

Siege Maps of Malta

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The Carriage of postal material in peacetime, to and from a given place, requires a considerable organizational effort and expense, which in wartime necessarily increases a hundred-fold.

This was shown up in the 1565 Siege of Malta, when the problem arose of how best to maintain communication with the outside World, in spite of the besieging Turkish forces. This involved the carrying of despatches from Grand Master La Vallette, closely beleaguered in the town of Birgu on the island of Malta, to his Holiness the Pope and to other Monarchs in Europe who could give him timely help, and of course carry back into the besieged town, their respective replies. Accompanying these despatches were detailed sketches or plans, since known as the Siege Maps of Malta, illustrating the constantly changing scene in Malta and made necessary for effecting safe landings of relief forces, and most especially for the raising of public opinion in Europe, in Malta's favour.

The purpose of this paper then, is to give detailed information on the individuals who formed part and carried out this hazardous enterprise, the kinds of sea craft they used, their points of departure and arrival, as well as the time employed in the crossing and the state of the moon during such crossing which presumably were made at night. All this I maintain can be said to be part of the early Maltese postal services, even if carried out in times of emergency.

The original Siege Maps themselves so carried, have not survived, but this paper also examines the methods used to effect their propagation in Europe as well as the names of the Firms so employed.

Let me first of all explain that these maps did not at first appear in book form. They were in fact sold as separate sheets, which were in English known as "broadsheets, and in Italian as "Avvisi", or even as "Volantini". They were nothing else than the forebears of today's newspapers, and had the same purpose -- that of spreading news of great events. Like today's newspapers, they as well were obviously very fragile, and after a few weeks of life, very few survived. Those few of them, which had been bound together in book form, at clients' request, have however come down to us, but they are very few in number, often called "Lafreri Atlases", from the publisher who had printed them and bound them together. They are now, mostly, all jealously guarded in Museums and Libraries, and are very rarely found in private hands. A common distinct feature is that one Lafreri Atlas, is nearly always different from another, as its contents depended from a particular client's tastes and requirements which were often different from those of another. This means in practice that to make a study of these Siege Maps, it is first of all necessary to study each and every one of these collections, cataloguing their contents, as they differ one from another. Then each had itself to be photographed and collated with photographs of Maps from other collections, as what purported to be the same map, very often had slight variations. The reasons for such variations being that publishers were always anxious to print the most up to date version, and so were continuously updating and changing their work, and indeed were continuously proclaiming this in their work. Naturally this situation brought about the fact that this research was a very laborious process indeed.

There are several reasons why so many Siege Maps were published. There is no doubt that the Turkish peril represented head-line news to the reading public of those days and the activities of the Turks in every campaigning season, could directly involve and very often did involve an enormous number of individuals and their families, stretching from Austria downwards to Italy, and involving them and all those living on the littorals of the Mediterranean Seas. The publishing houses were therefore cashing in on this situation, as they were guaranteed of a vast reading public. They therefore made the most of it, by publishing every bit of news, on every Turkish landing effected, every attack, every Siege, every death of illustrious captain, every lifting of a Siege, and obviously the final victory or defeat. Furthermore the Siege Maps had an even larger reading public than that reached by a book or pamphlet, as by their pictures they could appeal even to the illiterate public which was obviously very far larger.

G.M. La Vallette was of course well aware of this situation. Also that to obtain victory he had somehow to overcome the fear, the doubt and mainly the lethargy of the Spanish and Papal Governments, who were of course all very keen to help, but at the same time, were very afraid of making a false move, like helping Malta, only later to find that the Turks had instead landed elsewhere, perhaps even exposing their own coasts to attack. Against this natural reluctance to move too quickly, La Vallette, in order, on the other hand, to get help quickly, could of course, and did, launch constant and repeated appeals, but in order to make these appeals more effective, he may have combined them with these numerous Siege Maps, which are the subject of my talk. So with these Siege Maps he hoped to raise public opinion in his favour and, once raised, keeping it high all the time, till effective help could reach him. This tactic seemed to have been very successful, as the Viceroys (there were two of them, one in Naples and one in Sicily) had as a result all the time to answer to a constant stream of enquires and offers of help from all the young, and not so young, nobles keen to have a go at the Turks. The delays of King Philip the Second were indeed well known and so G.M. La Vallette started sending out these Appeals and probably these Maps as well, as soon as the Turkish fleet appeared on our horizons, and kept the despatch of the appeals and maps going, right up to the end of the Siege in September. As we have seen, no less than 36 seem to have been despatched and there is no doubt, that these original 36, seemed to have had a multiplier effect, as they were copied and pirated possibly without the direct knowledge of the original publishers, so that the final number of maps published may have reached a much higher figure.

Most of these Siege Maps are signed by the name of either their *engraver* or of their *publishers*, who seem to have been three in number, namely: Antonio Lafreri in Rome and Domenico Zenoi and Nicolo Nelli in Venice.

Antonio Lafreri was born in Burgundy; in the year 1512, but migrated to Rome in 1540. Lafreri was both an engraver, as well as a printer and a publisher. In his shop he made use of a large number of engravers, amongst whom were Stefano du Perac, Nicolò Beatrizet, Giambattista de' Cavalieri, Marcantonio Raimondi and many others.

Lafreri also stocked and sold maps issued by other cartographers and print-sellers. He was the first to start binding collections of maps together. After the year 1570, he started to make use of a special title page, for these collections.



Pietro Paolo Palumbo of Novara (act. 1564-84) - a crude map of Malta Siege, dated the 4/8/1565. A very rare specimen indeed, full of mistakes and imaginary incidents and corrections, but very eye-catching.

This title page embodied the picture of the demi-god Atlas, carrying the World on his shoulder. From this title-page there seems to have risen the custom of calling such geographical collections by the name of Atlases. We owe no less than *eight Siege Maps to the Ant Lafreri publishing house. These were later classified by Tooley in his numbers: 368, 360, 383, 384, 374, 361 and 362. A further Lafreri map was not known to Tooley, but is to be found at Stuttgart's No. 85 and in B.M.K. 84.76/B.M. II. 2603.*

Another six Siege Maps are known, all very rare though rather mishapen and distorted in shape. They have been called the "Palombi" group; but improperly so, as only one of them bears the Palombi imprint (Tooley No. 379). One other is signed "A.Pa." (Ascanio Palombo) who was a competitor of P.P. Palombo; another has been attributed to P. Woeiriot de Bouzey. Whilst the other three are all unsigned rough variations and seem to have been pirated from P.P. Palombo's plate.

G.M. La Vallette seems to have entrusted the engaging and publishing of the Siege Maps in Venice, to the two main firms who flourished in Venice at this time, namely Domenico Zenoi and Niccolò Nelli, about whom however, very few biographical facts are known.

Domenico Zenoi, flourished in Venice about 1552-1569, as a map engraver and publisher, and was responsible for some 13 beautifully detailed Siege Maps. These 13 known Siege Maps attributed to D. Zenoi are of a greater rarity than Lafreri's. Nine have his imprint; two others do not have his imprint but are said to have been published by the firms of the "Piramide" although for reasons unknown attempts to erase this imprint had been made. One other map just has the initials "T.B." and one final one is quite anonymous. All 13 are in the Zenoi style.

Two of these maps show the whole of the archipelago of the Maltese Islands; one shows the Valletta peninsula and nine others depict the G.H. area with scenes of the Siege in progress. Of these 13 maps Tooley registered three, viz:- 358, 387, and 385.

The other Venetian engraver who seems to have been given the honour of being entrusted with the Siege sketches, was *Niccolò Nelli*. Even he is very little known and our information is restricted to the fact that he was Venetian and that he flourished in that city in the years 1564-1570. We owe six Siege Maps to this engraver-publisher, only one of which (No. 366) was recorded by Tooley.

We have six Siege Maps attributed to the publishing house of Niccolò Nelli, and all dated 1565. The first is a general map of the Islands of Malta and Gozo, based on Lafreri's prototype map of 1551 and of which it is an exact copy. It was not recorded by Tooley.

The next three all come from the same plate and are pictures of the G.H. area; they however bear different dates: the first is dated 8/7/1565; the next is dated 4/8/1565 and the last is just dated "August 1565". This last one is the only one recorded by Tooley at his No. 366.

Finally there are two Nelli maps of the G.H. area and these show the end of the Siege and the departure of the Turks. One also gives a beautiful profile of G.M. La Vallette, perhaps the first of La Vallette ever shown in the Order's iconography of its G.Ms. The other map, comes from the same plate, but has no picture of the G.M. Neither has been recorded by Tooley.

Another artist who flourished in Venice, by the name of *Giovanni Battista*

Pittoni, was however born in Vicenza, in the year 1520. He died in 1583, not before producing a Siege Map of which only one copy is known to exist, that in our Armoury.

Other Siege Maps exist: one by *Pierre Woeriot de Bouzey* produced in November of 1565 (unknown to Tooley, but to be found in the Bibiliotheque Nationale, Paris, its classification number being Ge. DD. 2987 (5744). Also found at the Oeffentliche Bibliothek der Universitat, Basle; and at the Armeebibl in Munich, No. 3702.

Another beautiful Siege Map is that by *Matthias Zundt*, produced in Nuremberg in 1565: and another by *André Thevet* also in 1565, besides many others too numerous to be mentioned in a short article.

On these engravers and publishers, to whom the Siege Maps were entrusted, our G.M. La Vallette was relying for the raising of public opinion in his favour and of thus obtaining the "Relief" he was depending upon to save his much inferior force from being crushed by the overpowering numbers of the Turks. It would appear, that he meant the Roman engravers, by their works, to influence primarily the Roman and Neapolitan Courts, and thus bring pressure to bear on the Pope himself, as well as on the Neapolitan Spanish Vice-Roy and the Duke of Tuscany, as these were the powers who had the potentiality to give him the immediate help he needed very urgently indeed.

On the other hand, the Venetian publishers and engravers could not possibly give him immediate help, because by the time the sketches reached Venice and were transformed into etchings, the events described in the sketches would have already become stale and beyond remedy. Nevertheless their work could be counted upon to spread the news principally to Venice, and from there to the rest of Europe, and to the net-work of the Order's Priorities and other possessions, and for the gathering of contributions for the restoration work, which would have to be undertaken, as soon as the Siege were lifted.

There is no doubt that this strategy, which some may say I am attributing to the G.M. without any supporting evidence, except that of logic, seemed nevertheless to have worked admirably. As we know, reinforcements duly started to flow in, and the Spanish delay and lethargy was shaken off. All the numerous young noble adventurers and their followers, who may have happened to be unemployed, between one war and another - on the look-out for just a job- started to flock to the Courts of Naples and Messina, annoying and pestering those that mattered, to be allowed to cross over to Malta. This pressure was never allowed to slacken and on the other hand it was also constantly increased by further reminders from G.M. La Vallette, until finally, a first relief force - *Piccolo Soccorso* - in July, was sent out and successfully penetrated the enemy besieging lines, and joyfully entered Birgu. Then the final *Soccorso* arrived in September and this finally induced the Turks to depart, and the Siege came finally to an end.

It is interesting to note that in order to send out these messages (probably, as we are conjecturing, also accompanied by sketch maps of the Siege), the G.M. La Vallette despatched no less than 21 messengers in the 4 months in which the Siege lasted. Many of the messages were sent out in duplicate and sometimes even in triplicate copy, to make sure that at least one did reach destination, so hazardous was the exploit. Probably the maps also were sent out in several copies.

These messengers had of course first to cross through the enemy lines, sometimes swimming under water to do this successfully. Having got through the enemy lines, they had to make for Mdina in Malta and then to Gozo; or they may have made for Marsascala, the two remotest extremities of our archipelago. Next they would have to sail and/or row to Pozzallo, the nearest point on the Sicilian coast, but a good 60 miles away. It is recorded that when successful, this crossing on average took about 3 days, whilst 4 days were required to get to Messina! (See Bosio, Hist., Vol. III, p. 635 A).

We know the names of some of these messengers who actually were of Maltese nationality and have therefore become leading hero-figures in the national folklore. The names of Pilot Francesco Bonnici; of Pietro Xewca whose surname or possibly nickname is itself an appropriate epithet; Antonio Rosso; the tragic Pilot Orlando Magro; Antonio Xilla; Bartolomeo Habele and of course that of thrice-proven, mutilated swimmer Toni Bajjada, - all will not be easily forgotten. (See: Balbi/Palombo, pp. 37, 67; Bosio, Op.Cit., III, 536 B/C; 537 D; 554 B/C; 565 D/E; 581 A/B; 595 C/D; 617 E; 618; 650 A; and Cirmi, Comm., p.72.)

The trip to Sicily, with the Island of Malta and the seas around it completely surrounded by Turks, must have presented a formidable problem in itself, but our forefathers, despised and excluded by the Order, nevertheless knew how to rise to the occasion, both in the technical expertise, as well as in the bravery, they brought to the solution of the problem. Special boats were designed and made. Those made in Rabat, Malta, unfortunately sprung leaks in the voyage and could not be used. But those made in Gozo proved to be very satisfactory. They were designed to be carried by four persons and were described as being “*barchetta piccolissima, coperta di pelle di bue fresco, legata con corde per mancamento di chiodi e pece*” (Translated: “... a very small boat covered by a freshly slaughtered ox-hide, tied by cords, because of the lack of nails and pitch...” (Cfr, Bosio. Op.Cit., 531/A and Cirmi, Op.Cit., p. 72v). Another version was manufactured in the Malta Dockyard: “*fatta fabricare nell’ Arsenal, da Maestro Orlando Zabbar, una buona Barca di tre pezzi così ben compartiti, e con artificio tale lavorati, che disgiungendosi, si potevano portare separatamente, cioè la poppa, la prora e la mezanìa; e poi facilmente insieme si congiungevano; così ben incastrati, e connessi; come se d’un sol pezzo fabricata fosse. In maniera tale, che le congiunture servivano per banchi da vogarci sopra; e con essa sicuramente navigare si potevano ...*” (Bosio, III, 568, D/E). (Trans: ... A good boat was made in the Order’s Dockyard by Master Orlando Zabbar, in three parts so well designed and so cleverly worked, that when dismantled, these three parts namely the poop part, the prow part and the middle part could easily be carried separately; and yet when put together they became so well joined that they appeared to be made of one piece. In such a manner that the (actual) joints served as a bench on which one could sit and row; and with such a boat one could set out to cross the sea”).

With these kind of boats, the trip to Pozzallo in Sicily, the nearest landfall, but sixty miles away, used to be done in 3 days; to Messina, it took 4 days. Truly our forefathers were nothing less than supermen!

The sketches for these maps, which we are postulating, accompanied G.M. La Vallette’s letters, must have been very accurate indeed, as well as very

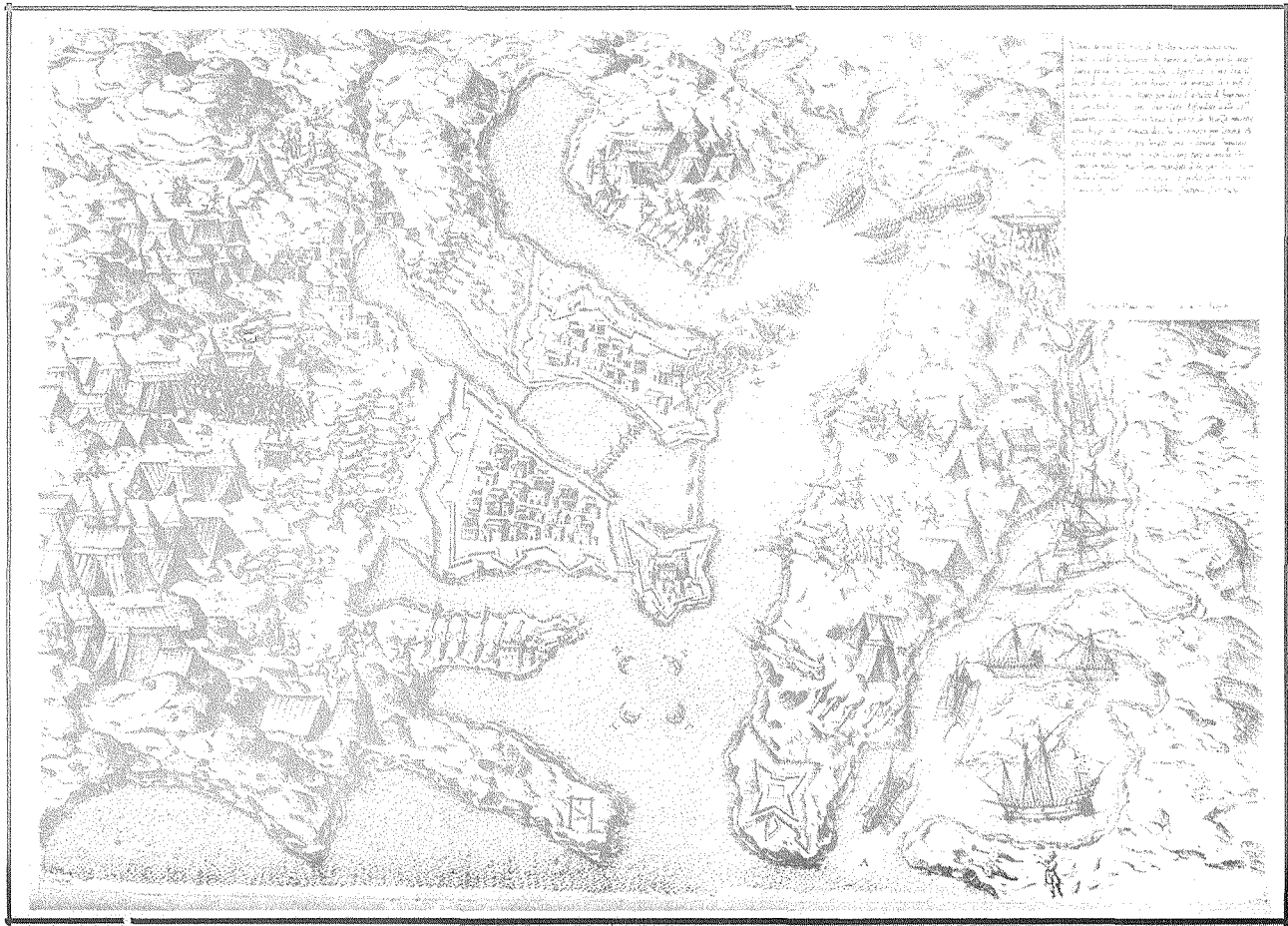
detailed. This we can attest because the maps, which were drawn from them and which have come down to us, show us to what extraordinary detail they went. For example, we are shown the exact positions of the two lines of artillery bombarding Fort St. Elmo, as well the exact number of guns in each line, which number corresponded exactly with the number given in written records of the Siege, such as Bosio's account. These sketches could also have given useful information to any relieving force, or to the enemy, if they were evert to fall into his hands.

Great prominence is also given to the position of the tents of the Turkish commanders-in-chief, their stores of food and ammunition, their hospital tents - sometimes even distinguishing between those destined for surgical cases, as against those for patients suffering from fevers and infections. We have also indications of their field kitchens, their cemeteries and of their fortified outposts, and a host of other details. All this I wish to stress done on a very accurate scale - ratio which implied an expert's hand and eye.

Obviously, to observe these details and then to establish their exact positions, and distances, for transference on to paper, was no mean feat and required some kind of instrument, even if crude. Also such instrument had often to be used under fire and in exposed positions. Whatever the instrument used and the dangers to be overcome, the results were remarkably accurate. A reference to all these difficulties is indeed made in one of the maps (Tooley 384) in a remarkably modest understatement, rare in those days of hyperbole: *"E se il tutto non è così limato, come si douria, Imputasi alli torbolenti tempi, che non lassano fare à chi sonno in Malta (quali hanno mandato il disegno) le cose con quella Commodità che se recerca, et quello che si fà, tutto è, acciò li gentili spiritj habbino Cose nuove."* (Trans: " And if everything is not so well engraved, as it should (have been done), this is to be blamed on the turbulent times (they are living in) which do not allow those who are in Malta (and who have sent this sketch) to do these things with those facilities which one seeks after, (for after all) that which is done, is all, in order that the gentle (readers) may have new things.")

But who could have been the authors of these sketches, inspired without doubt by the G.M. himself? My own researches have as yet failed to uncover their names, although in the process, there has come to light a Maltese member of the Order of St. John, who had indeed interested himself in geographical studies to such an extent as to have even published a book on Geography, wherein is described in detail the art of map making. A possible author for the sketches, but no direct proof has been found of his involvement in the production of these sketches. On the contrary there is some evidence that he may have been far away from Malta during the Siege. So the search must carry on.

From the Turks' side, we have not got anything like the Christians' Siege Maps, probably because their religion did not allow them such iconographic representations, also because similar motivation as existed for the Christians, simply did not exist for the Turks, to impel them to similar solutions. Nevertheless, from the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul, we have at least one manuscript map of the Malta Siege, on an animal skin, much cruder than ours, in execution, which is said to have accompanied their despatches. Research for other copies is said to be still continuing.



Map by Giov. Battista Pittoni of Vicenza (b.1520?-d.1583) showing Grand Harbour Area, with earliest Stages of Siege. Sketch taken out by Knight Ambassador Fr. Raffaello Salvaro, on the night of the 22-23/5/1565 per Galley St. Iago (See Appendix).



André Thevet (1509-90) - crude and distorted map of Malta, but of extreme rarity.

Funnily enough, with the end of the Siege, the production of Malta Siege Maps did not cease. On the contrary, the interest raised about Malta and its Siege, had become so large and so widespread, that after September 1565 we still get artists, not only in Italy, but also in Bavaria, in France, in Holland and other Countries, acquiring rights to copy Malta Siege Maps, with their descriptive texts, and to translate them into their own individual languages.

Some were quite original, like the most beautiful of them all, produced by Matthias Zundt in Nurnberg, sometimes towards the end of 1565. This interest in Malta's Siege by the Turks, is readily explained as Vienna itself had just withstood a Turkish Siege in 1529. Zundt flourished in Nurnberg in the years 1565-1571, having been born in that city in 1498 and died there in 1586. Besides being a producer of maps, he was also a renowned goldsmith, hence his deep love for details. His map of the Siege of Malta is reckoned to be the best, mainly because of its accuracy, but also because in one sole map he manages to portray in it: the arrival of the Turks, their descent on the Island, their attack on Fort St. Elmo, on Birgu and on Fort St. Michael. Full details are also given as to where exactly they landed, as well as how they did it, together with the mechanical means adopted to land their heavy artillery. Finally the arrival of the relieving forces is depicted as well as the final battle and the departure of the Turks. Miniature illustrations showing field kitchens, burial grounds, hospital tents, ammunition dumps, headquarters tents, fortified out-posts, etc., abound. Besides the Siege, and as if to put it in its proper perspective, we also find a beautiful, rich and accurate map of Europe, the only one of the Malta Siege Maps to provide this means of correlating Malta to Europe. Accompanying descriptive texts in two entablatures are also given, one on Malta and the other on Europe. It also appears to be the first to show, not only the White Cross of the Knights, but also heraldic signs used by the Turks as well as by the Christian relieving force, such as the balls of the Medicis, the Spanish, the parallel bars of the Aragonese, the double-headed eagle of the Germans and the castles of the Portuguese.

Another beautiful Siege Map was that produced by Hieronymous Cock of Antwerp, although this city was very protestant in outlook. Cock was born in 1510 and died in 1570. Also this map is extremely rare.

But probably the rarest of them all are the already mentioned maps published by Pierre Woeiriot de Bouzey of Lyons, France and those by André Thevet(1502-1590) also of France. These are very beautiful indeed and it is really a great pity that because of their extreme rarity, they have never been published and are therefore hardly known at all.

Many other Siege Maps continued to appear after the Siege, but of minor importance. Common to all is the feature that they rarely, if ever, have been published.

At long last, when the memories of the Siege were starting to fade, and its survivors to disappear from the face of the Earth, the Order decided to have its own official version of the Siege Maps. So it called on a little known artist by the name of Mattia Perez d'Aleccio (1547-1600?) and commissioned him to paint, in fresco, for the "Sala del Gran Consiglio," in the Grand Masters' Palace in Valletta, a series of 12 murals depicting various episodes of the Siege. This series was duly started in 1576 and completed in 1581. These still exist, and have been fairly well looked after. However, I must point out that, before starting the

series, d'Aleccio first had to paint in oil, facsimile studies of them, also called "modellos" and have them approved by the Order's Council, because no corrections were possible afterwards, when they had been reproduced on the "gesso" itself. All this was duly done, but when Aleccio left the Island in 1582, he seemed to have taken these preliminary studies with him. We next hear of them as having been acquired by Charles I of England, and they are now to be found in the Great Hall of the Queen's House at the Greenwich Maritime Museum. All, that is, excepting the map of Valletta which seems to have been used as a basis for Ignazio Danti's (1581) map now to be found in the "Galleria delle Carte Geografiche" in the Vatican in Rome.

Finally, in 1582, apparently without the Order's authorisation, certainly at its great annoyance, Perez d'Alleccio published an album containing 15 large engravings depicting various episodes of the Siege, based on the frescoes and dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII, and under the auspices of Cardinal Ferdinand Medici. These engravings are well known in Malta, have often been published, and, being very decorative, are very much sought after by collectors, and their value consequently continues to soar.

However, to end, we must add that the Order was never very happy about Perez's engravings and in fact in 1631 it commissioned the Florentine Anton Francesco Lucini to prepare a new version, which he duly did and published. This new version has also become a collectors' piece, though not of such rarity.

Abbreviations: G.H. = Grand Harbour.
G.M. = Grand Master.

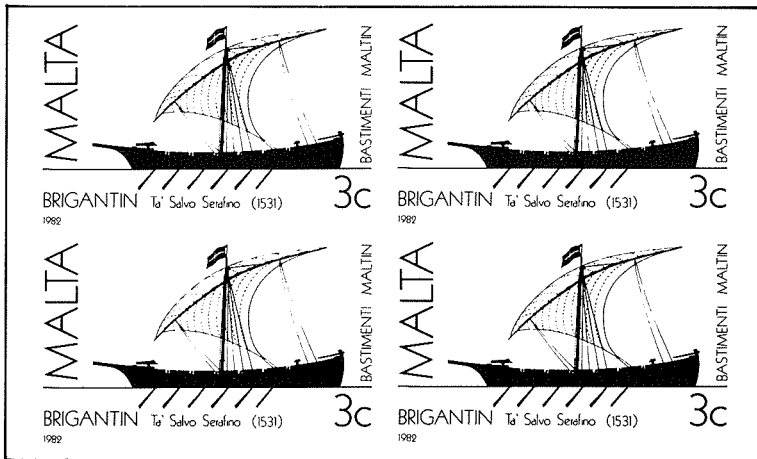
APPENDIX

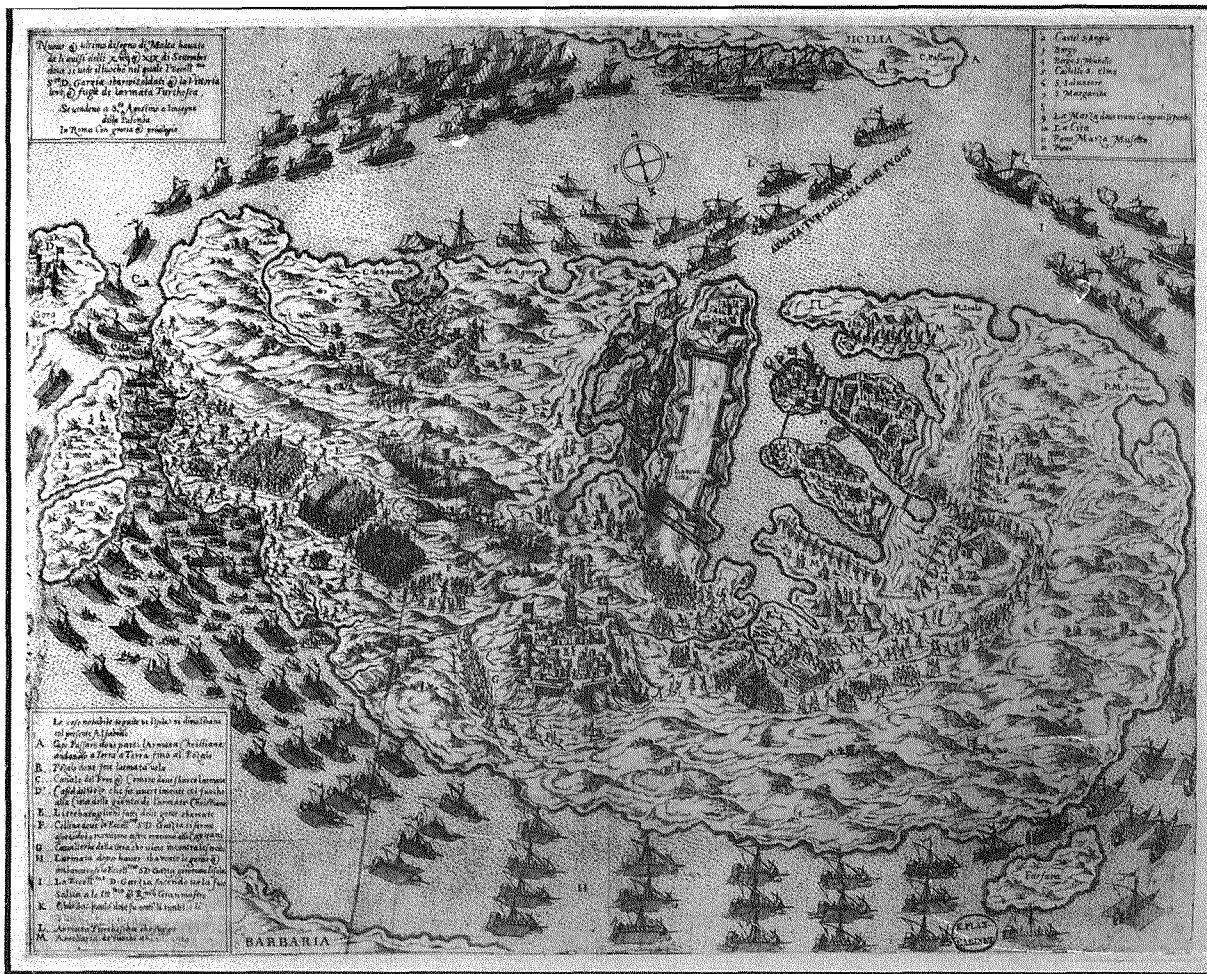
Showing name and status / nationality of messengers;

point of arrival / departure; date / moon;



craft used; summary message carried;

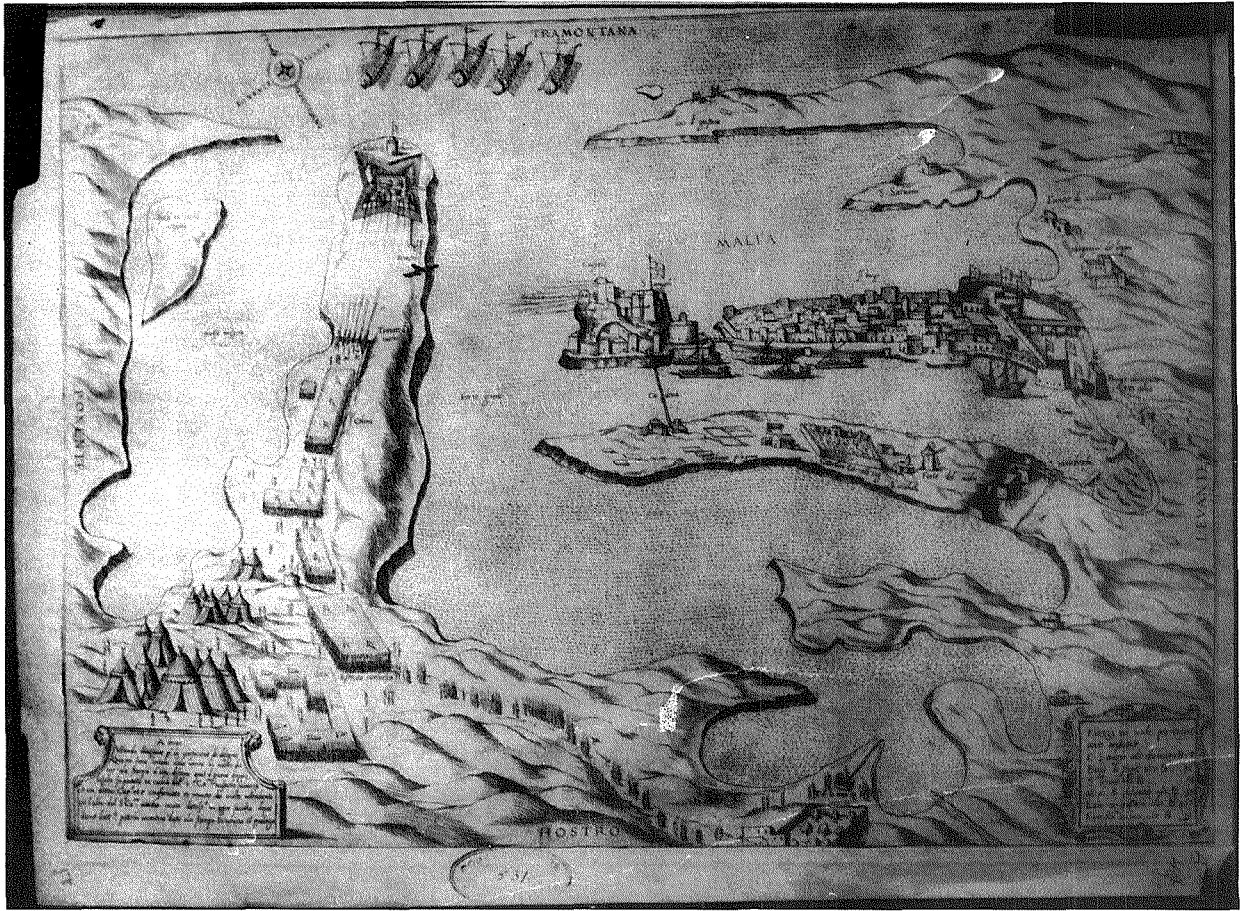
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







Another beautiful example of the engraver's art; undated and unsigned but probably the work of Ant. Lafreri (1512-77). Executed from sketches reaching Rome between the 14th and 19th September 1565, barely seven days after events shown in map. Shows Turks precipitous departure and projected perimeter walls of Valletta.








Moon Phases	Messengers Inwards	Date	Messengers Outwards		
<p data-bbox="117 550 205 603">Old or Waning</p>  <p data-bbox="123 710 194 762">Moon 22/5</p>	<p data-bbox="238 371 543 547">Fra. Giov. Maria Castrocucco returns to Malta per "Fregata ordinaria del Canale." <i>Bosio, III, 514B.</i> <i>Cirni, p.52v.</i></p> <p data-bbox="238 962 543 1225">Letter from the Viceroy of Sicily, dated 24/5. <i>Bosio, III, 528/E,</i> <i>says not received up to</i> <i>Balbi/Palumbo, p.37</i> <i>says received</i> Bergantino with Fr. Giov. Sola <i>Bosio, III, 529E.</i></p> <p data-bbox="238 1409 543 1520">Bergantino Armato, guided by Francesco Bonici, pilot of S. Iacomò. <i>Bosio, III, 535B.</i></p>	<p data-bbox="592 164 653 188">18/5</p> <p data-bbox="592 371 653 395">21/5</p> <p data-bbox="576 547 669 571">22-23/5</p> <p data-bbox="592 962 653 986">25/5</p> <p data-bbox="592 1050 653 1074">25/5</p> <p data-bbox="592 1106 653 1129">24/5</p> <p data-bbox="592 1137 653 1161">26/5</p> <p data-bbox="592 1233 653 1257">27/5</p> <p data-bbox="592 1409 653 1433">30/5</p>	<p data-bbox="702 164 1018 371">Fra Giov. Maria Castrocucco sent to Sicily on the "Fregata ordinaria del Canale." <i>Bosio, III, 514, A/B.</i> <i>Cirni, p.49v.</i> <i>Balbi/Palumbo, p.32.</i></p> <p data-bbox="702 547 1018 962">Letters to Viceroy Don Garcia of Sicily, per Galley S. Iago commanded by Fr.Giov. Valletta Cornison; also carrying Order's Ambassador Fr. Raff. Salvago as well as letters to King of Spain & other monarchs. Also Fr. Camillo de Medici to Pope. <i>Bosio, III, 527C/E.</i> <i>Cirni, p.52v.</i> <i>Viperano/Mizzi, p.16</i> <i>Balbi/Palumbo, p.34.</i></p> <p data-bbox="702 1233 1018 1409">Bergantino (which had brought in Fr. Giov. Sola) left with two letters from Gr.Master La Valletta for the Viceroy of Sicily. <i>Bosio, III, 529E.</i></p>		
 <p data-bbox="134 1497 188 1520">30/5</p>					




Beautiful example of artistry and technique employed by Ant. Lafreri (1512-77) in his shop in Rome, this map shows the Grand Harbour area, with Siege in advanced stage and sea-assault taking place on Senglea point (12-15/7/1565). Sketch probably taken out on the 16/7/1565. See Appendix.

Moon Phases	Messengers Inwards	Date	Messengers Outwards
<p data-bbox="113 347 203 432">Waxing or New Moon</p>  <p data-bbox="135 523 180 550">7/6</p>	<p data-bbox="233 347 543 643">Fregatina, with Capt. Giov. di Miranda and Fr. Raff. Salvago on board, disembarks them at Fort St. Elmo. <i>Bosio, III, 542E. 543A. Cirni, p.55. Balbi/Palumbo, p.43. Viperano/Mizzi p.21</i></p> <p data-bbox="233 703 543 935">Pietro Xueca, on small collapsible boat, via Gozo, with news that two galleys under Cornison and Aubin, had not been able to land troops and had returned to Sicily. <i>Bosio, III, 554, B/C.</i></p>	<p data-bbox="598 172 642 199">1/6</p> <p data-bbox="598 352 642 379">4/6</p> <p data-bbox="568 619 647 730"><i>says night of 3/6 10/6</i></p>	<p data-bbox="696 172 1011 344">Letter of Gr.Master La Vallette to Viceroy of Sicily on Bergantino piloted by Fscò. Bonici. "Il rennegato" also sent out. <i>Bosio, III, 537D.</i></p> <p data-bbox="696 352 1011 587">Fregata di Bernardino Rispolo, with Cav. Salvago, takes letters to Pope, to Fr. Signorino Gattinara, to King and to Sic. Viceroy. <i>Bosio, III, 543, D/E. Cirini, p.55v. Viperano/Mizzi, 21.</i></p>
<p data-bbox="121 938 194 994">Full Moon</p>  <p data-bbox="128 1086 186 1114">15/6</p>		<p data-bbox="590 938 647 965">17/6</p> <p data-bbox="590 1233 647 1260">18/6</p> <p data-bbox="590 1469 647 1497">18/6</p>	<p data-bbox="696 938 1011 1233">Fregatina commanded by Padrone Ant. Rosso with ciphered letters for Pope; Spanish King; Sicilian Viceroy; and Prior of Messina. Other fregatina got caught. <i>Bosio, III, 565, D/E. Balbi/Palumbo, p.55 speaks of "saettie".</i></p> <p data-bbox="696 1233 1011 1441">Gr.Master La Vallette orders collapsible boat (carried by 4 persons) to be taken to a point about 2 miles distant from Mdina, thence to Messina. <i>Bosio, III, 567, B/C. Cirni, p.68.</i></p> <p data-bbox="696 1441 1011 1527">Pino d'Alloy also took duplicates of above</p>

Moon Phases	Messengers Inwards	Date	Messengers Outwards
<p>Old or Waning Moon</p>  <p>22/6</p>	<p>Giov. Martinez de Oliven-tia in a Fregatina, from sea off Malta, to Mdina, with news of arrival of "piccolo soccorso". <i>Bosio, III, 567, D/E.</i></p>	<p>19/6</p>	<p>despatches and with small boat from Grand Harbour gets safely to Sicily. <i>Bosio, III, 567, B/C.</i> Giov. Martinez de Oliventia together with Cav. Esprit de Brunisay Quincy, back to sea in search of Galleys, then to Gozo and to Pozzallo. <i>Bosio, III, 568, A/B.</i></p>
 <p>1/7</p>		<p>20/6</p>	<p>Another collapsible boat sent out from Marsascala gets safely to Sicily. <i>Bosio, III, 568, D/E.</i></p>
<p>Waxing or New Moon</p>  <p>7/7 <i>Bosio, III, 592c</i></p>	<p>Small boat brings in Fr. Aleramo Parapaglia, who however died shortly afterwards in combat on 11/7. <i>Bosio, III, 592D/E.</i></p>	<p>27/6</p>	<p>Gr. Master La Vallette sent letter to Sicilian Viceroy, on boat manned by Antonio Xilla, a Maltese. <i>Palombi/Balbi, p.67.</i></p>
<p>Full Moon</p>  <p>14/7</p>	<p>Fr. Tommaso Coronel sets out from Salini Bay but his boat is so badly constructed that he has to return to Gozo. Here he is provided with another and in this, he safely gets to Sicily. <i>Bosio, III, p.581A/B.</i> <i>Cirni, p.72.</i></p>	<p>25/6</p>	<p>Same boat which had brought in Parapaglia, sent back with letter to Sicilian Viceroy who later sends it on to Spanish King. <i>Bosio, III, 593, 594.</i></p>
	<p>Fr. T. Coronel arrived back at Mdina with letters for Gr. Master which are then forwarded via Bajjada. <i>Bosio, III, 595, C/D.</i></p>	<p>8/7</p>	<p>Gr. Master's letter refusing help of only 3 Galleys, sent out again by Bajjada. <i>Bosio, III, 595/596.</i></p>
		<p>10/7</p>	<p>Four Maltese swimmers sent out by Gr. Master but</p>

Moon Phases	Messengers Inwards	Date	Messengers Outwards
<p>Old or Waning Moon</p>  <p>22/7</p>	<p>Giov. Martinez de Oliven- tia sent to Gr.Master with information that Spanish King was resolute on helping Malta, towards end of August. <i>Bosio, III, 616, C/D.</i> <i>Bosio, III, 602, E.</i></p>	<p>27/7</p>	<p>only one reached Mdina. From there Gr.Master's letter is sent on to Viceroy. <i>Bosio, III, 609 A/B.</i> <i>Pietro Gentile di Vendome</i> <i>confirms, but says was on</i> <i>17/7.</i></p>
<p>New Moon</p>  <p>29/7</p>		<p>30/7</p>	<p>Bajjada from Birgu to Mdina with letters of Gr.Master. <i>Bosio, III, 617E & 618.</i></p>
<p>New or Waxing Moon</p>  <p>5/8</p>	<p>Bajjada from Mdina to Birgu with letters for Grandmaster. <i>Bosio, III, 621/A.</i></p>	<p>2/8</p>	
<p>Full Moon</p>  <p>13/8</p>		<p>8/8</p>	<p>Captain Salazar escorted by Maltese Pilot Bartolomeo Abel, reached Mdina safely. <i>Bosio, III, p.630/E.</i> <i>Curione/Mizzi, p.112.</i></p>
<p>Old or Waning Moon</p>  <p>20/8</p>		<p>14/8</p>	<p>Capt de Salazar, guided by Pilot Bartolomeo Abele, returns to Messina in 4 days! <i>Bosio, III, 635/A.</i></p>
<p>Old or Waning Moon</p>  <p>20/8</p>	<p>Giov. Martinez de Oliven- tia sent by Sicilian Viceroy in Gio. Andrea Doria's Galley, with letters for Gr. Master informing him of</p>	<p>22/8</p>	<p>Bajjada again takes out letters of Grand Master to Mdina, for Sicilian Viceroy and others. <i>Bosio, III, 650/A.</i> <i>Bosio, III, 671/a.</i></p>
<p>Old or Waning Moon</p>  <p>20/8</p>		<p>23/8</p>	

Moon Phases	Messengers Inwards	Date	Messengers Outwards
 27/8	<p>imminent arrival of Gran Soccorso. <i>Bosio, III, 667/D & E.</i></p> <p>Letter from Don Garcia, announcing his arrival. <i>Curione/Mizzi, p.138.</i></p>	1/9	

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