

The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta in 1639

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Abstract: *In March 1639, an edict by Grand Master Lascaris forbade women to wear masks on the last three days of Carnival, and for the commedia the Italian Knights were to hold on Carnival Saturday. The young knights protested, ended up ransacking the Jesuit College, and eventually asking for the Jesuits' expulsion from Malta. A manuscript account – discovered in Modena – narrates the unfolding of the events in detail. It throws light also on the mental state of the riotous knights who were adamant about the expulsion of the Jesuits whom they blamed for the grand master's edit and bando.*

Keywords: *Jesuits, Order of St John, Grand Master Lascaris, knights, carnival, expulsion.*

Introduction

About forty years after their arrival in Malta, in 1639, the Jesuits passed through an ordeal about which many a correspondence passed between the grand master and the Inquisitor in Malta on one side, and the Jesuits' and the Vatican in Rome on the other. Eventually, the incident was reported with various shades, and to date may be consulted in diverse original and copy-manuscripts found both in the National Library of Malta and in private and national libraries abroad. One may also refer to a number of published studies which deal with the incidents that brought about the 'temporary' banishment of the Jesuits from Malta.

The fervent and already well-established sons of St Ignatius of Loyola were invited to come to Malta around the middle of the sixteenth century. The Order of St John helped the *Compagnia di Gesù* to eventually come and run a college which would also serve as a diocesan seminary the erection of which was decreed by the diocesan synod held in Malta in 1591 in keeping with the Tridentine reforms. Besides their college religious life, teaching, and preaching, members were very often chosen as the trusted confessors of the grand masters who had been on the islands for a little more than sixty years. Some Jesuits were even influential on the local political decisions, and were frequently involved in the bestowal of advantageous appointments and grants to family's friends' young entrants in the Order.¹ Because of this the

¹ Cf. 'The Jesuits' superior general in Rome had indeed joined other wire-pullers such as popes, cardinals, monarchs, and princes in trying to promote certain individual Knights within the Order of St John.' D.F. Allen, 'Anti-Jesuit Rioting by Knights of St John during the Malta Carnival of 1639', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, LXV (129), Rome 1996, p. 5.

Society earned an unpopularity and antipathy especially among the disgruntled knights, with the result that a decision pertinent to carnival by the grand master in 1639, was ascribed to the Society of Jesus, and led to the Jesuits being asked to leave the islands. The event has been recorded and commented upon in the history of the Society itself, but especially in the annals of the Order and of the Maltese islands.

This is, for example, what the Abbé R. de Vertot, a historian of the Order, wrote about the incident:

1639. Some knights, who were just come to be their own masters, mask themselves in carnival time, in the habit of Jesuits. The fathers complain of it to the grand master, who orders some of the young men to be arrested, but their comrades break open the prison-doors and let them at liberty. Upon this they all go in a body to the college, throw the furniture through the windows, and force the grand master to consent to their being sent out of the island. Eleven Jesuits were put on board, four only staid behind, who had hid themselves in the city of la Valette. The council and the great crosses did not discover any great concern at the banishment of these fathers, who in opposition to their interest, had taken upon themselves to govern the grand masters.²

Because of the fact that the Jesuits enjoyed trust, love, esteem, and great respect, from both the local authorities and the common people, this expulsion was always treated delicately.³ Fabio Chigi himself, the apostolic delegate and inquisitor in Malta in 1639 and the future Pope Alexander VII, had related the incident to his superiors in Rome very diplomatically, but, above all, in an extremely objective, intelligent, and sensitive way.⁴

A detailed account discovered recently in Modena (Italy) by the present author, however, seems to spell out, without any superficiality in the narrative, what must have really happened and what did actually bring about the Jesuits' banishment from Malta, following the carnival events of March 1639. It throws

² As might be judged from the last sentence, speaking in the name of the Order, the author emphasizes the fact that the Jesuit fathers were guilty of taking 'upon themselves to govern the grand masters'. Abbé R. de Vertot, *The History of the Knights of Malta*, London 1728, Vol. II, Book XIV, p. 72.

³ Cf. 'Sulle cause di quella improvvisa sommossa, trasparente, ma non ben precisate dai documenti del tempo, vennero fatte induzioni più o meno prossime al vero a secondo dello spirito degli scrittori, variamente disposto verso i Gesuiti.' Pio Pecchiai, 'La sommossa dei Cavalieri di Malta contro i Gesuiti nel carnevale del 1639', *Archivio Stotrico di Malta*, IX (IV), Rome 1938, p. 429.

⁴ Cf. Vincent Borg, *Fabio Chigi – Apostolic Delegate in Malta (1634–1639) – an edition of his official Correspondence*, Vatican City 1967, pp. 99–104, 286, 324, 469–77, 483, 484, and 500. Cf. the reference to a letter by Chigi to his uncle, the knight Agostino, dated 19 March 1639, wherein, he states that 'La occasione di quella maschera fu partorita dal negare S. Em. a le camicelle alle donne e che non intervengano alle commedie, ma la cagione si crede l'altra dell'ingerirsi troppo.' *Ibid.*, p. 99, and footnote 4.

more light on the unhappy episodes, and the unexpected and uncontrollable sequence of events that lead to the expulsion of most of the Jesuits from the islands.

The account narrates the unfolding of the events in quite a different way from that recounted by Grand Master Lascaris himself to Cardinal Barberini in Rome, in a letter dated 14 March 1639,⁵ i.e. only a few days after the actual events took place. Moreover, while the grand master tries to give the impression that he did his best to find a solution to the tumultuous incidents, the present account more or less relieves the Jesuits of almost all of the guilt attributed to them in the case. The account reveals that it was the grand master who involved his confessor Padre Giacomo Cassia, SJ when it was the Order that had issued the edit and *bando* prohibiting women from wearing masks during the last three days of carnival; i.e. the cause of the protest and eventual disturbances by the knights and the fateful decision to expel the Jesuits.

This anonymous manuscript account, written in very clear and elegant handwriting, spreads over five pages on ff. 111^r–3^r, which form part of a manuscript volume,⁶ apparently once kept by a person who was interested in copying this and other information from other sources. It was discovered in the Biblioteca Estense of Modena in 1996. In the meantime, in 1998, another manuscript copy of the same account – this time written in quite legible but not so beautiful handwriting, on pages 405–12, of a manuscript volume⁷ made up of a collection of various manuscripts written definitely by different hands – was discovered also by the present author in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence. The latter contains various minor orthographic and grammatical alterations, and some fewer words and phrases, but it was definitely copied from the same source as, if not from, the first one. It has been decided to translate and comment on the former account because it has more details. In fact, the copyist (the writer of the second account) made many grammatical changes and left out several details.⁸

⁵ Vide Appendix II.

⁶ 'Relazione del discacciamento de Gesuiti da Malta', MS. Camp. 275 = Gamma B.5.2, Cosimo Castellini, 'Avvenimenti diversi curiosi . . .' MS.s.17, ff. 111^r–3^r, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena, Italy.

⁷ The text of the manuscript is found in a manuscript classified G. Capponi, CCCVII, pp. 405–12, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence. This volume consists of a collection of manuscript information on various subjects. Although the size of the pages is the same, these manuscripts were definitely written down by different people. The handwriting of this *relazione* is very different from both that of the preceding manuscript and the one that follows in the same volume.

⁸ Both accounts and all the changes may be consulted in Appendix I.

Arrival of the Jesuit Society in Malta

The knights of St John had been in Malta for less than two decades when the first request for the Jesuits to open a college in Malta was made. It was towards the middle of the sixteenth century when the Bishop of Malta Fra Domenico Cubelles, prior of the conventual church of the Order, had himself asked the founder of the Society of Jesus, St Ignatius, to open this college.⁹ St Ignatius might have thought that such a college would help missionary work among the Arabs. He might have perhaps even thought¹⁰ that the Maltese language – which was in those times considered to be ‘pure Arabic’¹¹ – would help missionaries from Malta to communicate with Arabs.¹²

However, it was in 1577 that the first member of the Society came to Malta. He was Fr Giovanni Battista Carminata, who had been invited to deliver Lenten sermons to the knights – probably in Birgu – by Vice-chancellor Tommaso Gargallo and Grand Master Jean Levesque De La Cassiere. Thirty-year-old Fr Simone Bonnici, who was also vicar to the bishop, was the first Maltese to become a Jesuit. In 1578 three Jesuits were sent to Malta, too. But it was in 1591 that a decision was taken to build a college – later known as the *Collegium Melitense* – on the island. The foundation of this was agreed by a deed signed in front of Notary Giacomo Sillato on 12 November 1592.¹³ The building, which was erected after papal intervention, was officially opened on 8 March 1593, but the Jesuits did not move in until four years later.

A Jesuit to teach Mathematics in Malta

Jean Paul Lascaris was elected grand master in 1636. On 14 August of that same year, he asked the general of the Society, Fr Muzio (or Mutio – Father general between 1615–45) Vitelleschi, to send a Jesuit father to teach mathematics to the Order’s novices. In answer to his request, Vitelleschi wrote to the rector of the Jesuit College in Malta and informed him that he would be asking the father provincial of Sicily to find a member competent in the subject to be sent to Malta. However, up to the end of the year no such member was found. German scholar

⁹ Cf. Joseph Bezzina, *L-Istorja tal-Knisja f’Malta*, Malta 2002, p. 143.

¹⁰ The college was confirmed by a papal bull dated 28 March 1592, and issued by Pope Clement VIII. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹¹ Cf. ‘In utraque Insula, linguâ Arabicâ purâ sine ulla Italicæ linguæ alteriusve mixtura, utuntur;’ [i.e. ‘On both islands the inhabitants speak pure Arabic, without any admixture of Italian or of any other language.’], Athanasius Kircher, *Mundus Subterraneus*, Vol. II, Amsterdam 1678, pp. 119–20.

¹² Cf. ‘[. . .] failed to register Ignatius Loyola’s own perception of Malta as a bridge to the Muslim world of North Africa.’ Allen, p. 3.

¹³ Cf. J. Zammit Ciantar, ‘A Jesuit in Seventeenth-Century Malta’, *The Times [of Malta]*, 12.xi.1992.

Fr Athanasius Kircher, SJ,¹⁴ who came to Malta the following year, helped Lascaris realize his wish.¹⁵

Still, in Malta, Kircher seems to have been involved in more than just teaching mathematics to the knights.¹⁶ In a letter to Cardinal Barberini in Rome, Mgr. Chigi states '*vi negotiano tutti li ministri di S. Em.a et il Prior ogni giorno bene spesso due volte, co'l pretesto di studiar matematica dal padre Athanasio (reference to Athanasius Kircher), onde ne seguono i soliti cartelli, che fin dipinsero il Gran Maestro, che dal mezzo in giù era somaro, et un gesuita con un puntone lo faceva camminare.*'¹⁷ This is a clear indication that the Jesuits had, by then, already become quite influential on the grand master.

After eight months in Malta, Kircher left on 1 February, 1638,¹⁸ having been replaced by another German Jesuit, Fr Theodorus Bech, as confessor of the Landgrave.¹⁹

¹⁴ **Athanasius Kircher:** Athanasius Kircher was born in Ghysen, in Germany, on 2 May 1601. He entered the Jesuit Society on 2 October 1618. In 1629 he was teaching philosophy and mathematics at Würzburg. During the Thirty Years War (1618–48) he sought refuge in Koblenz (Germany), and later on – in 1632 – in Avignon (France). At the request of Pope Urban VIII, Kircher went to Rome where he arrived in November 1633 and where he held the post of professor of mathematics, physics, and oriental languages in the Jesuit College. From Rome, Kircher seems to have travelled little. However, in 1637, he definitely embarked on a journey which took him to Sicily and Malta. Kircher died in Rome, aged 79, on 27 November 1680.

¹⁵ By sending Fr Kircher to Malta, the father general of the Jesuits was also complying with what the grand master had asked of him almost a year before, namely to send him a Jesuit father to teach mathematics to the novices, in Malta. Cf. Borg, p. 214, n. 4. See also *ibid.*, p. 62. and p. 272, n. 7.

¹⁶ During his stay, Kircher invented the instrument, which acquired the name of *Specula Melitensis*, described in *Specula Melitensis* published in Naples in 1638, and authored by the Maltese Salvatore Imbroll. Cf. J. Zammit Ciantar, 'Athanasius Kircher in Malta', *Studi Magrebini*, Vol. XXIII, Napoli 1991 [i.e. 1996], pp. 23–44 + XL Plates. He must have also been already involved in observing the life of people living in caves and caverns. In fact, he was one day invited by Grand Master Lascaris to go and see the community of troglodytes in Ghar il-Kbir. Cf. J. Zammit Ciantar, *Life in Ghar il-Kbir*, Malta 2000.

¹⁷ Cf. Borg, p. 330.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 67. For more information about Kircher, cf. J. Zammit Ciantar, *A Benedictine's Notes on Seventeenth-century Malta*, Malta 1998, Chapter 2; and *Id.*, *Life in Ghar il-Kbir*.

¹⁹ Borg, p. 332. But in some studies, Kircher is thought to have been one of the Jesuits still staying in Malta in 1639. Cf. 'In Malta rimasero solo il Padre Anastasio Kircher, matematico e fisico di grande valore [. . .]', Agostino Savelli, *Storia di Malta*, Milan 1944, pp. 182–3. Savelli is mistaken; he must have interpreted the words 'gesuita tedesco' in a letter by the grand master – which cf. in Appendix II – as referring to Kircher, when it was reference to Fr Theodorus Bech who had replaced the former as confessor to Prince Friedrich.

Carnival in Malta

Carnival celebrations in Malta have deep roots. Until very recently historians used to hold that the festive frolic event was introduced to Malta by the knights after 1530.²⁰ But Maltese scholar Stanley Fiorini has discovered documents which give ample evidence that carnival used to be celebrated on the islands long before the coming of the Order. These documents disclose information especially on the consumption of meat during carnival in the Santo Spirito Hospital, in Rabat (Malta), at least as early as 1468,²¹ i.e. more than sixty years before the arrival of the knights. Still, 'an earlier reference to Carnival is found in a town council meeting held on September 10, 1462.'²² Fiorini also suggests that the celebration of carnival was as important as those of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. One may therefore understand how, besides other various mundane activities, 'Dramatic performances at the Auberges, in which the knights were the actors – often the authors too – were arranged for Carnival'²³ with great enthusiasm. It is presumed that both the inhabitants and the knights waited eagerly for the event which preceded the austere 40 fasting days of Lent (the *Quaresima*) before Easter. Besides, such celebrations must have been part of the recreational pastime activities in which the knights involved themselves in the otherwise long idle periods on the island.²⁴ However, the authorities used to expect the approach of the festive events with apprehension. Carnival was considered as the 'supreme event of the year, with illuminations, balls, and masques', but, at the same time, it was looked upon as 'an anxious week for the Grand Master and the Inquisitor, for no one knew what new devilries these inflammable young warriors would devise.'²⁵

All these facts provide the background scenario of the trouble which brought about the unhappy expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta during Carnival 1639.

²⁰ Iacomo Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Ill.ma Militia di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano*, Parte Terza, Naples 1684, p. 140. Cf. 'For over four centuries Carnival has enjoyed an unbroken popularity, having been held for the first time at Birgu in 1535, under Grand Master Pietro del Ponte.' Joseph Cassar-Pullicino, *Studies in Maltese Folklore*, Malta 1976, p. 21.

²¹ Cf. Stanley Fiorini, 'Carnj per lu Carnivalj', *Melita Historica*, Vol. IX No. 4, Malta 1987, pp. 311–4. Cf. also Id., *Santo Spirito Hospital at Rabat, Malta – The early years to 1575*, Malta 1989, pp. 28, 29, 55, and 143. Cf. also Joseph Cassar-Pullicino, *Studies in Maltese Folklore*, (revised and enlarged edition), Malta 1992, p. 48.

²² Joseph F. Grima, 'The beginning of Carnival in Malta', *The Sunday Times [of Malta]*, 10.ii.2002, p. 46.

²³ E.W. Schermerhorn, *Malta of the Knights*, Surrey 1929, p. 94.

²⁴ Cf. 'One could not fill all the dull months of waiting with church-going and *Pater Nosters*, and in the meantime the excess energy had to be worked off by expedients not provided for in the Statutes of Raimond Dupuy.' *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

Grand Master Jean Paul Lascaris Castellar

The Maltese still have a saying: '*ghandek wiċċ Laskri*' for 'you have the face of Lascaris'. This is said to someone who carries a melancholic face. It is also said that this saying originated as a result of Lascaris' strong, strict, and austere way of governing.²⁶

There are several reasons for this firm hand in government.

The previous Grand Master Antoine de Paule had ruled the island and the Order with agreeably lax methods. Before his death on 11 June 1636, it was expected that if 'Castellar [Jean Paul Lascaris-Castellar] were elected grand master the spiritual life of the Council would be improved'.²⁷ It had been assured that Lascaris frequented the Holy Sacraments and confessed regularly at the Gesù.²⁸ Notwithstanding this, he 'resisted stoutly the pretensions of both the Bishop and the Prior of St John's'.²⁹ Still, he enjoyed the trust of the pope.

Lascaris – who was the Society's benefactor³⁰ and had Fr Giacomo Cassia as his confessor³¹ – was decided to steer the Religion into order, and this he did with resolution and firmness. His 'sour, crabbed face [. . .] with long pointed nose and wrinkled brow and tight autocratic mouth', represented his resolute character and resourcefulness. In fact he had to take several harsh decisions which pleased neither the knights nor the people. One decision which, however, earned him resentment and loss of popularity was that of trying to depopulate Mdina – which was almost deserted³² except for the seat of the bishopric, the palaces of the nobles, and the houses of some religious Orders – rather than spend more money on its depleted fortifications. No sooner had the removal of a bronze cannon to be taken to Valletta took place than a 'procession of frantic women, weeping and beating their breasts, and tearing their hair, streamed down from the city gates and across the plain of Valletta'.³³ Although the project was abandoned and the grand master tried to favour people who decided to take up residence there, some ringleaders were imprisoned. This event has been considered as one of the causes for Lascaris' unpopularity.³⁴

²⁶ About Lascaris, cf. among other works, Paul Mizzi, *The Grand Masters of Malta*, revised ed., Malta 2000, p. 18, and Charles Mula, *The Princes of Malta (The Grand Masters of the Order of St John in Malta 1530–1798)*, Malta 2000, pp. 147–58.

²⁷ This has been written by a cautious and good Jesuit quoted in Schermerhorn, p. 168.

²⁸ This is a reference to the church of the Jesuits.

²⁹ Schermerhorn, p. 169.

³⁰ Cf. Allen, p. 3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18. Cf. also the chapter 'I gesuiti confessori alle corti' in Bernardo Duhr S.J., *I Gesuiti*, Vol. II, Romae 1908, pp. 186–211.

³² Cf. J. Zammit Ciantar, 'Malta in 1677 – an anonymous account', *Studi Magrebini*, Vol. XXII, Naples 1990 [i.e.1995], pp. 87–108.

³³ Cf. Schermerhorn, p. 170.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

If these facts could have been the causes that brought about Lascaris' unpopularity, then the events that took place on the eve of Carnival of 1639 could have only added to make him hated even more.

Ill-fated days

The account of what happened on those ill-fated days is very detailed. It seems to have been written by someone who was an eyewitness to the incidents or perhaps had himself taken part in the events. He was possibly a knight who knew well especially what exactly had taken place within the auberges and within the Society's college as well. Whoever wrote the original account knew all the details of what had been found in the Jesuits' rooms, and of the tasty food ready for the *Quadragesima* dinner, which eventually ended up thrown to, and consumed by, the people who had gathered to enjoy what seemed to be another carnivalesque activity.

There is, however, one odd detail in the opening phrase of the manuscript: the author says the events started on Carnival Saturday, 3 March 1639.

In Malta the Gregorian calendar must have been adopted soon after its creation on 15 October 1582. In any case, Fabio Chigi states that Athanasius Kircher and his group arrived in Malta on 31 May 1637, Pentecost Sunday. According to the Gregorian calendar both date and day are correct. In alignment with this, the date of Carnival Saturday of March 1639 could not be the 3rd, but the 5th of March; the author, or copyist could have read '3' for '5' on an 'original' account.³⁵ This leads to the conclusion that the trouble started on Saturday 5 March, and ended with the expulsion of the Jesuits on Tuesday 8 March 1639, just three days later.

The Account – A Translation

Account of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta

'On 3 March 1639³⁶ – the last Saturday of Carnival – the Grand Master published a *bando* by which every woman was forbidden to follow the usual custom of wearing a mask during the last three days of Carnival. Disobedience would be punished by whipping. The young knights were very irritated by this law. The senior knights and the people got its message correctly. The artists were hit by this edict because this meant they would lose money. On Sunday night the young

³⁵ Several authors who wrote about the incident overlooked this minor detail. Among these cf. Allen, p. 19.

³⁶ According to the Gregorian calendar, 3 March 1639 was a Thursday. Then, the following Saturday would have been 5 March. This infers that the author of the account must have mistaken the date. But he is surely referring to the Carnival of 1639.

knights had to present the comedy in the Palace. The scenery was already hanging in the hall where this had to take place. The Grand Master was implored to allow women to attend and enjoy the comedy. However, the Grand Master denied the knights' wish. So they turned on some knights of the Grand Cross in order that they would beg him to concede their request. No sooner had these approached the Grand Master than he told them that he would acquiesce and give his permission unscrupulously only if his confessor, Padre Cascia, gave him such an advice. So they immediately turned to the beloved and saintly Father and referred to him that which the Grand Master had told them. The inconsiderate Father replied that he could not give his permission and be left with a clean conscience. On hearing this, those young knights became very angry and turned away showing little respect towards the Revd. Father Cascia. Besides they all agreed to cancel the presentation of the comedy, as in fact they did. The following Monday, a young Italian knight was seen sporting the clothes resembling those of a Jesuit, with a large writing on his back defaming the Rector and Padre Cascia.

'No sooner had this case been referred to the Grand Master than he imprisoned the Italian knight the following Tuesday in Fort St Elmo. This he did in order to abate the misdeed or, at least on that day, that was what he thought to be the best decision.

'On that same day, some time later, various circles of knights were seen in front of the Palace, discussing the fact differently. Many young Italian knights gathered in groups and went straight to the Auberges to share their views with their French and Spanish companions. These were already disappointed with the situation and were very easily drawn on their side. Soon, a large crowd gathered and, since the news spread that all that had occurred was brought about by the recommendations of the Jesuit Fathers, everybody ran towards the *Collegio*, resolute not to leave the place if these did not bring about the freedom from prison of the Italian knight. When they reached the place and saw that their knocking was not answered, they pulled down the door. The Jesuit Fathers were frightened by this unexpected behaviour and immediately retreated and locked themselves in the church. Here, as their last refuge, they exposed the Holy Host.

'Meanwhile, the knights entered the college, went upstairs, and ran into the rooms in search of the Jesuits. Naturally, they found none in their rooms. They continued their search for them everywhere. When they came to the refectory they found the tables were already laid – because it was time for lunch. There was good food like turkeys and roast chicken which they threw out through the windows to the common people who had congregated for that unusual protest.

'Running through the rooms, the knights found quantities of very good Jam / sweetmeat (*Confetture*), and, particularly in that of the Revd Rector, various sorts of

Pastiglie d'odori, a quantity of *vasi di Manteche*³⁷ *di fiori, melangoli*,³⁸ *e di Gelsomini*.³⁹ They filled their pockets and threw large quantities of all this out to the streets below. In the eyes of the onlookers this took the semblance of one of the carnival jests; and everyone had their share in handfuls. At the same time the knights were seen throwing money and books and all they came across in the Jesuit Fathers' rooms. It was something more than a scene seeing all the corridors full of *paste di Genova* tramped under the feet of those angry knights. Then, they went down the cellar where they found exquisite wines. They started toasting in turn, and inviting each other to drink. Then they started breaking the wine barrels and throwing them on the floor.

'In the meantime, more people kept gathering and the riotous crowd got larger and larger. The Jesuit Fathers, considering themselves no more safe in the church, fled and hid themselves in the most remote and filthy places.

'When the news of all this reached the ears of the Grand Master, he immediately ordered the Marshal, to go and calm down the juvenile fury. Soon he [the Marshal] went on the spot with the authority to administer justice, and ordered the knights' observance to their vow of obedience, and that they should immediately leave the place. However, as in time of revolt such an admonishment is usually obscured irreverently, they answered back saying they were not willing to depart from there, that they wanted by all means the freedom of the Italian knight [from prison], and that they wanted all the Jesuit Fathers to leave the Island otherwise they would set their Convent on fire and burn them alive.

'When Signor Prior Gattinari, who was loved and enjoyed great respect by all, and the Bailiff Valenze heard the news and saw those young knights so embittered, they were of the opinion that their plight should be presented to the Grand Master, as in fact it was done.

'The Grand Master, who was persuaded by some knights of the Grand Cross, immediately ordered that the Italian knight be set free, and that the Jesuits, on the other hand, should leave Malta. Thus, the revolt was partially calmed.

'In order that no harm be done to the Jesuits, they were accompanied by Signor Gattinari and Valenze.

'The Revd Rector⁴⁰ came out of a well where he had hid himself. The others came out from dens in the little attire they found themselves in; they left to embark on a frigate which was put at their disposal. It was then surprising with what joy the

³⁷ 'composizioni di grassi solidi, con profumi, per ungere, spalmare', Nicola Zingarelli, *Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana*, Milan 1922, *sub voce*.

³⁸ 'alselio dei paesi tropicali e legno giallo'; *ibid.*, *sub voce*.

³⁹ 'pianta rampicante dai fiori stellati bianchi odorosissimi – importata circa il 1560 dai navigatori Portoghesi'; *ibid.*, *sub voce*.

⁴⁰ Padre Giorgio Tagliavia.

Maltese people accompanied them on their departure. All in all, the fall of the Jesuit Fathers was welcome to the beloved people. One could see, along the way, humiliated more than the others, the Revd Rector, and Father Cascia; and not without reason. In the morning they (the Jesuit Fathers) were not ashamed to see the Knights kissing their hands in their own church in the name of the Grand Master, with good wishes for the new *Quadragesima*.⁴¹

‘And precisely with the ambition of fulfilling the desire rather than with pleasure, at last they started on their way, and with little pleasure they crossed the channel. Those young knights could have been pleased enough that, together with the Father Rector, only Father Cascia departed, and not all the other Jesuits too, so that the world would have been able to judge that they were not outraged against the whole Religion [Society] of the Jesuits, but only against those two who yearned to control the Grand Master.

‘There remained four Fathers, two *Fratelli*, and Fr Spagnolo, who had lived on the island for many years, held as a holy man, and who kept clear of intrigue. There remained also a German Jesuit, Confessor to the Prince Landgrave, and two Maltese Fathers who, precisely on that morning, had gone to dine with their families at home.

‘The Grand Master, a very zealous Prince, had thought that with that Edict, and with forbidding women to enter and see the *Commedia*, he would be avoiding certain scandals which could take place in those Carnival days.

‘That is why, today, it is necessary to leave the world as we find it. Changes sometimes bring about revolutions, because up to our times nobody has as yet been found who could straighten dogs’ feet.’⁴²

An Assessment

From writings which deal with this incident, it seems that the Modena MS. is as yet unknown and this is the first time it is being published and commented upon. In a very comprehensive and critical essay ‘Anti-Jesuit rioting by Knights of St John during the Malta Carnival of 1639’, D.F. Allen refers to various accounts [of the incident] found in the National Library of Malta, Lib. MSS. X; Bodleian Library, Oxford, *Rawlinson D956* 414; Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, MS. 1654 158–162 and MS. 2294 124–5. However, he builds his essay on the MS. found in the Biblioteca Angelica, in Rome. In his observations, Allen too reaches the conclusion that this account ‘[. . .] is much longer and, though it remains anonymous, its detail suggests that it might have well been written by one of the participating Knights or by somebody

⁴¹ The forty days of Lent.

⁴² For the original text – in Italian – of the document, *vide* Appendix I.

else close to the action'.⁴³ Allen is definitely wrong; the Modena account – as may be observed from the account itself given *infra* and from the comparison of the documents given in Appendix I – is still longer, and definitely contains more details and strong persuasive immediacy.

Conclusion

Previous analysis of the Carnival of 1639 episode have argued:

1. that the rioting was caused by a personality-clash between the rioting knights and Fr Giorgio Tagliavia, Rector of the Jesuit College, whose own genuine spirituality was too severe and authoritarian for the younger, fun-loving knights;
2. that the whole Society of Jesus cannot be blamed for the failings of one of its provincial superiors; and
3. that the anti-Jesuit rioting need not be highlighted in the longer and harmonious history of collaboration between the Society of Jesus and the Order of St John, which was to be interrupted again only by political circumstances beyond Grand Master Pinto's control in 1768.⁴⁴

The Jesuit Fathers may have not been in the good books of the knights for many reasons, among them for their authoritarian shadow over the grand masters, and for their frequent requests for preferential favours for family-related knights. The stand taken by the grand master's confessor, Fr Giacomo Cassia, SJ may have been seen, in fact, as the last straw on the camel's back. Surely, however, on that special carnival Tuesday, after all their protests and actions, the participating knights were in no sane mind to be responsible for their eventual decisive cry of: 'The Jesuit Fathers [. . .] leave the Island otherwise [we] would put their Convent on fire and burn them alive.' Most of them had helped themselves to the 'exquisite' wine kept in the Jesuits' College cellars and most probably were not in a position to be able to judge how irresponsible a decision they were making – that of depriving the Maltese, and the Order of St John, from the otherwise spiritual and educational contribution Loyola's sons have always delivered wherever they settled house.

The happiest news after these Carnival incidents was that during Pentecost of that same year, the Jesuits held the Forty Hours' Devotion. The Jesuits returned to Malta in September of that same year and in December (1639) they started school and to hold the congregations and missions regularly.⁴⁵ Life for the Society had started

⁴³ Allen, p. 19.

⁴⁴ Cf. Allen, p. 4, footnote 5.

⁴⁵ Cf. P. Mallia, *Il-Ġiżwiti – Ġrajjiethom fil-qosor*, Malta 1070, p. 55.

off . . . again to be broken in 1768 when the Society was suppressed. But that is another story.

Acknowledgements

The staff of the manuscript section of the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena; the staff of the manuscript section of the Biblioteca Centrale, Florence; the staff of the manuscript section of the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome; the Director and staff of the National Library of Malta; and the late Fr. Joseph M. Ghigo SJ, Salvu Mallia, and Louis J. Scerri M.A.

Appendix I

The following are the texts of the three anonymous accounts referred to in the paper, which deal with the expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta in the Carnival of 1639.

One account is very probably an original; the second is definitely an edited version copy of the first; the third is yet another copy with slight changes when compared with the second. They are being reproduced – in groups of three lines – as long as permitted by the printed area of the page, one line above the other, with spaces in each text-line left so as to align as far as possible precisely above each other the same words recurring in all three texts. The first line – in font larger than that of the other two – is the text taken from the manuscript found in Modena,⁴⁶ the second from that found in Florence,⁴⁷ while the third is from that found in Rome.⁴⁸

The bold letters, words, and phrases in the text in Florence highlight and indicate the orthographic, grammatical, and paragraph changes made, and the words and phrases added by the copyist. The differences in the account in Rome may be compared with that in Florence found just above it.

⁴⁶ 'Relazione del discacciamento de Gesuiti da Malta', MS. Camp. 275 = Gamma B.5.2, Cosimo Castellini, 'Avvenimenti diversi curiosi . . .' MS.s.17, cc. 112–4 [for ff. 112–4, but meanwhile read also ff. 111^r–113^r], Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena. The figures 'cc. 112–4' appear on the bottom of the folio, in the corner next to the spine. They could have been written down later when an extra folio was inserted. The folio numbers '111–113' which are found on the right-hand corner of the top of the folios must have been the original 'numbers' possibly written down by the once owner of the manuscript.

⁴⁷ 'Relazione dello scacciamento dei Padri Gesuiti di Malta', MS. Fondo Gino Capponi, CCCVII, 882, cc. 405–12 [pp. 405–12], Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence. This volume consists of a collection of manuscript information on various subjects. Although the size of the pages is the same, these manuscripts were definitely written down by different people. The handwriting of this relazione is very different from both that of the manuscript preceding, and the one that follows.

⁴⁸ 'Relazione Dello Scacciamento de Padri Gesuiti di Malta', manuscript folios found in MS 1654, Notizie Diverse, Tomo III, Biblioteca Angelica, Rome.

The first account seems to be the original copy; it was written on separate leaves numbered 111 to 113. The narrative seems to have been composed spontaneously and in a natural way. It shows little, or no planning at all.

The MS. in Florence forms part of a volume made up of manuscript material. The language used is evident of a copyist who was also interested in editing. The Rome MS. too forms part of a volume – one of four – made up of manuscript material which was probably copied by one person from other manuscript material encountered who knows where.

The accounts

1. [f. 111^r] Relazione d(e)l discacciam(ent)o de Gesuiti da Malta
2. [p. 405] Relazione dello Scacciamento dei Padri Gesuiti di Malta
3. [f. 158^r] Relazione Dello Scacciamento de Padri Gesuiti di Malta

Il di 3 Marzo 1639 – ultimo Sabato d(e)l Carnevale fù p(er) ordine

Il di 3. Marzo 1639. vltimo Sabato di Carneuale fù p(er) Ordine

Il di 3. di Marzo 1639: ultimo Sabato di Carneuale fù per ordine

d(e)l Gran Mastro pubblicato un Bando sotto pena

d(e)l Gran Mastro pubblicato un Bando sotto pena

del Gran' Maestro pubblicato un'editto, e mandato un Bando sotto pena

d(e)lla frusta, che nessuna Donna servato il vecchio

d(e)lla frusta, che nessuna Donna ~~sotto pena~~⁴⁹ servato il Vecchio

della frusta, che nessuna donna, servato l'antico

costume stesse in quei tre ultimi giorni mascherata. Dispiacque

Costume stesse in quei tre vltimi giorni Mascherata. Dispiacque

costume stesse in que' tre ultimj giorni mascherata; dispiacque un' tale

ai Giovani Cavalieri l'Editto, ne meno da Vecchi fù bene inteso,

à Giouani Caualieri l'Editto, et anco ai Vecchi, e fù

editto a' i Cav.ri si giouani, come vecchj, e fù

e dal Popolo, e da gl' Artisti mal tollerato, mentre che p(er) simil cagione

mal tollerato dagl' Artisti.

mal tollerato dagl' Artisti.

⁴⁹ Two words deleted.

di far stanno a cavar denari. La Domenica notte dovevasi da
La⁵⁰ Domenica notte doueuasi da
La⁵¹ Domenica notte doueuasi dai

Giovani Cavalieri rappresentare la Commedia nel Palazzo,
Cauallieri giouani rappresentare **una** Commedia nel Palazzo,
Cauallieri giouanj rappresentare la Comedia nel' Palazzo

nella di cui Sala erasi già piantata la Scena; fù da rappresentanti
fù da rappresentanti
fù dai rappresentanti

q(e)ll' Ecc(ellen)za pregata a doversi contentare, che
pregato Sua Eccellenza a Volersi Contentare, che
pregata S. Em.^{za} à uolersi contentare; che à tal Comedia

venissero le Donne ad ascoltarla, e negando loro il Gran Mastro
Venissero le Donne ad ascoltarla, e negando cio il Gran Mastro,
u'interuenissero anco le Donne, e negando cio il Gran' M(aest)ro

il chiesto, ricorsero ad alcuni Gran Croci, acciò con preghi
ricorsero ad alcuni gran Croci, **a fine che** con preghi
[f. 158^v] ricorsero ad alcuni Gran' Croce, acciò con preghi

l'avessero fatto a ciò condescendere, che portatisi da lui,
lo facessero condescendere, à cio, i **quali** portatisi da Lui,
lo facessero condescendere, à ciò; questi portatisi dal

le fù risposto che se dal Padre Cascia suo Confessore
gli fù risposto che se dal Padre Cascia Suo Confessore
Gran' Maestro, gli fù risposto, che se dal Padre Cascia suo Confessore

gli venisse consultato di poterlo fare, senza scrupolo,
gli Venisse Consultato di poterlo fare, senza [p. 406] senza scrupolo,
gli fosse stato permesso di poterlo fare, senza scrupolo,

⁵⁰ The author started a new paragraph.

⁵¹ New paragraph.

l'averebbe egli p(er)messo. Furono q(ue)sti dal pred(ilett)o
 l'averebbe egli permesso. **Andar**ono questi dal predetto
 glie l'auerebbe concesso. Furono questi Cau.^{ri} dal

Padre, et avendole riferito quel santo che il Sig(no)r G.
 Padre, et auendole riferito quel tanto che il **gran**
 Padre Cascia, et auendole riferito quel tanto che gli aueua detto il Gran'

Maestro le aveva spiegato, replico l'inconsiderato Padre, che non poteva
 Maestro **gli aueua** spiegato, replicò l'inconsiderato Padre, che non poteua
 M(aest)ro, gli replicò l'inconsiderato Padre, che non poteua

con buona coscienza permetterlo; che p(er)ciò montati in collera
per buona coscienza permetterlo; **d(e)l** che montati in Collera
 con buona coscienza permetter' ciò, che però montati in collera

quei Giovani con poca reverenza le voltorono le spalle
 quei **Cau**alieri, con poca reuerenza **gli** uoltorono le spalle
 quei Cau.^{ri}, con poca riu.^{za} uoltandoli le spalle si partirono, e

di concorde volere deliberando di non volerla rappresentare,
 di Concorde Volere deliberando di non uolere rappresentar **più la**
 di concorde uolere, deliberarono di non uolere rappresentare più la

come in effetto fecero. Il Lunedì doppo si viddè mascherato
Commedia, come in effetto fecero.

Il⁵² Lunedì doppo si uiddè Mascherato

Commedia, come in effetto seguì.

Il⁵³ Lunedì dopò si uide mascherato

un Giovanetto [f. 111^v] Cavaliere Italiano quasi in abito da Gesuita, con un
 un giouane Caualiere Italiano, quasi in abito di Giesuita, con un
 un' giouine Cau.re Italiano, in abito di Giesuita, con un'

motto a lettere maiuscole dietro alle spalle in biasimo d(e)l
 Motto à Lettere Maiuscole⁵⁴ dietro alle Spalle in biasimo d(e)l
 motto dietro alle rena [f. 159^r] rena scritto à lettere grandi in biasimo del

⁵² New paragraph.

⁵³ New paragraph.

⁵⁴ The author had first copied **Maiuscole**; then he corrected the spelling by writing a 'u' above the vowel 'o' to show his intention of correction.

Rettore, e d(e)l P. Cascia. Laonde riferito il caso al G. Mastro, lo fece
Rettore, e del Padre Cascia. Laonde referito ciò al **gran** Mastro, lo fece
Rettore, e del P(ad)re Cascia.

subito carcerare il Martedi mattina nel Castello di S. Elmo
subito Carcerare.

Il⁵⁵ Martedi Mattina

.....

Il⁵⁶ Martedì mattina

potendo dissimulare il fatto, o almeno in q(ue)l giorno, essendo la
.....
.....

simulaz(ion)e il vero mezzo p(er) regnare. Non tantosto dileguorsi il
.....
.....

fatto, che si viddero avanti il Palazzo diversi circoli di Cavalieri,
si uiddero auanti il Palazzo diuersi Circoli di Cavalieri,
si uiddero auanti il Palazzo diuersi Circoli di Cau.ri,

oue con alterato ragionam(ent)o variamente discorrevano, et
oue con alterato ragionamento diuersamente discorreuano, e
doue con alterato ragionamento uariamente discorreuano, e

uniti in truppe molti Giovani Cavalieri Italiani andorono a
vniti in truppe **di** molti Cau.ri Italiani andorono a
uniti in truppe molti giouani Cau.^{ri} Italiani andorono agli

gl'Alberghi a dar parte di q(ue)ll'andam(ent)o ai Cavalieri Francesi,
gl'Alberghi a darne parte **ad alcuni** Cau.ri Francesi,
Alberghi à dar' parte degl'andamenti ad alcuni Cau.^{ri} Francesi,

e Spagnoli, e come mal contenti ritrovando la materia
e Spagnoli, e [p. 407] e come mal contenti ritrouando la materia
e Spagnuoli, e come mal contenti ritrouando la materia

⁵⁵ New paragraph.
⁵⁶ New paragraph.

disposta non gli fù altrim(enti) difficile tirargli con essi loro, ed in
 disposta non gli fù **niente** difficile tirargli con essi, **et** in
 disposta, non gli fù altrimenti difficile tirarli con loro, e in

q(ue)l modo congregatasi una gran Turba, e pubblicando
 quel modo congregati una gran turba, e pubblicando
 quel modo congregatasi una gran' turba, e publicando,

che di q(ue)ll' opera ne fossero stati Consiglieri i Gesuiti
 che di **questa** opera ne fossero stati **Causa** i Giesuiti
 che di quest' opera ne siano stati cagione i Gesuiti

s'avviorono verso il Collegio con ostinata deliberaz(ion)e di
 s'auuirono uerso il Collegio, con ostinata deliberazione, di
 s'auuirono uerso il Collegio con ostinata deliberazione, di

non partire di là se i P.P. non facevono porre in libertà il
 non partirne di là **prima che** i **Padri**. XII non facessero vscire **di**
 non partire di là se i Padri non faceuano liberare

Cav(alie)re prigione,

prigione il **Caualiere Carcerato**,

dalla Carcere il giouine mascherato, il quale era [f. 159^v] stato carcerato

e giunti al Collegio battendo alle
 e giunti al Collegio, battendo **le**
 à preghi de i Padri Gesuiti; e giunti al Collegio batterono alle

Porte, e vedendo che non gli venivono ad aprire le buttarono
 porte, e **non** uedendo, che non veniuono ad aprire lo buttarono
 Porte, e uedendo, che nessuno ueniua ad aprire, le buttarono

a terra, che p(er)ciò spaventati i Padri di q(ue)llo non aspettao
 a terra, **dal** che spauentati i Padri di **si** inaspettao
 a' terra. I Padri spauentati di si inaspettao

accidente, andarono in Chiesa, e quivi chiusi, come ultimo loro
 accidente, andarono in Chiesa, e quiui **giunti**, come vltimo Loro
 accidente, andorono in Chiesa, e quiuj chiusi, come loro ultimo

refugio	esposero	il S(antis)s(im)o	Sacram(ent)o,	salirono	i Cavalieri
Refugio	esposero	il Santiss: ^{mo}	Sacramento.	Salirono	i Cauallieri
refugio	esposero	il SS: ^{mo}	Sacramento;	Salirono	i Cauallieri

ad alto,	e scorrendo	p(er)	le stanze	non trovarono	alcuno	di essi,
ad alto,	e scorrendo	per	le stanze,	non trouorono	alcuni	de Padri,
ad alto,	e scorrendo	per	le stanze,	non trouorono	alcun	Padre,

e scorgendo	già apparecchiate	le Tavole	nel refettorio	(essendo	
e scorgendo	già apparecchiate	le Tavole	nel refettorio	(essendo	
e uedendo	già apparecchiate	le Tauole	nel Refettorio,	essendo	

quasi ora di pranzo)	e sopravi	molte regalate	vivande,
quasi ora di pranzo)	e sopra essendoci	Molte regalate	uiuande,
quasi ora di pranzo,	e trouandosi	molte regalate	viuande

come Galli d'India,	e Capponi arrosto,
come Polli d'India,	Capponi arrosto,
con polli d'India,	Capponi arrosto, e simili cose,

cominciorono a gettarle dalle finestre	al Popolo,
cominciorono a gettarle dalle finestre [p. 408]	al Popolo,
cominciorono a gettarle dalle finestre	al Popolo,

.....

acciò facesse Carnuale alla
acciò facesse Carneuale alla

	e la Plebe minuta concorsa	a q(ue)ll'insolita
barba dei Giesuiti,	e Concorsa la plebe minuita	a quella insolita
barba de Gesuiti,	e concorsa la Plebe minuta	à quella insolita

furia.

furia,	al quanto si ritirò, perche tutto il pane,	et ogni
nouità al quanto si ristorò, perche tutto il pane [f. 160']	pane e ogni	

	Indi	scorrendo [f. 112']	p(er)	le Camere
uiuanda sbalzò dalle finestre, quindi	scorrendo		per	le Camere,
uiuanda sbalzò dalle finestre.				

Quindi ⁵⁷	scorrendo	per	le Camere
----------------------	-----------	-----	-----------

⁵⁷ New paragraph.

ritrovarono quantità di Confetture, et in vero d(e)lle più
trouarono quantità **grande** di Confettura, et in
 ritrouarono quantità di Confetture, et in

vero d(e)lle più regalate, e particolarm(ent)e in q(ue)lla d(e)l P.
particolare in quella d(e)l **Padre**
 particolare in quella del P.^{re}

Rettore con varie sorte di Pastiglie d'odori, quantità
 Rettore, **ui trouarono molte paste di Genoua, molti** odori, quantità
 Rettore ui trouarono molte paste di Genoua, molti odori, e quantità

di vasi di Manteche di fiori, melangoli, e di Gelsomini, che
grande di Manteche,
 di vasi di Manteche

doppo averne piene le tasche cominciorono a
delle quali auendo piene le tasche di Ciascuno, cominciorono a
 che dopo auerne piene le Saccoccie, cominciorono à

buttarne gran copia nelle strade, rappresentando nel cospetto
 buttarne **in** gran copia **per le** strade, rappresentando nel Cospetto
 gettarne gran' copia per le strade, rappresentando nel cospetto

de li guardanti un gioco Carneualesco,
 de guardanti un giuoco Carneualesco, **per diuersi accidenti**
 de i guardanti un'giuoco Carneualesco:

mentre q(ue)lla Plebe faceva alla pugna p(er) aver
che seguiauano fori, la Plebe **la quale** faceva alla pugna per auerne
 e mentre quella Plebe faceua alle pugna per auer'

la sua parte. Si vidde nell'istesso tempo
ciaschiduno la sua parte. Si uidde nel **medesimo** tempo
 ciaschiduno la sua parte, si uidde in un'istesso tempo dalle finestre

buttar danari, libri e q(ua)nto in q(ue)lle ritrovarono, era
 buttar denari, libri, e quanto in quelle **stanze ui si trouaua**. Era
 gettare denari, libri, e quanto in quelle stanze si ritrouaua. Era

cosa più che grande	il veder	quei Corridori sparsi di
cosa più che grande [p. 409] grande	il vedere	quei Corridori sparsi di
cosa più che grande	il uedere	quei Corridori sparsi di

paste di Genova calpestate dalla furia di quei Cav(alie)ri.
 paste di Genoua calpestate dalla furia di quei **Cau**alieri.
 paste di Genoua calpestate da quei Caualieri, i quali [f. 160v]

Indi di	scesi nella	Cantina ritrovando	esquisiti Vini,
Di poi	scesi nella	Cantina, e trouati	esquisiti vini,
essendo dopò	scesi in	Cantina ui trouorono	squisiti Vini, con i quali

si posero a vicenda a far brindisi, e invitarsi	l'un l'altro a bere, et alla
si posero a vicenda a far brindisi, et invitar	l'un l'altro à bere, alla
si posero à uicenda a far' brindisi, e s'inuitorono	l'un' l'altro à bere, e alla

fine fracassando le Botti le buttarono p(er) terra. Augumentavasi	fratanto
fine fracassando le botte, le buttorono per terra.	
	Augumentauiasi ⁵⁸ fratanto
fine fracassando le Botti le buttorono per terra.	
	Cresceua ⁵⁹ pertanto

il concorso d(e)lle Genti, e le Persone de Tumultuanti che p(er)ciò
il Concorso delle genti tumultuanti che perciò
il Concorso delle Genti tumultuantj, che però

considerando i Padri non esser altrim(ent)i sicuri nella	Chiesa, si
considerando i Padri non esser	sicuri, ne anco in Chiesa, si
considerando i Padri non esser	sicuri, ne anco in Chiesa si

nascosero nelle più remote stanze ancorche immonde. Pervenuto	
nascosero nelle più remote stanze, ancorche immonde. Pervenuto	
nascosero nelle più remote Stanze, ancorche immonde.	
	Pervenuto ⁶⁰

⁵⁸ New paragraph.

⁵⁹ New paragraph.

⁶⁰ New paragraph.

all'orecchie d(e)l G. Mastro il rumore, ordinò che dal Maresciallo, che fosse
 all'orecchie d(e)l Gran Mastro il rumore, ordinò, che il Maresciallo
 all'orecchie del Gran' Maestro il romore, ordinò, che dal Maresciallo

andato a riparare quel Giovenil furore, et essendosi colà postato
andasse a riparare quel giouenil furore, et essendosi colà postato
 si andasse à sedare quel giouenile furore; il quale essendosi colà portato

col bastone d(e)lla Giustizia, ordinogli
 col bastone d(e)lla Giustizia, ordinoogli (*sic*) **in particolar modo**, che
 col bastone della Giustizia ordinogli

sotto pena d'obbedienza, che dovessero subito di là partire, ma come
 douessero di Là partire, ma come
 sotto pena dell'obbedienza, che douessero di là partire; ma come

che ne tumulti venga sovente il discorso offuscato irreverentem(ent)e
 che nei tumulti, **uien sempre** il discorso offuscato
 che ne i tumulti uien' sempre il discorso offus=cato [f. 161'] cato

gli risposero che non si volevono partire, e che
 gli risposero **arrogantemente**, che non si uoleuono partire, e che
 gli risposero arrogantemente, che non si uoleuono partire, e che

volevono fuori in tutti i modi il Cav(alie)re prigionie, e che i
 uoleuono in tutti i modi il Caualiere scarcerato [p. 410] e che i
 uoleuono in tutti i modi il Caualiere Scarcerato, e che i

Gesuiti andassero fuori d(e)ll'Isola di Malta, altrim(ent)i avrebbero
 Gesuiti andassero fuori d(e)ll'Isola di Malta, altrim(ent)i **hauerebbero**
 Gesuitj andassero fuori dell'Isola di Malta, altrimenti auerebbero

attacato il fuoco al Convento, e che gl'averebbono abbruciati vivi.
 attaccato fuoco al Conuento, e gl'auerebbero abbruciati **uiui**.
 attaccato fuoco al Conuento, e li auerebbero abbruciati uiui;

[f. 112^v] Giunto al rumore il Sig(no)r Prior Gattinari Cav(alie)re da tutti amato,
 Giunto al rumore il Sig(no)r Prior Gattinari Caualiere da tutti amato,
 Il S.^{re} Prior Gattinari Caualiere da tutti amato

e di gran stima, assieme col Sig(no)r Balio Valenze, e vedendo quei
 assieme col Sig(no)r Balì Valenze, e uedendo quei
 con il S.^{re} Balì Valenzè, e uedendo quei

Giovani inacerbiti furono di parere, che di q(ue)lla
 Giouani **tanto inaspriti** furono di parere, che di quella
 giouani tanto inaspriti, furono di parere, che di quella

domanda se ne desse parte al G. M(astr)o come fù fatto, onde
 domanda se ne desse parte al **Gran Mastro** come fù fatto, onde
 domanda se ne desse parte al Gran' Maestro,

il G. M(astr)o mosso dalle persuasioni d'alcuni Cav(alie)ri d(e)lla
 il **Gran Mastro** mosso dalle persuasioni d'alcuni Cau(li)eri d(e)lla
 mosso dalle persuasioni di alcuni Cau(li)eri della

Gran Croce, ordinò che fosse subito scarcerato il Cav(alie)re, e che i
 Gran Croce, ordinò che fosse subito scarcerato il Cau(li)ere, e che i
 Gran' Croce, ordinò che fosse scarcerato il Cau.^{re}, e che i

Gesuiti similm(ent)e si partissero da Malta, e così venne in parte a
 Giesuiti si partissero da Malta, e così uenne in parte a
 Gesuiti si partissero di Malta, e così uenne in parte a

cessare q(ue)lla revuluzione, et acciò che quei Padri non fossero
 Cessare quella reuoluzione.

E⁶¹ **perche** quei Padri non fossero
 cessare quella reuoluzione; e perche quei Padri non fossero

danneggiati, furono accompagnati dal Sig(no)r Gattinari, e Valenze.
 danneggiati, furono accompagnati dal Sig(no)ri Gattinari, e Valenze.
 danneggiati, furono accompagnati da SS.^{ri} Gattinari, e Valenzè.

Uscì il P. Rettore d'una Cisterna ove si era nascosto, e
 Vscì il Padre rettore da una Cisterna oue s'era nascosto, e
 Uscì⁶² il Padre Rettore d'una [f. 161^v] Cisterna doue si era nascosto, e

⁶¹New paragraph.

⁶²New paragraph.

gl'altri uscirono da certe tane, et in q(ue)l
 gl'altri uscirono da alcune tane, e **luoghi più Comuni**, et in q(ue)l
 gli altri uscirono da certe tane, e luoghi più comuni, e in quel

modo, et abito che si trovarono, andorono ad imbarcarsi in
 modo, et abito che si trouarono, andarono ad [p. 411] ad imbarcarsi in
 modo, e abito, che si trouarono andorono ad imbarcarsi in

una Fregata che incontente gli fù posta all'ordine. Fù poi meraviglia
una fregata che incontente gli fù **portata** all'ordine.

Fù⁶³ **marauiglia**
 una fregata, che incontente gli fù preparata. Fu maraviglia

il vedere con q(ua)nta allegrezza d(e)l Popolo Maltese furono
 il uedere con q(ua)nta allegrezza, **il** Popolo Maltese **ammiraua la**
 il uedere con quanta allegrezza il Popolo Maltese ammiraua la

accompagnati nella partenza. In somma la caduta de Gesuiti recò
partenza dei Giesuiti. In somma la caduta de Giesuiti arrecò
 partenza de Gesuiti;

sempre al Popolo diletto. Si viddero p(er) la strada più
 sempre **diletto al Popolo.** Si ueddero per la strada **mortificati** più
 si uiddero per la strada mortificati più

degl'altri mortificati il rettore, et il P. Cascia e con ragione,
degl'altri il Rettore, et il **Padre** Cascia e con ragione,
 degl'altri il Rettore, et il P.re Cascia, e Compagni,

mentre che la mattina non s'erano arrossiti farsi baciare le mani
 mentre che la **Mattina** non s'erano arrossiti farsi baciare le mani
 mentre che la mattina non si erano arrossiti farsi baciare le mani

da Cavalieri nella lor propria Chiesa a guisa d(e)l G. M(astr)o con
 da Cauialieri nella **Loro** propria Chiesa a guisa d(e)l **gran Mastro** con
 dai Cauialieri nella loro propria Chiesa a' guisa del Gran' Maestro con

⁶³New paragraph.

augurio d(e)lla buona nuova Quadragesima. E proprio d(e)ll'ambizione
augurio d(e)lla buona nuova Quadragesima,
augurio della buona Quadragesima;

più considerare l'ampiezza d(e)l desiderio, che il giusto; si posero al fine
posero al fine
Si⁶⁴ posero al fine

in Cammino, e con poco lor gusto, credo traversorono il Canale.
in Cammino, e con poco **Loro** gusto trauersarono il Canale.
in Camino, e con poco lor' gusto trauersorono il Canale.

Potevono in vero contentarsi quei Giovani che fosse andato via col
Poteuono in uero contentarsi quei Giouani che fosse andato uia col
Poteuono in uero contentarsi que' giouani, che fosse andato uia col Padre

Rettore il P. Cascia, e non tutti gl'altri, acciò il
Rettore il **Padre** Cascia, e non tutti gl'altri, acciò il
Rettore, il Padre Cascia [f. 162'] Cascia, e con tutti gli altri, acciocche il

Mondo avesse giudicato, che non contra a tutta la Religione de Gesuiti,
Mondo auesse giudicato, che non Contra a tutta la Religione dei Giesuiti,
Mondo auesse giudicato, che non contro tutta la Religione de Giesuiti

si fossero inferociti ma solo con (tro quei [f. 113r] contro quei due, che
si fossero inferociti ma solo contro quei due, che
si fossero inferociti, ma solo contro quei due, che

ambirono il maneggio del G. Mastro.
ambirano [p. 412] il Maneggio d(e)l **gran** Mastro. **Ma il furore** giouinile
ambiuano il maneggio del Gran' Maestro, ma il furore giouenile

Vi rimasero quattro Padri,
non ha riguardo pe(r) legge alcuna, ui rimasero quattro Padri **solì**,
non ha' ne legge, ne riguardo alcuno. Vi rimasero soli quattro Padri,

⁶⁴New paragraph.

due Fratelli, col il (sic) Padre Spagnolo, che p(er) molti anni
 cioè il Padre Spagnuolo, che per molti anni
 cioè il Padre Spagnuolo, che per molti **giorni**⁶⁵ anni

hà soggiornato in dett' Isola con grido di Santità, e lungi da
haueua soggiornato in quell'Isola, con **gran** grido di Santità, e lungi da
 aueua soggiornato in quell'Isola, con titolo di Santità, e lontano da

Maneggi. Un altro Alemanno Confessore del Prencipe
 Maneggi, Vn altro Alemanno Confessore d(e)l **S(ignor)** Principe
 i Maneggi; un'altro Alemanno Confessore del S.^{re} P(rinci)pe

Langravio, e due Maltesi, che q(u)ella
 Langrauio, e due Maltesi, che per **Lor sorte si trouarono** quella
 Langrauio, e due Maltesi, che p(er) loro sorte quella

mattina appunto si trovavano a desinare a Casa de Parenti. Il
Mattina medesima da Parenti.
 mattina si trouauano à desinare dai loro parenti.

Sig:e Gran Mas:^o Principe molto zelante pensò con q(u)ell'Editto, e con

.....

.....

l'impedire alle Donne l'ingresso nella Commedia vietare alcuni

.....

.....

scandali, che in quei giorni Carneualeschi auvenir poteuono. Perciò

.....

Però⁶⁶

.....

Però⁶⁷

oggi è necessario lasciar il Mondo come l'abbiamo trovato,
oggi bisogna lasciare stare le cose nel grado che sono ne
 oggi bisogna lasciare stare le cose nel grado, che sono, non

⁶⁵ Word deleted.

⁶⁶ New paragraph.

⁶⁷ New paragraph.

p(er)che le mutazioni cagionano alcuna

Metterne nuoue vsanze. Perche le mutazioni Cagionano **per lo**
 metter' nuoue usanze, perche le mutazioni cagionano p(er) lo

volta revoluz:i, non essendosi sino a nostri tempi ritrovato
più reuoluzioni, non essendosi fino **ne** nostri tempi trouata
 più riuoluzioni, non [f. 162v] essendosi fino ne i nostri tempi ritrouato

Persone che abbino saputo drizzare le gambe a cani.
 persona **alcuna** che **habbia** saputo drizzare le gambe **à** Cani.
 p(er)sona alcuna che abbia uoluto drizzar' le gambe **à** i Cani. (estratto)⁶⁸

Appendix II

The following is the text of the information sent by Grand Master Lascaris to Cardinal Barberini on 14 March, 1639, i.e. only a few days, about a week, after the Jesuit Fathers had been expelled from Malta. The text has been copied from that reproduced in Appendix I, in *Archivium Melitense*, Vol. II, No. 17, Malta 1913, p. 150.

'Essendo qui cominciate le maschere fui avvisato che Domenica passata comparve in piazza uno vestito da Gesuita con un cartello su le spalle che conteneva parole molto sporche toccanti l'onore di due principali padri di questo collegio. Parendomi che questo tale meritasse castigo, mi posi in diligenza per risapere chi egli fosse et havuti gagliardissimi indizii esser stato un cav(alier)e Italiano, martedì mattina giorno di carnevale lo feci mettere in castello. Risaputasi la sua carcerazione in poco spazio di tempo si allevò un gran numero di Cav(alie)ri di diverse linhue et agitati non so da qual furia se ne corsero impetuosamente al collegio de' Gesuiti e posta a terra la porta che trovarano serrata, nè trovando i P(ad)ri, che si erano ritirati chi in chiesa e chi nascosti in altra parte se ne salirono di sopra e cominciarono a buttare per le finestre quanto si trovò nelle stanze. A questo spettacolo concorrendo gran quantità d'altre genti il tumulto si venne a fare tanto maggiore. Per quietare una tanta sollevazione feci scarcerar subito il d(ett)o cav(alier)e in grazia del V(eneran)do Prior Gattinara e mandai molti gran croci perchè con le loro esortazioni havessero fatti ritirare dall'impresa li d(ett)i Cavalieri sollevati, ma niuna di queste diligenze suffragò alla mia intenzione poichè essendosi stabilito nell'animo, che tutti li Gesuiti si mandassero fuori dell'Isola, ad altronon si attendeva che a gridare et a sollecitare questa partenza, altrimenti havriano attaccato foco al collegio et abbruciativili dentro. Per rimediare anche a questo feci offrirli che si sariano fatti partire in ogni modo quelli due o tre de quali havevano mala sodisfazione purchè si lasciassero stare gli altri ma neppur di questo appagandoli, persistevano tuttavia ad esclamar che dovessero tutti andarsene via: onde per minor male fu necessario di condescendere a questa loro pertinacia, e così posta all'ordine una fregata si fecero incontente imbarcare consentendosi, che due solamente rimanessero qui e questi furino il padre tedesco confessore del Sig(no)r Principe Langravio et il padre spagnolo. In pubblico si disse che li Padri imbarcati si dovessero trasportare in Sicilia, ma in segreto diedi ordine al Pne. Della fregata che verso notte andasse a dar fondo all'isola del Gozo e che non partisse di la senza nuovo ordine, sperando che raffreddato quel

⁶⁸ 'estratto': note at foot of page.

primo furore di q(ues)ti sollevati, di poterli far tornare. Na con tutti I mezzi e diligenze usate in questi due giorni non è stato possibile di quietare questo negotio persistendosi più che mai nel dire di non voler più gesuiti nell' Isola. Di un eccesso ho voluto non tardar più di dare a V.E. questo ragguaglio con tanta passione d' animo per non essermi valsa niun opera per diarvi quanta puòpensarvi la sua infinita prudenza. Appresso avv E.V. di quel più che verrà accadendo non essendo ancor fu speranza di qualche accomodamento . . .'

Appendix III

The following is the text of a two-page manuscript found in the Biblioteca Angelica, in Rome. The text, which seems to have been copied from the original by a public notary on 5 August 1763, in Macerata, Italy, includes notes on the same expulsion of the Jesuit Fathers from Malta, in March 1639. The note, as may be observed, implies that the Jesuits may have been even beaten by the furious knights; some were even injured.

[p. 124]

'Gesuiti bastonati, e mandati via dall' Isola di Malta in Sicilia.

'[...] Malta 8 Marzo 1639. = Di V.S. Illma = È arrivato a tanto l' insolenza de Gesuiti, che oggi infiniti Cavalieri d' ogni nazione, sono stati forzati andare al loro [p. 125] loro Convento, e d' autorità bastonarli e due restati feriti, che il gran Maestro per non poter fare altro per il meglio, ha fatto imbarcare tutti questi Gesuiti, e mandarli in Sicilia. Sono restati due soli, cioè un Padre Spagnuolo veram.te buono, e non s'ingerisce nelle cose della Republica, ed il Padre Confessore del Principe Langravio, che nè meno s'ingerisce, con patto però, che questi ancora si debbano mandar via; e se non si pigliava questo espediente tutti questi Gesuiti erano per essere ammazzati per il furore de Cavalieri per loro maltrattare, e volersi ingerire con il Gran Maestro, e far carcerare Cavalieri a loro istanza. Ringrazio Iddio che io mi ritrovo alla Città del Borgo con la galera, che altrimente ancor' io mi ci potevo trovare.⁶⁹ = Assmo servidore, e fratello obligatiss.^o Fra Gio: Battista Compagnoni = Illmo. Sig.^{re} Adriano Compagnoni: Macerata = Quam quidem copiam, ego Joseph Barabani Maceratensis publicus Dei gratia apostolica auctoritate Notarius, et in Archivio X.E.A. descriptus extraxi, et prout jacet fideliter copiavi suo proprio originali, prout mihi assertum fuxi per Nobilem D.num Camillum Compagnoni Marefoschi Patritium Maceratensem penes eundem existentem ad hunc effectum nihi traditum, et eidem restitutum, cum quo facta prius collatione concordare inveni salva mihi semper & In quorum fidem &. Hic me subscripsi et publicavi requisitu & Maceratae hac die quinta Augusti 1763.'

⁶⁹The author was most probably a knight who seems to have been in Birgu, on a galley; otherwise he might have been involved in the events in Valletta.

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