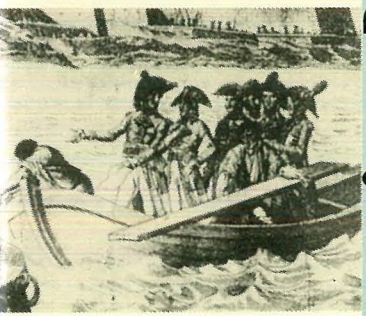

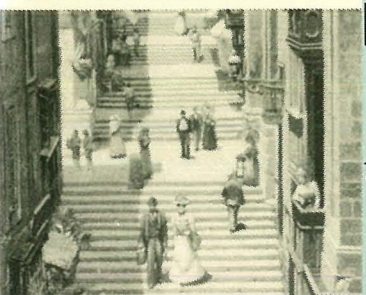

STORIAGO

mark aloisio

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richard spiteri

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CONTINUING WHERE WE LEFT OFF

STORJA IS REBORN

The reappearance of *Storja* in 1996, as the organ of the Malta University History Society, is a story in itself.

It is as pleasant to recall the press conference launching the first edition of *Storja* in 1978 as it is painful, and almost incredible, to recall the closing down of the History Department and of the Arts Faculty and the stoppage of general and honours degrees in History soon afterwards. Our then Professor of History, the late Andrew Vella known affectionately as 'Patri Indri', suffered a stroke some time after a disturbing meeting with the then prime minister at Castille (at which this writer was present), and later on he relinquished his post in memorable but sad circumstances. The other historians at the time, except one or two, left the country. Of these, a knowledgeable Scotsman settled and retired in Oxford; another, our senior lecturer (Mr Roger Vella Bonavita) stayed in Australia; and another (this writer) was repatriated and reinstated when the Department and the Faculty were 'refounded' by the 1988 Education Act.

Sadly and harmfully in our view, that Act neither refounded the University of Malta's Chair of History (which had only been established after the Second World War), nor did it make any provision to retain or to protect any of the academic norms which vested in the professoriate (as continues to be the case even in universities where departmental chairpersons are by election or rotation). Given that the professoriate at Malta came to be recast largely, if not merely, as an honorary title in recognition of scholarly achievement, the late Professor Andrew Vella thus became, to date, the first and the last holder of the Chair of History at the University of Malta: the first and the last to have led the History Department by virtue of his elevation to full professorial rank and over a sustained period.

In recognition of Andrew Vella's long years of service in that now historic capacity, of a role marked by a quasi-pastoral contribution to Maltese studies, to the welfare of undergraduates; to original, often seminal undergraduate research undertakings in an open field, and even to the requirements of history teachers in the schools; the Malta University History Society, resuscitated in 1994/1995, decided to start an Annual Andrew Vella Memorial Lecture. The first in what we hope will be a long and distinguished series of such lectures, sponsored by Mr Pawlu Mizzi's *Klabb Kotba Maltin,* was delivered by Dr Carmel Cassar, a graduate of Cambridge University, in December 1995, at the Green Lounge of the Phoenicia Hotel.

The newly-elected MUHS committee and its Editorial Board also decided to resurrect *Storja,* which had made a first and - it was feared - a last appearance in 1978. It will be what it was meant to become: a history journal and digest intended mainly for undergraduate and graduate historians, and for others in closely related disciplines in the Humanities and the Social Sciences who care about man's plight in time. In the editorial of the first edition, we had set out a commitment to historical learning and understanding, a fresh, novel, stimulating undertaking that would make the past significant, instructive, intelligible and meaningful to the present generations; we had even hoped that a school of historiography might emerge as a result.

We bring forth this year a reborn *Storja* possessed of that same hope, torch in hand; matured rather than dampened by water fair and foul that has passed under the bridge; strengthened rather than weakened by our travail; vindicated rather than beaten by the still recent past that we ourselves, in one way or another, have lived through and survived.

A special field of professional expertise, the sense, record and comprehension of time and context are also - as indeed they ought and need to be - a public and a treasured concern in any civilized society.

THE M.U.H.S. - PAST AND PRESENT

Evelyn Pullicino*

When I was a History student at the Royal University of Malta during the 1970's, I was a member and for some time secretary, of the Royal University History Society. We used to organize talks, seminars, outings, Christmas and Easter lunches etc. The animator behind these activities was the late Prof. Andrew Vella O.P., who was the first Professor of History at the University. He had established the R.U.H.S. within the University in 1963 for he was keen to instill in his students a love for research and objectivity which to him were a historian's essential qualities.

As the number of History students increased, the History Society continued to thrive. In 1978 the first annual History digest *STORJA '78* was published. The editor was Dr H. Frendo. Unfortunately it was to be the first and the last publication at that time. The cessation of the B.A. History course meant that the History Society stopped functioning during the 1980's. It was only in 1994 that, on the initiative of Prof. H. Frendo, a preliminary committee was set up to reactivate the Society. Mr. Charles Dalli, Mr. Simon Mercieca, Dr. Charles Cassar and myself used to meet with Prof. Frendo in order to pick up the remnants of the former society and enliven it again. The first General meeting held in October 1994 was well attended, and the committee of the reactivated History Society was chosen. As important, was the setting up of a new Editorial Board in charge of the *STORJA* publications.

Eager students set to work to organize the first activites and make the Society known to other History students and graduates. A Press Conference was organized on campus in March 1995 as a result of which, an article appeared in *The Times* about the reactivated M.U.H.S. Members of the committee were also interviewed on local radio stations about the Society. The first activity organized by the new committe was an international public seminar, "Yugoslavia: A victim of its past?" held in March 1995 at the Foundation of International Studies in Valletta which was well attended. The participants were Alexander Bonich from Croatia, Vlatcha Krzmanovich from Bosnia Herzegovina and Jovan Kurbalja from Jugaslavia. It proved an interesting and important experience to both the audience and the committee.

The Society's committee also decided to hold an annual Andrew Vella Memorial Lecture. The first was held on the 12th December, 1995 at the Green Lounge at the Hotel Phoenicia. The talk was delivered by Dr Charles Cassar about 'The Integration of Foreigners in Maltese Society: Greeks, Sicilians and Maltese in the 16th and 17th centuries'. The activity, which was sponsored by the *Klabb Kotba Maltin,* was exceedingly encouraging to the organizers since a large appreciative audience attended the event.

The committee also saw the need to cater for students' studies by holding seminars on interesting topics. The first one in the series was held in June by Mr. Charles Dalli in which he assessed current theories about development and underdevelopment.

Last June the committe organised a *Fenkata* to celebrate the *Imnarja* traditional feast. A happy group of over fifty members met at Ghar Lapsi, where we had the opportunity to get to know each other better.

Most of the Society's energies this year, however, went into having *STORJA '96* printed and published. Finally, we have accomplished what many of us have dreamed of, and worked for: a publication where students and members can hope to contribute in a significant manner to the study of various aspects of the Maltese History and approaches to it and related subects or disciplines. And we certainly hope that through the students' committment this publication will continue where it had left off eighteen years ago.

Other activities are being planned for 1996/97, including a number of seminars.

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* A member of the onetime R.U.H.S., Evelyn Pullicino is now the Public Relations Officer of the revived M.U.H.S.

FROM JERUSALEM TO VALLETTA: THE EVOLUTION OF THE ORDER OF ST JOHN'S CHAPTER-GENERAL (1131 - 1631)

Mark Aloisio *

The Hospitaller's chapter-general was the Order's sole legislative authority. It also supervised routine administrative business and acted as the highest court of justice. The decisions of chapters-general were recorded in the statutes, which thereby built up into a corpus of regulations on all aspects of the Order's structure. The chapter-general, together with the Grand Master and Council was the heart of the Hospitaller government. Indeed, in many respects it was the chief organ of that government for no member of, or body within, the Hospital, could refute to ignore its decrees.

The concept of the chapter-general

The chapter-general of the Order of St John was a direct adoption from similar bodies found in monastic institutions. The basis of monastic orders or communities was the Rule. The Hospitaller Rule provided them with a basic structural framework which identified clearly the ideals of discipline and common life, and which laid the foundations for an organization centred round the Convent, seat of the central government.[1] By the thirteenth century the Hospital's familiar administrative and territorial division into langues, priories and commanderies was in place.[2] Appointed officials were in each case responsible for many aspects of administration; their authority was however 'counterbalanced by chapters',[3] which met regularly in every priory and commandery, so that the respective heads could consult with the other brethren on various matters of interest to their community. The chapter-general, on the other hand, brought together representatives from the Convent and from all the Order's territorial units. All brethren, including the Grand Master, had to submit to its decisions which could only be amended or revoked by a successive chapter-general.

In theory a chapter-general was supposed to meet every five years. This decision lay not within its powers however, but in those of the Grand Master, the only Hospitaller

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1. The most useful work on the structure of the Hospital during these early years remains J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050 - 1310* (London, 1967).

2. A. Forey, *The Military Orders - from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1992), pp.18 - 19.

3. Ibid., p.153.

who could convene it. As was often the case with the king of France and the Estates General, the Grand Masters were frequently reluctant to do this unless it was absolutely necessary, since they tended to view the chapter-general as an intrusion upon their authority. Thus at different periods in the history of the Order, there was a tendency for chapters-general to meet either because of pressure exerted upon the Grand Master by the senior brethren, or sometimes even the Pope, or else in response to percieved, or actual, periods of crisis. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries conventual officers demanded frequent meetings of chapters-general in order to regulate and limit the authority of the Masters, as they were then known, especially to prevent them from ruling arbitralrily without seeking advice.[4] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, on the other hand, the trend was for chapters-general to meet more 'according to the needs of the time and the urgency of legislation to meet new situations'.[5] Thus during the difficult years in between the Siege of Rhodes of 1522 and that of Malta in 1565, the chapters-general met frequently and granted extraordinary powers to Grand Masters, which enabled them to rule more effectively. At various times a chapter-general also helped the Convent to exert more effectively its authority over the priories, upon which it depended for the greater part of its revenue, and which it seems, were often beset by 'corruption and disorganization ... which prevented the Hospitallers from mobilizing their full resources'.[6]

Giacomo Bosio, the Order's official historian, described the chapter-general as an assembly where 'the customs of the Order are reformed, to whom government is answerable and where those matters concerning common interests are put in order'.[7] Within this carefully-worded definition there are effectively stated the functions and authority of the chapter-general. Its decrees, or statutes, as they were called, could amend or add to the Rule on any constitutional matter; they also permitted the chapter-general to act as the Order's highest court of justice; and they oversaw procedural administrative business, such as the appointment of officials and the administration of the Treasury. Thus a chapter-general could, for example, increase, or impose new, financial demands on the priories, whose responsions were the Order's principal source of revenue. It also had the authority to dispatch commissions which reassed, for purposes of taxation, the value of land and other assets within the bounds of priories and commanderies. In other instances extraordinary levies were imposed

4. Ibid., 163.

5. A. Williams, 'The Constitutional Development of the Order of St John in Malta, 1530 - 1798', in *Hospitaller Malta, 1530 - 1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem,* (ed.) V. Mallia Milanes (Malta, 1993), p.295.

6. A.T. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes: 1306 - 1421' in *A History of the Crusades,* (ed.) K. Setton (Wisconsin, 1975), p. 289.

7. G. Bosio, *Gli Statuti della Sacra Religione ... ovanni Gierosolimitano* (Rome, 1589), p. 77.

for a number of years.[8]

The combination of judicial, administative and legislative functions embodied in the chapter-general was in conformity with contemporary political theory, where 'the comprehensiveness of the functions [of government] ... derived from the very nature of authority as contemporaries interpreted it'.[9] The powers of the chapter-general indeed were often an important safeguard against recurring instances of autonomous pretentions on the part of rich priories. These same priories and langues however, were just as likely to use the chapter-general as a confrontation ground in order to seek to acquire the greatest number of, or the most prestigious offices, in the top echelons of the Hospital's command structure. In fact after the fifteenth century Rome regularly forbid issues of precedence among langues for the allocation of these offices from being discussed at chapters-general.[10]

The summoning of a chapter-general

The chapter-general was one of the most solemn events in the Order's calendar. Its proceedings were developed over a number of years and numerous assemblies.There are no exact records for us to establish at what date the chapter-general was given 'its characteristic form'[11] as a general assembly with representatives from the priories in the East and West, but Riley-Smith has noted that 'Cistercian practice, which influenced so many Orders, was well established by the middle of the twelfth century'.[12] According to Bosio, it was first convened in 1118, by Master Raymond du Puy as a result of the Hospital's growth.[13] Certainly the term Capitulum Generale was first used in 1176 and 1182.[14] The chapter-general held at a latter date levied responsions on a number of priories, which would indicate that it was already a form of general assembly of the Order's higher officers.[15]

8. On the finances of the Order see A. Hoppen, 'The Finances of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *European Studies Review,* iii, 2 (1973) and Id., *The Fortification of Malta by the Order of St John: 1530 - 1798* (Edinburgh, 1979).

9. H.A. Lloyd, *The State, France and the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982), p. 52.

10. B. dal Pozzo, *Historia della Sacra Religione et Illustrissima Militia di S. Giovanni Gierosolimitano* (Verona, 1703 -1715), p.92.

11. Riley - Smith, *The Knights of St John,* p.287.

12. Ibid.

13. G. Bosio, *Dell 'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Illustrissima Militia di S. Giovanni Gierosolimitano, i,* Part 2 (Rome, 1630), p.63.

14. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John,* p.287.

15. Ibid.

In his Compendio Alfabetico[16] of 1718, G.M. Caravita gave a detailed description of the workings of the chapter-general. According to him the year and date when the chapter-general met were dictated by contemporary needs and was usually within the period stipulated by the preceding chapter-general. Summons from the Convent were sent one year ahead, notifying those required to attend. By 1631, the assembly of the chapter-general consisted of the Grand Master, the Conventual Bailiffs, the bishop of Malta and the Prior of the Conventual Church, as well as representatives of langues, priories and commanderies.[17] Any absence on their part had to be justified in writing to the assembly of the chapter-general.

The chapter-general opened with the Mass of the Holy Ghost, after which the Rule was read to the assembly followed by the Grand Master's address to the congregation.[18] Once these preliminary procedures were over, the Capitular Bailiffs surrendered the insignia of their office as a symbol of their submission to the chapter-general and, along with the other representatives presented the ruolli,which contained proposals for discussions during the sessions of the chapter-general.[19] Then there took place the election of the Reverendi Sedici, two from each langue. These were the only brethren who were empowered to affect legislation to amend the Rule. They took an oath of impartiality and vowed to act solely in the interests of the Order.[20] Although by 1631 the Grand Master took no part in either their election or their deliberations, it seems that at least during the Order's period in Syria, the Master himself chose these members, who retired with him, his Companions and the conventual prior to their chamber.[21] The rest of the assembly in turn swore to uphold their decisions.

The Sixteen could levy or increase taxes and responsions. They studied the reports submitted by the representatives, and legislated according to shortcomings and needs revealed through them on various institutional and procedural matters, such as those concerning commanderies, reception of brethren and the Treasury. They also appointed the Conventual Bailiffs, who, by the time that the Hospital moved to Rhodes, numbered eight: the Grand Commander, the Marshal, the Hospitaller, the Drapier, the Treasurer, the Admiral, the Turcopolier, and the Conventual Prior.[22]

16. G.M. Caravita, *Compendio Alfabetico dè Statuti della Sacra Religione Gierosolimitana* (1718), p. 19.

17. L. de Boisgelin,*Ancient and modern Malta*, ii (London,1804), p.288

18. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John*,p. 288.

19. Ibid.

20. Caravita, p.18.

21. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John*, p.288.

22. Ibid., p.349.

Next came the appointments of the Bailiffs, Capitular Priors, Castellans and Commanders, as well as the commanderies of grace, 'bestowed on brethren for life or for a term',[23] from which they were entitled to draw an income. The Sixteen's decisions were final and no appeals were allowed from their decisions.

Initially the chapter-general lasted around one week, but as its proceedings became more complex with the growth of the Order's responsibilities and the increase in its landed property, this was deemed to be too short. The statutes of 1300 made allowances for it to be extended up to ten days.[24] By the time of the chapter-general of 1631, the proceedings normally lasted for fifteen days, but could be extended for a further eight.[25]

On termination of the deliberations and proceedings, the Vice-Chancellor read the revised statutes, revocations and appointments, and any brethren who disputed anything regarding them could speak and address his reservations to the chapter-general.[26] Finally the Master made the concluding speech and the Conventual Prior recited the final prayers. This brought an end to the proceedings of the chapter-general. Any work still outstanding was terminated by an appointed council.[27]

One of the Order's modern historians has commented that as the Hospital developed from humble origins into a complex institution with characteristics of a Sovereign state, its 'vast international machine was rarely able to function as its creators intended'.[28] Within this context, the chapter-general often reflected the strenghts and the weaknesses in the Order's structure. At times its authority was put to use by the Convent in order to enforce the Rule and to govern as efficiently as possible. At other times it revealed jealousies and nationalist animosities among the langues and priories, to the detriment of the Order.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., p. 289.

25. Caravita, p. 18.

26. Williams, p.293.

27. Ibid.

28. Riley Smith, p.475.

U MULU DI MALTA: THE MALTESE TRADE IN DONKEYS AND MULES

Carmel Cassar *

Since times immemorial the Maltese islands were heavily dependent on the importation of food from abroad which was carried out by means of seaward communications. Thus, until modern times inland transport has played second fiddle and was for long stretches of time, even neglected, by various administrations ruling the islands.

Perhaps the best example can be elicited from the rule of the Hospitaller Order of St John. On its advent in Malta, in 1530, the Order hastened to create an efficient maritime communication system thanks to which, the fast developing harbour area was kept *au courant* of events in Europe. The net result was the creation of two separate mentalities. While the harbour towns developed into a veritable centre of activity which could be compared to any other south European coastal urban centre, the countryside, often referred to as the *campagna*, remained cut-off from European cross-currents. Here, the commonest means of transport was by means of pack animals.

The donkey has since been associated with the backwardness of the rustic folk. Dun Xand Cortis, writing in the late nineteenth century, recalls two tales where, on hearing donkeys braying, urban youths attempt to ridicule their peasant owners on a visit to town. In both instances, the peasants sagaciously answered that the donkeys were particularly delighted to meet their next of kin.[1]

Cortis was obviously keen to highlight the dignity of the rustic peasants who were often associated with backwardness but who had also become synonymous with Maltese culture. Yet Cortis provides evidence that there was a tacit consent, amongst peasants and urbanites alike, on the stupidity of the donkey. Idioms like *injorant daqs hmar* (lit. as stupid as a donkey); or *hmar mort u mija gejt* (lit. you left as stupid as a donkey and you returned even worse) can prove this point. In reality, however, the donkey and its hybrid - the mule - have since time immemorial also been associated

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1. G.Mifsud Chircop, *Il- Praspar miktuba minn Dun Xand Cortis* (Malta, 1991).

with hard work. Thus one who works hard is *bhall-hmar tas-sienja* (lit. like a donkey at the treshing floor) or *jahdem daqs baghal* (lit. he works like a mule). All in all such like idioms reflect a close relationship between the Maltese peasant and the mule or donkey, which he used for most of his activities whether in farming or as a means of transport.

It should be stressed that beasts of burden, usually mules and donkeys, had been in common use all over the Mediterranean region ever since antiquity. They were the normal means of transport used for bulky goods in the inland regions. Due to the rough surfacing of roads, overland traffic and the network of communications, went at a snail's pace. Braudel argues that, 'Overland transport is usually represented as inefficient' . . . further stressing that, 'for centuries, roads remained, more or less, in a state of nature'.[2] Such conditions governed and burdened commercial exchanges and human relations.

But, the bad state of roads and the primitive means of transport continued to hamper every kind of human activity at least until the advent of the Industrial Revolution. The state of roads was so precarious that the eighteenth century economist Adam Smith commented that 'to travel on horseback, mules are the only conveyence which can safely be trusted'.[3] Indeed, distance was the main problem faced by travellers even in a tiny island the size of Malta where already in the late fifteenth century those arriving at the Malta harbour from abroad could hire donkeys for their walk up to Mdina, eight miles inland.[4] In winter time travel by mule, donkey and carriage must have been particularly difficult. This explains why in 1575, the Rabat parish priest found it difficult to travel to nearby Dingli at that time of the year. It was often impossible for him to attend to his duties, such as, the administration of the extreme unction.[5]

In sixteenth - century Europe, roads seem to have increased in volume such that the demand for beasts of burden reached unprecedented popularity. The sharp rise of the mule and donkey population of Italy was considered a calamity in the epoch of Charles V, and in order to save horse breeding, rich Neapolitans were forbidden, under pain of severe penalties to use mules to pull their carriages.[6] All over the continent

2. F. Braudel, *Civilisation and capitalism* vol . ii: *The wheels of commerce.* trans. S. Reynolds (London, 1982), p. 350.

3. A. Smith, *The wealth of nations* vol. ii (London ,1937 edition), p. 217.

4. G. Wettinger, 'Agriculture in Malta in the late Middle Ages', M. Buhagiar (ed.) , *Proceedings of history week* 1981(Malta, 1982), p. 41.

5. N(ational) L(ibrary of) M(alta), Libr(ary) Ms. 643, p. 286.

6. F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II.* trans. S. Reynolds vol. i (Glasgow, 1972), p. 284.

governments were keen to oblige rich citizens, who could afford the upkeep of horses, to own at least one horse.[7]

An insight of the situation obtaining in Malta can be gained from a report prepared by Count Alva, the Viceroy of Sicily in 1590. In it Alva informs Philip II that the Order's pretensions for '4,000 *salme* of barley to feed the horses is too high since the Maltese cavalry is small and the inhabitants breed donkeys above all else'.[8] Yet, Alva adds that a small force of cavalry was needed for hand-to-hand combat. Indeed, the dire shortage of horses on the island seems to have preoccupied the Order's administration. Hence in a letter of December 1598, Grand Master Garzes obliges his envoy in Palermo to procure a few stallions for breeding purposes from Sicily.[9]

The shortage of horses in Malta remained a major preocupation until at least the seventeenth century. In a brief to Bishop Balaguer (1635 - 1663) dated 4 June 1638, Pope Urban VIII decreed that clerics should be obliged to serve in the militia. The brief was written in response to a claim put forward by Grand Master Lascaris (1636-1657) that the better-off Maltese were joining the ranks of the clergy as minor clerics in order to be exempted from military service. This had resulted in a rapid decline of the militia cavalry which from a corps of around 600 men at the time of the siege of 1565 had been reduced to a mere 130 by 1638.[10] By 1640 Grand Master Lascaris even issued an edict in which he proclaimed that horses should not be exported without a licence.[11] In fact official documentation for the period 1589-1611 indicates how only a negligible number of horses were exported out of the island during that period. Meanwhile the edict issued under Lascaris indirectly confirms that pack animals were undoubtedly the regular means of inland transport. Probably their popularity lay in the fact that they were cheaper in price and easy to maintain. Mules, in particular, were especially in demand due to their sturdy nature. Thus, we are told that they were then widely used for agriculture in Spain, Languedoc and elsewhere in Europe.[12] These animals were excellent for the use of 'large transports' on the Alps and became so popular that she-mules are recorded to have been sent from Sicily for the works being carried out at La Goulette, in Tunisia, in 1592.[13]

7. NLM Libr. Ms. 148, fol. 57.

8. NLM Univ(ersità) 15, fol. 190v.

9. NLM A(rchives of the) O(rder of) M(alta) 1378, unpaginated.

10. C(athedral) A(rchives) M(dina), Gius(patronati) Misc. vol. 3, fol. 495.

11. NLM Libr. 148, fol. 58.

12. F. Braudel, *Civilization and capitalism*: vol . i : *The structures of everyday life.* trans. S. Reynolds (London, 1983), p. 350.

13. F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean,* vol. i, p. 284.

Apart from being an agricultural aid, the mule was a marvellous pack animal, strong and docile, described by the French sixteenth century writer François Rabelais, as 'a more powerful less delicate beast than any other, and one capable of harder work'. The great sea - port of Genoa is reported to have owed her existence not in only to ships but also to the mule-trains which inside the city had to use the brick paths reserved for them. Mule trains were also very important as part of the traffic passing through Messina and the Sicilian channel. Mule traffic, although apparently small in volume, or value, was decisive for communication in the Mediterranean world.[15]

Trade between Malta and Sicily

In Malta, beasts of burden, particularly donkeys, seemed to have been reared on a wide scale. A. Dent puts forth an interesting theory of how the Maltese beasts of burden came into being:

'*It has been surmised that these asses (of Malta) were once identical with the Catalonian race, and were brought from Spain, but no one has hazarded a guess as to when this happened... Malta at one time was a base for the far travelling Phoenician merchants, who had business also in Spain, and it seems probable that they will first have brought selected Syrian asses to the island and later brought their progeny westward to the Iberian peninsula*'.[16]

Whatever the origins, the tenth century Arab chronicler Ibn Hauqal, is reported to have described Malta as a place which was 'inhabited only by savage donkeys, numerous sheep, and bees'. A.T. Luttrell adds that 'visitors, presumably from Sicily, did come (to Malta) bringing their own provisions, to collect honey and hunt the sheep, which were scarcely marketable, and the donkeys which were exported and sold. . .'[17]

By the thirteenth century, the situation appears to have altered substantially. H. Bresc comments that, 'it was cotton, even more than the rearing of mules and donkeys, which provided the Maltese islands with an income capable of balancing their expenditure on grain'.[18]

14. F. Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Book iv, chapter 61(Harmondsworth, 1979), p. 580.

15. F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, vol. i, pp. 134 , 317.

16. A. Dent, *Donkey: The story of the ass from east to west* (London, 1972), pp. 152 -53. (Kindly brought to my attention by Prof. P. Serracino-Inglott).

17. A. Luttrell, 'Ibn Hauqal and Tenth Century Malta', *Hyphen - A journal of melitensia and the humanities.* vol. v, no. 4 (Malta, 1987), pp. 157-60.

18. H. Bresc, 'The secrezia and the royal patrimony in Malta: 1240 - 1450', in A. Luttrell (ed.), *Medieval Malta - studies on Malta before the knights* (London,1975), p. 132.

Nevertheless, evidence suggests that beasts of burden were by then the normal means for transporting goods and they appear frequently in contracts of sale. Although G. Wettinger complains that statistical information is difficlut to arrive at, mules were much in demand, 'especially for driving mills that ground wheat and barley before the introduction of the windmill. Of course they were also quite suitable for much of the work in the fields, but they often were far more important'. Wettinger elaborates further stating that donkeys seem to have been even more popular in the fifteenth century since, 'practically everyone must have owned a donkey... They were also used for transporting goods by professional carriers'.[19] By and large, Malta's exportation of mules and donkeys seems to have been significant, while at the same time, the island had to import horses which were needed for a mounted force.[20]

The advent of the Hospitaller Order of St John in 1530 with its inflow of foreigners to the Maltese islands, had a dramatic effect in that it managed to transform Malta into a trading centre of some value.[21] This situation must have surely led to an increase in the mule and donkey trade of the islands. The diarist of the siege F. Balbi di Correggio refers to the use of beasts of burden by the Ottomans, which according to him had been abandoned in the countryside by the Maltese in their haste to reach the safety of the fortified towns. We are told that the beasts were used:

'to transport heavy artillery from the fleet to St Elmo. It was no light task, for the guns were heavy, and their wheels and carriages were re-inforced with iron. The distance they had to cover was nine miles, and the ground was very rough and full of stones'.[22]

The horses, donkeys and mules of Malta seem to have had a high reputation for good hoofs. A traveller to Malta in 1582 referred to the fact that the beasts of burden of Malta had no need for horse-shoes.[23]

Scattered information regarding mule and donkey trade is found in the *Registri Patentarum* of the *Magna Curia Castellania.* These registers contain information about vessels and passengers leaving the Malta harbour (excluding the Order's galley squadron) indicating their destination. The passenger lists for each departing vessel

19. Wettinger, *ibid.* p. 40.

20. *Ibid.*

21. D. Cutajar and C. Cassar, 'Malta and the 16th century struggle for the Mediterranean', *Mid-Med Bank Limited: Report and accounts* 1985(Malta, 1985), p. 29.

22. F. Balbi di Correggio, *The siege of Malta 1565.* Eng. trans. H.A. Balbi (Copenhagen, 1961), p. 216.

23. L. Sandri, 'Due relazioni inedite su Malta', *Archivio Storico di Malta,* n. s. vol. ix (Rome, 1938), p. 216.

sometimes included information on bulky merchandise which was intended to be embarked to one of the nearby Sicilian ports, Italy or Marseilles. Beasts of burden were considered as bulky merchandise and great care was taken to describe their colour, sex and whether they were mules, donkeys, or more rarely, horses. Although the first volume of these registers dates from 1564, information on such animals is first registered in 1589. All in all, for all its mishaps and inconsistencies, the available documentation may help to give a better understanding of the manner this business was run.

Between 1589 and 1611, a total of 146 trips made by vessels which departed from the Malta harbour transported 957 beasts of burden. Sometimes one particular vessel would carry animals belonging to different owners. The destination was often indicated though somewhat in a vague manner. In all, 58 traders stated their intention of going to the Kingdom of Sicily while 65 mentioned a specific port. The latter could be subdivided as follows: 44 indicated Licata; 15 Terranova (Gela); 8 Girgenti (Agrigento); 8 Scicli; 6 Pozzallo; 2 Mazzara (Mazzara del Vallo); 1 Syracuse; 1 Spaccafurno; 1 Naples; 2 Marseilles and another stated rather vaguely that he intended to go *fuori regno*, that is, outside the Kingdom of Sicily of which Malta then formed part. As can be noticed, vessels used to make trips mostly to nearby ports of call in Sicily above all else.

The data in Table I gives the impression that donkeys were by far the most popular beasts of burden of the Maltese islands. They make a total percentage of 76.5 of the total number of animals exported from Malta between 1589 and 1611. Followed by mules which formed 20.8 per cent and a mere 0.6 per cent of horses, while 2.1 per cent of beasts of burden are unspecified. Donkeys must have been in great demand in Sicily and other Mediterranean lands, perhaps due to their cheap cost of maintenance as well as their relatively cheap price vis-a-vis other beasts of burden. A good comparison of prices is given in the case of Agustino Darmanin who, just before the siege of Malta of 1565, bought a donkey from Pietro Zammit for 15 scudi.[24] This compares poorly with the 50 scudi paid by Domenico Caruana for a *giumenta* (pregnant mare).[25]

The exportation of donkeys from Malta seems to have been a profitable business. Yet, the growing population of the islands helped to increase the emphasis of the major cash crop of the island - cotton. Cotton could be sold to other lands in the Mediterranean for a profit and it was in turn used to buy grain from Sicily. Available evidence suggests that trade in beasts of burden was carried out in the same manner as trade in other merchandise.The evidence given by Agata Mallia on 17th Febuary 1600

24. N(ational) A(rchives) M(dina), M(agna) C(Curia) C(astellania), Ced. Supp. et Tax., vol. iii, fols. 137 - 37v: 15 January, 1568.

25. *Ibid.*, fols. 46 - 6v: 26 October, 1566.

Table I:

Year	Merchants	Padroni of Vessels	Trips	Mules	Donkeys	Horses	Type Unknown
1589	2	2	2	1	9	-	-
1590	1	1	1	4	2	-	-
1591	1	1	1	1	1	-	-
1592	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1593	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1594	4	2	4	12	16	-	-
1595	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1596	3	3	3	7	16	-	-
1597	2	2	2	6	48	1	-
1598	5	4	7	19	60	-	-
1599	8	7	10	17	32	-	-
1600	22	11	29	28	146	3	-
1601	5	8	11	9	43	-	-
1602	6	3	7	17	12	-	-
1603	4	4	4	-	18	-	-
1604	4	3	4	6	23	-	-
1605	4	4	4	3	25	-	-
1606	10	12	12	12	107	-	-
1607	10	10	10	21	45	-	-
1608	3	3	3	4	-	-	-
1609	8	7	9	11	29	-	20
1610	11	11	11	9	54	1	-
1611	10	12	12	12	46	1	-
Totals	123	110	146	199	732	6	20

Sources: MCC Reg. Patentarum II - IV: 1581 -1611.

shows how this procedure was performed. Her husband Georgio, bought animals on credit from various traders to sell them in Sicily. On his return trip, Georgio Mallia would then buy the merchandise with which he would return to Malta for business.[26]

It is significant however to point out that the trade in beasts of burden seems to have had its ups and downs as the table below indicates.

Table II:

Year	Mules	Donkeys	Horses	Other	Total	Percentage
1589-1595	18	28	-	-	46	4.8%
1596-1600	77	302	3	-	382	40.0%
1601-1605	35	121	1	-	157	16.4%
1606-1611	69	281	2	20	372	38.8%
Totals:	199	732	6	20	957	100.0%

Source: MCC Reg. Patentarum II - IV: 1581 - 1611.

Business in donkeys seems to have expanded in the centuries that followed and, at least, until the early years of British rule. In fact T. Mac Gill writing in 1839 reports that Maltese donkeys continued, 'to be exported to different parts of Europe and America'.[27] That the Maltese donkey was exported to America can be confirmed by A. Dent who asserts that in 1786 General Washington - who already owned a Spanish jack ass - was presented with a Maltese donkey by the French Marquis Lafayette, the hero of the American Revolutionary War, 'thus putting him in possession of specimens of the two leading European strains'.[28]

The Maltese mule was similarly highly reputed particularly in Sicily where the peasants still refer to the sturdy nature of *u mulu di Malta*. The reputation of Maltese mules ,and especially donkeys, seems to have been so high that by 1915 J. Borg could claim that they 'were in former days claimed to be the best in the world'. Borg complains however that the 'local' breed, 'has been much reduced by the heavy purchases of foreign breeders'.[29]

26. *Ibid.*, vol. vi, unpaginated: 17th February, 1600.

27. T. Mac Gill, *A handbook or guide for strangers visiting Malta* (Malta, 1839), p. 13.

28. Dent, *ibid.*, p. 107.

29. J. Borg, 'Agriculture and horticulture in Malta', A Macmillan (ed.) , *Malta and Gibraltar Illustrated* (London, 1915), p. 238.

This early twentieth - century Maltese scholar tends to overlook a more basic factor which led to the rapid decline of the mule, and particularly, the donkey population of Malta. By then, the Maltese islands had been firmly established as a British colony for over a century, at a time when Britain was not only considered to be 'the workshop of the world', but it also possessed the largest colonial empire of the period.

Although properly speaking, industrialization had very little impact on the Maltese economy, the internal communication system saw a gradual development under British rule. Some roads were improved for military purposes, others were constructed to serve new settlements, but by and large, the system of tracks, which the islands had acquired over the centuries, was adapted to modern needs.[30] British imperial policy exploited Malta's strategic development as a coaling station, and in enlarging its role as a major point of strength on the route to India. In such circumstances, it proved essential to quicken the process of urbanization initiated by the Hospitaller Order of St John. For a long time, the Maltese countryside was left to linger behind in a pre-industrial economy while the growth of the suburbs and the strengthening of the non-agricultural element in rural areas began to take root. The modernization of economic life changed thanks to a highly demanding dockyard and expansion within the harbour, as well as a general improvement in the internal system of transport.[31]

The net result was that the local industries tied to the old agricultural pattern had begun to die out, while more people found employment with the colonial government. In this way the Maltese rural economy, heavily dependent on sources of energy derived from animals and plants, was slowly replaced by an industrial society relying exclusively on inanimate fossil fuels. The railway, the steamship, telegraphy, the telephone and buses were determinant in the transformation of inland communications making the less efficient service, originally provided by beasts of burden, redundant.

30. C. Cassar, 'Everyday life in Malta in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', V. Mallia-Milanes (ed.), *The British colonial experience 1800 - 1964: The impact on Maltese society* (Malta, 1988), p. 112.

31. H. Bowen-Jones, J. C. Dewdney, W. B. Fisher (eds.), *Malta: Background for development* (Durham, 1961), p. 123.

A SAINT OR AN IMPOSTOR? THE CASE OF FRANCESCA PROTOPSALTI DURING THE PLAGUE OF 1676

Kenneth Gambin *

Following the Council of Trent, the Catholic Church attempted to limit widespread beliefs on sainthood. Yet, even though by the late seventeenth century ecclesiastical control proved to be largely successful, in a society where the local clergy actively participated and shared traditional beliefs, the reforms ushered in by the Tridentine Council were slow to penetrate. Access to sacred power over natural misfortunes and calamities which saints provided through prayer, pilgrimage and relics were unceasing. This often led local populations into conflict with the central authorities of the Church as they continually proposed new holy people and miraculous events to meet the demand. It was the duty of the Inquisition Tribunal to examine people suspected of questionable sanctity while they were still alive and decide whether it was a true or simulated saintliness.[1] Some of them were accepted as genuine by the Catholic Church, but others were rejected as false. Yet all of these manifestations in some way expressed the meaning and role of sanctity in early modern society. Here we shall attempt to discuss the models of sanctity in early modern Malta with a special emphasis on a local saint as well as the personalisation of the sacred and the function of relics.

The confine between sacred and profane has never been clear in the Catholic faith. This was more so in medieval and early modern times, when because of lack of any other explanation, the supernatural was believed to have continuous presence and relevance in everyday life. Saints represented a fundamental part of the life of Christians who had to keep saintly images in their homes. Catherina de Riva declared that she had 'some pictures with images of saints', besides a crucifix with some relics in her one-roomed house.[2] Giuseppe lo Rosso even had a relic tied around his neck.[3]

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1. D. Gentilcore, *From bishop to witch. The system of the sacred in early modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester, 1992), p. 177.

2. 'alcuni quadri con imagini di santi'. A.I.M. Proc. Crim., vol. 79, case 1, fol. 70.

3. Ibid., case 48, fol. 338.

Saints, however, even made an essential part of the vocabulary of swearers such as Gio' Angelo Paci, accused of swearing by St John.[4] Other more general offences such as 'may the saint of your saint be burnt' were commonly used.[5] Others like Joseph Gioiello simply vented their anger on 'some holy images which I have at home'.[6] Besides, reaction to the disease and misfortune often entailed recourse to the saints. Popular healers frequently accompanied their cures with invocations to one or more saints. The same Catherina de Riva, for instance, advised one of her clients to 'buy an image of a saint and say in front of it a number of Our Father and Hail Mary and to fast on bread and vinegar on some occasions in honour of St Anthony'.[7]

When even bones, blood and bits of clothing were advertised as having supernatural power, the difference between devotion and magic became obscure. The levitation of saints could be taken as a sign of holiness, but even witches defied the laws of gravity when they flew to their 'satanic' meetings. The witch made a pact with the devil so as to be able to inflict harm on her enemies, while the saint asked heaven for consolation.[8] Both invoked supernatural power for help against misfortune and there was not much difference between the two. This hazy line inevitably also included imposture, pretended saintliness and false ecstasies as the saint was someone who overturned physical laws, who lives in another dimension full of incredible phenomena, who has the ability of prophecy, who masters the occult world and has privileged relations with the divine. Even his body seemed to obey impossible or miraculous physiological rules.[9] These properties were hardly recognisable from negative ones classified within the world of magic.

However this classification depended first and foremost on who was writing and also on the society and particular circumstances in which these episodes took place, precisely because sanctity is a social-cultural value and one is never a saint except for other people; first to those around him and then to those who officially confirmed his sanctity.[10]

4. 'malavaggia San Gioè'. Ibid., case 65, fol. 389.

5. 'che sia bruggiato il santo del tuo santo'. Ibid., case 20, fol. 232.

6. 'alcuni imagini di santi che ho in casa'. Ibid., case 75, fol. 415.

7. 'comprare un imagine di un santo ed inanzi a quello dire alcun numero di Pater et Ave e digiunare alcune volte in pane et aceto in honore di Sant' Antonio'. Ibid., case 1, fol. 66.

8. D. Weinstein and R.M. Bell, *Saints and society* (Chicago ,1982), p. 94.

9. P. Camporesi, *The incorruptible flesh* (Cambridge ,1988), p. 36.

10. P. Delooz, 'Towards a sociological study of canonized sainthood in the Catholic Church', in *Saints and their cults,(*ed.) S. Wilson (Cambridge ,1983), pp. 193 - 194.

Devotion to Saints and the Plague of 1676

Malta in 1676 was surely not a nice place to live in. Plague had once more struck the Maltese Islands, and it was to be the worst visitation on record. No effective cure was known. All that medical knowledge could advice was to purge the body from 'bad humours' by blood-letting or intensive sweating, and as the Maltese doctor L. Axiaq wrote, the first cause of the plague was thought to be the punishing wrath of God.[11]

As the plague spread all over the Island, it brought havoc in every village, bringing life to a standstill. Once news of the presence of the malady had been spread, all coasts and ports of the Papal states were given strict orders not to give pratique to any type of ship coming from Malta. This spelt ruin for Malta as it totally depended on supplies from Sicily. The shortage of basic commodities like grain was immediately felt to the extent that Cotoner even threatened to let Turkish vessels bring over the needed supplies.[12]

Everyone lived with the ever present fear of discovering the symptoms of the deadly disease on himself or else on some member of his family, who could be suddenly carried away by the malady, leaving one to fend for himself without any familial support. These hard conditions clearly left their mark on the Maltese population. The majority, in their helplessness, turned to prayers, vows and penances to try and placate God's anger. Some saints, particularly St Roque, were invoked for help. The Holy Eucharist was exposed in all churches and a venerated image of Our Lady and the relics of St John the Baptist and St Sebastian were carried in procession. Others, such as Domenico Mamo from Birkirkara, made vows in the hope of not being infected.[13] Grand Master Cotoner himself added to the fervour of devotion when he proposed that St Michael Archangel, St Sebastian, St Roque and St Rosolea be declared as patrons of Malta. He even made a vow to rebuild the old church of Sarria at Floriana once the plague had abated.[14] God's punishment had to be dealt with by public solemn processions and religious ceremonies.

It was in this kind of environment that the cult of Francesca Protopsalti prospered. In these conditions people would gladly grasp to any sort of possibility which could give

11. P. Cassar, *Medical history of Malta* (London ,1964), p. 173.

12. J. Micallef, *The plague of 1676: 11,300 deaths* (Malta, 1985), p. 57.

13. Ibid., p. 52.

14. C. Galea Scannura, *Aspects of social life in Malta as seen through the proceedings of Mgr. Ranuccio Pallavicino, Inquisitor of Malta, 1672 - 1676* (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Malta, 1978), p. 269.

them a chance of a better life, and not finding it, they might as well create it themselves in their attempt to 'distort the negative' and obtain from it some positive and reassuring sign.[15] This could be the reason why Francesca had such a following.

The process of Canonisation

The Church did not look favourably upon these initiatives especially when 'miracles' were involved and particularly so when the persons in question were women. Such local popular initiatives threatened to divide and not unite Christendom, and not only for the fact of not following the official theological teaching of the Church which depicted the saint only as an agent of God, rather than as a fountain of immediate power. The Church also had practical reasons for bringing the veneration of saints under control. These 'beatas', in fact, were revolutionary in more than one sense. The fact of attributing power to the saint meant bypassing normal orthodox channels like the sacraments, and this was seen as a threat to traditional hierarchical religious authority by popular religious leaders.[16] It was a threat not only to simple people but even to the clergy. The distinction between clergy and laity, as in many other aspects of life, was not very clear when it came to recognise a saint's power. Moreover, leaders were often women, who were discouraged from aspiring to autonomous, much less public roles, by the Council of Trent itself. Even their poverty could mean disorder and be considered as a criticism of wealth; and their ascetic heroism could be contrasted with the human frailties of the clergy.[17] No wonder that the inquisitors had intructions to proceed with 'much more vigour than usual' and to punish even the relatives and close friends of the accused if they were involved in such cases.[18]

The Maltese Inquisition abided with these rules and acted with seriousness and urgency. As soon as the first deposition was made, letters were sent to Rome and the forthcoming instructions were to proceed decidedly against the wrongdoers, who were imprisoned in the Inquisitor's Palace. Francesca Protopsalti, the 'beata' concerned, was not presented as a witch, as that would have meant recognizing special powers, but only as an exalted poor woman suffering from mental lapses. This case is more significant as Francesca was pictured as such even after her death. The Holy Office sought to put the situation back to normality first of all by the procedure in front of the Inquisitor himself, which meant that everyone had to subdue to the official authority.[19]

15. E. de Martino, *Sud e magia* (Milan ,1966), pp. 95 -97.

16. M.E. Perry, 'Beatas and the Inquisition in early modern Seville', in *Inquisition and society in early modern Europe*, ed. S. Haliczer (London, 1987), p. 148.

17. D. Weinstein and R.M. Bell, *Saints and society*, p. 185.

18. A.I.M. Misc., 2, *Pratica per procedere nelle cause del Sant' Officio*, pp. 8 - 9.

19. M.E. Perry, 'Beatas and the Inquisition', p.

The next step was to reduce her to oblivion and 'abolish her memory' by gathering all the relics which were still in circulation, burning all writings about her, and burying her in a burial place meant for ordinary people. In this way, traditional authority and order, were able to control the situation.

It has been said by Peter Burke that saints were often perceived in a stereotyped manner and one was liable to become one if he or she fell within five broad conditions: a founder of a religious order, a missionary, a pastor, through charitable activity or by being a mystic subject to ecstasies.[20] Other factors, like being male rather than female, being close to Rome or else forming part of a religious order must have surely helped. The cult of saints became more popular after that the Council of Trent had confirmed the usefulness of invoking saints. A whole judicial structure was set up by the decrees of Urban VIII in 1634, making the canonisation process much more difficult than before, and in any case giving the papacy absolute control in determining who was or was not a saint. Thus canonisation served the purposes of the Church as a means of rallying Catholic popular sentiment and so also to serve hierarchical purposes by making it less accessible to popular local enthusiasm and bringing it under control.[21] In this case, in fact, Francesca Protopsalti's sainthood was rejected. Being only a tertiary nun gave her scant institutional protection to back up her claims in a society where the institutional role 'represented a form of self-defence and reassurance for others'.[22]

Who was Francesca Protopsalti?

But what about Francesca herself? She was a lay member of the Third Order of the Franciscans and this is already indicative. Tertiaries, in fact, like widows, were by no means looked upon benevolently by their families, as unmarried women were thought incapable of living a righteous life and immediately created suspicion. They were a threat to the family's honour.[23] The individual's need for spiritual expression went directly against the family's need to perpetuate itself. This became even more central in the cases of women saints for whom virginity was fundamental, especially when Christian culture believed that while the body was a hindrance to the spirit, nothing polluted the body more than sex. Even the Council of Trent emphasised clerical celibacy. Women's task of resisting the temptations of the flesh, however, was seen as

20. P. Burke, 'How to be a counter-reformation saint', in *Historical anthropology of early modern Italy* (Cambridge ,1987), pp. 55 - 56.

21. D. Gentilcore, *From bishop to witch*, p. 178.

22. Ibid., p. 179.

23. C. Cassar, 'Popular perceptions and values in Hospitaller Malta', in *Hospitaller Malta, studies on early modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, (ed.) V. Mallia Milanes (Malta ,1993), pp. 462 - 463.

much more difficult than that of men, as women were perceived as the weaker and lustful sex, and as such were the subject of gossip and male ridicule. And sexual temptation was the chief weapon which the devil used against the faithful, as Francesca herself experienced when the devil appeared to her in the form of a handsome youth. The theologian Don Thomas Vella had no doubts on the matter. When asked for his opinion on Francesca, he clearly started that in these matters, he did not believe women at all.[24]

For those women who did not want to marry and retain their honour, the only possible solution besides that of being shunned by society, was the convent, even though it was suspect.[25] The status of tertiary, or 'beata' was a middle way between the two. This career as a mystic, in fact, could have been chosen as a way out of providing dowries, either for marriage, or even for convents.[26] It has also been said that the absolute majority of these 'mystics' were women, who used this method as a means of self-expression against social prejudices which disqualified them from authority and most ceremonies of public life. Its underlying themes were deprivation, confinement and frustration.[27] The only means by which this gap could be filled was by becoming a 'mystic'. Visions, signs, prophecies and struggles with demons, which are distinguished by their private character, were almost exclusively a woman's world as through them she finally became the centre of attention. Men did not need to operate these methods. The Tridentine reforms had categorically excluded women from the clergy. Not even the career as a missionary could be embarked upon as a missionary had to face arduous journeys and great personal dangers which the 'weaker' sex was not thought able to endure.[28] Among the very few options which remained open, mysticism and ecstatic religion were the most popular.

In reality to be a 'mystic' also involved certain advantages. Hand in hand with suffering from ecstasies was the belief of being able to prophetize.[29] Francesca herself, among other things, prophesized the date of her death, and this was seen as an acceptance of mortality and happy anticipation of meeting God.[30] Becoming a 'beata' was also a way with which to avoid the rigid ecclesiastical hierarchy and strict

24. A.I.M. Proc. Crim. vol. 80, case 14, fols. 134 - 135.

25. C. Cassar, 'Popular perceptions', p. 463.

26. M.E. Perry, 'Beatas and the Inquisition', p. 147.

27. I.M. Lewis, *Religion in context, cults and charisma* (Cambridge ,1986), p. 30.

28. D. Weinstein and R.M. Bell, *Saints and society*, p. 147.

29. Ibid., 227.

30. A. Rivera, *Il mago, il santo, la morte, la festa* (Bari, 1988), p. 311.

enclosure of convents. Francesca lived in her own house together with some of her friends.[31] The status of 'beata' even freed one of many worldly concerns such as costume and wealth, since she wore a very simple habit which gave her an aura of spiritual concern.

Francesca really did seem to enjoy the unusual importance given to her and at times sought to enhance it herself. She distributed some of her things to be held in veneration by others, went around warning the other tertiaries to observe the rules, and even wrote some of her 'feats' herself and gave them to Don Ghimes to elaborate upon. Francesca even tried to copy the methods by which other people such as Maria Maddalena de Pazzi - whose life not coincidentally was filled with ecstasies and demonic temptations - had been confirmed saints, like being 'tested' with an unconsecrated host to see if it left any physical consequences on her.[32] This practise of modelling oneself on established saints was not particular to Francesca, however, and was commonly practiced throughout Europe.[33]

Francesca Protopsalti: A failed saint

On 21 October 1677, Maria de Domenico, a tertiary member of the Carmelite Order, appeared before Inquisitor Visconti to denounce her cousin Francesca Protopsalti, a Franciscan tertiary from Valletta, of 'pretended sainthood'.[34] She even accused Don Giò Maria Ghimes and Don Thomas Vella of writing a biography of Francesca and of having distributed some of her possessions which were being held as relics especially by Maria known as 'delli macarroni' and Maria di Neino, who were spreading a lot of fictitious stories about her after she had died from plague the previous year. The deponent went on to declare that as a cousin of Francesca and having known her intimately, she considered these stories as 'false and fabulous'.[35]

The stories that circulated on Francesca Protopsalti were incredible to say the least. Some people stated that she had been seen in ecstasy with baby Jesus in her arms; that after she had died her corpse had appeared in kneeling position whith the stigmata, sweating and surrounded with stars; that she had reached a stage when she could sin no more; that she had liberated souls from purgatory, and that she had freed the wife

31. A.I.M. Proc. Crim. vol. 80, case 14, fol. 128.

32. Ibid.

33. P. Burke, 'How to be a counter-reformation saint', p. 57.

34. 'fingendosi santa'. A.I.M. Proc. Crim. vol. 80, case 14, fol. 112.

35. 'false e favolose'. Ibid., fols. 112 - 112v.

of Pontius Pilate form hell.[36] She even made a number of prophecies including the day and place of her death, and that on the feast of St John the Baptist of 1677, the Order would have a new Grand Master.[37] Some of her possessions, like the veil and the 'cordone', were cut into pieces and distributed to those who believed in her powers, and were 'held in great veneration'.[38]

Letters were at once sent to Rome and the answer received was clear even before the concerned witness had been consulted in court. The Inquisitor had to gather all the written information regarding Francesca and burn it, transfer her place of burial from a privileged to a normal one, suppress any revival of her memory and proceed against those who had promoted her cult.[39] Meanwhile, the new Inquisitor Cantelmo, summoned the witnesses to court and started proceedings.

The major suspect was Don Giò Maria Ghimes, who admitted having written three volumes on the life and prodigies of Protopsalti, and that when he had written them he considered them as true, especially after that he had consulted Don Thomas Vella on the matter. However he now considered them as 'false and hypocritical' since he had discovered that she had been telling him a lot of lies.[40]

In August 1678 the three volumes were brought in front of the Inquisitor and excerpts were read to Don Ghimes who had to comment on their veracity. In this way other 'feasts' of the supposed saint come to light.[41] She had enjoyed frequent visions of Jesus Christ who once told her that he had suffered 6,666 lashes during his passion. On Christmas day she was even led to the cave in Bethlem where she remained for three hours contemplating on the mystery of the birth of Christ. According to Don Ghimes, Protopsalti had not eaten anything for a number of months, living only on the Host and on sweet liquid which came out of Christ's side.[42] She even wanted to be tested in the way in which Saint Mary Magdalene de Pazzi and Saint Rose had been tested, that is by being communicated with a non-consecrated host to see if that had any effects on her.[43]

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., fol. 126.

38. 'tenuto come reliqua in gran veneratione'. Ibid., fol. 112v.

39. A.I.M. Corr., vol. 13, fols. 191, 204, 213 - 214.

40. A.I.M. Proc. Crim., vol. 80, case 14, fol. 113.

41. Ibid., fol. 117.

42. In some cases the translations from Latin as given by A. Bonnici in his *Storja ta' l-Inkwizizzjoni ta' Malta,* ii (Malta, 1992), pp. 202 - 212, are used.

43. A.I.M. Proc. Crim., vol. 80, case 14, fol. 122v.

At the time of her death she had not touched any meat for six years and when she was forced to do so she could not resist it in her stomach even if it had been sprinkled over with blessed water. Sometimes the devil appeared to her in the form of a handsome youth to induce her into sin. Her heart had been pierced by a lance, her brain by three thorns, and sweet liquid gushed out from her wounds.[44]

The proceedings continued with the summoning of further witnesses, all from Valletta. Maria di Neino said that Francesca did great mortifications and at times the devil tried to disturb her in her prayers by appearing to her in the form of a fiery man who disappeared as soon as the Holy Virgin was invocated, or else in the form of St Paul who after disappearing left a very bad smell after him.[45] According to Maria Macarroni, once she tied a crucifix to her hair and started banging herself into walls with such a fury that no one could hold her. At one time, Christ, aged twelve years, appeared to her while she was washing the clothes and he pulled up some water from the well for her.[46] Don Thomas Vella, on the other hand, always refused any direct connection with the case and put all the responsibility on Don Ghimes.

During this entire procedure Don Ghimes, Don Thomas Vella, Maria di Neino and Maria Macarroni were held in the prison of the Inquisition until they were liberated in April 1679, after precise instructions from Rome by Cardinal Barberino.[47] Don Ghimes had to be instructed on his mistakes and if he was found guilty of talking again on Francesca Protopsalti, he could even be prohibited from the role of confessor. The others were warned on their errors. The three volumes on the 'false' saint were burnt on 20 April 1679. Francesca Protopsalti's claim at sainthood ended up in flames.

Official and Popular Beliefs

The official theological teaching of the Church on saints maintained that it was God who was operating through the holy person, and in the saint's extraordinary actions one had to see the power of God and not of the saint himself. When saints died they had only the power to intercede with God on behalf of the living.[48] Saints represented the official bridge by which the barrier between heaven and earth could be broken.

44. Ibid., fol. 128.

45. Ibid., fol. 130.

46. Ibid., fol. 129.

47. Ibid., fol. 131v.

48. D. Weinstein and R.M. Bell, *Saints and society*, p. 249.

For the popular mind, however, this did not mean a lot. The person who in some degree or another was not bound by natural laws commanded respect, and was seen as an accessible and tangible source of immediate power.[49] It was not necessary to involve God in the matter if the saint alone was enough. Indeed God seemed much more remote than the saint who had lived a normal mortal life and thus would surely be more sympathizing with human needs. The fact that Francesca herself suffered the same fate as other normal humans, in fact, not only did not disturb her devotees but indeed strengthened their devotion, as holy people are always more efficacious dead rather than alive.[50]

These popular beliefs were accentuated in extremely abnormal situations like plague. In these cases something more personal, emotional, and above all more pragmatic and directly rewarding than cold official religion was desirable to deal with the impending needs. Devotion to a saint was an investment in the practical services he could render and the immediate human material benefits which could be derived from his power.[51] Therefore, ironically, whereas the saint had spent his life trying to resist the importunities of the world, after his death he was turned into a source of worldly favours.

Relics were one way through which devotion to a saint was shown and through which miracles were thought to happen. They had a threefold purpose: to suppress the fact of death by removing part of the dead from its place in the grave, to symbolize the abolition of space by carrying it around, and to express the paradox of linking the great heaven with the small earth by means of such a tiny object.[52] Relics, in fact, were prized possessions which expressed both protection and solidarity, especially when they were passed around.[53] It was publicly said that Francesca's relics could perform miracles and heal sickness.[54] They took it for granted that once the saint was shown respect through his relics, a beneficial answer was automatically guaranteed in a contractual way. The saint's response, however had to be induced or stimulated by devotion to his relics. Maria Macarroni put a 'cordone' of Protopsalti on a sick person and then afterwards gave it as protection to her son, a soldier on the galleys of the Order, during the epidemic.[55] What else could these poor people resort to when no effective cure to plague was known? Only 'horizontal' healing by appealing directly

49. A. Gurevich, *Medieval popular culture. Problems of belief and perception* (Cambridge 1988), p. 40.

50. P. Burke, 'How to be a counter-reformation saint', p. 49.

51. J. Devlin, *The superstitious mind. French peasants and the supernatural in the nineteenth century* (Yale, 1987),p. 12.

52. P. Brown, *The cult of the saints* (Chicago, 1981), p. 94.

53. Ibid., p. 78

54. A.I.M. Proc. Crim., vol. 80, case 14, fol. 112 v.

55. Ibid., fol. 115v.

to the divine was possible. Such excogitations were their only hope of survival.

Besides sickness, one of the main preoccupations of men in early modern Europe was that of food and of relieving hunger. Some features of this case, like the importance given to a particular diet and the great power attributed to the Host, were very common and were strictly connected with each other. The life-giving bread, in fact, was believed to have the power to enable those who made virtuous use of it to stay alive and nourish the body without the trouble of having to eat anything else.[56] Thus stories of extreme fasts and clamorous abstinences which had been aided by the divine were often heard. Francesca Protopsalti inserted herself in this trend when Don Ghimes claimed that she had not eaten anything for months on end and of having refused to eat meat for six years.[57] Once, after having kissed the crucifix, she felt a 'great heat in her mouth and a sweet liquor that made her lose appetite for many days'.[58] This certainly appealed a lot to a community which was hard hit by the scarcity of food due to the trade ban imposed on Maltese ships. God had given Francesca the virtue of living without the daily toil of trying to find what to eat. What further proof of her sanctity could be demanded? This belief about sweet flavours also had a long tradition. Even odour had a part to play in this struggle between good and evil. While a good smell immediately indicated a benign presence, a bad smell was immediately associated with the devil.[59] Therefore, inevitably, when the devil who was tempting Fracesca left her room, he left an 'intolerable fetor'.[60]

The remarkable fasts which saintly people resorted to also found some medical approvation. In fact, the human body was often seen as a miniature hell of frothing fleshy matter, full of relentless parasites which found there their favouring pasturing grounds, especially in women.[61] This, of course became more so in cases of epidemics like plague. Interesting, once the plague in Malta started abating, regulations began to be relaxed and permission was given to everyone 'except women' to leave their homes and go to church.[62]

56. P. Camporesi, *The fear of hell. Images of damnation and salvation in early modern Europe* (Cambridge ,1990),pp. 146 - 147.

57. Meat was very important in that it was very scarce, especially in the diet of the lower classes. cf. P. Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams* (Oxford ,1989).

58. 'intese calore in bocca, un liquore santo dolce e soave che per molti giorni non have a nessun appetito di mangiare'. A.I.M. Proc. Crim., vol. 80, case 14, vol. 122v.

59. P. Camporesi, *The incorruptible flesh*, p. 54.

60. 'un gran fetore'. A.I.M. Proc. Crim., vol. 80, case 14, fol. 130.

61. P. Camporesi, *The incorruptible flesh*, pp. 108 - 109.

62. W.L. Zammit, *Malta under the Cotoners 1660-1680* (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Malta, 1974),p.314

Leeches were applied to the wounds caused by plague so as to suck out the malignant fluid present in the body. One way by which these could be avoided was physical abstinence and special diets. Moreover, mortification, besides being an effective cure against diseases, was a sure key to the kingdom of heaven. These stories certainly caught the imagination of people who had a difficult relationship with their existence, especially with their daily food. Not coincidentally, the saintly qualities of Francesca reflected precisely those things which were most needed by the Maltese community at the time: against illness and hunger.

Conclusion

This curious episode throws some light on Maltese society of the late seventeenth century. Francesca Protopsalti, presumably because of financial incapability to provide a dowry or maybe in her attempt to live an unmarried life without becoming a nun, became a member of the Tertiary order of the Franciscans and gradually adopted ecstatic religion as a means of self-expression against a male-dominated society. But this 'normal' situation assumed 'gigantic' proportions with the advent of plague, against which the human body was completely defenceless and life depended on chance more than anything else. It was in these circumstances that the 'talents' of Francesca were used by those around her, even by priests, to approach God who had punished them for their sins by sending the plague. The saints seemed to be a testimony as well as a possibility for a better life besides that of the usual difficulties and suffering, the right to which was ensured by mortifications and abstaining from food, which in any way was scarce. And popular religiosity seemed to have no limits in accepting the most bizarre things and showing faith in the impossible when faced with this grim reality. Even official Church teachings were unwittingly broken in their attempt to create a virtual reality which gave them hope. The Tribunal, on the other hand, tried to suppress this cult in a definite way as it was percieved as a threat to traditional order in at least two ways: of a woman against the supremacy of males and their leadership role in society, and, much more seriously, because a popular religious leader was attributed power which officially belonged to the Church as the only rightful path to communicate with the divine.

MALTA IN 1776 : THE IMPRESSIONS OF A FUTURE MINISTER OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

Richard Spiteri *

Though the career of Jean-Marie Roland de la Platière (1734 - 1793) climaxed during the Revolution with two spells as interior minister, from March 23, 1792 till the following June 13 and from August 10 of the same year till January 23, 1793, in fact he had been before and for quite a long time inspector for industry at Amiens. Indeed he was an exponent of the Enlightenment and amongst his numerous publications one cannot fail to mention a dictionary which appeared in three volumes from 1784 to 1790 entitled *Manufactures, Arts et Métiers.*

In the mid-1770s the *intendant des Finances* Trudaine de Montigny entrusted Roland with a mission in Italy.[1] Roland set off on his journey in the summer of 1776 and later on he gave an account of his travels in his *Lettres écrites de Suisse, d'Italie, de Sicile et de Malthe à Mlle *** à Paris*, Amsterdam, 1780, 6 volumes.

The period he spent in Malta must have been a brief one for at the end of Letter 17 the author gives the following indication of place and date: Alicata, November 20 (1776), whilst Letter 18 which deals with Malta is dated November 26.

Roland first presented his credentials to Knight Commander des Pennes who was the chargé d' affaires for France in Malta. Des Pennes was in contact with the rulers of the Barbary states for he conducted negotiations for the exchange or ransoming of slaves. Only a short time before he had used a sum of money sent to him by the Bey of Tunis to release 136 Mohammedan slaves.[2] The Knight Commander held the dignitaries of Algiers in esteem and commends them for being reliable, righteous and magnanimous. Here Roland draws a telling comparison between the Order and Algiers:

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1. G Chaussinand - Nogaret, *Madame Roland, une femme en révolution* (Seuil, 1985) p. 42.

2. Roland, *Lettres d'Italie*, vol. 3, p. 61.

> *' Alger est une aristocratie dont le gouvernement ressemble beaucoup à celui de Malthe; mais il a un autre nerf.*'[3]

Roland gives his views on the priests' revolt of 1775. The indigenous population had had more than enough of the Order's administration and to add insult to injury the price of wheat had gone up. The author feels the pulse of one of the leading classes of Maltese society: the clergy. It had stirred its flock and then it seized the opportunity to sow discord and plot a conspiracy. Roland speaks with some unease about the leaders of the revolt the more so that, according to him, they had sought the protection of the Empress Catherine of Russia:

> *'On voyait les armes de la Russie triomphantes contre les ennemis de la religion; on voulut secouer le joug le plus doux de la terre, pour le soumettre au despotisme de la Russie. Des gens qui ne font jamais mieux leurs affaires, que dans le trouble, se mirent à la tête de cette sourde intrigue, à laquelle, dit-on, des Ministres se prêtaient.*'[4]

When Ximenes died some weeks after the quelling of the revolt, the Maltese clergy saw in his death a punishment meted out by the Lord to a Grand Master who had dared lay hands on his anointed servants.

Roland has also a favourable word to say on country priests. He considered them well educated, dedicated to their religious duties and respected amongst the common folk. He saw them on some occasions dressed like peasants tilling the land.

November 24 happened to be the day of the opening of the Chapter-General. Roland describes the knights who with great pomp accompanied Grand Master de Rohan to Saint John's church. After high mass the knights and their clergy formed a procession which moved towards the Council hall inside the Palace. The author gives us a succinct picture of the procedures that the Chapter-General was going to follow in the next days. High on its agenda was a plan to permit the Maltese hold positions which up to then were filled by the *Servants*.

Roland takes a close look at agriculture in the Maltese islands. He speaks about the trade of crops going on between the two main islands as well as between the country and its neighbours. As regards fruit he is delighted with the watermelons,

3. Id., ibid., vol. 3, pp. 63 - 64.

4. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 30.
Tr. 'They were impressed by the forces of Russia that had triumphed over the enemies of religion; they wanted to overthrow the mildest of administrations in order to bring over here Russian despotism. People, who are able to do their business best when trouble is afoot, were at the back of this intrigue to which, it is said, some prominent knights lent a hand.'

pomegranates and oranges. Malta did not export oranges to French merchants, however supplies were sent regularly to the royal family at Versailles as well as to members of the nobility.

Pride of place is given to the cotton industry. Roland explains the three year cycle of the cotton plant and says that cotton could only be exported from Malta already spun. The French royal government did not impose taxes on Maltese cotton thread entering that country. At Zurrieq, Roland was admitted inside a house where a man and a group of women of all ages were working at the spinning-wheel.[5] Recently the Maltese had intended to expand their cotton industry by importing cotton from abroad and having it spun locally by an increased labour force. Des Pennes had blocked such a move because he claimed that Maltese exporting cotton to France already enjoyed an advantage over French cotton traders operating from the Levant. Malta exported annually some 2000 bales of spun cotton to ports like Marseilles, Livorno and Barcelona.[6]

Various attemps had been made to introduce the silk industry in Malta but to no avail, for though the mulberry tree grew well ,silkworms could not thrive due to the climate.

Roland toured the Grand Harbour area. A Maltese vessel had just entered port with a cargo of hemp brought over from the Bologna region via Ancona. A knight was inspecting the merchandise before ropemakers and men in charge of sail-lofts. Sails manufactured in Malta were partly or wholly made of cotton which was better than other materials though more costly. Metals were imported from northern Europe: copper from Sweden and iron in bars from Denmark. This latter country also supplied the Order with anchors and cannon. Malta, though, had its own foundry which manufactured bronze cannon.

Roland was impressed by the Maltese divers who worked at the docks. A ship which had leakages could be repaired without the need of its being unloaded. Divers could remain fifteen minutes under water (!) and when they detected the leak they caulked it and fixed upon it an iron plate.

The author had a taste of cultural life when he spent an evening at the Manoel theatre. However unlike the Comte de Borch, who visited Malta in 1777, [7] he did not warm to plays produced locally:

5. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 57 - 58.

6. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 88.

7. P. Xuereb, *The Manoel Theatre: a short history* (Malta,1994), p. 19.

> *'Les Chevaliers jouent la comédie sur un grand théâtre, dans une assez jolie salle (...)*
> *Ils donnent des pièces françaises et d'italiennes: celles-ci réussissent mal, parce qu' il y a peu de bons acteurs pour les bien rendre. Ils font les rôles de femme; mais le menton noir et la voix rauque les décèlent, et leur donnent comme aux acteurs du même genre en Italie, un air de caricature.*[8] '

Roland became acquainted with members of the Maltese upper middle-class including Isouard de Kerel (sic)[9] and Poussielgue, the *Capitaine du Port*, who introduced him to their families. As a guest at their homes he saw that they liked drawing-room conversation, played music and enjoyed dancing.

Maltese ladies of the upper middle-class confided to Roland that they disliked local traditional dresses. One of them had been to Corsica from where she brought a dress in the French style; they would have loved to go about the streets of Valletta dressed in that manner but did not dare to. Roland advised them to start going out together wearing French dresses; after a few days, surely, French female fashion would be accepted in Maltese society.

The men of the upper middle-classes who the author got to know had had their education in France. Isouard told his guest that he did not relish the idea of sending his children to France to obtain their education. The French standard of living was so high by comparison to Malta and culture there was so rich that the whole experience could only serve to make his children unhappy. The ladies did not share this view. For them Paris meant paradise and they dreamed of visiting the city at least once in their lifetime.

Roland de la Platière's account of his stay in Malta brings out well the undercurrents of change in society as well as the bustling commercial activity. One reason why the text impresses these ideas in the mind of the reader is that the author himself is a true heir of the Encyclopaedists.

8. Roland, *Lettres d'Italie*, vol. 3, p. 78.
Tr. 'The knights play their parts on a big stage in a rather attractive theatre (...)
They put on French and Italian plays which are disappointing because there are few good actors. They act the roles of female characters but their dark chin and coarse voice give them away lending them, as to similar actors in Italy, an artificial manner.'

9. Kerel is a corruption of Xuereb. Professor Alain Blondy confirmed me in my belief that this Isouard Xuereb is none other than Fortunato, the father of the composer Nicolò. I thank the Professor for giving me his view during a chat I had with him on July 13, 1995.

EVERY DAY LIFE IN 'BRITISH' MALTA

Henry Frendo*

Is the British connection in Malta becoming increasingly distant and dated? Was our 'Englishness' never much more than a varnish?

I was recently sitting at a water-front restaurant table by the Msida Yacht Marina with an old time friend who had repatriated after twenty years in England. The warm breeze, the shimmering sea, the leisurely pace, all somehow evoked a colonial atmosphere, or at least an inkling of it: the sort of 'times past' feeling still transmitted by hotels like Victoria Falls on the Zimbabwe-Zambia border or at the Raffles in Singapore, or indeed by the new golf club gazebo at the Marsa. We had both been overseas, he longer than I; but we had gravitated back to a common point of origin: what a flimsy school text-book in the 1950s used to call 'Malta, Our Island Home'. 'So how do you spend your time here?' he asked, as the wine was being served. 'What do you do usually?'

Good Lord! How did you live? What did you do? How were you organising your time? My diary was on the table. 'How do you like the fish?' I replied: 'I think it's fresh'.

Turn these questions in your head, and try to begin consciously and comprehensively to describe your 'every day life', wherever and whatever that may be. It is a very tall order, even if you had to do it now and for yourself alone, let alone doing that for different times of days of the week, of months, years, decades, generations, for a whole community or society.

In the *Din l-Art Helwa* lecture series on "Everyday Life", held in Valletta in 1993, the former Attorney General Dr Carmelo Testa spent well over an hour talking about Malta during the French occupation, which lasted two years. The British occupation until the Second World War lasted exactly 70 times longer: longer still if we were to take it to its historic conclusion in 1964.

Historical 'duration' during that time was not always as intense as this undoubtedly was during the Maltese insurrection of 2 September 1798 and the subsequent blockade of the trapped French troops. But there were many, many such periods of intensity

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during the British period, right from the very start, when it seemed momentarily uncertain if the Order might not return: innovations and despotisms, plagues and epidemics, prosperity and depression, improvements, disagreements, organisations, defence and security concerns and plans, wars: a myriad changes - even in the very languages spoken and written in the Maltese Islands.

Everyday life is neither static, nor uniform, nor always discernible to the historian, or to anyone. A specialized fleeting time-frame focus on it would probably belong more closely in the realm of sociology or anthropology. People do some things which they want others to know about, but other things they prefer to keep to themselves; and even the same people do different things at different times.

Some aspects of everyday life were longer-lasting than others. In 1838 and in 1842 we find English observers intrigued by the country habit of putting on shoes when entering Valletta and then removing them on leaving. They recounted the story of a country woman going to Valletta with a companion: 'How long have you been using your pair of shoes?' she asked. 'I have worn them', came the reply, 'since the time of the plague' (in 1813). 'Oh!', the other rejoined, 'mine are much older, I have had them since the blockade of the French'. [1]

Other aspects recur. Take family connections and traditions in Maltese politics and journalism. Between the wars Enrico Mizzi half-replaced his father Fortunato, a magistrate's son who died in 1905, as leader of the Nationalist Party, and his elder brother Giuseppe as editor of the *Malta* newspaper. All lawyers. The first president of the Malta Labour Party in the 1920s, Colonel William Savona, also a lawyer, was the son of Sigismund Savona, founder of the pro-British Reform Party and a former army schoolmaster, who died in 1908. Thus if Ceylon had an 'Uncle-Nephew Party' as the United National Party was called by its opponents, Malta had genuine Father-Son parties. But Malta too had an Uncle-Nephew Party, if we regard Colonel Roger Strickland (who died in 1975 aged 70) as a constitutional Party 'carry-on' from his uncle, Lord Strickland, who died 35 years earlier. And then there was Mable. So in Malta we could even boast of a Father-Daughter Party. That beats Ceylon hands down.[2]

But there was always some mobility and variety in Maltese society. Not much, but over a long period it is remarkable. It could probably be characterised by three or four general features.

1. C.Cassar, 'Everyday Life in Malta in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', in *The British Colonial Experience 1800 - 1964. The impact on Maltese Society*, ed. V. Mallia-Milanes (Malta,1988), p.104.

2. See H.Frendo, *Party Politics in a Fortress Colony. The Maltese Experience* (Malta,1979, 2nd ed. 1991), p. 186, p. 198.

The maritime and military connection was reinforced and had widespread repercussions on the labour force as well as on perceptions, attitudes, methods, techniques. Because Britain was the world's leading industrialized nation, this had an important technological and tradesman edge to it, as could be seen in the building of dry and hydraulic docks and in the influential Dockyard School.

As the world's leading overseas empire, Britian also had considerable control of the trade-routes, for which the Mediterranean was a vital water-way, especially after the Suez Canal opened in 1869. That considerably influenced commerce, especially entrêpot trade; it again reinforced the role of shipping and, with it, of subsidiary services, such as insurance and banking. Jobs in the harbour and the adjoining towns and suburbs were different jobs, but there were, on the whole, more of them; and more of them were relatively better-paid too.

This shifted the population, and transformed Malta's productive base. The cotton and tobacco industries, for example, died out, whereas ship-repairing and ship-chandelling prospered. The civil service and the judiciary were among the institutions that were better established and pruned by the British; although a civil servant was likely to be under-paid compared to a dockyard worker, especially a skilled one. Dockyard workers were better off, too, than workers in the private enterprise sector, and may generally be said to have earned more money and to have been better off than practically all other workers in Malta: a contrived and cushioned 'proletarian aristocracy', especially in war-time.

The physical landscape too began to change, not only by the birth of Sliema from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, but more importantly perhaps by the growth of suburbia in such areas as Floriana, Hamrun and Paola, partly as a result of the move away from country to town. This urbanisation then was another gradual shift, comparable to that from sail to steam. But these metamorphoses characterised the period and led in turn to many other changes in lifestyle. One obvious consequence was density of population in concentrated areas, which only slowly acquired basic services, such as water supply and drainage systems.

There was an in-built insecurity however in Malta's dependence on military spending because you could not have an economy geared to changing waves of 'redeployment', 'retrenchment', 'rearmament', 'disengagement', decided in a faraway metropolis in the prevalent foreign policy mood or economic interest of the so called 'mother-country'. That was hardly a sound basis for economic planning or development. Or for a sense of national direction of self-fulfilment. Violent clashes occurred almost every time that such precious-and-dispensable jobs were threatened at a time of political unrest, as in 1919, and again later, in 1946, in 1958.

One writer has suggested that large scale Maltese prostitution in Valletta and in London was partly a response to powerlessness. A little bit like grumbling - the proverbial 'Maltese gemgem' - or frugality, in the sense of saving for a rainy day *taht il-maduma*. And as for the cultivation of clientelism, Edward Zammit rightly noted that 'in the colonial context Malta itself was in the situation of a 'client-state'.[3] If a state it was.

These are at best insightful outlines of social history, hardly a history of everyday life. The only way in which that other somewhat personalised dimension of everyday life might be captured, would be to try and conjure a rapidly-moving set of images. Without an historical imagination it is impossible meaningfully and intelligibly to recreate a readable past. Hitting the canvas with bold strokes of the brush could at least render an impressionist painting. Lasting history is not unlike a soul-searching painting. But for most of us the transporting, penetrating depiction of mental frames is probably a craft more akin to the *litterateur*. D.H. Lawrence, for instance.

Sitting in a Valletta cafè in 1920, he captured this spirit:

> *'A military band went by playing splendidly in the bright, hot morning. The Maltese lounged about, and watched. Splendid the band, and the soldiers! One felt the splendour of the British Empire, let the world say what it likes'.*

Indeed the love of spectacle characterising the Maltese lifestyle must have found a natural, joyful, expression in the whole pagaentry of empire - the trooping of the colour, the drills and gun salutes, the dazzling parades and marches with hundreds of soldiers, sailors, cavalrymen, in their multi-coloured uniforms, which blended so well with - and probably influenced - the boisterous atmosphere of the *festa* with its petards, fireworks, decorations, processions, band marches, nougat, cheesecakes, ribaldry all over the parish.[4] One aspect of Maltese life that did not impress our gracious imperialist visitor was the supposed knowledge of his language by the natives. 'And they really don't understand English', he wrote to Catherine Carswell in May of the same year, underlining 'don't'.[5]

From the outdoor manifestation - and life in the open air was, as it still is, essential and central to the Maltese - let us try to separate the curtains , to peep and eavesdrop

3. E. L. Zammit, 'Aspects of British Colonial Policies and Maltese Patterns of Behaviour', in The British Colonial Experience, ed.V. Mallia - Milanes (Malta, 1988) pp.175-176.

4. H.Frendo, Party Politics, pp.124, 130, 200. See Malta: Culture and Identity, eds. H. Frendo and O. Friggieri (Malta,1995), passim.

5. Party Politics, p.200.

inside some households.

A persian window on life inside the Maltese home was kindly provided to us by the Marquis Alfredo Mattei through this poignant description of everyday village life and the prevailing conditions, while addressing the Council of Government. As a rule, he said,

> *the men in the casals get up at four in the morning, go to hear the mass of the Parroco and after that they go to Valletta or anywhere else where their work may happen to call them and spend the whole day labouriously at work. Then at the Ave Maria, at 6.00 p.m., the poor labourer rejoins his family, says his prayers, his Rosario, and goes to bed... even at Citta' Vecchia where you had a few learned gentlemen and a few Canonici and Abatini, even they get up very early and the few who study and keep late hours prefer candles to olive oil; to save their eyes, they don't even use petroleum.*[6]

What you did depended very much on your class and station. That determined how and where you lived, how you dressed, what you ate and drank, what entertained and what worried you, where and by what means you travelled. If you played polo or football, or perhaps tennis. If you were a soldier or an officer of the regiment. There was overlapping; there were values held in common; but the differences continued to be striking until the post-war world dawned and today's welfare and consumer society gradually came about. Notwithstanding a strong and steady emigation first to Northern Africa and subsequently to the English-speaking world, in spite of droughts and cholera epidemics, during the British period Malta's population trebled. From around 100,000 it went up to around 300,000.

Until the first half of the ninteenth century, nearly one half of the population still lived in and around Valletta. There was then not only the class distinction but also that between urban and rural folk. The normal diet of an employed male labourer consisted of barley bread, some vegetables, a little cheese, a few olives or some oil, pasta, occasionally fish or fruit. Women and children ate less but shared very much the same menu. The family dressed themselves in cheap, coarse local cottons - the men in trousers, shirt, coat and cap; the women in petticoat, chemise and faldetta. Shoes, as already noted, were uncommon. The complete family shared one or two rooms, sleeping frequently on straw. In rural areas collecting manure for the farmer often served in lieu of rent; in the cities this was paid in money. To live, a family needed at least one shilling (five cents today!), most of it for food. Bread, the most

6. Ibid., pp.3,12.

conspicuous budget item, cost one penny a pound or a little more, and the average person would have consumed between one or two lbs. of it daily. Families tended to be large. Any surplus earnings were spent on wine, coffee, tobacco, spirits, a little extra oil, and contributions to the parish church.[7]

There were a few hundred landlords, the smaller of whom received no more 'than what was necessary for their decent support'. By this time, forty years into the British occupation,

> *wealthier natives had adopted a French or Italian type diet, distinguished from that of their countrymen by wheaten bread, macaroni, meat and better wine. They wore finer clothing and enjoyed more housing space. Education cost them little, elementary schools were generally free, the Lyceum charged only 2 shillings and the University 30/- per annum...*

The standard of the 'principal Maltese landowner, advocate, physician or merchant' was reckoned to cost some £400 annually, but important families lived reasonably on much less. Junior clerks earned £20, the lowest paid magistrates £120, the lowest paid physician £60, which was what a good artisan would earn. Merchants of all kinds - including shopkeepers, dairymen, bakers - numbered about 5000 in 1942. The wealthiest families, two or three score, were businesmen.[8] The Governor's salary, at £5,000, was difficult to beat.

There was mass illiteracy. *Skejjel tan-Nuna* taught village children folktales, nursery rhymes and religious *kantalieni*. A Department of Primary Schools was formed in 1840; but in 1861,out of a population of 134,055, less than 8,000 males could write Italian while less than 4,000 could write English. In 1900 the University of Malta had 86 students, all males. In 1891, 80 per cent of males and 85 per cent of females in the 45 - 50 age group could not read. Of the 14 'newspapers' issued in 1889, 3 were in English, 6 in Italian and 5 in Maltese. 'If the earnings of the breadwinner were not enough to support the family, could the parents be blamed for sending their children to work rather than to school?'[9]

In 1861 the largest single occupation was that of labourers in the field, of whom there

7. See C. A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese. A Study in nineteenth century migration* (Melbourne ,1954), p. 9.

8. Ibid., pp. 13 - 14.

9. H.Frendo, *Birth Pangs of a Nation. Manwel Dimech's Malta, 1860 - 1921* (Malta,1972), pp. 27 - 30.

were 8,706. In the same year we find 850 shepherds and goatherds, 463 farmer-proprietors, 1,375 farmer-tenants and 203 gardeners. Moreover a large number of those employed in commercial activity, such as petty vendors, depended upon the farming industry for their products and wares. At this time there were still 4,018 cotton weavers *(nissiega tal-qoton),* who complemented the spinners *(barriema tal-qoton),* but between 1851 and 1891 cotton spinning as an occupation, often a female one, decreased by 74.4%.

While in 1861, 4,172 of the upper classes did not work *(benestanti)* and 30,000 of the lower classes had no fixed occupation, in 1891 we find apparently 10,000 less unemployed (20,000) and more people - nearly 9,000 including 22 females - engaged in conveyance and storage. More were starting to work in commercial or industrial jobs rather than in agricultural ones. The industrial revolution was slowly coming to Malta, via the British connection. Services flourished. If you count up domestic servants - usually young women from the villages - to washer women, those engaged in ironing clothes, cooks, grooms, nurses, coachmen and calessers, the third largest occupation could be said to have been that of servitude of the poorer classes to the remaining 1,144 *benestanti,* the higher and middle classes, and, increasingly, in the homes of British officers and their families. Both Ryan in 1910 and Wignacourt in 1914 noted that English housewives found Maltese servants honest, humble, hardworking and very cheap; in fact, they said, the Maltese made the best servants in the world.[10] In 1921 the average wages, including board, for domestic service were one shilling per day (5 cents, again) or £18 a year. Agricultural labour earned three shillings daily or £54 a year, while occupations in trade and commerce made 5 shillings daily or £90 a year. Unemployment in that year, after the Great War, was mostly in the industrial field (10.7% of the total), especially unskilled labour, in the building industry and metal works; the second highest percentage (6.8%) was in domestic service.[11]

A profile of everyday life in the second half of the nineteenth century, which was not so drasticallly altered by the Great War, could be sketched as follows. For a person to be educated and for him to know Italian was one and the same thing: for countless generations Italian had been the language of town and gown, of court and cloister. There was a numerous middle class. In the 1870s the 141,775 inhabitants were mostly artificers and labourers employed in agriculture, but nearly 10,000 were engaged in commerce. 2,290 belonged to the professions, and 1,210 to the clergy. Of the 2,133 listed as nobles and landowners, those *titolati* entitled to precedence as nobles were few. In 1877 the 'working' or 'poorer' classes were estimated at 112,360, about three-fourths of the population, the remaining one-fourth (39,910) being the 'non-manual' classes.

10. Ibid., pp. 42 - 45.

11. Ibid., pp. 46 - 48.

> *The parochial structure was intact: religion was at the heart of Maltese life just as the church was at the centre of the village, and formed part of the strong social nexus by means of which the common people looked up deferentially to the 'respectable' members of the community. The parish priest was at hand with his advice not just in his capacity as clergyman but also on a personal level. Similarly, the notary, lawyer, architect or doctor was close by - you went to his office, he came to your house - and such people would be president of the local band club or secretary of the religious confraternity. Practically everybody went to church - people therefore met or at least saw each other on feast days if not daily... Peasants were never far off from the village square.*

The church bell formed part of their lives. Farmers, petty vendors, middlemen *(pitkali)* travelled by horse-cart from the countryside to the city to sell their produce. The employees at the dockyard were mostly recruited from the surrounding cities. Before the railway was launched in 1883, a journey by horse carriage from the former capital Notabile into Valletta took not more than three hours.[12]

Between the Napoleonic era and the Second World War, inland transport, a vital means of communication, we would move from the horse, donkey and mule carts to the railway, then the tram, the omnibus, the *karozzin*, the *char-a-banc*. One could similarly sketch progressions in so many other areas: health, hygiene and hospitals; academic, technical and vocational education; guest houses and hotels, with special emphasis in that case on the Pheonicia, Malta's first spacious and modern tourist establishment of class started just before the Second World War.

Between the wars, changes continued but the continuities were telling, especially in the spheres of social classes or categories, and in ongoing culture clash. Trade unions emerged. And the motor car, and wireless. In other spheres there were increased tensions, but not altogether new ones, as in clericalism and anticlericalism. The role of the church, of religion and the clergy - urban and rural - in Maltese social life, cannot be under-estimated. If we take the figures of secular and regular clergy, including members of the various orders represented in Malta, at about the turn of the century, these would give us roughly one cleric to every 133 persons (1,237 out of a total population of 165,037).[13] The twenties were relatively quiet on the social front,

12. See H.Frendo, *Party Politics*, pp. 2-3.

13. Ibid. See also *Birth Pangs of a Nation*, pp. 39 - 41.

although under self-government some initiatives were taken to extend elementary schools and start workers' housing; but various other social measures, such as workmen's compensation, had to wait until the Compact took office in 1927. In the years that followed much energy was squandered on politico-religious issues with the consequences of constitutional crises. After the Abyssinian War, and with Hitler in power in Germany, Britain began to rearm, which in a narrow Maltese context revitalised sagging employment. But once again we have the cycle of dependent employment and fluctuating economy. At the turn of the century the breakwater project had caused full employment, with labourers imported from Sicily and Spain, but its completion led to a slump and a depression; the same symptom had characterised the Crimean War in mid-century and the Great War itself, leading to the Sette Giugno. Rearmament and the renewed strategic importance of Malta meant more defence spending on ensuring adequate services and standards, mainly for the troops, but inevitably there were spin-offs, including infrastructural ones, from which the local population also benefitted, such as some well-constructed roads.

By 1939, when war was declared, more Maltese spoke better English and used English products but, actually, Malta never moved from her Mediterranean anchorage. A lot of the presumed Englishness was a varnish which could not resist the test of time. In addition to some noticeable modifications, accents and stresses - be it the prediliction for fish and chips, whisky or tea, and probably some more discipline which allegedly also kept the Mafia away, Maltese everyday life, habits and practices remained essentially rooted in a Latin South. Even if propped up by the survival of British parliamentary institutions and traditions, aspirations towards a new Europe firmly accompanied and firmly replaced those for the old Empire.

Englishness was, with some exceptions, not unlike a lump of sugar in a pot of tea. A pertinent situation analogy in this respect relates to one Maurice Carvillo, a Gibraltarian, in the memories of a John Stewart, who was visiting the Rock in the 1960s with his wife Joan. I like it because it is hilarious but also because I believe it conveys a fundamental, perhaps unpalatable message to a colonial society.

> *- Mr Stewart, no? I turned to find a small dark man with a fine face, watchful eyes, and a free-smiling mouth now stiffened into formality.*
>
> *'Yes, I am Stewart'.*
>
> *- 'Ah, welcome!' A soft handclasp and a strong smile. 'My name is Carvillo - Maurice Robertson Carvillo. I was sent to meet you. I hope you have had a very jolly good trip, eh?' The English was what we used to call 'babu', as used by the book-educated Hindus. It is 'anglo-*

English', more English than the English themselves, and it is characterized by hard-won but stranded slang. The enunciation was clear and strong, however, and the accent was what the English called cultured.

- 'Fine, thank you', I said. 'Very kind of you to meet us'. He was a very kind man, I could see, if a little unsure and injured, as is the heritage and condition of all colonial peoples. He was full of generous curiosity and glad to be the first Gibraltarian to set eyes on us. He was anxious to assess us and, if possible, give a good report of us to his colleagues in the civil service, which we were to join.

- 'Don't mention it!' he was saying now. 'A privilege!' Straight from the Spanish, I was thinking, intonation and all. ' Ni hablar... un privilegio'.

- 'Welcome to our old Rock', said Maurice Carvillo, adding defensively, 'Such as it is'.

- 'It looks magnificent to us', we said together with fervour.

- 'Oh, it's just a small place, and we are a small people. But we are loyal, very British. You will see. The Government has allocated to you a large quarter, quite high up in the mountain. It has a stupendous view. We hope you will like it... These bally porters!' Cavillo exclaimed suddenly. Now, before our eyes, he turned on the porters and transformed himself. The neat, polite and precise 'Englishman' vanished; in his place a shrill and voluble Spaniard sprang to life. Streams of sound spirited from him, with sudden punctuations on high inflections and cruciform castings of the arms. His hands, eyes and teeth flashed in the lamplight. The porters turned truculently towards him, but he beat them down with words, with ardent protests and magniloquent appeals to manhood, justice and courtesy. They turned back to our cases, defending themselves as they worked with long rattles of words. When the baggage was loaded Carvillo turned back to me and winked.

- 'Good show, sir, what?'

-'Jolly good show', I said, using the expression for the first time in my life.[14]

14. J. D. Stewart: *Gibraltar the keysone* (London, 1967), pp. 5-6

In Malta, as in Gibraltar, and also in Cyprus, the British Empire had to put up with Southerners who were *Europeans.* Obsequious and tangential these may have been, depending on circumstances, but nonplussed by awe or fully assimilated they could not quite have become. The European Mediterranean rarely features culturally in British imperial historiography, which prefers to emphasize military, commercial and strategic considerations linked almost exclusively to 'Africa' or 'Asia'. From our point of view there can be little doubt that the seemingly endemic 'language question' of Malta and the gradual replacement of Italian by English for 'non-native' in-group communication, was arguably the single most lasting legacy of the British connection, albeit a more deeply problematic one than is generally acknowledged. In employment history, the most significant changes took place in the dockyard and the civil service. In politics, a parliamentary tradition slowly and haltingly evolved. In religion, the church acted as a bulwark, which the Empire respected to advantage. Industrialization increased in the 1950s but only took off after independence. Generally speaking, the changes in everyday life became more marked after 1945 than these had become after 1918, the Second World War being for various reasons a greater catalyst of change in Malta than the First World War had been.[15]

15. See H. Frendo, 'The Second World War : A short introduction, in L. Ritchie, The *Epic Of Malta* (Malta,1940;first printed in London c.1943).

A SELECT LIST OF HISTORY- RELATED DISSERTATIONS IN THE HUMANITIES (1979 - 1995)

Elaine Micallef Valenzia*

BACHELORS IN EDUCATION[1]

1979:

Frankie Abela
THE SOCIAL STATUS OF TEACHERS IN MALTA

Peter Paul Mifsud
AN APPROACH TO THE HISTORY
OF SALVATION FOR ADOLESCENTS

Charles Micallef
THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY EDUCATION
1946 - 1974

Joseph Mizzi
L-GĦASRI MILL- BIERAĦ SAL- LUM

1981 :

Carmel Attard
POSTIJIET U NĦAWI STORIĊI F'ĦAŻ-ŻABBAR

Michael G. Baldacchino
IL-KNISJA U L-ISTAT FIT-18-IL SEKLU

Joseph R. Borg
THE PRINTING PRESS IN MALTA 1642-1839

*Elaine Micallef Valenzia is a B.A. Honours graduate in History.

[1] Data taken from DISSEDUC: B.Educ. dissertations, courtesy of Mr George Bonnici, Senior Lecturer in charge of Resource Centre.

Joachim James Calleja, Annabel Camenzuli
PROBLEMI DI APPRENDIMENTO DEL DISCENTE
MALTESE E IL SUO ATTEGIAMENTO VERSO LA LINGUA ITALIANA

George Cassar, Pauline Cassar
THE TEACHING OF HISTORY
IN MALTESE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Lawrence Cassar, Norman Grech
HISTORY AS AN ADULT STUDY - AN INVESTIGATION

Anthony G.Pace
RECREATING THE PAST:
STUDIES ON SOUTH EAST MALTA: 800 BC - 1530 AD

Violet Rizzo
XI INDUSTRIJI U SNAJJA' F'MALTA FIS- SEKLU 18

Mario Vella
L-GĦOTI LURA TAL- GVERN RESPONSABBLI :
STUDJU FL-ISTORJA KONTEMPORANJA MALTIJA
GĦALL-UZU TA' L-ISTUDENT

Mary Zahra
THE PLAGUE OF 1813-1814 IN MALTA

1982 :

Edgar Gambin
IL-FUTBOL F'MALTA

Victor Livori
RELIGION AND ITS PLACE IN EDUCATION WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO MALTA

Carmen Camilleri Galea
PRIMARY SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY IN
NINETEENTH CENTURY MALTA

1985 :

Mary Attard
ASPETTI STORIĊI U FOLKLORISTIĊI
TAL-FESTA TA' SAN FILEP F'ĦAŻ-ŻEBBUG

Marija Stella Dalmas
GERMAN IN MALTESE EDUCATION:
A SURVEY OF DEVELOPMENT AND
CURRENT TRENDS

Alfred Spiteri
ST PAUL'S MISSIONARY COLLEGE:
A STUDY OF A CATHOLIC SCHOOL IN MALTA

1986 :

Carmen Attard
FIVE GENERATIONS OF NANI MUSICIANS

Nicholas Bezzina
LA SOCIETA' MALTESE MODERNA
E LA CULTURA ITALIANA

Tessie Buhagiar
MATHEMATICS AT UNIVERSITY:
16TH-19TH CENTURY

Catherine Busuttil
STORJA TAL-LETTERATURA MALTIJA
GĦALL-ISKEJJEL SEKONDARJI

Emanuel G.Busuttil
THE SOUTH COASTAL DEFENCES OF MALTA
BUILT DURING THE ORDER OF ST JOHN
1530-1798

Mario Cassar
IR-RUMANZ MALTI BEJN L-1930 U L-1940

Denise Falzon
NEW APPROACHES TO HISTORY TEACHING RELATING TO
THE MEGALITH TEMPLES OF MALTA:
A CASE STUDY

1987 :

Carmel Borg
TAS-SILG ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE - AN APPRAISAL

John Chircop
THE LEFT WITHIN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT 1921-1933

Catherine D'Amato
PROGRAMMA DI RICERCHE SULLA CULTURA ITALIANA
A MALTA DURANTE IL PERIODO DEI CAVALIERI

Sylvana De Bono
WATER SUPPLY AND PRESERVATION
IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL MALTA

Rita Debrincat
KINDERGARTENS IN MALTA

Anthony Gaffiero
L'USO, L'INFLUENZA E L'IMPORTANZA
DELLA LINGUA ITALIANA A MALTA FINO AL 1934

John Dominic Mangion
THE VISUAL DIMENSION IN
THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

Ronald Micallef
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AGAINST GRANDMASTER JEAN LEVESQUE DE LA CASSIÈRE

Raymond Spiteri Caruana
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THE IMPACT OF THE WAR AND ITS LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCE
IN MALTA AND THE ORDER OF ST JOHN 1702-1724

Margaret Sultana
L-OPRA SOCJALI TAL-KNISJA F'MALTA
PERMEZZ TA' L-ISTITUTI TAT-TFAL

Peter Paul Vella
DUN GORG, KITTIEB, GĦALLIEM, RIFORMATUR

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THE FIRST YEARS OF SELF- GOVERNMENT:
POLITICS IN THE MALTESE PRESS 1921-1930

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POLITICAL LIFE IN MALTA BETWEEN 1849 AND 1878

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THE VARIOUS AUTHORITIES IN MALTA

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MALTA IN THE POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

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BIL-MALTI

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Joseph Vella
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Antoinette Farrugia, Josette Spiteri
DOKUMENTI MILL-GAŻŻETTI
LI JIKKONTRIBWIXXU GĦALL-EDUKAZZJONI F'MALTA,
1880-1890

Geoffrey Mizzi, Frank Tabone
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OF GRAND MASTER EMMANUEL PINTO DE FONSECA
WITH GENOA, LEGHORN AND RAGUSA
1741 - 1773

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LE MARINIER DE CANY'S TREATISE
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THE CHAPTER GENERAL OF THE ORDER OF 1631

Joseph Attard
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Vince Cauchi
GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE IN MALTA
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IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MALTA

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HERESY AND THE INQUISITION
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THE ELECTORAL EXPERIENCE
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SEYSTRES-CAUMONT'S CORRESPONDENCE
TO THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF MARSEILLES
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THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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DEVELOPMENT 1945-1969

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THE ORDER OF ST JOHN'S SHIP OF THE LINE SQUADRON
1701-1741

DIPLOMA IN POLITICAL STUDIES

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Ivan Fenech
CONCEPTS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY
IN THE DEBATE ON MALTA'S APPLICATION
FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

PHD (HISTORY)

1996 :

John Debono
TRADE AND PORT ACTIVITIES IN MALTA 1750-1800

ABSTRACTS OF HISTORY DISSERTATIONS SUBMITTED IN 1995 *

Mark Aloisio: The Chapter-General of the Order of St John, with special reference that of 1631 (B.A. Hons.,1995).

The dissertation discusses the structure, powers and workings of the Chapter-General of the Order of St John, focusing especially on that held in 1631, under Grand Master de Paule.

The Chapter-General was the sole legislative body within the Order of St John; it was also responsible for electing the senior officers of the Order, and could act as a high court of justice. Its decrees were final and could be revoked only by a succeeding assembly.

The 1631 Chapter-General presents an ideal case-study or account of the comprehensive ordinances drawn up by the elected representatives, as well as the detailed ruolli, or petitions, submitted by those attending, or repesented at the assembly.

The dissertation has four chapters. Chapter One discusses the origins and development of the Chapter-General, its role, authority and jurisdiction within the structure of the Order.

Chapter Two highlights some aspects of its historical development in its relations with the Convent and the provincial administration.

Chapters Three and Four then focus on the 1631 Chapter-General through its ruolli and ordinances.

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* This list excludes dissertations for which no abstracts were submitted to the editor by the graduates concerned.

Joseph Attard: Aspects of Crime in the Harbour Area 1741-1746 (B.A. Hons.,1995).

This dissertation deals with aspects of crime in Valletta and the Three Cities, the commerical hub of early modern Malta, during the first years of Pinto's magistracy. The urban environment provided enough occasions, but also motivations for the proliferation of crime in every possible form.

The main primary sources that have been consulted are the National Library Manuscripts 638 and 666, which contain reports on every daily occurrence in the Harbour area, the jurisdiction of the Magna Curia Castellania. The sources were then supposedly to be sent weekly to the Grand Master. The other primary sources are Vilhena's code of laws and the Bandi, issued every now and then to enforce control on other matters, especially commerce.

Chapter 1 discusses the general situation of Malta in the eighteenth century with particular emphasis on the economy. Another section deals with the administration of justice and jurisdictional problems. Chapter 2 deals with insults and the important function they perform in society, with special reference to the Mediteranean code of honour. Chapter 3 discusses the high incidence of violence in Maltese society, especially in family relationships.

Chapter 4 concentrates on theft and how long-lasting criminal ties were set up, even ignoring the bonds of religion. Chapter 5 is concerned with other forms of deviancy, including illicit sexual relationships, gambling, alcoholism and commercial infractions.

In the conclusion I have tried to discuss Pinto's role in the administration of justice with reference to current European thought on absolutism. Comments on European developments have duly been made in every chapter. Finally, the Appendices contain prices of various vegetables and fruits together with a list of nicknames.

Rita Azzopardi: The use of political cartoons in history teaching: World War II cartoons as a case study (B.Educ.,1995).

This work attempts to show the usefulness of political cartoons as a historical source of evidence for both the historian and the history teacher. Chapter 1 presents a literature review about the effectiveness of cartoons as a communication medium,cartoon technique, the effect of visual perception and propoganda. It also provides a short history of the development of cartooning from pre-history to modern times and an analysis of how cartoons work on children.

In the consequent chapter, an analysis of the political cartoon in war time, and in particular of the political cartoons in World War II Malta, is presented. Chapter 2 describes the need of propoganda as a valid medium to elict a psychological conditioning for support of a total war. It also includes an evaluation of the effectiveness of the cartoon as a visual medium of propoganda and an analysis of cartoon content in Maltese newspapers. Chapter 2 identifies the role of the cartoonist and investigates the effort contributed by individual cartoonists in Maltese newspapers during the period 1939-1945. It also discusses the link between cartoon content and Maltese national identity and the value of symbolisim in wartime cartoons. Chapter 3 submits arguments in favour of the use of political cartoons in the history classroom. Finally, after the epilogue for the main text, a workbook is presented which puts forward a set of questions based on topics which can be used as an extended scheme for the teaching of World War II in the history classroom.

The appendices that follow include an interpretation of the story told by war cartoons in Maltese newspapers, and a selection of wartime cartoon material from the local newspapers. Besides, Appendix 3 includes a sample set of questions linked to cartoons which can be used in a history classroom as an isolated source of evidence.

James Debono: Heresy and the Inquisition in a Frontier Society (B.A. Hons.,1995).

Between the advent of the Order in 1530 and 1718, the social universe of the Maltese changed radically. The Order had Europeanized the island and turned the harbour area into a cosmopolitan centre. The ordinary folk gave great importance to religion in their daily lives but continued to deviate from the doctrinal norms. The Inquistion acted as a watchdog over such transgressions.

The Maltese tribunal of the Roman inquisition was an integral part of the Counter-Reformation movement. The Inquisition helped to create a gulf between popular and learned culture in such a way that popular religious beliefs were labelled as 'heresies'. However, despite the attempt of the Inquisition to eliminate 'unethical behaviour', the mass of the people continued to relate with the supernatural without ordination and approval of the church. This is evident in the use of elements of official religion for unorthodox magical purpose. Another popular form of unethical behaviour was blasphemy. Blasphemy was directed against the major ingredients of Post Tridentine religiosity. The Inquisition dissected these emotional outbursts of anger in order to find heretical beliefs in them.

Finally,one cannot fail to mention Malta's role as a frontier society whose culture was influenced by the continuous war against the Ottoman Empire. This conflict left a deep imprint on the social memory of people. Slavery and corsairing were the net result of this conflict. A direct consequence of such activities was the role of slaves in trasmitting magical beliefs.

Unethical behaviour and heresy in early eighteenth century Malta cannot be studied in isolation,since popular culture in early modern Malta followed many of the trends then prevalent in southern Europe.

Josephine Diacono: Cospicua 1930-1950: A Case Study in Historical Demography (B.Educ., 1995).

This work attempts to determine the extent to which the Cospicua Parish Registers for the period from 1930 to 1950, reflect the social and economic situation in the locality and in the Maltese Islands. The study starts with a historic review of Cospicua and the Three Cities. A comparative study of their population and that of the Maltese Islands throughout the years will be attempted in Chapter 1. Data which has been culled from the Parish Registers of the period will be compared with similar data for the Maltese Islands in Chapter 2.

The consequent three Chapters present and analyze data which has been acquired from the birth, death and marriage registers. Chapter 6 concerns nomenclature and analyzes population movement and foreign surnames of the locality.

Part B consists of a chapter which examines the use of demography in a classroom situation. The practical aspect of the topic will also be considered for use with primary and secondary school students.

Mark Farrugia: New Wine in Old Bottles? The Electoral Experience During the Life of the 1921 Constitution (B.A.Hons.,1995).

This dissertation deals with the role played by the elector under the 1921 Constitution. Attempts have been made to answer questions such as why did the number of electors increase considerably from the first election held in 1921 to the last one held in 1932; the geographical distribution of the electors; to what extent were the electors willing to transfer their vote to another party after giving their first preference to their favourite party, and how these cross-party transferable votes were distributed; what was the relation between the occupations of the electors and the support received by the political parties; which were the main issues which created sharp divisions among the electors; and what was the role of the church in the political life of the elector. The main sources made use of are found in the National Library at Valletta, in the Melitensia section in the University Library, and in the National Archives of Santo Spirito at Rabat.

The dissertation has three chapters. Chapter 1 tries to detect who were the electors and looks at their electoral behaviour between 1921 and 1932. The 1921 Constitution extended the franchise in a way far more extensive than any other previous constitution. Undoubtedly this left its impact on the political parties which from now onwards had to adopt policies which attracted a wider spectrum of electors, if they wanted to be successful in electoral terms.

The extension of the franchise enabled the formation of a party which addressed and hoped to get its support from the new working classes constituency. Initially many were those who believed that the Labour party had a crucial role to play in the Maltese political scene. However the more time passed the more Labour started to lose electoral support.

Chapter 2 tries to show how two main issues, the class struggle and the language question, divided the Maltese electors in the 1920s and 1930s. Under the 1921 Constitution electors tented to oppose each other along either class or language divisions. The L.P was mostly accused of working to introduce class hatred in Malta, but it replied that its only intention was to eradicate the cause so that there would be no effects. The language question originating back in the 1880s still dominated the Maltese political scene in the 1920s and 1930s. Furthermore the whole issue became more serious when in Italy Mussolini took over power. Mussolini made it clear that his aim was to build an empire in the Mediterranean Sea and Malta was to became part of that empire.

Chapter 3 deals with the role played by the Church under self-goverment, its attempts in various ways to influence the electors in their choices, and effects of self-goverment on the Church's status amoung the Maltese. The Church was conscious that political parties were influential competitors but obviously it could not oppose their formation. So the strategy adopted by the Church was to infiltrate them. In case of the Nationalists this proved to be a relatively easy task but the same cannot be said in the case of the other two parties. The main aim of this dissertation is to throw a new light on certain aspects of the Maltese political life during the inter-war period.

Kenneth Gambin: Popular Culture and the Inquisition,1677-1678 (B.A.Hons.,1995).

This dissertation attempts to study some aspects of popular culture during the inquisitorship of Ercole Visconti in Malta, 1677-1678. The main information has been obtained from Volume 79 of the Criminal Proceedings of the Archives of the Maltese Inquisition at the Cathedral Museum of Mdina.

The dissertation is divided in six chapters. The introductory chapter deals partly with the situation in Malta in the 1670s, and partly with the Inquisition. The 1670s were marred by two great difficulties for the Order's government of Malta. Scarcity of grain in Sicily, in fact, led to constant food shortages in Malta. And, as if this was not enough, plague broke out in 1676 and 11,300 persons died as a consequence. On its part the Holy Office by the late seventeenth century did not regard heresy as the primary threat for orthodox Christianity any more, and now concentrated more on 'popular superstitions'.

In fact, although the reforms of the Council of Trent were largely successful by the end of the seventeenth century, irrevence and sometimes outright reaction to official religion was far from rare. Chapter two shows that there was a constant flow of defections, forced or voluntary, to Islam. Other forms of unethical behaviour like bigamy as well as blaspheming against the use of sacraments also ranked high among the religious crimes committed by the Maltese.

Chapter three discusses education which was rather controlled and was limited to a privileged few. Generally speaking, literacy was alien to the common sectors of society, and was considered necessary only when it was regarded as a prerequisite for particular professions, like that of priests. The latter, infact, used literacy as a tool with which to control the faithful who were expected to conform to Catholic ritual.

The church advocated the use of sacraments as the only orthodox method with which to deal with the various adversities of life. But as it is discussed in chapter four this was not enough for early modern folk who wanted more spontaneous access to the supernatural so as to overcome all sorts of misfortunes. This was why they often made recourse to magic whose 'superstitious' motives were often brilliantly disguised by prayers and invocation to saints, to the extent that the clergy participated.

On some occasions such as plague, however, not even magic proved to be of any help and therefore other forms of communication with the divine had to be invented.

Chapter five discusses the case when during the plague of 1676 the people of Valletta created a local saint of their own so as to represent them directly in front of God. This devotion, however, was not shared by the official Church which considered local saints as a threat to traditional hierarchical religious authority. Their claim at sainthood was therefore rejected as false.

The concluding chapter deals on how the Inquisition documents studied enable us to catch a glimpse into the eternal battle between 'official' and 'popular' cultures, between the central authority of the Catholic Church based on the Tridentine decrees and ancient religious beliefs which lingered on among the masses who were often illiterate and did not care less about official Church dogma. On its part the Inquisition in Malta, as elsewhere in Catholic Europe, did its utmost to control transgressors by forcing them to conform with the precepts of the Council of Trent.

Elaine Micallef Valenzia: Aspects of Russo-Maltese Relations, 1770-1994(B.A.Hons.,1995).

Russo-Maltese relations began tentatively in 1770 between the Czarina Catherine II and Grand Master Pinto de Fonseca. The Czarina wanted Pinto's help in attacking the Turks and wished to send a Charge' d'Affaires to Malta. The Order had since mended its fences with the Turks and could not accept a Charge' d'Affaires from Orthodox Russia. Nevertheless, Catherine's representative Cavalcabo functioned as de facto Charge' d'Affaires. His letters to Count Panin are an excellent first-hand account of Russo-Maltese relations between 1770-76.

On Catherine's death in 1796, her son Paul became Czar. Obsessed with the idea of becaming Grand Master of the Order, Paul achieved his aim through the 'good offices' of the unscrupulous Count Giulio Litta, his Maltese Charge' d'Affaires at St Petersburg, but his title was soon abolished.

After a dreadful two - year interregnum under the French,the Maltese clamoured for British rule. At the 1802 Treaty of Amiens, Britain, France, Russia and Naples decided that the island should be returned to the Order. The situation became a debacle when the Maltese continued to clamour for British rule and the new Russian Czar Alexander I insisted on the ratification of Article X of the Treaty of Amiens.Harsh words followed between Pitt the Younger and the Czar.The Czar's dilemma lay in choosing between retaining Malta and expending men and capital to keep Napoleon out of the Mediterraneean. He opted for a tacit withdrawal. Malta had no real connection with Russia until she served as a supply depot and military hospital during the 1854-56 Crimean War.

The early twentieth century saw Malta again receiving Russian visitors, refugees from the October 1917 Revolution, invited and aided by the British authorities, among them the Dowager empress Marie Feodorovna who stayed at San Anton. Various aristocratic refugees made their way to Malta, numbering roughly 600. Among them were Princess Nathalie Poutiatine who married a Maltese and established the first ballet Academy and General K. A. Voyensky de Breze', whose diaries provide a vivid account of the life of a Russian refugee in Malta in the 1920s. Thereafter, Russo-Maltese relations come to a stop of fifty-odd years, until diplomatic relations are established in 1982. In 1989, Malta hosts the Bush-Gorbachev Summit.

Ruth Vella: Malta under Crown Colony Rule 1933-1939 (B.A.Hons., 1995).

This dissertation deals with the major economic, social and constitutional developments in Malta during the years 1933-39. When in 1933 the Constitution was withdrawn, the administration of the Island fell under direct Crown Colony Government, under the Governorship of General Sir David Graham Campbell and General Sir Charles Bonham-Carter successively. Because of their lack of political activity due to the suspension of the Constitution, these six years are often overlooked in history writing. However, considerable development occurred in the economic, social and constitutional spheres. Education and health were improved, while in 1939 another Constitution was awarded. The imminent war boiling in Europe made the British Government take precautions to safeguard the Islands' well-being.

AN OVERVIEW OF BOOKS ABOUT MALTA PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1978 AND 1987

By Claire Zammit, Mark Aloisio, Stefan Cachia, Kenneth Gambin and Marcia Young.

To carry forward the work started in Storja '78 we are including an update of Melitensia books published from 1978 to 1987. Storja '96 has taken care to include most of the books published during the decade under review which we most consider to be of substance, especially in the area of Maltese studies. It may fairly be said that about two of the books published each year are of superior and lasting value, although others can be valuable per se or as source material.

Works in this category would include those by:

Oliver Friggieri (1978) on the influence of Italian culture on Maltese literature;
Henry Frendo (1979) on the formation of Maltese political parties and national identity;
Mario Vassallo (1979) on changing socio - religious attitudes;
Carmelo Testa (1979 et seq) on the Maltese insurrection against French rule;
Alison Hoppen (1979) on the Order's fortification of Malta;
John Attard Montalto (1980) on the Maltese aristocracy;
Adrianus Koster (1981) on the role of ecclesiastics in political affairs;
Alexander Bonnici's two volume De Piro biography (1982 - 85);
Harrison Smith's biography of Lord Strickland as revised by Adrianus Koster (1983);
Lawrence E. Attard's first volume on migration history (1983);
Edward Zammit's sociological enquiry on class and labour (1984);
Joseph Bezzina (1985) on religion and politics in Gozo 1798 - 1864;
Marc Donato's historical survey (1985) of Maltese settlement in Algeria in the nineteenth century;
Herbert Ganado's two volumes of journalistic writings (1985);
Philip Vella's illustrated account on Malta during the Second World War (1985);
Godfrey Wettinger (1985) on the Jews in Malta during the Late Middle Ages;
Roger de Giorgio's study on the origins of the city of Valletta (1985);
Edgar Soler's autobiography (1986) concentrating on the years of his exile in Uganda;
Mario Buhagiar (1986) on Roman and Byzantine catacombs;
Alfie Guillaumier's compendium on Maltese towns and villages (1987), and
J.M. Pirotta's first volume on Malta's post - war history 1945 -1954 (1987).

We are also including a short list of some journals and reviews which were published usually intermittently. Books are also being separated by categories for easier reference, including a section on bibliographical sources. The key to the abbreviations is:

BS: Bibliographical Sources
GH: General History
AAA: Artistic / Architecture / Archaeology
BGA: Biographical / Genealogical / Autobiographical
PM: Parochial / Municipal
NM: Naval / Military
RE: Religious / Ecclesiastical

1978

BS: *Gozo Year Book;* Gozo Press; Published by the Social Action Movement.

Joseph Mizzi: *Catalogue of the records of the Order of St John in the National Library of Malta, Vols 1 - 13;* University press,1964 -

Anthony F.Sapienza : *A checklist of Maltese periodicals and newspapers in the National Library of Malta and the University of Malta Library,* Royal University of Malta; unpaginated.

Edward Sammut : *Handlist of writings on art in Malta;* University Press; 39pp.

GH: Antonio Menna: *Storia dell'isola e dell'Ordine di Malta 1798 - 1815;* Napoli; Societa' Editrice Napoletana; 237pp.

Arrigo Pecchioli: *Storia dei cavalieri di Malta;* Roma; Editalia; 125pp.

Anthony Luttrell: T*he Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291 - 1440 ;* London; Variorum Reprints; various pagings.

A.Vella, E.Cammilleri, A.Azzopardi : *Grajjet Malta,3 vols,*1976 - 1980.

Oliver Friggieri: *La cultura italiana a Malta;* Firenze; Olschki; 168pp.

AAA: John Azzopardi: *The church of St John in Valletta 1578 - 1978;* Progress press; 116 pp.

BGA: G.Azzopardi: *Ghejdut Manwel Dimech;* University Press; 229pp.

PM: S. Borg: *Ix- Xewkija fi grajjiet il-kappillani u l-arciprieti taghha;* Progress Press; 101 pp.

M. Busietta: *Tas-Sliema : il-knisja u l- parrocca ta' Stella Maris;* San Gwakkin Press; 108 pp.

Joseph Micallef: *Rahal fi gwerra;* Il-Hajja; 113pp.

Walter R.Zahra: *Storja taz-Zejtun u l-inhawi tieghu vol.1 ;* Veritas Press; 152pp.

1979

BS: Carmel Cuschieri: *Index Historicus;* Malta; the Author; 151pp.

Anthony Attard: *Index of notaries 1465-1894;* Malta (s.n.); 22pp.

Carmel Bonavia: *Bibliography of Maltese textbooks 1651-1979;* University Press; 76pp.

GH: Hannibal P. Scicluna: *The French occupation of Malta 1798 - 1800* (translation of *Actes et documents relatifs a l'histoire de l'occupation Francaise de Malte 1798 - 1800 et la fete du 14 Juillet 1798 a Malte); 294pp.*

Henry Frendo: *Party politics in a fortess colony: the Maltese experience;* Midsea Books; Maltese social studies series; 243pp.

Andrew P.Vella: *Storja ta' Malta, vols 1-2* (1974-79); KKM.

Carmelo Testa: *Maz-Zewg nahat tas-swar: zmien il- Francizi f'Malta, 3vols;* (1979-1982); KKM.

Mario Vassallo: *From lordship to stewardship: religion and social change in Malta;* Hague; Moaton; 270pp.

AAA: Alison Hoppen: *The fortifications of Malta by the Order of St John;* Edinburgh; Scottish academic press; 221pp.

PM: Emanuel Brincat: *Senglea during the Second Great War 1940-1944;* Progress Press; 107pp.

NM: George Hogan: *Malta - the triumphant years 1940-1943;* London; Robert Hale; 208pp.

1980

GH: Paul Bartolo: *X'kien gara sew fis-Sette Giungo;* KKM; 231pp.

Henry Frendo: *Ir-rieda ghall-helsien 1880 - 1905;* Azad; 168pp.

Ray Bondin: *Deportation 1942;* Independence Print; 139 pp.

John Montalto: *The nobles of Malta 1530 - 1800;* Midsea Books; 415pp.

H.C.R. Vella: *Jean Quintin d'Autun: The earliest description of Malta (Lyons 1536);* De Bono Enterprises; 102pp.

Winston L.Zammit : *Malta under the Cotoners 1660-1680;* Lux Press; 97pp.

BGA: Robert Jackson: *Malta victory: Yeoman on the George Cross Island;* London; Barker; 137pp.

Alexander Bonnici: *Dun Gorg Preca 1880-1916,* 2vols; Lux Press.

Lawrence Mizzi: *Ghall-holma ta' hajtu;* KKM; 102pp.

PM: Charles B.Grech: *Umbrelel fuq tas-Sliema: tifkiriet tal-gwerra ;* KKM; 196pp.

Joseph Micallef: *L-istorja ta' Hal Safi*; Indepence Print; 80pp.

NM: Peter Elliott: *The cross and the ensign: a naval history of Malta 1798-1979;* Cambridge; Stephens; 217pp.

1981

GH: Joseph Micallef: *When Malta stood alone, 1940 -1943;* Interprint; 190pp.

Adrianus Koster: *Prelates and Politicians in Malta: changing power balance between church and State in a Mediterranean Island Fortress, 1530 - 1976;* Vijfhuizen; the Author; 298pp.

BGA: Michael Galea and Emmanuel Tonna: *L-Arcisqof Gonzi, 2 vols;* KKM.

Charles A.Gauci: *The genealogy and heraldry of the noble families of Malta;* Gulf Publications; 309pp.

Anton Buttigieg: *Mill-album ta' hajti. Fil-morsa tal-gwerra, 3 vols;* Lux Press.

P.M: Anton Buttigieg: *Grajjiet il- Qala;* San Gwakkin Press; 100pp.

Alexander Bonnici: *L-Isla fi grajjiet il-Bazilika ta' Marija Bambina, 2 vols* (1981-1986); Printwell.

Frank Bezzina: *F'Ghawdex fi zmien il-gwerra;* Gozo Press; 213pp.

NM: Douglas Hamilton: *The air battle for Malta: the diaries of a fighter pilot;* Mainstream publishing Co.; 200pp.

1982

GH: Karmenu Ellul Galea: *IL-pijunieri tas-sigurta' socjali;* Il-Hajja; 471pp.

BGA: Alexander Bonnici: *Mons.Guzeppi de Piro 1877-1933,2 vols;* Veritas Press.

Philip Mallia: *L-isqof li habbu kulhadd; Lux Press; 303pp.*

PM: *Remembrance*, published by the Fsobians on the occasion of the blitz on Floriana in 1942.

1983

GH: Harrison Smith: *Lord Strickland servant of the Crown,* edited by A.Koster; Amsterdam; 524pp.

Lawrence E.Attard: *Early Maltese emigration,1900-1914;* Gulf press; 58pp.

PM: Vincent Borg: *Il-Knisja parrokkjali ta' Hal - Lija;* Giov.Muscat and Co.; 139pp.

RE: Vincent Borg: *Marian devotions in the island of St Paul, 1600-1800;* Lux Press; 383pp.

1984

BS: J.Sultana et al: *Biblijografija nazzjonali ta' Malta;* Malta Govt.Press; 41pp.

GH: Edward L.Zammit: *A colonial inheritance:Maltese perceptions of work, power and class structure with reference to the labour movement;* Malta Univ.Press; 195pp.

Mario Buhagiar (ed): *Proceedings of History Week 1983;* Veritas Press; 178pp.

PM: Alexander Bonnici: *In-Nadur: Grajjiet kolleggjata u bazilika mxebilkin fil-hajja socjali ta' Ghawdex,vol. 1 (Mill-bidu sal-1827);* Veritas Press; 369pp.

Joseph F.Grima: *Il-knisja parrokkjali ta' San Gorg, Hal Qormi: erba' sekli ta' storja;* Eagle Press; 162pp.

BGA: Paul Cassar: *Three medical biographies: Joseph Zammit (1650 -1740), Gabriele Henin (1696-1754), Joseph Edward Debono (1903-1974);*Malta Univ.Press; 48pp.

Oliver Friggieri: *Gwann Mamo - il-kittieb tar-riforma socjali*; Interprint; 44pp.

Il-bidu tal-glieda ghall-helsien: kitbiet Mintoff fis-snin erbghin/Dom Mintoff: maqlub ghall-Malti minn Mario C.Cremona; Dipt tat-taghrif,Partit tal-Haddiema, 168pp.

NM: Charles A.Jellison: *Besieged:the World War II ordeal of Malta,1940- 1942*; Hanover; Univ.Press of New England; 288pp.

1985

Joseph Bezzina: *Religion and politics in a crown colony: the Gozo-Malta story,1798-1864;* Gozo Press; 384pp.

R.De Giorgio: *A city by an Order*; Progress Press; 259pp.

Marc Donato: *L'emigration des Maltais en Algerie au XIXem siecle;* Montpellier Africa nostra; 215pp.

Joseph Micallef: *The plague of 1676;* Masterprint; 128pp.

Godfrey Wettinger: *The Jews of Malta in the Late Middle Ages;* Interprint; 352pp.

PM: Mariella Attard: *Haz-Zebbug u l-festa ta' San Filep*; 108pp.

A.Quintano: *Storja ta' Rahal Gdid;* Catholic Book Centre; 88pp.

BGA: Herbert Ganado: *Jien inhobb nitkellem maghkom,2vols;* Interprint; 472pp.

T.Johnston: *Tattered battlements: a fighter pilot's Malta diary D-Day and after;* London; Kimber;222pp.

NM: P.Vella: *Malta: Blitzed but not beaten;* Progress Press; 332pp.

1986

BS: Remig Sacco: *L-elezzjonijiet generali,1849-1986: il-grajja politika u kostituzzjonali ta' Malta;* KKM; 321pp.

GH: Barry York: *The Maltese in Australia;* Melbourne; AE Press; 161pp.

AAA: Anthony Bonanno: *An illustrated guide to prehistoric Gozo;* Gaulitana; 48pp.

Mario Buhagiar: *Late Roman and Byzantine catacombs and related burial places in the Maltese Islands;* Oxford; (B.A.R.); 435pp.

BGA: John Azzopardi(ed): *Francesco Zahra,1710-1773;* Mdina; Friends of the Cathedral Museum; 147pp.

Edgar Soler: *The king's guests in Uganda: from internement to independence, 1939-1964*; Hamrun; Lux Press; 302pp.

1987

BS: Michael J.Schiavone: *L-elezzjonijiet f'Malta,1849-1981;* Bugelli; 282pp.

GH: Frans Ciappara: *Mill-qighan ta' l-istorja: il-kappillani fis-seklu tmintax;* Il- hsieb; 80pp.

Alfie Guillaumier*: Bliet u rhula Maltin: enciklopedija ta' taghrif dwar kull belt u rahal;* Valletta Publishing;1987-

Joseph M.Pirotta: *Fortress colony: the final act,1945-1964, Vol1: 1945-1954;* Studia Editions; Social Action Movement; 444pp.

BGA: Michael Galea: *Monsinjur Enrico Dandria, 1892-1932;Vertias Press, Zabbar;* 46pp.

C.J Jaccarini: *Don Mauro Inguanez,1887-1955: Benedectine of Montecassino*; Mdina; Cathedral Museum; 190pp.

NM: Christopher Shores: *Malta: the hurricane years;* London; Grub street; 457pp.

Bill Rolls: *Spitfire attack;* London; William Kimber;

A list of journals concerning Malta published during the period under review.

Archivum: The journal of Maltese Historical research (Midsea Publications,1981).

Biblioteca Melitensia (Mediterranean Studies Group, University of Toronto).

Civilisation(P.E.G.)

Heritage:An encyclopaedia of Maltese culture and civilisation (Midsea Publications).

Hyphen: A journal of Melitensia and the Humanities (G.F. Abela Upper Lyceum).

L-Imnara (Malta Folklore Society).

Mediterranean Studies (Faculty of Arts, University of Malta).

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