to} q(uan)to tempo fa, che si trova carcerato, e se sà, ò s'imagina la causa di sua carcerazione, p(rese)nte esame, e Cost[?].

R^t Martedi ult(imo) scorso fui condotto in queste carceri, e m'imagino, che la causa del p(rese)nte esame sia stat p(er) (...) mi portato in d(ett)o giorno verso un ora sopra mezzo di in un terreno vicino la contrada da di S(an) Gio(vann)i Elemosiniero nella Burmola à fumare la pipa, ed ivi fui osservato da due Giovani, quali mi rimproverarono e minacciato, che , 'avrebbero fatto star bene

Dim^{to} perche cosa l'hanno rimproverato

R^t non lo sò.

Dim^{to} se in d(ett)o terreno si portò solo, ò accompagnato con altri

R^t mi portai solo

Et ei dicto, che dica la verità, se si portò accompagnato, poiche dall'Infud(...) costa, che non era solo, come lui dice.

R^t la verità è, che lo mi portai solo

Dim^{to} come si chiamo d(et)ti due Giovini

R^t non hi conosco che di vista.

Et ei dicto, che della depone di d(et)ti due Giovini s'hà, che non andò solo in d(ett)o luogo, ma accompagnato con altra persona, e però dica la verità.

R^t replico alle Sig(no)rie V(ene)ra(bile), che ero solo

Dim^{to} se in d(ett)o Martedi sopra il ponte della Bur(mo)la si fosse abboccato con q(ua)lche ragazzo, e come si chiama.

R^t non parlay con verun Giovane in d(ett)o giorno sul ponte della Burmola.

Dim^{to} se conosce à Claudio Bautin della Bur(mo)la, e se sà, che q(ue)sti tiene figli

R^t non lo

conosco, ne so, se tiene figli

Dim^{to} se in d(ett)o giorno, e luogo avesse con detto seco q(ua)lche ragazzo, affine di commetter il nefando.

R^t in d(ett)o terreno lo non condissi a verun ragazzo p(er) commettere il nefando, no lo son' uomo di commettere tal cosa

Monito a dir la verità, poiche dall' Infud(...) costa l' opposto di q(ua)not v' negando, e però s' assenza dalla sua pertinacia, se non vuol soggiacere all' esame rigoroso del tormento

R^t la verità è, che lo era solo in d(ett)o luogo, e non portai meco à verun ragazzo.

Et ei dicto, che cos direbbe esso Cost(...), se in sua faccia gli sarà sostenuto dal ragazzo, che dice, averlo condotto seco p(er) sodomitarlo.

R^t chi mi vuol male, puol dire cosa p(er) altra.

Et tunc de m^{to} fuit mandate addui coram ipso Const(...) Salvator Bautin cum assistentia sui Curatoris, et facta in eos mutua nominu, et persona recognit^e, delatoque ambobus Iurt Veritatis dicendo p^t iurunt tacta Cruce, fuit ipse Aadductus interrof, un ea que deposuit Paulo ant de pna d(et)ti Cosnt(...) sint vera, er o verit^e dicta, adeout sit promptus et paratus illa condirmare in faciem peti Consti. Qui Adductus.

R^t tutto quell oho detto è la verità, e son pronto à ratificarlo in faccia di q(ue)sto Cost(...)

Et ei p(er) [?] dicto, ut recenseat ea que dixit de pna d(et)ti Cosnti

R^t tre giorni in circa cono quest'uomo qui p(re)se)nte, che si chiama Gio(vann)i Refano detto Barbanegra, essendo sopra il Ponte della Bur(mo)la mi condusse seco in una grotto sita nel terreno alla contrada di S(an) Gio(vann)i Elemosinario, per ivi sodomitarmi, e m'offerse frani quindeci, ed lo volevo un tari p(er)fine di fugire col d(ett)o tari.

Et conversus [?] ergà d(ictu)m Constum, eum requisivit, quid ad premissa respondere audeat.

Qui Constus resp^t, lo non conosco à q(ue)sto Gioine, e non è vero q(ua)not lui dice e m' imputa.

Et persistentibus ambobus in eor dicto, fuit de m^{to} d[?] Adductus amotus e loco examines, quod fuit prosecutum cum d(ett)o Cosnt[?].

Fuitque p(er) D. monitus, ut velit veritatem fateri, e che non gli resta luogo di poter la meagre, vedendosi convinto tanto dalla deposiz(ion)e di d(et)ti due Giovini, che lo viddero con d(ett)o ragazzo, come anche p(er) aver il med(esim)o ragazzo sostenuto in sua faccia quell tanto lui ha inteso, d' esser stato in sua Compagnia in d(ett)a grotto.

R^t se mi vogliono ma le d(ett)e persone, che ci ho da fare? La verità è, che lo ero colo in d(ett)o luogo, come ho detto di sopra.

Dim^{to} giachè la sua arte è di travagliare colla sua barca di passo, à che fine si portò in d(ett)a ora à fumare la pipa nel luogo, ove lui disse

R^t come che non vi era travaglio, perciò non m' applicai con d(ett)a mia barca, p(er) tal motive vagavo or in un luogo, ò in un' altro à fumar la pipa.

Et ei dicto, che la pipa la poteva fumare nei luoghi di passaggio, e non già nel luogo remote, ove si era portato in d(ett)o Martedi, dal che si puol presumere, d' essersi portato con d(ett)o ragazzo, p(er) il fine di sopra consaputo, e però si risolve di nuovo à confessor la verità, p(er) non invilupparsi nei mindaii ed obligare con ciò à q(ue)sta Gr(an) Corte di portrlo nell' esame rigoroso del Formento p(er) esigerne la verità.

R^t lo non mi portai à fumare la pipa se non che nella Strada pub(li)ca, q(ua)le non era luogo remote, e q(ue)sta è la verità.

Q(ui)bus habitit

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NAM *Libro dei Carcerati* 1796-1798

NAM NA 92/04 Box 426 to box 590

NAM SVDP 139 Foundling Register

National Library of Malta, Valletta

N.L.M., AOM 1714, *Regolamento per il Governo Spirituale, politico ed Economico del Sacro Ospedale Del S. Ordine Gerosolimitano.*

N.L.M., AOM 1713, *Notizia della Sacra Infermeria di Malta.*

N.L.M., A.O.M. 1663.

Del Diritto Municipali di Malta, (Malta: Stamperia del Palazzo di S.A.E per Fra Gio. Mallia, 1784).

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St Paul's Parish Church, Valletta

ASP Status Animarum San Paolo (1734-1743).

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Carasi, *The Order of Malta Exposed*, translated by Thomas Freller, (Malta: Gutenberg Press, 2010). [This book is a traveller's account of his visit in Malta. Thus, in chapter 4, this book was used to obtain different perspectives to how travellers viewed the Holy Infirmary's work. This book was also used to get an idea of how contemporaries looked at and thought of the city and its people].

Del Diritto Municipali di Malta, (Malta: Stamperia del Palazzo di S.A.E per Fra Gio. Mallia, 1784).

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Unpublished Dissertations

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- Baldacchino, Josephine and Psaila, Margret Rose, 'A Demographic Study', (Unpublished B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 1973). [This dissertation was used to obtain a better understanding of Malta's demography and the number of children present].
- Bellizzi, Louis, 'The Cost of Providing Hospital Care in Malta: 1733-1798', (Unpublished M.A. Hospitaller Studies Dissertation, University of Malta, 2013). [This dissertation has proved useful in allowing me to understand the financial situation of the Holy Infirmary for the period under study and to put my research more in perspective].
- Borg, Vanessa, 'Birgu: A Demographic Overview 1558-1658', (Unpublished B.A. Hons. Dissertation, University of Malta, 1999). [This dissertation was used to obtain information about abandonment and young people in the three cities].
- Buhagiar, Vanessa, 'A cultural history of German-speaking Hospitallers', (Unpublished B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 2017). [This dissertation's use of the notarial archives provides a different perspective to the study of history].
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Buttigieg, Chantelle, 'Petitions to the Magistracy in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Malta', (Unpublished B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 2011). [This dissertation was used to locate orphans and foundlings' petitions to the Magistracy].

Buttigieg, Sarah, 'Orphans and Foundlings in Malta 1800-1880', (Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, University of Malta, 2011). [This dissertation is the only one to this date whose aim was to discuss and analyse the reality of orphans and foundlings in Malta. This dissertation was used to compare the eighteenth-century reality with that of the nineteenth century and to understand the change which occurred during this period].

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Caruana, Matthieu, 'Crime and Punishment: The Roman Inquisition and Maltese Society 1793-1795', (Unpublished B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 2011). [This dissertation was used to enhance my knowledge on crime and punishment in Malta and to locate children and adolescents from these sources].

Farrugia, Gabriel, 'The Spirituality of the Maltese Corsairs; Valorising the Ex-votos at the Church of Madonna tal-Ħerba, Birkirkara, as a Special Interest Visitor Attraction in Malta', (Unpublished M.A Dissertation, University of Malta, 2019). [This dissertation was used to enhance my knowledge on the several ex-votos present at this Sanctuary. It was also used to look for children depicted on ex-votos, understand

the reasoning behind them and enhance my knowledge on the importance of children in society].

Gauci, Henry Franz, 'A Demographic Study of Haż-Żebbuġ, 1550-1650, (Unpublished B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 2006). [This dissertation was used to obtain a better understanding of Malta's demography and the number of children present].

Gauci, Liam, The organisation and activities of the Maltese corsairs between 1775-1798, (Unpublished M.A. History dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2012). [This dissertation was used to obtain a better understanding of how the notarial archives were used in the past 20 years. Liam Gauci's book *In the Name of the Prince* was also consulted as can be seen in the bibliography below].

Grech, Ryan, 'A study of Maltese society based on the Acts of Notary Matteo De Brincat: late 1564', (Unpublished B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 2017). [This dissertation was used to obtain statistical reference to how children are referred to in Maltese historiography and how the notarial archives are used in the study of history].

Grima, Valentina, 'Insights into Social Life on Hospitaller Malta and Gozo: Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Petitions to the Grand Master', (Unpublished B.A. Hons dissertation, University of Malta, 2019). [This dissertation was used to enhance my knowledge on petitions sent to the magistracy and for historiographical purposes].

Mercieca, Simon, 'Community Life in the Central Mediterranean: A Socio-Demographic study of the Maltese Harbour Towns in Early Modern Times: Bormla 1587-1815', (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Paris, Sorbonne, 2001-2002). [This socio-demographic study enhanced my knowledge on the change occurring in Malta in relation to the natural fertility rate, married life, and children within Maltese society].

Scicluna, Alexandra, 'The Church of the Virgin Mercy (Tal-Hniena), Qrendi: Its History, Architecture and Works of Art', (Unpublished B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 2002). [This dissertation was used to obtain information on the ex-votos present at the Sanctuary in Qrendi].

Spiteri, Raymond, 'The State of the Università of Mdina (Malta) in the Early 1700s', (Unpublished M.A in History, University of Malta, 1997). [This dissertation has enhanced my knowledge on the Universitates in Malta during the eighteenth century].

Testa, J. G. and Zammit, H.E., 'The Parish of Porto Salvo 1600-1613: A Demographic Study', (Unpublished B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 1973). [This dissertation was used to obtain information on the demographic reality in Malta during the seventeenth century].

Fiott Rakele, 'The Economy, Women and Social Interactions in eighteenth-century Malta: A study of the acts of Notary Bernardo Maria Callus, Vol.2, 1746-1748', (Unpublished B.A. History Hons. dissertation, University of Malta, 2019). [I cited my previous dissertation as part of Chapter 4 is a continuation of what I had initially came across during my research for my bachelor's degree].

Vella Charlene, 'The Notary Public in Malta from the Vilhena Code of 1723 to Ordinance V of 1855', (Unpublished Bachelor of Doctor of Laws, Faculty of Laws, University of Malta, 2006). [This was used as a cross reference to how other researchers have come across the use of the word Magnifico in primary sources].

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Cech John, 'The violent Shadows of Children's Culture', Handbook of Children, Culture and Violence, Nancy E Dowd, Dorothy G. Singer, Robin Fretwell Wilson (eds.), (Sage Publications, Inc, 2008), accessed from https://sk-sagepub.com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/reference/hdbk_childculture [20 July 2021]. [This was used to learn more about the history of violence on children].

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- N.A., What is the History of Adoption?', <https://adoption.org/what-is-the-history-of-adoption> (1 June 2021). [This website was used to obtain a better understanding of the history of adoption].
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- N.A, https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/balia_res-4dd1911e-0010-11de-9d89-0016357eee51/#:~:text=%C3%88%20voce%20di%20uso%20comune,uno%20sfrutt

atore%3B%20rimanere%20in%20b. [18/04/2022]. [This was used to obtain the definition of *balia* and confirm its meaning as it is used within primary sources].

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N.A., Online l' inventario dell' archivio dell' Istituto degli Innocenti, un nuovo sistema informatico per la ricerca dei documenti dal 1218 na oggi, <https://www.istitutodegliinnocenti.it/content/online-linventario-dellarchivio-dellistituto-degli-innocenti-un-nuovo-sistema-informatico-0>. [This website was used to obtain information on the archive of abandoned children in Florence].

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N.A., <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/bottega>. [retrieved 2 June 2022]. [This was used to obtain information on the meaning of *bottega*]

N.A., Child and adolescent participation at the Special Summit https://static.unicef.org/specialsession/child_participation/index.html. [2 July 2022]. [This website was used to obtain information on the Special summit and the issues discussed].

N.A., Childhood Defined, <https://www.unicef.org/sowc05/english/childhooddefined.html>. [2 July 2022]. [This website was used to obtain the present-day definition of a child].

- N.A., Convention on the Rights of the Child: Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989; entry into force 2 September 1990, in accordance with article 49 <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>. [This report was used to obtain information on the issues discussed at the end of the twentieth century pertaining to children].
- N.A., Definition of key terms: Consolidated ARV guidelines, June 2013 <https://www.who.int/hiv/pub/guidelines/arv2013/intro/keyterms/en/>. [2 July 2022]. [This website was used to obtain information about the present-day definition of a child by a health organisation].
- N.A., EU action on the rights of the child https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/rights-child/eu-action-rights-child_en. [2 July 2022]. [This website was used to enhance my knowledge on the rights of children and their protection today].
- N.A., <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/adoption> [03/04/2022]. [This was used to obtain the official definition of adoption and compare it to the primary sources].
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- N.A., Museo degli Innocenti <https://www.museodeglinnocenti.it/>. [2 July 2022]. [This website was used to learn about the Museo degli Innocenti and its present-day work].

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Abela, Joan, *Hospitaller Malta and the Mediterranean Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018). [This book enhanced my knowledge on the economic reality of Malta during the sixteenth century and was used to compare it to the economy of the eighteenth century].

Abela, Joan and Buttigieg, Emanuel, 'NAV: A Survey of the Past, Present and Future of the Notarial Archives of Valletta, Malta', *Nuovi annali della Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari*, 43, (2020), 5-26. [This paper's explanation of the use and setting up of the Notarial Archives enhanced my knowledge and made me more aware of the importance of the study of notarial deeds].

Adamec, Christine, 'Introduction: A Brief History of Adoption', *The Encyclopaedia of Adoption*, third edition, Christine A. Adamec and Laurie C. Miller eds., (New York: Facts on File Inc., 2007), xxi-xxxvi. [This chapter was used to understand the history of adoption in the west and in comparison, to the east and to compare it with the possible idea of adoption in eighteenth-century Malta].

Attard, Joseph, *The Knights of Malta*, (Malta: Publishers Enterprise Group Ltd, 1993). [This book provided me with a general overview of the years of the Order of St John in Malta. Additionally, it was used to obtain a better understanding of Malta's unrest during the eighteenth century].

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Aquilina, George, *Is-Sorijiet Ġerosolomitani, il-Knisja u l-Monasteru ta' Sant'Ursola*, Valletta, (Malta: PEG, 2004). [This book was used to obtain information about the history of charity of the Order of St John].

Ariès, Philippe, *Centuries of Childhood: A social History of Family Life*, translated by Robert Baldick, (New York: Random House Inc., 1962). [Philippe Ariès research is the basis to several studies about the history of childhood and creates constant

controversy about the topic, especially for the Early modern period. In chapter two, this book was used to obtain an understanding of how Ariès perceived age, time and the stages of life in early modern Europe. Thus, this book is the source of a greatly colourful debate on the history of children and childhood and the root to several studies rebutting or developing to Philippe Aries's thesis. This book was essential for this study to understand the historiographical evolution and different perspectives about the subject].

Arnaud, Colin, 'Mapping Urban Communities. A comparative topography of neighbourhoods in Bologna and Strasburg in the late Middle Ages', *Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe*, Justin Spierling Colson and Aire van Steensel (eds.), (New York: Routledge, 2017), 60-78. [This chapter focuses on the similarities and differences of neighbourhoods in Bologna and Strasburg and defines how a neighbourhood community functioned in the middle ages to the early modern period. It also focuses on places or spots where groups of people congregated and how these places formed special relationships within the community. This chapter was used to help me identify the places in Malta, especially the harbour towns and Valletta where Maltese people congregated which in Malta resulted to be mostly the taverns, botteghe and churches and how the different types of people congregating in these places had different roles within the communities and were up to different activities within their community].

Attard, Robert and Romina Azzopardi, *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century Malta*, (Malta: Midsea Books Ltd, 2011). [This book provides a general overview of eighteenth-century Malta and its daily life. It was used to analyse local history writing and the way different authors have looked at children in the past].

Bailey, Joanne, *Parenting in England 1760-1830: Emotion, Identity & Generations*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). [In chapter 4 this book was used to discuss the relation of parents with their children, both biological and adopted/fostered. It enhances my knowledge on the idea of love and how care and love were shown in the family and how important a stable family was for the future of a young person's life].

Bálint, Emese, 'Mechanisms of the Hue and Cry in Kolzsvár in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill's Journal of Early Modern History, 2009) 39-62. [This chapter is focused on the town of Kolzsvár in Romania and looks at the use of the hue and cry, voluntary form of law enforcement to show how social control bordered between the public and the private spheres. This chapter was used to identify the overlapping of these spheres in Malta especially during conflict between neighbours or how the neighbourhood rushed to the private properties of their neighbours to help in whatever was needed].

Barclay, Katie, 'Illegitimacy', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2020a), 217-234. [This chapter enhanced my knowledge on the aspect of illegitimacy in early modern Europe, how it is defined and how one ought to go about the study of illegitimacy].

Barclay, Katie, 'The early modern family', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, Anna French (ed.), (New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2020b), 16-32. [This chapter explores the place of the child in the family and compares the catholic with the protest family and the care given. Thus, in chapter 4, this chapter was used to understand how children, parents and families expressed love and care].

Bedford, W. K. R., *The Regulations of the Old Hospital of the Knights of St John at Valletta*, (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1882). [This book provides a description of the work at the Holy Infirmary under the Order of St John, thus, it was used to provide me with a framework of how the Infirmary functioned and where the foundlings fit into this reality].

Bell Rudolph M., *Street Life in Renaissance Rome: A Brief History with Documents*, (Boston: Bedford St Martin's, 2013). [This book provides an explanation of Rome during the Renaissance and supports all this by providing translated primary sources from the time period. This book enhanced my knowledge on the way we ought to look at street life and despite the gap in time periods from the setting of this book to this dissertation, it was also helpful in identifying aspects of street life which remain the same throughout time].

- Ben-Amos, Ilana, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). [This book explores in depth the transition from childhood to adulthood in Early Modern England. While analysing this process of maturation, it also gives attention to the work of youth, including apprenticeships, domestic work, servitude and agricultural labour as well as social relationships, religious attitudes, and leisure activities. She also writes about the debate of whether adolescence ever existed or whether it was only a prolonged childhood].
- Benedetti, Roberto, ‘Madri, figlie, mogli, schiave. Le istanze di liberazione inoltrate all’Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone (Secolo XVIII)’, *storia delle donne*, 5, (2009), 147-165. [Roberto Benedetti examines the experience of a thirteen or fourteen-year-old girl, slave of the bey of Tunisia, her rejection to his sexual advances, her quest for liberation. It was particularly interesting for chapter 2 to describe the term zitella in archival documents].
- Benzaquén, Adriana S., ‘Childhood, Identity and Human Science in the Enlightenment’, *History Workshop Journal*, 57, (2004), 35-57. [This paper discusses the element of human science within the Enlightenment movement by focusing on two French philosophers, their writings and the actions implemented in Europe. It provided me with a different perspective with which to look at the Enlightenment and its effect on children].
- Benzaquén, Adriana S., ‘Illness and death’, *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, Anna French (ed.), (New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), 196-216. [This chapter explores the reality of death in early modern Europe, through cases of violence, accidents and illnesses and goes as far as to try to understand how this impacted the families. This chapter was used in chapter 4 for discuss how death played a crucial role in the dismantling of families, how it affected them and hw it brought families together once again].
- Berger, Adolf, *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society Independence Square, 1968). [This Encyclopaedia was used to enhance my knowledge on terminology deriving from Roman Law].
- Bezzina, Christopher, ‘Malta’, W. Hörner, H. Döbert, L. Reuter and B. von Kopp (eds.), *The Education system in Europe*, (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing,

2015), 523-543. [This book enhanced my knowledge on the development of education in Malta through a historical and political perspective].

Bezzina, Joseph, *The Sacred Heart Seminary: The heart of Gozo*, (Gozo: Sacred Heart Seminary, 1991). [This book was used to obtain information on the situation of founding care in Gzo and how it was developed].

Bingham, Adrian, Lucy Delap, Louise Jackson and Louise Settle, 'Historical Sexual Abuse in England and Wales: The Role of Historians', *History of Education*, 45:4, (2016), 411-429. [This paper discusses the history of child sexual abuse by providing an alternative method of analysing the topic, of identifying acts and behaviours. It also examines how efficient, effective, and just trials were, and it also provides a brief study on how recent research has changed the way child sexual abuse is looked at. This paper helped me to look at primary documents from a different perspective].

Bom, Myra, 'The Hospital of St John, the Bedroom of Caritas', *The military Orders: On land and by sea*, Judith Mary Upton-Ward (ed.), (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing limited, 2008), 85-89. [This paper provides a description of the charitable work of the Order of St John and discusses the idea of caritas throughout the Order's history, both in Malta and abroad. This paper was used in chapter 4 to explain the Order's work in Malta pertaining to foundlings, how its work of charity resulted in care and how it influenced society's actions].

Bonnici, Alexander OFM Conv, 'Maltese Society under the Hospitallers in the light of Inquisition Documents', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Victor Mallia-Milanes (ed.), (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 311-350. [This chapter enhanced my knowledge on the use of Inquisition documents to understand Maltese society].

Bonello Giovanni, *Histories of Malta: Deceptions and Perceptions*, Vol.1, (Malta, Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2000). [A chapter of this book titled 'The Voice of Valletta's Streets' was particularly useful for chapter 3 as it provided me with insight on the changes Valletta's streets went through and helped me put my primary sources more in context, especially with regards to street names and how people referred to streets by a rich or known person of high standing living in that area. This

volume also provides a short history of homosexuality in Malta by giving account of a few cases studies and the punishment received once caught. Additionally, this volume enhanced my knowledge on the history of the legal professionals in Malta, particularly Judges and Lawyers, and the history of the compilation of the *Diritto Municipale*].

Bonello, Giovanni, *Histories of Malta, Confessions and Transgressions*, Vol. 9, (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2008). [This volume enhanced my knowledge on history of the judiciary and their bad reputation for corruption].

Bonello, Giovanni, *Histories of Malta: Mysteries and Myths*, Vol. 8, (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2007). [This book provides several aspects related to the social history of Malta however the chapter pertaining to the seventeenth century changes to the Holy Infirmary pertaining to foundlings. This was used to compare the regulations of disallowing prostituted to care for foundlings to what was implemented in society].

Boswell, John, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). [While this book focuses mostly on the Middle Ages, it was very insightful to learn about the idea of strangeness when children were abandoned which could also be applied or compared to the early modern period].

Bourdelaïse, Patrice and John Chircop, 'Introduction: Situating and Defining Vulnerability in Historical Perspective', *Vulnerability, Social Inequality and Health*, Patrice Bourdelaïse and John Chircop (eds.), (Lisboa: Colibri, 2015), 7-14. [This chapter enhanced my knowledge on the aspects of children and women and vulnerability in the nineteenth century and allowed me to compare it to the eighteenth century].

Brewer, Holly, "To Stop the Mouths" of Children', *By Birth or Consent: Children, Law and the Anglo-American Revolution in Authority*, (North Carolina: North Carolina Press, 2005), 150-181. [This chapter provides a historical analysis on witnesses in America and Europe in the eighteenth century and the phasing in of silencing children and stopping them from being in a courtroom. Brewer criticises their lack of presence and because of this, this chapter was helpful to compare Malta's situation to abroad].

Broomhall Susan, 'Introduction: Violence and emotions in early modern Europe', *Violence and Emotion in Early modern Europe*, Sarah Broomhall and Sarah Finn (eds.), (New York: Routledge, 2016), 1-18. [This introductory chapter provides a context to how emotions and violence are portrayed in different mediums such as sculptures, scripture and court documents. The aim of this study is to extract the human, his/her emotions and motivations behind court reports, testimonies and notarial contracts from documents which laid on a shelf for several years waiting for someone to re-open them. Therefore, this book and this chapter provided me with a few tools to recognise the emotions, especially in cases of violence and crime in documents which were meant to find a result and not necessarily indicate the emotions, thoughts and motivations of a person under trial].

Bugeja, Joe, *Reminiscences of Childhood in Floriana: Malta in Peace and War, 1930-1950*, (Malta: Floriana Local Council, 2010). [This book was used to obtain a general overview on the history of children in the twentieth century].

Burke Peter, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004). [This book takes language as the medium by which communities communicate and how they are different and unable to communicate because of that particular language. This enhanced my knowledge as to how language played an important role in the communication of people in a community and neighbourhood and how particular phrase or language belonging to a community have more meaning than we might think].

Burke, Peter, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 79-81. [In his anthropological study of Early Modern Italy, Peter Burk provides a unique view on communication, both written and oral and the impact it has left on our understanding of the past. This book enhanced my knowledge on the way primary sources are to be studied and understood].

Busuttill Claude, 'The Building of a New City', *Cities, Harbours and Artefacts: Transformations of an Early Modern Landscape*, Maroma Camilleri and Mevrick Spiteri (eds.), (Malta: Malta Libraries, 2021), 16-27. [This chapter provides a step-by-step analysis of the development of Valletta's streets which provided a context to

how Valletta's neighbourhood formed and operated, and to understand the places where crime and violence were occurring as referred to in the primary sources under study].

Buttigieg, Emanuel, 'Growing up in Hospitaller Malta (1530-1798): An Overview', *Religion, Ritual and Mythology: Aspects of Identity Formation in Europe*, Joaquim Carvalho (ed.), (Pisa: PLUS, 2006), 97-114. [This paper discusses not only the historical perspective to the past, but also includes religious and philosophical perspectives about growing up, remarks on the importance of the street as a concept and gives attention to the reality of foundlings and orphans in Malta. In chapter 4 this paper was used to place foundlings within the social reality of the time, the diets and the mother's experience in relation to abandonment].

Buttigieg, Emanuel, 'Growing Up in Hospitaller Malta (1530-1798): Sources and Methodologies for the History of Childhood and Adolescence', *Bridging the Gaps: Sources, Methodology and Approaches to Religion in Europe*, Joachim Caravahlo (ed.), (Pisa: PLUS, 2008) 129-146. [This paper was essential for this study as it enhanced my knowledge on the historiography of this field of study and provided me with guidelines in researching further local sources pertaining to children and adolescents in Malta].

Buttigieg, Emanuel, 'Childhood and Adolescence in Early Modern Malta (1565-1632)', *Journal of Family History: Studies in Family, Kinship and Demography*, 33:2, (2008), 139-155. [While this paper focuses more on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it enhanced my knowledge on the reality of children within Maltese-society. It also provides a historiographical note by discussing the beginning of the history of childhood and adolescence both locally and internationally].

Buttigieg, Emanuel, 'Social relationships in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Malta: An Analysis through Notary Juliano Muscat's Register R376/11', *Storja 30th Anniversary Edition*, Henry Frendo (ed.), (Malta: Malta University Historical Society, 2008), 47-66. [Since it is based on notarial documents, this paper was used in chapter 4 to place young people within the social reality of the time].

Buttigieg Emanuel, 'Family life and neighbourliness in Malta (c.1640-c.1740): some preliminary observations based on evidence from the Magna Curia Castellaniæ ',

Arkivju, issue 1, (Malta: National Archives and the Friends of the National Archives, 2010), 47-58. [This paper analyses the role of the family and neighbourliness in Malta and thus, also outlining the role of the child within this scenario. It also sheds light on the child's everyday life and work. Additionally, this paper provides insight into the lives of young people within the family in Malta through the records of the Magna Curia Castellaniae. This paper was very helpful in allowing me to delve deeper into the reality of children within the family, their place in society and how they interacted with their adult counterparts. In chapter 3 this paper provided me with insight on how violence in Malta, similar to the rest of Europe, was found in all social classes and was a widespread component of everyday life].

Buttigieg Emanuel, 'Early Modern Valletta: Beyond the Renaissance City', *Humillima Civitas Vallettæ: From Mount Xebb-Er-Ras to European Capital of Culture*, Margaret Abdilla Cunningham, Maroma Camilleri and Godwin Vella (eds.), (Malta: Heritage Malta and Malta Libraries, 2018), 173-181. [This book is divided in four sections, the Urban Fabric, A Lived-in City, Cultural Resources and Changing Faces of Valletta. Emanuel Buttigieg's paper in the second section, compares Valletta to a 'modern (post) industrial city and provides an outlook of Valletta as not simply a fortified city but a home for both the Order and the Maltese. In line with how this dissertation looks at the city, this chapter enhanced my knowledge on who inhabited the city and how it influenced the way things operated].

Buttigieg, Emanuel and Azzopardi, Simone, 'L-Università ta' Malta: A History', *The University of Malta: Legacies & Bearings*, Keith Sciberras, Emanuel Buttigieg, Mark-Anthony Falzon, Dominic Fenech and Gillian M. Martin (eds.), (Malta: Malta University Press, 2020), 1-63. [This chapter enhanced my knowledge on the setting up and development of the University of Malta].

Buttigieg Noel, 'People of an urban night culture', *Arkivju*, 1, (Malta: National Archives of Malta and the friends of the National Archives of Malta, 2010), 59-72. [This paper analyses the idea of the night and darkness in relation to the maritime area, how the night was to be feared for superstitious reasons related to the devil and evil, how the night provided a curtain of disguise for those who wanted to get into some trouble and how it also provided people the freedom of being away from watchful eyes. Since the sources used for this paper are documents within the Miscellaneous

boxes from the National Archives there were several similarities to how the sources under study for this dissertation portrayed people's activities at night, even the young.].

Capp, Bernard, *The Ties That Bind: Siblings, Family and Society in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). [This book discussed the major role of the family in society and their role in children's lives. It also analyses the different relationships with different family members such as the parents and the siblings. In chapter 4 this book was used to better understand the relationship between siblings and the role of illegitimate children in society].

Carasi, *The Order of Malta Exposed*, Thomas Freller (trans), (Malta: Gutenberg Press, 2010). [This book is a traveller's account of his visit in Malta. Thus, in chapter 4, this book was used to obtain different perspectives to how travellers viewed the Holy Infirmary's work. This book was also used to get an idea of how contemporaries looked at and thought of the city and its people].

Carr, Helen, 'Can our emotions have a history?', *What is History, Now?*, Helen Carr and Suzannah Lipscomb (eds.), (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2021), 134-151. [This chapter explores how different emotions are reflected in primary sources, how they were passed down to us and how certain emotions were not shown as we show them today. It also discusses the importance of studying the history of emotions. This chapter enhanced my knowledge and awareness to the importance of emotions in history and inspired me to try to extract emotions from the primary sources under study].

Caruana Dingli, Petra, 'The "Culture of Writing" in late Sixteenth-Century Malta', *Journal of Baroque Studies*, (Malta: International Institute for Baroque Studies, 2018), 47-62. [This paper discusses the culture of writing in the late sixteenth century and the way it is reflected in the socio-political and economic aspects in Malta. In chapter 4 this paper was used to obtain a better understanding of how the specific ways of writing and the titles used to refer to distinct individuals reflected Malta's eighteenth-century society].

Cassar, Carmel, 'Popular Perceptions and Values in Hospitaller Malta', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*,

Victor Mallia-Milanes (ed.), (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 429-474. [This chapter outline several social and cultural aspect in Malta and this it allowed me to compare and understand the different views of the held by the church, the state, and the people].

Carmel Cassar, *Witchcraft, sorcery ad the Inquisition: A study of cultural values in early modern Malta*, (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1996). [This book was used to enhance my knowledge on the history of women in relation to children].

Cassar, Carmel, *Daughters of Eve: women, gender role and the impact of the Council of Trent in Catholic Malta*, (Malta: Mireva, 2002). [In chapter 3 this book was used to understand the female's place in the street, how it was perceived by society and how it effects the females themselves].

Cassar, Paul, (1995). 'Gleanings of maritime life in the mid-eighteenth century in Malta'. In the Friends of the Maritime Museum, Proceedings during a seminar about "The Navy of the Knights of St. John" held at the Malta Maritime Museum, Vittoriosa, on 10th June 1995. Vittoriosa: Friends of the Maritime Museum, 26. [When I encountered this paper, it felt like finding a small treasure. As I went through documents of the libretti del prammatiche I encountered several descriptions of people, the merchandise entering Malta and the ships doing voyages to and from the Maltese harbours. However, very little information on the nature of the source itself was included in these documents, thus this paper provided me with a context to how I can look at the individuals mentioned in the documents and provided me with a starting point to further the search for the nature of these documents. This enhanced my knowledge on the various aspects to a child's life and allowed me to find more primary sources pertaining the children in eighteenth-century Malta].

Cassar, Paul, 'Change of Sex Sanctioned by a Maltese Law Court in the Eighteenth Century', *British Medical Journal*, Vol.2, (1954), 1413. [This paper narrates the account of an adolescent who awaited the decision of a medical board in a decision for a change of sex. It is particularly interesting, not only for the uniqueness of the case, but also because it provides detailed report of what the boards of medical experts perceived this situation].

Cassar, Paul, 'The Birth of Monsters in the Maltese Islands in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Medi-Scope*, 1, (1983), 6-9. [This paper describes two cases of malformed babies who were considered monster babies and the superstitious beliefs which created greater stigma. It also delves into a discussion about the role and influence of the church over these cases and the criteria which helped decide whether the child was to be considered human or monster and whether to be buried in consecrated land or not].

Cassar, Paul, 'The Holy Infirmary of the Order of St. John at Valletta', *Heritage: an encyclopaedia of Maltese culture and civilization*, 11, (1978), 201-204. [This paper was used to obtain a general idea of the Holy Infirmary and its administration].

Cassar, Paul, 'The Neuro-Psychological Concepts of Dr S Bernard', *Scientia*, 15, (1949), 20-33. [This paper is a biographical note on Dr Salvatore Bernard, a Maltese physician who went on to specialise and write psychological studies about eighteenth century Malta. It is interesting that Dr Bernard's study and analysis is contemporary to several ideas influenced by Enlightenment ideas and studies occurring in other European countries].

Cassar, Paul, *From the Holy Infirmary of the Knights of St John to The Mediterranean Congress Centre at Valletta*, (Malta: The Mediterranean Conference Centre, 1983). [This book provides extensive research on the Holy infirmary, its architecture, administration, set up and regulations. This book was used as a foundation for my dissertation, especially for chapter 4 and the study of foundlings at the Holy Infirmary].

Cassar, Paul, *Medical History of Malta*, vol 5, (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1964). [This book was used to enhance my knowledge on the medical history of Malta and how children were incorporated within this study as well as the medical practices in Malta under the Order of St John].

Cassar, Paul, *The Castellania Palace: From Law Courts to Guardian of the Nation's Health*, (Malta: Department of Information, 1988). [This book provides a history of the *Magna Curia Castellaniae* as a building by analysing its administration through different governments. It provided help in tracing the movement of documents through time, the administration of the Magna Curia under the Order of St John].

Cassar, Paul, *The Holy Infirmary of the Knights of St John 'La Sacra Infermeria'*, (Malta: The Mediterranean Conference Centre, 2005). [This book provides detailed description and analysis of the Holy Infirmary, for its building to the last few years of the Order of St John in Malta. It also details the duties of each employee and their payments, the expenses of the hospital as well as the patients who entered the hospital. It was particularly useful for this study as it provided me with information about the medical and administrative aspects set up for the care of children at the Holy Infirmary].

Cavaliero, Roderick, *The last of the Crusade: The Knights of St John and Malta in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Hollis & Carter, 1960). [This book was used to obtain a clearer picture on the physical aspect of the streets of Valletta in the eighteenth century].

Çelik, Zeynep, Fiane Favro and Richard Ingersoll, 'Forward: Streets and the Urban Process. A Tribute to Spiro Kostof', *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, Zeynep Çelik, Fiane Favro and Richard Ingersoll (eds.), (California: University of California Press, 1994), 1-8. [This chapter was used to obtain a better understanding of Spiro Kostof's research about urban space which revolutionised the way we look at space today].

Censorini, *Liber De Die Natali*, (Hamburgi: In bibliopolio Heringiano, 1614). [This book enhanced my knowledge on aspects and issues related to age].

Cheng, Eileen Ka-May, *Historiography: An Introductory Guide*, (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012). [This book provided me with a better understanding of how to approach the writing of historiography].

Chircop, John, 'Female Vulnerabilities and Coping Strategies in the Poor Neighbourhoods of Three Colonial Port Districts: Corfu, Malta and Gibraltar, 1815-1870', *Vulnerability, Social Inequality and Health*, Patrice Bourdelaise and John Chircop (eds.), (Lisboa: Colibri, 2015), 35-60. [This chapter was used to obtain information on the reality of young people and women in poor neighbourhoods in Malta and in comparison, to nearby countries in the nineteenth century].

Chircop, John, *Colonial Encounters: Maltese Experiences of British Rule, 1800-1970s*, (Malta: Horizons, 2015). [This book enhanced my knowledge on the reality of child migration, infant mortality and maternity].

Ciappara, Frans, *Marriage in Malta in the Late Eighteenth Century*, (Malta: associated News Ltd, 1988). [This book discusses espousals, the age at marriage, marriage patterns, marital relationships, illicit love, bigamy as well as children in traditional society. Thus, it enhanced my knowledge on the perception of marriage, the family and children of a married couple of out-of-wedlockFrans Ciappara gives a history of marriage through the study of Status Animarum. It also provides a history of children from the perspective of marriage and family life. It enhanced my knowledge on the concept of age and its documentation in primary sources and the place of the child within the family].

Ciappara, Frans, ‘Gio Nicolò Muscat: Church-State relations in Hospitaller Malta during the Enlightenment, 1786-1798’, Victor Mallia Milanese (ed.), *Hospitaller Malta*, (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 605-658. [This paper discussed the enlightenment ideas which influenced Gio Nicolò Muscat and his efforts in implementing them, particularly the separation of the church and state].

Ciappara, Frans, ‘Private Life, religion and enlightenment in Malta in the late eighteenth century’, *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 1:71, (1994), 109-126. [This paper was used to enhance my knowledge on the effects of the enlightenment in Malta].

Ciappara, Frans, ‘Perceptions of marriage in late-eighteenth century Malta’, *Continuity and change*, 16:3, (2001), 379-398. [This paper was used to understand the family dynamic of the time and the place of the child within that family].

Ciappara, Frans, *Society and the inquisition in Early Modern Malta*, (Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group Ltd, 2001). [Frans Ciappara’s study on social life through Inquisition documents was fundamental for my research as it touches on several aspects of people’s everyday life, including that of children. This book was essential for this study because apart from providing an explanation of the relationship between society and the Inquisition, the author also provides detailed descriptions for each case being discussed. This book aided me to broaden my knowledge on the

activities and behaviour of children in the street. Thus, it was helpful to locate children and their role in society, together with the perception of the Inquisition about children, their behaviour and protection].

Ciappara, Frans, 'Religion, Kinship and Godparenthood as elements of Social Cohesion in Qrendi, a Late-Eighteenth-Century Maltese parish', *Continuity and Change*, 25:1, (2010), 161-184. [This paper was used to analyse the place of the child in society and their importance in the family].

Ciappara, Frans, 'The Maltese Catholic Enlightenment', *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy (eds.), (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2010), 251-295. [This book chapter analyses the Enlightenment movement in relation to the Catholic church and its power over the countries which held its beliefs. This chapter in particular analyses these aspects in Malta, the role of the church, the reforms implemented, and ideas held by some of Malta's influential figures to bring the separation between affairs and decisions of the church and the state as was being done in other European countries].

Ciappara, Frans, 'The Parish Community in Eighteenth century Malta', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 94:4, (2008), 671-694. [This paper was used to enhance my knowledge on life in Maltese parishes and the reality of children within the parish].

Ciappara, Frans, 'Vassalli and education', *Yesterday's schools: readings in Maltese Educational History*, R. G. Sultana (ed.), (Malta: Xirocco Publishing, 2017), 59-70. [This paper discusses M.A. Vassalli's thought and action towards the development of education in Malta and the influences of the Enlightenment. It also analyses and depicts the effect of the expulsion of the Jesuits, and in return the closing of its several schools and colleges on the education system].

Ciappara, Frans, *Church-State Relations in late -eighteenth-century Malta: Gio. Nicolò Muscat (1735-1803)*, (Malta: Malta University Press, 2018). [This book provides a closer look at one of Malta's influential thinkers advocating the separation of church and state. This biography of Gio Nicolò Muscat sheds light on the mentality of the time and the effects of the Enlightenment on various sections of society].

Ciappara, Frans, *Enlightenment and Reform in Malta, 1740-1798*, (Malta: Midsea Books, 2006). [This book enhanced my knowledge on the effect of the Enlightenment in Malta].

Ciappara, Frans, *The Social Religious History of a Maltese Parish: St Mary's Qrendi in the Eighteenth Century*, (Malta: Malta University Press, 2014). [This book was used to obtain a better understanding on how the study of the people is done through church records and allowed me to understand their everyday life].

Clarke Georgia and Fabrizio Nevola, 'The Experience of the Street in Early Modern Italy', *I Tutti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 16:1/2, (2013), 47-55. [This paper takes the aspect of the performing arts in the street and the literature it is based on as to examine how space operates and whether it is considered only as a physical space of whether its definition was more fluid. They also note that the physical structure of a certain space influenced the social structure. This paper provided me with ideas on how I can look at space in Malta, as not simply a physical space but as a place whether people give it life and make it theirs].

Cohen Elizabeth S., 'To Pay, to Work, to Hear, to Speak: Women in Roman Streets c. 1600', *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill's Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 95-118. [This chapter challenged the idea of gendered space and which places were dominantly for males or females in Rome. Several parallels can be drawn for Malta from this chapter as Cohen emphasised that in Rome women were not bound to their house, but they were very much part of the street life, they defended one another, and they worked, they overheard each other. While this paper focused on women, the same principles and arguments influenced the way I looked at the place of children in the streets and how their mother's place in the street was as important in the analysis of street life].

Cohen, Elizabeth S., 'Court Testimony from the past: self and culture in the making of text', *Essays on life writing: From Genre to Critical practice*, Marlene Kadar (ed.), (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 83-95. [Cohen's paper is a guide to understanding criminal records, particularly testimonies, the language used and its meaning to twenty first-century readers].

Cohen, Elizabeth S., 'She Said, He Said: Situated Oralities in Judicial Records from Early Modern Rome', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 16, (2012), 403-430. [The spoken words of ordinary people are very important for this study. This paper analyses testimonies recorded as spoken and the importance of oral expression uttered by men and women. Thus, this paper was an inspiration to the way I looked at the primary sources and used this as an example to how I can study and analyse testimonies of young children].

Colson, Justin and Arie van Steensel, 'Cities and Solidarities. Urban communities in medieval and early modern Europe', *Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe*, Justin Colson and Arie van Steensel (eds.), (New York: Routledge, 2017), 1-24. [This chapter was used to understand the relationship of neighbours in society].

Coolidge, Grace E., 'Introduction', *The Formation of the Child in Early Modern Spain*, Grace E Coolidge (ed.), (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 1-18. [This chapter was used to obtain a good understanding of the different areas of study related to the history of children and childhood].

Cowan, Alexander, 'Gossip and Street Culture in Early Modern Venice', *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill's Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 119- 140. [This chapter followed Elizabeth Cohen's chapter; however, Cowan provides a very different idea of gendered space as in Venice there was a much clearer line where was the space for men and women, thus in Venice, space was more gendered than Rome. This was particularly useful as to draw the differences between these two cases and take into consideration the geographical aspects of both spaces to compare to Malta's street life and gendered spaces].

Crawford, Patricia, *Parents of Poor Children in England, 1580-1800*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). [This book was used in chapter 4 to understand the relationship between parents and children within the family, both legitimate and illegitimate. It also enhanced my knowledge on how children were perceived by their parents, especially in poor families].

Critien, Attilio, 'A round of the Holy Infirmary Wards', *Scientia*, 14:3, (1948), 112-127.

[This paper gives a tour of the main rooms of the Holy Infirmary, a description of the patients and their medical needs in each section of the hospital and the employees, their duties and payment. This was particularly helpful as the information is taken from the law codes and rule book of the Holy Infirmary. This paper allowed me to understand better the sources I came across and was the inspiration to delve deeper into the history of foundlings and the Holy Infirmary].

Critien, Attilio, 'The Foundlings under the Order and After', *Scientia*, 15:1, (1949), 3-19.

[This paper delves deeper into the Holy Infirmary and provides the regulations of the Holy Infirmary in relation to foundlings. This paper deals with a particular section of the Holy Infirmary and duty of the Order of St John, i.e., the care for foundlings and orphans. Attilio Critien provides a detailed explanation of the process of admission for foundlings to the Hospital, the type of care given by the Order to these children, the duties of care givers as well as a comment on the praise and criticism the Hospital and its administration received. Most interestingly, this paper also provides information on the changes which the Hospital and its work with foundlings went through during the French and British administration at the end of the Order's rule in Malta. As the father of the history of the Holy Infirmary, Attilio Critien's research was the base to my research, where I tried to build on his work and provide a more social aspect to the reality of foundlings at the Holy Infirmary].

Crouzet-Pava, Elisabeth, 'A Flower of Evil: Young Men in Medieval Italy', *A History of Young People*, Vol.1, Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt (eds.), (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1997), 173-221. [This chapter analyses the idea of youth in medieval Italy and how people of a certain age acted in society and their lack of restraint. She also refers to the history of disorder which is usually attributed to youth. This aided in obtaining a general idea of whether the expectation of youth being troublesome changed or remain the same but expressed in different formats].

Cunningham, Hugh, 'Histories of childhood', *The American Historical Review*, 103:4, (1998), 1195-1208. [In this paper, the author takes a more historiographical perspective to discuss the different approaches used to the study of

childhood and children in the past and how the primary sources used determine the interpretation one gets of history].

Cunningham, Hugh, 'The Employment and Unemployment of Children in England c. 1680-1851', *Past & Present*, 126, (1990), 115-150. [This paper is a reply to a continuous debate on the employment and unemployment of children in England. This paper was used to obtain a general idea about the topic under study and to better analyse the primary sources encountered].

Cunningham, Hugh, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005). [Hugh Cunningham starts by giving an account of the history of children and childhood in ancient medieval Europe, and then analyses the development of the middle-class ideology of childhood, the family, work and school between 1500-1900. This book enhanced my knowledge on what effected and influenced children in early modern Europe and how children left their own mark in the world].

Cunningham, Hugh, 'Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London (Review)', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 12:1, (2007), 154-158. [This paper enhanced my knowledge on the different reality of orphans with regards to employment].

Cunningham, Hugh, *Time, Work and Leisure: Life changes in England since 1700*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016). [This book provides a very insightful and helpful interpretation of work and leisure in relation to time and how work fit in people's life].

Cutajar, Dominic, 'The Political Ideas of M.A. Vassalli', *Journal of Maltese Studies*, vol. 23-24, (1993), 215-218. [This paper was used to enhance my knowledge on the political ideas held by M.A. Vassalli and the influence of the enlightenment in the work he implemented].

Dalli, Charles, 'Medieval Communal Organization In An Insular Context: Approaching the Maltese Universitas', *The Making and Unmaking of the Maltese Universitas*, J.Manduca (ed.), (Malta: Midsea Books, 1993), 1-12. [This chapter has enhanced my

knowledge on the origin, end and administration of the *universitates* of Mdina and Gozo].

Davin, Anna, 'What is a child?', *Childhood in Question: Children, Parents and the State*, Anthony Fletcher, and Stephen Hussey (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). 15-36. [This chapter tries to find a definition to what makes a child and thus it discusses the issues of biological development and the socio-cultural circumstances which determine it. This chapter enhanced my knowledge about the subject and allowed me to look at it from a different critical perspective].

Davin, Anna, *Growing up poor: home, school and street in London 1870-1914*, (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996). [This book was used to obtain information of the history of children from the lower strata of society and helped me compare and contrast and identify the similarities and differences in the different childhood experiences].

Davis, Fiona, "I Fought. I Screamed. I Bit": The Assertion of Rights Within Historic Abuse Inquiry Transcripts', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 42:2, (2018) 217-230. [This paper has enhanced my knowledge on how children, their thoughts and behaviours are perceived today and how the scientific study of children has changed with time].

Decock, Wim, *Theologians and Contract Law: The Moral Transformation of the Ius Commune (ca. 1500-1650)*, (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2013). [This book enhanced my knowledge on aspects related to the discussion of age].

De Giorgio Roger, *A city by an Order*, (Malta: Progress Press Co. Ltd., 1985). [This book was used to obtain a better understanding of the development and urbanisation of Valletta].

De Groot, Jerome, *Consuming History: Historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture*, (London: Toulodge Taylor and Francis Group, 2009). [This book has opened my mind the work of the historian and researcher in different fields of study to deliver history to different audiences].

De Lucca Denis, *Giovanni Battista Vertova: Diplomacy, Warfare and military engineering in early seventeenth century Malta*, (Malta: Midsea Books, 2001). [This

book was used to obtain a good understanding of how Valletta developed and the reasoning behind the decisions taken to build Valletta].

De Mause, Lloyd, 'The Evolution of Childhood', *History of Childhood Quarterly*, 1, (1973), 503–606. [This essay was used to obtain a better understanding of the criticism of Philippe Aries' thesis by tracing the history of the evolution of childhood from what he considers barbarism of the past to the more freedom of the present. He also remarks on the abuse and mistreatment of children in the past].

De Mause, Lloyd, 'The Evolution of Childhood', *The History of Childhood*, Lloyd De Mause (ed.), (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1974), 1-74. [This chapter was used to continue to understand the historiography related to the concept of childhood].

Demos, John and Virginia Demos, 'Adolescence in Historical Perspective', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 31:4, (1969), 632-638. [This paper enhanced my knowledge on the origins of the history of adolescence through a historical rather and a sociological perspective and the debate which surrounded it].

Domingo, Rafel, 'Thomas Sanchez', *Christianity and Family Law: An Introduction*, John Witte Jr. And Gary S. Hauk (eds.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). [This book was useful to understand issues related to age in a Christian framework].

Douglas, Mary, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, (London: Routledge, 1966). [This book enhanced my knowledge on the idea of dirt and cleanliness in Europe].

Ebel, Henry, 'The evolution of Childhood Reconsidered', *The Journal of Psychohistory*. 5:1, (1977), 67-80. [This paper enhanced my knowledge on the discussion and debate on the concept of childhood since Philippe Ariès and Lloyd De Mause].

Ellul, Michael, 'The Holy Infirmary: The Hospitaller vocation of the Knights of St John', *Melitensium Amor: Festschrift in honour of Dun Ġwann Azzopardi*, Toni Cortis, Thomas Freller, Lino Bugeja (eds.), (Malta: Gutenberg Press, 2002), 149-162. [This paper explores the work of The Order since the building of the Holy Infirmary, its structure and architecture, and the way it was set up to reflect its aims of humble and charitable work. In chapter 4, this paper was used to provide a description of the Holy

Infirmary and to try to locate where foundlings were placed within the Holy Infirmary].

Erikson, Erik, *Youth and Crisis*, (New York: Norton, 1968). [This book was used as a historiographical reference for the study of youth and the development in this field of study].

Farge, Arlette, *Fragile Lives: Violence, Power and Solidarity in eighteenth-Century Paris*, (Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993). [This book proved very fruitful in my understanding of social life in the eighteenth century and to obtain a different perspective on the use of different archives and primary sources].

Farge, Arlette and Michel Foucault, *Disorderly families: Infamous Letters from the Bastille Archive*, Nancy Luxon (ed.), Thomas Scott-Railton (trans.), (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016). [This book discussed the archives of the Bastille, and the letters found there. While these records are very different from the ones I researched and analysed, reading about the authors' research journey and the importance of careful translation, provided me with a better awareness to how I research and handle the primary sources found].

Farrugia, Charles, *Maltese Archives ... My Choice*, (Malta: Miller Publishers, 2019). [This book is a survey of Malta's archives through time. Because it provides a history of the National Archives, this book was helpful in understanding the movement of primary sources, particularly the Miscellaneous box at the National Archives].

Farrugia, Charles, 'The Records held at the *Banca Giuratale*, Mdina', *The National Archives Newsletter*, No.2, (2000), 6-7. [In this article, Charles Farrugia provides definitions for the various Tribunals and their documentation archived at the National Archives. For the purpose of the second chapter, this article was helpful to understand the administration of the *Magna Curia Castellaniæ*].

Ferrone, Vincenzo, *The Enlightenment: History of an Idea*, (Oxfordshire, Princeton university press, 2017). [This book was used to obtain information about Europe during the enlightenment and the reforms which occurred].

Fiorini Stanley, 'Demographic Growth and the Urbanization of the Maltese Countryside to 1798', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order*

of St John of Jerusalem, Victor Mallia-Milanes (ed.), (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 297-310. [This chapter was used to obtain information about Malta's population and its growth under the administration of the Order of St John].

Fiorini, Stanley, *Santo Spirito Hospital at Rabat Malta: The Early years to 1575*, (Malta: Department of Information, 1989). [Although this book analyses the history of Santo Spirito Hospital before and in the first few years of the arrival of the Order of St John in Malta, this book allowed me to analyse the history of the Holy Infirmary from a different perspective and influenced me in asking more questions about the care of foundlings in Malta].

Fiorini, Stanley, 'The Municipal Councils in the Maltese Islands 1530-1800', *The Making and Unmaking of the Maltese Universitas*, J.Manduca (ed.), (Malta: Midsea Books, 1993), 13-24. [This chapter has enhanced my knowledge on the origin and administration of the *universitates* of Mdina and Gozo].

Fletcher, Anthony, and Stephen Hussey, 'Introduction', *Childhood in Question: Children, Parents and the State*, Anthony Fletcher, and Stephen Hussey (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 1-14. [This chapter introduces the several topics discussed by the authors in this book. It was particularly helpful in enhancing my knowledge on how children were and are perceived by society and how influential their actions were within the community and the family].

Foyster, Elizabeth A., 'Silent Witness? Children and the breakdown of domestic and social order in early modern England', *Childhood in Question: Children, parents and the state*, Anthony Fletcher and Stephen Hussey (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 57-73. [In this chapter Foyster examines the voice of children in testimonies and their role in society as no longer the fragile creature they are stereotypically believed to be but being part of the adult world. This paper was used to try to identify the place of children in society and in court].

Foyster, Elizabeth, 'Creating a veil of Silence? Politeness and Marital Violence in the English Household', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 12, (2002), 395-425. [In this paper, Elizabeth Foyster examines the wave of politeness in language and manner, a shift from physical violence to settling altercations in the

courtroom. Despite Malta did not experience a wave of politeness, I applied the theories used in this paper to understand the behaviour of children in court].

Freller, Thomas, *Malta and the Grand Tour*, (Malta: Midsea Books, 2009), [This book was used to obtain a good understanding of Malta through the perspective of travellers].

Freller, Thomas, *The Sword and the Boudoir*, (Malta: Midsea Books, 2018). [This book was used in relation to travellers' perception of the Holy Infirmary and the care of foundlings].

French, Anna, 'Locating the early modern child', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2020), 3-15. [This chapter enhanced my knowledge on the place of the child in society].

French, Anna, 'Infancy', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, Anna French (ed.), (New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), 74-93. [This chapter discusses the stage of infancy throughout childhood and explains the sensitive period and crucial time it is for a child and its family until they reach adulthood. In chapter 4, this chapter was used to understand the difficulties of researching the history of children, particularly that of infants and the difficulties to obtain information about their everyday life].

Freud, Anna, 'Adolescence', *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, (New York: International Universities Press, 1958). [In her work Anna Freud analyses the child, and his/her development into adolescence through a psychoanalytic manner. She considers adolescence as a biologically based universal developmental disturbance].

Gager, Kristin Elizabeth, *Blood Ties and Fictive Ties. Adoption and Family Life in Early Modern France*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). [This book enhanced my knowledge on the reality of adoption and the family in the early modern period].

Galea, Chris, 'Medical Care on Hospitaller Gozo', *Melita Historica*, David Mallia (ed.), 16:2, (Malta: BDL Publishing, 2014), 61-76. [This book was used to enhance my knowledge about the history of foundling care in Gozo].

Galea, Michael, *Grand Master Emanuel De Rohan 1775-1797*, (Malta, Żebbuġ Local Council Publication, 1996). [Michael Galea provides a history of the administration of Grand Master De Rohan. This book was used to enhance my knowledge on the changes in law, how they were implemented and how they affected children].

Gammon, Julie, ‘A denial of innocence’: female juvenile victims of rape and the English legal system in the eighteenth century’, *Childhood in Question: Children, parents and the state*, Anthony Fletcher and Stephen Hussey (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 74-95. [In this chapter Julie Gammon examines trials related to sexual abuse on girls, how the court and society perceived their stories. She also provides a history of the law surrounding the trials and the issues related to the children’s understanding of the law. This chapter was used to analyse Malta’s laws and regulations related to the child’s understanding of the nature of the oath and how similar and different the English system is from that of Malta].

Gauci, Liam, ‘Maltese Corsairs and the Inquisition in Malta: Defending the faith during the Last Years of Hospitaller Malta’, *The Roman Inquisition in Malta and Elsewhere: Conference Proceedings 18-20 September 2014 at the Inquisitor’s Palace Birgu*, Margret Abdilla Cunningham, Kenneth Cassar and Godwin Vella (eds.), (Malta: Heritage Malta Publishing, 2017), 156-163. [Although this paper does not mention a lot of children, it enhanced my knowledge on the on-going activity of the Inquisitor and the inquisitions. This paper, in particular, was used as to obtain information about children onboard the galleys].

Gauci, Liam, *In the Name of the Prince: Maltese Corsairs 1760-1798*, (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2016). [This book has enhanced my knowledge on Malta’s maritime activities during the period of the Order of St John and its effects and influences on the people, including children].

Goodman, Gail S., ‘Children’s Testimony in Historical Perspective’, *Journal of Social Issues*, 40:2, (1984), 9-31. [This paper studies the history of children as witnesses in court and how reliable their word was perceived by the adults around them. It is also a study in the history of psychology of children in court. Because of this, this paper was used to understand how children were perceived by society and how they must have felt while giving their testimony in court].

Goodman, Gail S.; Children's Eyewitness Memory: A Modern History and Contemporary Commentary', *Journal of Social Issues*, 62:4, (2006), 811-832. [In this paper, Goodman develops on her points in her paper 'Children's testimony in Historical Perspective' by outlining the history of psychological studies in the reliability of the memory of children and its evolution from its beginning to the early twenty-first century].

Gourdon, Vincent, 'Should abandoned children be baptised? The French case, the sixteenth to the early twentieth century', *Orphans and Abandoned Children in European History, Sixteenth to twentieth centuries*, Nicoleta Roman (ed.), (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 39-60. [This chapter provides a discussion on baptism in Europe and explores questions such as rebaptism and foundlings' baptism. This chapter was of great help to set up a general picture of how foundlings' baptism could have been done in Malta and helped to be able to piece together a general picture despite the lack of primary sources found thus far.].

Griffiths Paul, 'Overlapping circles: imagining criminal communities in London, 1545-1645', *Communities in early modern England*, Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 115-133. [This chapter analysis the fact that every community has differences and similarities and how people were in some format, or another brought together according to particular factors such as class, gender, work, and age. However, these so call circle were not apart from each other functioning independently, but they were small 'overlapping circles' making one rather larger community. These overlapping circles can also be observed in Maltese communities and thus, this chapter helped me understand how communities' function, the psychology behind the groupings of such circles and how they worked together or at times even battled each other].

Griffiths Paul, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560-1670*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006). [This extensive study of youth in England made part of the foundation for my study of adolescence and youth in society. The author goes through the politics of age, questioning what ages incorporate youth, what attitudes and behaviours were considered acceptable, the idea of them being ill-natured and how this was then affecting society at large. Thus, this book, provided me with a tool to analyse Maltese eighteenth-century youth and adolescents].

- Griffiths, Paul, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). [This book was used to obtain a better understanding on the history of youth, and their attitude and behaviour in relation to authority in the past].
- Guglielmotti, Alberto, *Vocabolario Marino e Militari*, (Rome: Mursia Editore, 1889). [This book was used to understand the term *muzzo*].
- Hall, Stanley G., *Adolescence: Its Psychology, and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education*, (2 Vols.), (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1904). [As one of the first social scientific studies on adolescence, this book was used as a historiographical reference on the study of adolescence and the changing ideas about the topic].
- Hamling, Tara, 'The Household', *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2020), 33-54. [This chapter enhanced my knowledge on the place of the child within the family and the way the child was perceived around the household].
- Harding, Hugh W., 'Foreword', *A Manual for Legal Procurators*, (Malta: P.E.G. Ltd., 1996). [This chapter was used to obtain information on the laws pertaining to procurators according to the odes of law established by Grand Masters in Malta].
- Hareven, Tamara K., 'The History of the Family as an interdisciplinary Field', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2:2, (1971), 399-414. [This paper was used to enhance my knowledge on the importance of interdisciplinarity in the history of the family and children].
- Harrington, Joel F., *The Unwanted Child: The fate of foundlings, orphans and juvenile criminals in early modern Germany*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009). [This book enhanced my knowledge on the relationship and correlation between young people, age and criminal activity].
- Hindle Steve, 'A sense of place? Becoming and belonging in the rural parish, 1550-1650', *Communities in early modern England*, Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 96-114. [This chapter analysis the concept of the parish community and the idea of borders. People felt

part of a community and thus, this created a border and a distinction between those who were allowed to be part of the community and those who didn't. This chapter was used to create parallels to Malta's idea of sense of community as more communities and neighbourhoods associated and identified themselves with particular parishes nearby them].

Hindle Steve, 'The Keeping of the Public Peace', *The Experience of Authority in Early modern England*, Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, Steve Hindle (eds.), (New York: Macmillan Education, 1996), 213-248. [This chapter was used to obtain a better insight on how communities looked at conflict and peace].

Hunt Margret R., *Women in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, (New York: Routledge, 2010). [This book was used to obtain a broad understanding of the relationship between the mother and the child].

Hunt, Arnold, 'Recovering Speech Acts', *Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, Hadfield, A., Dimmock, M., & Shinn, A. (eds.). (London: Routledge, 2014), 13-30. [This paper gives an analytical and critical review of several secondary sources which analyse speech acts with the aim of analysing their importance. By reading this paper, I enhanced my knowledge on the significance of speech acts and how they play a part in understanding examinations in criminal records].

Jaconelli, Joseph, 'What is a trial?', *Judicial tribunals in England and Europe, 1200-1700*, Maureen Mulholland and Brian Pullan (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 18-36. [Joseph Jacconelli's chapter discusses the definition of a trial. While it does not make part of much controversy, by asking what a trial is the author provides an analysis of the administration of the European Courts and the procedures required. This chapter was used to obtain a better understanding of the judicial system and compare it to the local situation].

Kaczmarek, Maria, 'Preface: Why Adolescence?', *Health and Well-Being in Adolescence Part Two: Media*, Maria Kaczmarek (ed.), (Poznan: Bogucki Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2011), 9- 15. [This book was used because while it provides a historical overview to the origins of the study of adolescence, it also discusses the importance of youth and their role in society today].

Karassava-Tsilingiri, Fotini, 'The Fifteenth-Century Hospital of Rhodes: Tradition and Innovation', *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, Malcom C. Barber (ed.), (Cambridge 1994), 89-92. [This chapter enhanced my knowledge on the origins of hospitality by the Order of St John and the architectural and lexical debate surrounding the Order's hospital, particularly the new hospital built on Rhodes].

Karassava-Tsilingiri, Fotini, 'The Fifteenth-Century Hospital of Rhodes: Tradition and Innovation', *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, Malcom C. Barber (ed.), (Cambridge: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 1994), 89-96. [In this chapter, the author explores the medical traditions and innovations of the Order of St John in fifteenth-century Rhodes and how the care given was perceived by its contemporaries. Thus, this was used in chapter 4 to compare Malta's charitable work of the Order to that in Rhodes].

Karen E. and Michael J. Halvorson 'Introduction: Definitions of Community in Early Modern Europe', *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, Michael J. Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling (eds.), (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 1-16. [This chapter was used to obtain a definition of what makes a community and to learn about the previous study of the community as a niche subject].

King, Margret L., 'Concepts of Childhood: What We Know and Where We Might Go', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60:2, (2007), 371-407. [This paper was very helpful to enhance my knowledge on the historiography of childhood and adolescence. This paper first provides a discussion on Philippe Aries's work and then goes on to analyse the work which were published as a result of the aforementioned work. The author analyses this historiography by dividing it into categories according to the date of publications, as she believes it influenced the way history was written, according to the countries the published work discusses, as well as in themes, including, poverty, infanticide, and demography. Another aspect which was very helpful for this study was the last section of the paper which discusses several unanswered questions which this field of study is still to develop].

Koslofsky Craig, *Evening's Empire: A History in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). [This book was used to obtain understanding of the history of the night, the idea of the public vs. the private, the politics it carried with it as well as the opportunities that the night could offer and compare it to Malta].

Laitinen Riitta and Dag Lindström, 'Urban Order and Street Regulation in seventeenth-Century Sweden', *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill's Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 63-94. [This chapter discusses street regulations which were in place in seventeenth-century Sweden. Despite the differences in regulations, this chapter was helpful in understanding and comparing street regulations, construction and planning in Sweden and in Malta].

Laitinen Riitta and Thomas V. Cohen, 'Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets', *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (eds.), (Leiden: Brill's Journal of Early Modern History, 2009), 1-10. [This introductory chapter provides a definition of the street and gives an overview of how this book's main theme of the public and the private would be discussed in the following chapters. Thus, this chapter aided me to obtain a better understanding of the street, street life and street culture].

Laitinen Riitta, 'Banishment, Urban Community and Judicial Practice: Thieves in mid-17th-century Turku', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 38:5, (2013), 549-567. [This paper was used to enhance my knowledge on banishment and exiles in the Early modern period and provided me with a context to compare to Malta's petitions for return from exile].

Laitinen Riitta, 'Nighttime Street Fighting and the Meaning of Place: A Homicide in a seventeenth-Century Swedish Provincial Town', *Journal of Urban History*, 33:4, (2007), 602-619. [This paper analysis the limits of honour and dishonour and disorder which were to a certain extent allowed at nighttime. This paper is based on the small town of Turku in Finland, and although Finland had different legal system and regulations about the night several similarities can also be drawn. The differences observed were used to question motivations and regulations in Malta].

Lascarides, V. Celia and Blythe F. Hinitx, *History of Early Childhood Education*, (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2000). [This book was used to obtain a better understanding of the Roman law and how it identified the stages of child development].

Laslett, Peter, *Household and Family in Past Time*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). [This book was used to enhance my knowledge on the wider aspects of the history of childhood, the child's place in the family and the evolution of diverse household structures].

Lerner, Richard M. and Laurence Steinberg, 'The Scientific Study of Adolescent Development: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives', *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology Volume 1: Individual Bases of Adolescent Development*, Richard M. Lerner and Laurence Steinberg (eds.), (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Inc, 2009). 3-14. [This paper was used to obtain a better understanding on the history of adolescence and the origins of its study as a social science through the study by Stanley G. Hall and the way adolescence was perceived in the past particularly by Aristotle and Plato].

Lesnik-Oberstain, Karin, *Children in culture: approaches to childhood*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998). [This book provides a different perspective to the outlook on children as it is not only analysing childhood through social and political history but it also analysis its literature, language and the culture surrounding it. It recognises the interdisciplinarity of this study and the importance of the voice of the child. In this book, the author looks at a child as a universal child with a common pattern of biological development].

Levene, Alysa, 'The origins of the children of the London foundling hospital, 1741-1760', *Continuity & Change*, 18:2, (2003), 201-235. [This paper enhanced my knowledge on the reality of foundlings and foundling care in early modern London].

Levi Giovanni and Jean-Claude, 'Introduction', *A History of Young People*, Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt (eds.), Vol.1, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1997), 1-13. [This introduction provides a framework to the authors' and contributors' understanding of young people and their approach to studying history of young people from a different angle. In this collection. The

authors move away from the broad universal analysis of young people and focus on the cultural-historical perspective by trying to analyse young people's solidarities, conflicts and reasoning behind their actions from a historical and psychological perspective. The authors do not believe in simply studying the history of young people over the ages but to focus on particular short periods of time and delve deep into the effects and roles they played. This perspective was very influential in the writing of chapter three as I tried to analyse issues in their particular period and tried to extract young people's thought process and circumstances which led them to commit crime].

Lipscomb, Suzannah, 'How can we recover the lost lives of women?', *What is History, Now?*, Helen Carr and Suzannah Lipscomb (eds.), (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2021), 178-196. [While this chapter discusses the history of women and does not mention foundlings, it provided me with a better understanding on life and records of minorities within society, like foundlings and orphans. It also enhanced me knowledge on how silent voices may very often not be as silent as we might think, how one must read between the lines and against the grain to be able to extract the life of those who were overlooked].

Luttrell, Anthony, 'The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition: 1291-1530', *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, Malcom C. Barber (ed.), (Cambridge: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 1994), 64-81. [This chapter discusses the history of the Order's hospitality by providing details about the different hospitals set up by the Order and the large amount of money needed to function. Anthony Luttrell discusses the history of medical traditions of the Order of St John since their stay in Acre down to their time in Rhodes. This was used to compare Malta's medical work of the Order with what they had done in previous hospital, how it developed and changed, especially with respect to founding care and was helpful in enhancing my knowledge on how important hospitality and care was for the Order and the importance of charity for a religious order].

Magne, Odd Bakke, 'The Ideal of the Upbringing of Children in Early Christianity', *Studia Theologica – Nordic Journal of Theology*, 60:2, (2006), 145-163. [This paper discusses the teachings of early Christianity about the upbringing of children, through an analysis and explanation of Greco-Roman, Didiscalia, the Apostolic

Constitutions and canons and St Chrysostom's attitudes and teaching about children].

Mallia-Milanes, Victor, *Venice and Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Aspects of a Relationship*, (Malta: Publishers Enterprise Group Ltd., 1992). [This book was used to enhance my knowledge on the relationship between Malta and Venice and how this effected Malta's trading patterns].

Mallia Milanes, Victor, 'Introduction to Hospitaller Malta', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798*, Victor Mallia Milanes (ed.), (Malta: Mireva Publications Limited, 1993), 1-42. [This chapter provided a very detailed explanation on the history of the Order of St John, its administration and its origins and enhanced my knowledge on the history of the Order before arriving in Malta and its history regarding medicine and its hospitals].

Mallia-Milanes, Victor, 'Decline and Fall? The Order of the Hospital and its Surrender of Malta, 1798', *Symposia Melitensia*, 12, (2016), 117-137. [This paper argues against the traditional idea that the Order came to an end with its departure from Malta. It allowed me to obtain a better perspective of the Order's situation after leaving Malta].

Mallia-Milanes, Victor, 'A Living Force of continuity in a declining Mediterranean: The Hospitaller Order of St John in Early Modern Times', Borna Fuerst-Bjeliš (ed.), *Mediterranean Identities - Environment, Society, Culture*, (London: Intechopen, 2017), 27-45. [This chapter was used to obtain information about the origins of the Order of St John, its commanderies and administration in Malta in relation to its political influence in Europe].

McCants, Anne E.C., *Civic Charity in a Golden Age: Orphan care in Early Modern Amsterdam*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 19620). [This book enhanced my knowledge on orphan care in Amsterdam].

Mercieca, Simon, 'The Spatial Mobility of Seafarers in the Mediterranean: A case study based on status liberi documentation (1581-1640)', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 12:2, (2002) 385-410. [This paper was used to obtain a better understanding of the term Muzzo in history].

Mercieca, Simon, 'How Was Judicial Power Balanced in Malta in Early Modern Times - A cursory Look at the Maltese Legal System through a Historical Perspective', *Journal of Civil Law Studies*, Vol. 4, (2011), 449-480. [This paper outlines the history of the Inquisitor's court by describing the process of justice for immoral behaviour. Why the second chapter does not deal with the court of the Inquisition, this paper was used to compare judicial processes and better understand the procedures used by the *Magna Curia Castellaniae*].

Mercieca Simon, 'Valletta: The Foundation of a Christian Republic According to St Augustine's Philosophic Principle of Humility', *Humillima Civitas Vallettæ: From Mount Xebb-Er-Ras to European Capital of Culture*, Margaret Abdilla Cunningham, Maroma Camilleri and Godwin Vella (eds.), (Malta: Heritage Malta and Malta Libraries, 2018), 37-48. [This paper was used to understand the relationship of Valletta with nearby maritime towns].

Mercieca, Simon, 'Demographic Politics and Urban Development in Malta in the Nineteenth Century: The Story of Casale Novo', *Tribute to Alain Blondy*, Foundation de Malte (ed.), (Malta: Foundation de Malte, 2018), 267-296. [This paper was used to obtain a better understanding of the local historiography on demography]. Micallef, Antonio, *Juris Fontes: Lectures on the Statutes of the Sacred Order of St John at the University (of Studies) of Malta 1792*, Wolf-Dieter Barz and Michael Galea (eds.), (Karlsruhe: Kit scientific publishing, 2012). [In this book the editors provide a translation and compilation of the lectures of Antonio Micallef, whose contemporary work on the laws of the Order of St John sheds light on the key roles of the *Magna Curia Castellaniae*. This enhanced my knowledge on the procedures of the Courts and its administration to put the primary sources under study into perspective].

Mifsud Alfredo, *Knights Hospitallers of the Venerable Tongue of England in Malta*, (Malta: library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data, 1914). [This book was used to obtain a plan of the Holy Infirmary].

Mifsud Bonnici, Ugo, *An Introduction to Cultural Heritage Law*, (Malta: Midsea Books, 2008). [This Book has enhance dmy knowledge on the cultural law in Malta till the

time of the publication of this book and allowed me to better understand the local situation for archives, museums and cultural sites].

Mignot, Jean-François, *Child Adoption in Western Europe, 1900-2015*, (HAL Open Science: 5 February 2019). [This enhanced my knowledge on how adoption suited or hindered society and the child].

Mitterauer, Michael, *A History of Youth*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992). [This book was used as it provides a sociologist's perspective to European family and the history of youth].

Muir Edward, 'The 2001 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture: The idea of Community in Renaissance Italy', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 55:1, (2002), 1-18. [This paper was used to discover how the street is made up of the people who reside in it, their experiences and their actions].

Mulholland, Maureen, 'Introduction', *Judicial tribunals in England and Europe, 1200-1700*, Maureen Mulholland and Brian Pullan (eds.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 1-17. [In her introduction, Maureen Mulholland discusses the various aspects to a trial through time. This chapter was used to enhance my knowledge on the definition and procedures involved in a trial].

Muscat, Christine, *Public Women: Prostitute Entrepreneurs in Valletta, 1630-1798*, (Malta: BDL Publishing 2018). [While this book does not directly analyse the history of children, it was used to enhance my knowledge on the terminology of age. In Chapter 3, this book was used to obtain a better understanding of the Conservatories and the place of females within the judicial procedures. In chapter 4, this book was used to extract information about who cared for foundlings after they leave the Holy Infirmary and how it compares to the seventeenth century regulations mentioned by Giovanni Bonello].

Muscat, Christine, 'Regulating Prostitution in Hospitaller Malta: The Bonus Paterfamilias way', *Storja 2018-2019*, Emanuel Buttigieg (ed.), (Malta: Malta University Historical society, 2019), 121-153. [In this paper, Christine Muscat analyses and explains in detail the concept of the bonus paterfamilias adopted by the church and the state to encourage better behaviour and to reflect good morals. Although this

work deals with prostitutes and not with children, it enhanced my knowledge on the concept and allowed me to analyse my sources in different light].

Muscat, Joseph, *Il-Flotta ta' l-Ordni ta' San Ġwann*, (Malta: PIN Publications, 2000).

[This book was used to obtain a better understanding of the Order of St John's naval activities and the term *muzzo*].

Muurling Sanne, *Everyday Crime, Criminal Justice and Gender in Early Modern Bologna*, (Leiden: Brill Publications, 2019). [This chapter analysis space as an interactive place through the study of court records, thus it aided me in putting primary sources more into context].

N.A., *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). [The Latin dictionary was used to confirm the definition of *concessio*].

N.A., *Pamphlet the Santwarju Tal-Madonna Tal-Ħniena*, (2018). [This pamphlet was used to obtain a better understanding of the different ex votos present at the Santwarju Tal-Madonna Tal-Ħniena in Qrendi].

N.A., *The Oxford Latin Mini Dictionary*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). [This dictionary was essential for my understanding of the origin of words like *pater familias* and *adolescere* and in return develop and explain better the ideas pertaining to this topic].

N.A., *The Grand Masters of the Order of St John in Malta*, (Malta: Malta Libraries, 2013). [This book was used to get a general idea of the Grand Masters governing Malta over time].

Nevola Fabrizio, 'Street Life in Early Modern Europe', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 66:4, (2013), 1332-1345. [This paper gives a detailed overview of the study of the street and street like but also providing criticism and praise over different methods of study. The numerous sources mentioned within this paper proved useful as to obtain a more holistic understanding of the history of the street].

Norbert Schindler, 'Guardians of Disorder: Rituals of Youthful Culture at the Dawn of the Modern Age', *A History of Young People*, Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt (eds.), Vol.1, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1997),

240-282. [This chapter, similar to Natalie Zemon Davis' study of misrule, analysis organised youth groups especially in Germany. This chapter enhanced my knowledge on the activities of youth in Europe].

Nussdorfer, Laurie, *Brokers of Public Trust: Notaries in Early Modern Rome*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2009). [This book enhanced my knowledge about the role of the notary and its origin in Euro-Mediterranean societies and to compare it with the Maltese notary].

Outhwaite, R., 'Objects of charity: petitions to the London foundling hospital, 1768-72', *18th-Century Studies*, 32:4, (1999), 497-510. [This paper enhanced my knowledge on foundling care in London].

Outler, Albert Cook (ed.), *The confessions of St Augustine*, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2002). [St Augustine's Confessions are not just theological teachings, but they are also a reflection of society and its mentality. This book was used in order to obtain a better understanding of the church's teachings and the development of children and adolescents].

Pollock, Linda, 'An exploratory analysis of children's diaries', *The Development of Children's Imaginative Writing*, Helen Cowie (ed.), (London: Croom Helm Publishers, 1984), 70-92. [This chapter enhanced my knowledge on the different sources and methodology used to study the history of children].

Pollock, Linda A., *Forgotten Children: Parent-child relations from 1500 to 1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). [Linda Pollock's work is very influential for this study as it provides a different perspective to the study of children in society. Linda Pollock's book was the basis of my dissertation. Her research and discussion of the already existing material on the history of childhood and the relationship between the parents and young people allowed me to pose questions of the primary sources I encountered. It allowed me to move away from the traditional discussions of the history of childhood and move towards a more socio-cultural approach to try to extract the lives of young people in a more in-depth manner].

Pollock, Linda, "Teach her to live under obedience": the making of women in the upper ranks of early modern England", *Continuity and Change*, vol. 4, (1989), 231-258. [This

paper has enhanced my knowledge on the upbringing of female in the early modern period].

Pollock, Linda A., 'Childbearing and Female Bonding in Early Modern England', *Social History*, 22:3, (1997), 286-306. [This paper has enhanced my knowledge on the idea of childbearing, the stages of a child's life before birth and on how this was a crucial moment in a woman's life].

Pollock, Linda A., 'Anger and the negotiation of relationships in early modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 47:3, (2004), 567-590. [This paper helped me to learn and understand the aspect of emotions in history with regards to relationships in society].

Pollock, Linda A., 'A global history of children, parents and family 1500-1900', Nick Frost (ed.), *The Handbook of Global Child Welfare*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 3-18. [This chapter was of great help to understand the history of children and their place within the family. It also opened my eyes to the new method of studying the history of children and childhood without getting too caught up in the debate of whether the concept of childhood existed in the past and whether children were loved or severely disciplined].

Porsella-Flores J.F., 'Il-Qniepen Fil-folklor', *L-Imnara*, 5:4, (Malta: Għaqda Maltija Tal-Folklor, 1997), 87-90. [This paper provided me with insight on the different time of bell ringing in Malta and their meaning for the Maltese people].

Porter, Roy, *English Society in the 18th century*, (London: Penguin Books, 1991). [While this book does not deal with foundlings or abandonment, it enhanced my knowledge on the study and research of social history and provided a general framework of the way eighteenth century European society operated].

Pullan, Brian S., *Orphans and Foundlings in Early Modern Europe*, (Michigan: University of Reading, 1989). [This book provided a comparative framework within which to understand orphans and foundlings in early modern Malta].

Quintano, Anton, *Ricasoli Malta: History of a Fort*, (Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group LTD, 1999). [This book provides a history of Fort Ricasoli. In chapter 4, this book was used to extract information regarding foundlings at fort Ricasoli, their work and their everyday life].

Ransel, David L., *Mothers of Misery: Child Abandonment in Russia*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988). [This book was used to obtain a different perspective for comparison between different parts of Europe on the concept of abandonment in].

Rau Susanne, 'Street Life in Early Modern Europe: Urban Form, Representation, Discourse, and perception', *Journal of Urban History*, 38:2, (2012), 396-401. [This paper was used to understand the impact of physical and interpersonal violence in the street, how the street is not only an architectural space but also a place, which expresses people's lives, and how people interacted within these streets].

Rhodes, Maxine, 'Approaching the history of Childhood: Frameworks for Local Research', *Family and Community History*, 3, (2002), 121-134. [This paper starts with an explanation and criticism of Philippe Ariès thesis and goes on to discussing the difference between children and childhood, their relationship with the adult world and their families, identity, disciplining the child and the development of the history of childhood. This is done through a critical analysis of literary works about the history of children and childhood and the importance of local research for the development of this field of study].

Riley, Charlotte Lydia, 'Why history should always be rewritten', *What is History, Now?*, Helen Carr and Suzannah Lipscomb (eds.), (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2021), 280-295. [This chapter explores the possibility of rewriting history and the fear one might have to do so. However, the author explains that history must be rewritten as our perception of society changes and as primary sources are found. Thus, this inspired me to research my primary sources in different ways and in chapter 4; it gave me a better understanding of how I should interpret the documents found].

Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St John*, (London: Hambledon Press 1999). [This book was used to enhance my knowledge on how the Order distributed the work required for the caring of foundlings between the twelfth and fourteenth century].

Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The History of the Order in the Levant, c.1070-1309*, (London; Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). [This book was used to obtain a better understanding of how the Order operated before their arrival in Malta].

Roman, Nicoleta, 'Constructing A Social Identity: State, abandoned children and family in mid-nineteenth century Bucharest', *Orphans and Abandoned Children in European History, Sixteenth to twentieth centuries*, Nicoleta Roman (ed.), (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 61-86. [This chapter describes the reality of abandoned children in Bucharest's pauper institutes and state policies towards these minorities. This paper was used to provide a comparison between the Holy Infirmary and other European institutes which provided foundling care. It also allowed me to ask and wonder about the state policies and how they influenced Malta's foundlings].

Ruff Julius R., 'Popular violence and its prosecution in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France', *Crime, Law and Popular Culture in Europe, 1500-1900*, Richard McMahon (ed.), (New York: Willan Publishing, 2008), 32-51. [In this paper Ruff extends on what was included in his book 'Violence in Early Modern Europe' to explain how violence was present in the street as part of street life. Thus, this paper was useful to obtain a broader understanding of violence within the dynamic of the neighbourhood].

Ruff Julius R., *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). [This book provided me with a very detailed analysis of violence in Europe and how violence was an integral part of everyday life].

Said-Zammit George A., *Houses and Domestic Space in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Malta*, (Oxon: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2021). [This book gives a detailed study of housing in eighteenth-century Malta and also provides GIS plans of such house. This book was particularly helpful in understanding the place of the child at home, their space and their role within the home and the physical structure of the house].

Saller, Richard P., 'Pater Familias, Mater Familias, and the Gendered Semantics of the Roman Household', *Classical Philology*, 94:2, (1999), 182-197. [This paper provides a detailed definition of the paterfamilias, the modern usage of the term, its roman origins, the legal usage and the idea of the materfamilias].

Sammut, Joseph C., 'The "Picciolo" and the Coinage of Grand Master Pinto', *History Through Coinage*, Henry J. Frenzo (ed.), (Malta: Central Bank of Malta, 2013), 15-

22. [This chapter has enhanced my knowledge on the coinage during the Period of the Order, particularly that of Grand Master Pinto and for the period under study].

Savona Ventura, Charles, *Devotees of Venus: A History of Sexuality in Malta*, (Malta: DISCERN, 2003). [In this book, the author analysis the history of sexuality, which includes children born out of wedlock. Due to this, it was helpful in enhancing my knowledge on the perception of society to such circumstances and allowed me to trace enhance my knowledge on the abandonment, or otherwise, of children].

Savona Ventura, Charles, *Outlines of Maltese Medical History*, (Malta: Midsea Books Ltd., 1997). [This book provides an outline of Malta's Medical history from the pre-historic age to modern day and analysed the evolution of medicine and its importance through the ages. This book was used to enhance my knowledge on the history of midwifery and child protection and allowed me to analyse the importance and relevance of the child in society].

Savona Ventura, Charles, *Social Services for unwed mothers and their children, Conference organized [by] Dar Ġużepa Debono in collaboration with The Noble Military and Hospitalier Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, and Anawim Community on the theme of "Voluntary Work and Social Services for the benefit of single parents*, (2016). [In his research Charles Savona Ventura provides a discussion on the medical care provided to unwed mothers in Malta under the Order of St John and how it worked with society to provide for them. This allowed me to obtain a better understanding of the reality of abandonment impacted society and how society in turn provided for its abandoned children].

Sbriccoli Mario, 'Fonti giudiziarie e fonti giuridiche. Riflessioni sulla fase attuale degli studi di storia del crimine e delle giustizia criminale,' *Studi storici* 29:2 (1988), 491-501. [This paper wa sused to obtain a better understanding of court records and provided me with the tools as to not study them in a naïve manner but extract from them the not only the criminality but also the sentiment of the society].

Schapiro, Tamar, 'What Is a Child?', *Ethics*, 109:4, (1999), 715-738. [Tamar Schapiro begins her paper by analysing the idiom 'treated like a child' to pose questions on what makes an individual a child. This unfolded into a discussion about the nature of

the adult-child distinction, the idea of the passive citizen and the idea of imperfection in a child].

Scicluna, Joseph, 'De Rohan's "Dritto Municipale"', *Heritage: an Encyclopaedia of Maltese Culture and Civilization*, 17, (1978), 331-332. [This paper was used in order to better understand Grand Master's De Rohan Code of Law and the need felt for a new law code].

Scott, Hamish Marshall, *The Birth of a Great Power System 1740-1815*, (New York: Routledge, 2013). [This book enhanced my knowledge on the major European wars during the eighteenth century].

Sharpe J.A, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760*, Second edition, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1997). [This book was helpful to understand the attitudes of young people in Early Modern Europe as well as in Malta, how society was concerned in the upbringing of children, as they would be their future adults and how age structure played an important role in society].

Shaw, Brent D., 'Raising and Killing Children: Two Roman Myths', *Mnemosyne*, 54:1, (2001), 31-77. [This paper analyses the myth of the right of the Roman father to kill or raise a child. The author, after analysing Roman law and culture, emphasises that although one cannot deny that infanticide was present throughout several societies, this idea of a legal power of life and death was only a myth and a right desired by some, but was not a legal right given to the man of the house. Thus, this helped in obtaining a better understanding the idea of the *bonus paterfamilias* and its role].

Sherwood, Joan, *Poverty in Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Women and Children of the Inclusa*, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1989). [This book enhanced my knowledge on foundlings, adoption, and abandonment in early modern Spain].

Shorter, Edward, *The Making of the Modern Family*, (California: Basic Books, 1975). [In this book, Edward Shorter, by focusing on the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, provides a study of the child-parent relationship as progress over time].

Spiteri, Mevrick, 'Properties of the Order of St John: Structural transformations in Valletta's houses', *Cities, Harbours and Artefacts: Transformations of an Early*

Modern Landscape, Maroma Camilleri and Mevrick Spiteri (eds.), (Malta: Malta Libraries, 2021), 28-63. [This chapter was used to obtain a better understanding of the development of Valletta into an urban space].

Spiteri, Mevrick, 'Social relations in Valletta: Preliminary studies of property disputes recorded in the Officium Commissriorum Domorum', *Arkivju*, George Cassar and Charles J. Farrugia (eds.), issue 6, (Malta: National Archives of Malta and The Friends of the National Archives, 2015), 3-14. [This paper was used to obtain a better understanding of the buildings within the streets in discussion throughout my study and how they developed over time].

Spiteri, Mevrick, *The Houses of Baroque Valletta, 1650-1750*, (Malta: Midsea Books, 2021). [This book gave me a clear picture how Valletta was, and its houses were set up. It was also a great aid in locating several locations mentioned in this dissertation].

Stearns, Peter N., 'Childhood Emotions in modern western history', *The Routledge history of Childhood in the Western World*, Paula S. Fass (ed.), (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), 158-173. [This chapter explores the history of emotion in relation to children in Western Europe. Stearns' discussion on emotions led me to wonder how children's emotions can be observed in primary sources and how the adults around them could have possibly perceived them].

Stone, Lawrence, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977). [When studying childhood and its history, this book is an essential read because it analyses the English family over three centuries and focuses particularly on aristocratic households and everyday life. This allows one to see the changes, or the lack of it, within society and the child's relationship with the family].

Taddei, Ilaria, 'Images and Conceptions of Youth in Florentine Society during the Renaissance', *The Premodern Teenage: Youth in Society 1150-1650*, Konrad Eisenbichler (ed.), (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2002), 15-27. [This chapter provides an analysis of youth in Florence in the sixteenth century. It also provides an explanation of the terminology pertaining to youth as used in primary source documents and to what they refer. This chapter was

helpful to understand and compare Malta's situation in the eighteenth century to Florentine adolescent attitudes and experiences].

Tanenhaus, David S. and William Bush, 'Toward a History of Children as Witnesses', *Indiana Law Journal*, 82:1059, (2007), 1059-1075. [This paper does not provide a history of witnesses but an overview of the historical research on childhood after the American Revolution. It outlines how the perception of history of childhood has changes and gives an examination of the different use, importance and implementation of the history of children as witnesses for historians and legal professionals. Due to this, this paper enhanced my knowledge on the significance of the history of child witnesses in Europe and to compare it with Malta's laws and research].

Tapaninen, Anna-Maria, 'Names, Signs and Messages identifying foundlings in late 19th century Naples', *Between Sociology and History: Essays on Microhistory, Collective Action and Nation-Building*, Anna-Maria Castren and Marakku Pelton Lonika (eds.), (Finnish literature society, 2004), 51- 70. [This chapter discusses the names, signs and messages left with children before abandonment. In Malta, no such messages have been discovered thus far so it allowed me to think and expand my research to possibilities of research].

Terpstra, Nicholas, *Abandoned Children on Italian Renaissance: Orphan care in Florence and Bologna*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005). [While researching about Malta's foundling care within the Holy Infirmary, I can across several similarities to the foundling care in Florence. This book provided a different perspective to how foundlings were cared for in home rather than in hospitals or orphanages, how they were set up, how young people found themselves in these places and what their life was like. In chapter 4, this book was used to explore the aspect of family dismantlement and child abandonment].

Testa, Carmel, *The Life and Times of Grand Master Pinto, 1741-1773*, (Malta: Midsea Books, 1989), 241. [Carmel Testa provides a history of the administration of Grand Master Pinto. This book was used to enhance my knowledge on the changes in law; how they were implemented and how they effected children]. Tilly, Louise A., Rachel G. Fuchs, David I. Kertzer, and David L. Ransel. "Child Abandonment in

European History: A Symposium.” In *Journal of Family History* 17.1 (1992): 1–23. [This paper was used to enhance my knowledge on the reality of abandonment in Europe].

Trevelyan, G. M., *History and The Reader*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). [This short book, which was originally delivered as a public lecture and first published in 1945, has provided me with great insight on the perception of the reader in relation to learning about history and this was compared to more recent writing about how to deliver history to the reader.

Tucker, Nickolas, *What is a Child?*, (London: Fontana/Open Books Publishing Ltd., 1977). [This book provides an anthropological perspective to defining children and childhood and thus defines them not only through the evident biological changes but also provides a discussed definition and explanation through the different cultures and societies].

Vella, Yosanne, *Women in 18th-Century Malta*, (Malta: SKS, 2017). [Although the main aim of this books is to analyse women, their life and role within society in the eighteenth century, this book was used to enhance my knowledge on the relation between women and children in eighteenth-century society and in historiography].

Vella, Yosanne, ‘Women Victims of Crime in Eighteenth-Century Malta’, *Proceedings History Week*, (Malta: Malta Historical Society, 2004), 17-23. [This chapter was used to obtain a better understanding of the local historiography on women].

Wettinger, Godfrey, ‘The Abolition of Slavery in Malta’, *Archivium: The Journal of Maltese historical research*, (1981), 1-19. [This paper enhanced my knowledge on the general historical framework during the period under study in relation to the economy and slavery].

Wettinger, Godfrey, ‘Early Maltese popular attitudes to the government of the Order of St John’, *Melita Historica*, 6:3, (1974), 255-278. [This paper enhanced my knowledge on how the government of the Order of St John was perceived through their time in Malta].

Wettinger, Godfrey, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo ca. 1000-1812* (Malta: PEG Ltd, 2002). [Although this book does not focus specifically on children, it enhanced my knowledge on the idea of slavery among young people].

Williams, Ann, 'The Constitutional Development of the Order of St John in Malta, 1530-1798', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798*, Victor Mallia Milanese (ed.), (Malta: Mireva Publications Limited, 1993), 285-296. [This chapter provides information on the administration of the Order of St John, its formation, and its development from a Hospitaller to a military religious order].

Williams, Ann, 'Xenodochium to Sacred Infirmary: the Changing Role of the Hospital of the Order of St John, 1522-1631', *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the sick*, Malcom Barber (ed.), (Cambridge 1994), 97-102. [This chapter focuses on the idea of Xenodochium and the way the Order of St John implemented this idea of hospitality and care. This chapter enhanced my knowledge on hospitality and its importance for the Order and its implementation in its hospitals].

Wolff, Larry, 'When I Imagine A Child: The Idea of Childhood and the Philosophy of Memory in the Enlightenment', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31:4, (1998), 377-401. [This paper provides an analysis of Rousseau's, Hume's, Locke's and Condorcet's, theories on the child's development focusing on the themes of memory, imagination, and the sense of self].

Wolff, Larry, 'Childhood and the enlightenment', *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, Paula S. Fass (ed.), (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group Ltd, 2013), 78-100. [This chapter has enhanced my knowledge on the presence, the role and importance of children during the Renaissance].

Zammit, William, *Kissing the Gallows: A Cultural History of Crime, Torture and Punishment in Malta 1600-1798*, (Malta: BDL Publishing, 2016). [In this book, William Zammit provides an account of the several crimes committed in Malta through an analysis of documents from the *libri dei Carcerati*, the *Magna Curia* records and records of the Inquisition. These cases shed light on the criminality in Malta, the way society and the state perceived criminal activity and the action taken to ensure peace. This book also provided me with knowledge on how children and

adolescents took part in crime, how the state disciplined or punished them and how society looked upon such children and their actions].

Zemon Davis, Natalie, 'The Reasons of Misrule: youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France', *Past & Present*, 50, (1971), 41-75. [This paper analysis youth groups, their role in society and the way they perceived themselves as a form of power for order among their society but perceived as a nuisance by their community. This paper proved useful as I was allowed to draw comparisons to how Maltese youth acted in the street despite not having such youth groups in eighteenth-century Malta].

Zemon Davis, Natalie, *Fiction in the Archives*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987). [Natalie Zemon Davis's book is a fascinating and exciting study of the fiction against the fact, of history and stories. In her quest to find the fiction in facts, Zemon Davis compares historical facts with crime and mystery novels to draw out similarities and differences. It analyses fiction, not to eliminate it from the story but to understand the reason and the behaviour behind the fiction. It is a clear guide to identify the voice of individuals in criminal records, particularly the supplications. While Malta's and France's political and social history are different, people's behaviour is more similar than its country's laws. This book is a fascinating reflection of the archives and how documents themselves do not only provide facts but also reflect the individual's bias from the tales told and incorrect information given. However, in Chapter 4 this book was used to understand how notarial documents reflect society].

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