

THE MILITIA ROSTER OF WATCH DUTIES OF 1417

by

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Introduction

That Malta had a militia force in the Middle Ages apparently called the *Dejma* and that watch or *ghassa* was kept along the coast in several places subsequently and consequently called *Wardija* for hostile landings or suspicious movements of vessels, are commonplaces of Maltese history¹. But little else was known of the island's militia in the fifteenth century until the publication in 1969 of the surviving militia roll of 1419-20 with the names and surnames and the place of residence of every member of the militia². Unfortunately, though this provides much incidental invaluable information on the spread of population on the island, and on family nomenclature, at first glance, it gives hardly any enlightenment on the structure of the militia and the tasks it performed.

However, among the name-lists preserved in the Cathedral Archives at Mdina there is a militia list much shorter than that of 1419-20 or even the one of ca. 1425 (still unpublished)³. Its names are arranged according to the militia posts in town and countryside, not according to the places of residence of the militiamen as in the other two lists, and on a daily roster over a seven day period. As such it is unique in our fifteenth century documentation and of extraordinary interest to the military student. Not before the eighteenth century will it again be possible to get a similar insight into the intricacies of the island's defence forces.

The loss of the first page has destroyed the roster's original title and date. It has proved particularly difficult to determine its date with any precision, though the identity of so many of its names and surnames with those in the other two lists strongly indicates a date close to 1419—ca.1425. The fact that the roster shares many more names with the list of 1419-20 than with that of ca. 1425 indicated that it is closer in date to it; few of its names identical with those of ca. 1425 do not appear in 1419-20, so few that they can be considered as sporadic and explainable in a variety of ways such as absence from the island in 1419-20 or random identity of name held by different persons. The fact that some fifty of its names do not appear either in 1419-20 or in ca. 1425 strongly suggests that the roster could not belong to an intermediate date. On the whole, therefore, this evidence would seem to point to a date slightly earlier than 1419 as the date of composition of the roster.

In fact, however, it has proved possible to narrow down this date to the ten months between September 1417 and June 1418. *Secreto Vitucius de la Vita* was dead by early June 1418; his name appears on the roster, showing that it must have been drawn up before that date⁴. On the other hand *Judichi Lucianu* can only be identified with the *Judex Lucianus de Parisio* who appears in a will dated May 1418⁵: his term of office would normally have started on 1 September 1417. He could conceivably have been a judge in other years except the ones imme-

diately preceding or following 1417-18 but, while a later date has already been ruled out, an earlier date for the roster is rendered unlikely by its containing the name of Ceyzu Lazaruni who had been declared an outlaw probably some time after July 1413 and only pardoned on 6 May 1416⁶. The new officials of 1417-18 would have normally given a high priority to the drawing up of the roster of watch duties, and one could therefore with fair assurance attribute it to the last months of 1417.

In 1375 the task of organizing the guard or watch of 'the town and the whole island of Malta' was given to Philippo de Marino for the duration of his life⁷. During the early 1390s the counts or marquises who ruled over Malta seem to have allotted the job to the town mayors, rewarding them out of exemption fees paid by militiamen⁸. However in 1399 King Martin ordered that from 1 September 1400 the town mayors of Malta and Gozo should not meddle with the watch: this should be left solely to the jurats and the town council; all were liable for watch duty except officials of the royal court and those employed by townsmen to cultivate their gardens or tend their animals, the fines paid by defaulters going to the town mayor himself⁹. But it does not seem that this arrangement functioned at all regularly. In January 1402 a new town mayor for Malta and Gozo was appointed for five years 'together with the watch of the said islands'¹⁰, a year later Inicus de Vaccario, a local fief-holder, obtaining the right to act in his name¹¹. In 1409-10 the town officials of Malta insisted that the royal decree excluding the town mayors from meddling with the watch should be confirmed but to little effect¹²: in 1413 Misser Diaco de Portu Carrero, the new town mayor of Malta, enjoyed also and especially the rights of watch of the town and island: he had to organize it and receive the income from it not already alienated, those of Johannes de Biglera in particular being reserved¹³. In 1415 the current new town mayor obtained the payment of 15 uncie out of the watch-duty exemption fees¹⁴. When repeated in January 1416, on Didacus de Terraza's appointment as town mayor for two years, it was promised that this would be the last such grant¹⁵. A few weeks later the town complained that the mayors had cared only for their own profit, issuing some 150 or 200 exemptions almost every year¹⁶. In March, Johannes de Biglera dictu Bontempu obtained a favourable decision for his claims to organize the watch against those of the town mayor¹⁷. In spite of everything, within a few weeks yet another town mayor appointed for two years also obtained 'the rights of the watch lawfully attached to that office'¹⁸. The tug-of-war therefore was still in full swing in 1417 when the roster was drawn up.

In its present condition the roster contains a mere 888 names, while some 30 or 31 others were probably to be found in the missing first page. This is much less than the 1667 names of the Militia List of 1419-20 or the 1551 names of the one of ca. 1425. Still, it seems to be complete, except for the front page; the eight neatly cut off pages at the end were probably blank sheets, the last militia post given, Petra Negra, being the same one with which Commendatore Abela's list of militia posts of 1647 ends¹⁹. Its length was determined primarily by (a) the number of posts, (b) the size of each watch, ie. three men, (c) the size of the guard on the town walls, 30 or 31, (d) the size of the stand-by force inside the

town, ca. 24 men, and (e) that it ran over a period of seven days. It was only secondarily affected by the total size of the militia force, corresponding to the 1667 men of 1419-20, especially as it was profitable to grant exemptions both to pay the town mayor and partly to defray the expenses for repairing the walls of St Angelo²⁰. It would seem that stone-masons together with falconers and administrators of the royal estates (the *massaro*) were ordinarily exempted. In 1416 the town authorities insisted that except for some necessary exemptions all should be liable for night watch duty²¹.

The watch kept inside and around the town of Mdina was quite distinct from that around the coast: even in 1375 the watch in the town was set apart from that of the rest of Malta²². Every night a body of some 30 men, including six Jews of Mdina, was detailed for guard duties on the town walls. Since they were presumably posted either singly or in very small groups they could not have done more than raise the alarm. A detachment of 24 men was kept on the ready every night inside Mdina presumably to rush to any threatened quarter. The town walls' guard included two mounted men. A horseman was stationed every night at the Castle-by-the-Sea (St Angelo's), probably to maintain communications between that fort and Mdina, while St Elmo, Benarrad and Cumaha (?) each had a permanent watch official, apparently for daytime guard duties. However, undoubtedly the most vital part of the island's early warning system consisted in the 24 coastal watch-posts regularly manned every night of the week on a roster system, three men at a time, of whom one was frequently mounted. The stand-by force inside Mdina had merely a couple of trumpeters with it and was commanded by a sergeant.

The militia list of 1419-20 provides the place of residence of practically every member of the roster of 1417. It is thus possible to show that, except for a daily Jewish contingent of 6 men, only 3 of those guarding the town walls came from Mdina itself for the nights between Monday and Saturday (Sunday night's list being missing). Rabat and Żebbuġ each provided 32 and 30 men for this purpose, Siggiewi 12, the hamlet of Qdieri near Żebbuġ 9, and Qormi 7, some sixteen other places each providing between 1 and 3. On the other hand, some 90 men out of 177 assigned for duty *ala plaza*, stand-by duty in the town, were inhabitants of Mdina, itself, Rabat providing 34, Birkirkara 3, Tartarni and Dingli 2, and Żebbuġ, Luqa and Farruġ, and Kaprat one each. Therefore in normal times, the town was guarded by some 55 men only, only some 20 of whom (including the 6 Jews) were themselves townsmen.

In 1416 the Maltese called their coastal watch-posts 'the walls of this island', and attributed the overrunning of villages and the capture of their people to the large number of exemptions granted from watch duties²³. The Roster reveals that 24 coastal watches were being kept in 1417 altogether. The whole northern part of Malta beyond Ghajn Tuffieħa and St Paul's Bay, and the easternmost corner beyond Żonqor and Marnisi, were left without watch-posts, perhaps with a daytime guard at Qammieħ, if Cumaha can be identified with that place. The southern coastline between Petra Negra (Ħaġra s-Sewda) and Blat Mogħħa (a locality midway between Fomm ir-Riħ and Mġarr) was also left unguarded, obviously because the very high cliffs there made landings impossible. The Roster deals with each

post in turn, indicating the three militiamen on duty for each day of the week starting with Sunday's, and the name of the official responsible for ensuring that the men actually performed their duty. The latter, who was on duty for the whole period of the roster, apparently known as the *rivedituri* (ie. reveditore), normally had charge of two or three neighbouring posts.

The posts are taken in clockwise direction, in the same order as they were later to be recorded by Commendatore Abela, starting with Blat Mogħża ²⁴:

Blahit Moze, ie. Blat Mogħża on the northern side of Pellegrin Bay

MiJarru, i.e. Mgarr, at Lippija

Hayn Tufaha, Ghajn Tuffieħa

Razun, cf. Ghajn Rażul at Tal-Veóča, St Paul's Bay

Santu Paulu, St Paul's Bay

Bu Jubbe, ie. Buġibba, perhaps really at Ras il-Qawra

Bn Rata, ie. Benarrad or Benwarrad, at Salina

Bir ilbahar, ie. Bir il-Baħar, probably at Ras Ghallis ²⁵

Climenti, probably at Qalet Marku

Nadur Callel, ie. Nadur Qallel on site of Madalena Tower ²⁶

Bir Bitut, at St George's ²⁷

Ginen Feris, probably on site of St Julian's Tower ²⁸ alternative location site of

Blue Sisters' Hospital; unrelated to the locality Ġnien Fieres to the west of Rabat

Curtin labiad, i.e. Qortin l-Abjad, probably Tigne Point

Santu Eramu, St Elmo's

Zenac, ie. Żenaq, pl. of *żenqa*, probably on site of Zelaida Tower, the locality also

known as Mwieġel, Triq il-Wiesgħa, Della Larga and Blata l-Bajda, east of Xghajra

Zuncul, ie. Ras Żonqor

Marnisi

Gadir, probably Ghadir St George at St George's Bay, Birżebbuġa

Ras Juliana at Birżebbuġa

Minahc, ie. Meneq, pl. of *menqa*, cf. Abela's Mellieħa and the saltpans of Kalafrana on modern maps ²⁹

Nadur Kelbe, ie. Nadur Kelba, at Bengħisa

Cabar Garib, ie. Qabar Gharib near Ghar Hasan on site of Torri Wardija

Xutu, cf. Torri ta' Xutu at Wied iż-Zurrieq

Petra Negra, i.e. Haġra s-Sewda near Torri Hamrija at Mnajdra

Places which have not been precisely identified have been roughly located by (a) their order in the list, and (b) the location of the post or posts with which they shared the same supervisor or official-in-charge.

The manning of the coastal posts was normally allotted to the nearest villages, Mdina itself not participating at all, and Rabat, Żebbuġ and to some extent Siġġiewi doing so only to a very minor degree. Rabat helped at Blat Mogħża, but Mgarr was manned by Raħal Dragu, Pessa, Dimeg and Naxxar, with only four from Siġġiewi, 2 from Rabat and one from Birkirkara. Ghajn Tuffieħa had 13 men from Calleya/Mosta, and one each from Dragu, Rabat and Naxxar. Ghajn Rażul's men came chiefly from Naxxar, with just a couple from Ghargħur. Those at St Paul's Bay were almost entirely Naxxar men, but Buġibba had a predominance of Ghargħur peasants with only a few from Naxxar and the villages of Mann, Bordi and Lija. Naxxar, however, still provided almost half the men at Benwarrad and a couple for Bir il-Baħar. Lija provided most of the remainder for Benwarrad, and Ghargħur and Sammut more than half those at Bir il-Baħar which was, however, also partly manned by men from Bise (Pessa), Dimeg, Lija, Attard, Balzan and

Birkirkara. Klimenti was manned in the same way, here Birkirkara taking the lead. Nadur Qallel was manned totally by Birkirkara, and Bir Bitut very nearly so as well. Qormi sent 3 men to Bir Bitut but manned Ġnien Fieres almost completely and provided Qortin l-Abjad with more than half its men. Half of those at Santu Eramu also came from Qormi, the rest coming from Saffieni, Luqa/Farruġ, Capurat and Żebbuġ.

To the east of the Grand Harbour entrance one finds Żenaq manned by 6 men from Żabbar, 4 from Tarxien, and 3 each from Saffieni and Pascualinu. Biżbud sent nine men to Żonqor, Temim (Ħal Tmin) sent 8, Pascualinu sending only one, while Paulu Machallef, in charge of both Żenaq and Żonqor, himself lived at Żabbar. Marnisi had 7 from Biżbud, 10 from Ġhaxaq, and 2 from Tmin; but its sister post Ġhadir had 8 from Gudia, 6 from Percopu (Kirkop), 4 from Axac and 3 from Biżbud. Of the three posts at Bengħisa, Ras Juliana was manned by 8 men from Safi, 5 from Mqabba and 3 from Ħal Millieri, Meneq had 4 from Millieri, 9 from Żurrieq and 4 from Bubaqra, while Nadur Kelba had 10 from Żurrieq and 4 from Gudia. The three remaining posts, all on the southern coast, were manned by the villages of Siġġiewi, Lew and Qrendi and the small hamlets around them, Żurrieq sending only 4 men to Qabar Ġħarib, Lew and Qrendi between them sending no less than 15 to this place. Siġġiewi sent 10 men to Petra Negra and 8 to Xutu, to which Lew and Qrendi also sent another two and the small hamlet of Xluq sent 5. The other hamlet of Ħal Kbir sent 8 men to Petra Negra, Tabuni and Qdieri sent 2 and 1 respectively, while the official in charge, Johanni Skembri, was an inhabitant of Ħal Kbir.

In brief, one might say that in 1417 the Christian population of Mdina was assigned solely to the town stand-by force, its Jewish population together with the people of Rabat and Żebbuġ seeing to the guarding of the town walls, while the rest of the population settlements, with just a few from Rabat, manned the coastal posts. Though the village militiamen were normally assigned to the nearest posts, in most cases it meant a weary walk once a week for two or three miles (occasionally very much more) each way after work. Practically the whole Mdina male population participated, but generally almost half the village men or even more were able to obtain exemption in any particular year. Some of the smaller hamlets were perhaps less privileged in this respect: out of Cuderi's 13 militiamen of 1419 only 4 were not assigned any watch duty in 1417; and only 5 were apparently exempted from Millieri's 14 men. The larger villages of Żurrieq and Siġġiewi nearby provided 26 and 35 men to the watches out of totals of 81 men in each place. Naxxar with a total force in 1419 of 92 men provided no less than 53 men for watch duties, while Calleya and Musta with a joint force of 62 sent only 18, and Lija with a force of 26 sent a mere 7. A lot must have depended on the energy of the local organiser as well as on the length of coastline allotted to the village to guard.

Of course, the Roster of 1417 does not cover the normal garrison of some 40 or 50 regular soldiers in the Castle-by-the-Sea, in emergencies strengthened by the whole menflok of Birgu, nor that of the Town Castle at the entrance of Mdina, on and around the site of the present Vilhena Palace, normally only some 6 men

when manned at all. Nor was it in the least concerned with the defence of Gozo: that island had its own normal garrison of some 20 men and its militia or citizens' defence force. It must also be emphasized that the roster does not reveal the tactics which were adopted in battle. There is no doubt that on the landing of an overwhelming hostile force, the whole militia was concentrated within the walls of Mdina. The roster does not reveal the existence of any cavalry unit, but that, of course, may be due to its very nature. It shows that a mounted man was posted every night at the Castle-by-the-Sea, and that frequently one of the three men on duty at each coastal post was also mounted while the detachment guarding the town walls itself had two mounted men every night, but no horsemen are indicated among the stand-by men within Mdina. That horses were considered of special value for warfare at the time even in Malta is proved by the warning given to all fief holders who had to keep horses and arms at the ready for service that they had to do so on pain of losing their fiefs³⁰, and by the permission that was given on 17 June 1407 for Gozo to import free of duty from Sicily 15 horses 'for the use, the watch, and the defence of that island against the Moors'³¹. The Mdina stand-by force recalls the similar forces known to have been kept within every one of the larger villages, at least in later times, called the *dejma* in Maltese. The roster of 1417 does not show that similar forces were kept anywhere else on the island, but one already certainly existed in 1473 at Siġġiewi where it used the small church of St John as its mustering point³².

One must guard against the temptation to regard the system of watches of 1417 so admirably documented by this roster as a static and unchanging one. Fortunately, by providing the key to the interpretation of the marginal letter designations in the two militia lists of 1419-20 and ca. 1425 it makes accessible information on duty assignments in the other two later years:

- m marina, watch duty around the coast
- o omissu, omitted from watch-duty
- watch-duty on Mdina walls (1419-20 only)
- p piazza (1419-20 only)
- R rivedituri, as in roster
- C castellu a mare, possibly including day watch duty at St Elmo
- e chitati or civitas (ca. 1425 only), town wall's watch
- . piazza (ca. 1425 only)

It is still unclear whether *m*^u meant simply a master-craftsman or more precisely a master-mason, whose craft was of particular importance to the defence of a town relying on its walls for its defence³³. The two lists therefore contain information belonging to a preliminary stage in the drawing up of rosters for those years. They indicate the main allocations of the manpower in the militia which, in its main lines, can be compared with that of 1417.

It is thus possible to compare the size of the force assigned to the coastal watch posts in 1417, 1419 and ca. 1425: 507, 557 and 676 respectively, suggesting an unmistakable expansion of the number of posts, a conclusion supported by a similar increase in the numbers of the *rivedituri* at the three dates: 11, 12 and 15.

This was only to be expected seeing that Hafsid Tunisia was particularly aggressive at this time. Only one *rivedituri* seems to have been appointed from the villages manning the northern posts between 1417 and 1419, and he did duty only in daytime. The five *rivedituri* for the eastern and southern part of the coast were not increased in 1419 but they number eight in ca. 1425. The coastline between Żonqor and Delimara was now better watched: Jackinu de la Barba of Temim Assant or Ħal Tmin, a hamlet between Żejtun and the eastern coastline, significantly was one of the new *rivedituri*. More and more of the sixty watch posts listed in 1647 by Commendatore Abela were no doubt added to the 24 that existed in 1417 to meet the lurking danger of Moorish invasion.

Other changes occur in the two later militia lists in the villages that shared in manning the town watch at Mdina, both on its walls and in the stand-by force within the town. Thus in 1419 it would appear that Żebbuġ's contingent of 30 men for town wall watch duty was reduced to 21 and that of Rabat increased to 42, while Qdieri still provided 6 and Gudia now sent 3 and Tarxien 2. In ca. 1425 Żebbuġ seems to have provided 44 and Rabat a mere 30, while Qdieri's 6 were sent instead to the coastal watch posts. On the other hand, in 1419 Rabat sent a contingent of 33 men to the stand-by force at Mdina compared to one of 34 in 1417, but sent no less than 65 in ca. 1425. In conclusion, therefore, one has to think of militia watch duty organisation in the early fifteenth century in terms of dynamic change, reaction to constant threats of ever more serious invasion, which reached a climax in the terrible onslaught of 1429 when both Malta and Gozo were devastated, thousands reported to have been captured, and both islands almost completely lost to the Muslim invaders³⁴.

Text of the Militia Roster of 1417-1418

[f. 1r-v is missing; all subsequent omissions are of blank leaves.]

[f. 2] *die dominica ala plaza*

Dominus Capitaneus

Listeri de la Barba

Judichi Luchianu

Notari Nicola de Lizula

Manfre Caxaru

Notari Antoni Azuparda

Paulu Percopu

Liuni Caxaru

Fidericu Rafacanu

Bartholomeo Vassaldu

Thumeo Brancatu

Ximuni Boy

Antoni Musta

Ramundu Zamit

Johanni Laudatu

Bernardu Skembri

Jacubu Ziguchi

Aduardu Cagege

Marcu de Xibilia

Johanni de Grimaudu

Jakinu Skembri

Jacobinu de Savoya

Lu Danzusu

Arrigu Mallia *Surgente*

Mastru Lenzu de Saura

Petruzu Axixe

[Total] xxvi

} *Juculari*

[f. 3] *die luni ali mura*

Janottu Cafor
 Johanni Brancatu
 Masi Sillatu
 Pinu Bugeja
 Antoni Vassaldu
 Martinu de Bonannu
 Jacobinu Gazelli
 Gulliellmu Duse
 Micheli Zamit
 Lippu Maniuni
 Marcu Zamit
 Paulu Faruge
 Johanni Cauzanu
 Bringeli Bitar
 Cola Kixer *pichulu*
 Franciscu Kercheppu
 Jacobinu Brancatu
 Pascualinu Kercheppu
 Johanni Deyf
 Jaquinu (?) Gutaye
 Giliu Bugeya
 Gulliellmu Stafragi
 [Total] xxij

[f. 3v] *Judey*

Peris Burula
 Sadi Nifusi
 Jacob Meli
 Muxi Girbi
 Galfuni Seyag
 Jacob Gibili

Jumentu

Pinu Atardu
 Fidericu Vella
 [Total] viij

[f. 4] *die luni ala plaza*

Misser Franciscu Gattu
 Johanni de Biglera
 Johanni Vaccaru
 Cola Daste
 Bundu Chipullatu
 Niculinu Nuara
 Ceyzu Lazaruni
 Marcu de Liccata
 Giliu Cusburella
 Lippu Calleya
 Franzoy Grasu
 Gulliellmu de Burdinu
 Cola Chicala
 Salvu Cusburella
 Bundu Far
 Lixandru Vella
 Cola de Azimundu
 Thumeo Dursu

Antoni Chini
 Marcu Muzangar
 Pinu Santoru
 Antoni Calabachi
 Antoni Muntana *Surgente*
 Mastru Gullu Xidi } *Juculari*
 Martinu Bonavia }
 [Total] xxv

[f. 5] *die marti ali mura*

Johanni Mallia
 Nuzu Busalib
 Fidericu Zamit
 Cellu Felu
 Gulliellmu Mifsud
 Jacubu Cuzinu
 Cola Farruge
 Giliu Bigeni
 Bertinu Zarbu
 Arigu Vella
 Jacobinu Azupardu
 Luca Atasi
 Gulliellmu Bugeya
 Mariu Hauchellu
 Paulu Cumbu Fayajlu
 Lanza Maniuni
 Johanni Vasaldu
 Carnivali Vella
 Petru Xerha
 Andrea Percopu
 Mariu Skembri
 Pinu Gangi
 Bertinu Zarbu
 [Total] xxii

[f. 5v] *Judei*

Duki de Tripuli
 Mahalef Hakem
 Assimi de Tripuli
 Liuni Seyag
 Brahunj Coen
 Mahaluf Girbi
Jumentu
 Chiccu Skembri C 1
 Antoni Fauzuni C 1

[f. 6] *die marti ala plaza*

Misser Luysi de Plozasco
 Antoni Vagnuni
 Petru de la Barba
 Jacubu de la Habica
 Micheli de Bernardu
 Franciscu de Mazara
 Zullu Gattu
 Pera Barberi

Johanni Cutiti
 Antoni Tartarni
 Bundu Mahallif
 Thumeo Kindebu
 Salvu Cutiti
 Albanu Axac
 Cola Dinkili
 Bernardu de Francu
 Cola Frendu
 Gullielmu Mundellu
 Cola de lu Bagliu
 Bernardu Xara
 Ramundu de lu Vechu
 Pinu Gutaye
 Jacobinu Piche *Surgente*
 Mariu Kixir }
 Lemu Kixir } *Juculari*
 [Total] xxv

[f. 7] *die mercuri ala mura*

Antoni Habdille
 Bernardu Zamit
 Nuzu Murchie
 Aduardu Farmusa
 Marcu Curmi
 Rugeri Bigeni
 Micheli Tabuni
 Bernardu Faruge
 Brancatu Bugeja
 Marcu Azupardu
 Salvu Maniuni
 Gullielmu Cubie
 Fidericu Burasi
 Lanza Maniuni
 Nuzu Cuzin
 Fidericu Helleu
 Cola Curmi
 Micheli Tabuni
 Cola Ruyra
 Pinu Ricupru
 Salvu Grima
 Manfre de Franciscu
 [Total] xxij

[f. 7v] *Judey*

Josef Dejen
 Hisiac Hikidinar
 Josef Levi
 Hisiac Causiri
 Muxi Meymuni
 Sebet Carchune
Jumentu
 Pascualinu Canzuhuc
 Mariu Maniuni

C 1

C 1

[f. 8] *die mercuri ala plaza*

Angilu Vaccaru
 Orlandu de Burdinu
 Pinu Fauzuni
 Perellu Surdu
 Baldu Calleya
 Andrea de lu Vechu
 Thumeo Azupardu *Sen[ior]*
 Antoni de Agusta
 Cola Fauzuni
 Luca Bunellu
 Thumeo Curmi
 Johanni Sillatu
 Pinu Darmaninu
 Paulu Cauki
 Lemu Bindinu
 Giliu Cumbu
 Bernardu de lu Vechu
 Frankinu Laureri
 Custanzu Laureri
 Cola Muscatu
 Johanne Cagege
 Arigu Chilia
 Paulu Zumahac *Surgente*
 Antoni Haxixe }
 Pinu Haxixe } *Trubaturi*
 [Total] xxv

[f. 9] *die Joui ali mura*

Ximuni Faruge
 Petru de Narda
 Bernardu Skembri
 Manfre Fauchellu
 Dimitri Faruge
 Johanni Sillatu
 Paulu Cadumi
 Niculozu Xintil
 Micheli Maniuni
 Johanni Markis
 Antoni Hayed
 Gullielmu Calafatu
 Gullielmu Nuara
 Andrea Vinizianu
 Thumeo Zurafe
 Nuzu Busayle
 Petru Galie
 Micheli Hayculina
 Johanni Burgi
 Paulinu Camilleri
 Petruzu Gaudixi
 Andrea Hakim
 [Total] xxii

[f. 9v] *Judey*
 Braym Cure (?)
 Gilife Berberi
 Merdoc Girbi
 Ximeon Berberi
 Jacob Himiran
 Fadaluni Girbi
 Jumentu
 Vicenti Bartolu
 Randinu Tabuni
 [f. 10] *die jovi ala plaza*
 Paulu de Pilligrinu
 Petru de Parisi
 Janixi de Arexula
 Antoni Caxaru
 Pericuni Insaheri
 Benedittu Canzuh
 Agustinu Bercax
 Nardu Cutiti
 Andrea Skembri
 Gulinu Sillatu
 Antoni de Girgenti
 Dominicu Madia
 Mariu de Sarlu
 Johanni de Munti
 Johanni Caxaru
 Johanni Bayada
 Nardu de lu Episcopu
 Czulianu Sayd
 Nuzu Carezi
 Liuni Hantuse
 Antoni Balderi
 Petru de Xicli
 Antoni Saliba
 Martinu Bakibac *Surgente*
 Antoni Cakie *Jucularu*
 [Total] xxv

[f. 11] *die veneri ali mura*
 Johanni Curmi
 Arigu Bartalu
 Bertu Calafatu
 Fidericu Zamit
 Bartholomeo de Palerimu
 Salvu Balzanu
 Ximuni Felu
 Fidericu Skembri
 Rugeri Azupardu
 Masi Cakie
 Arigu Maniuni
 Nardu Bugeya
 Luca Burgi
 Orlandu Harabi
 Thumeo Vella

Andrea Semen
 Antoni Chanchu
 Muni Felu
 Arigu Consiglu
 Fidericu Zarbatanu
 Antoni Cauki
 Pinu Fucay
 Jakinu Delfe
 C 1 Andrea Habdille
 C 1 Pinu Skembri
 Randinu Caferinu
 Salvaturi Mahallif
 [Total] xxvii

[f. 11v] *Judey*
 Nusajra Zembuc *alluma*
 Jumentu
 Stefanu Mule C 1
 Johanni Xuleiben C 1

[f. 12] *die veneri ala plaza*
 Antoni Fauzuni
 Bringeli Inpuiaata
 Mariu de Pericuni
 Lemu Fauzuni
 Jacobu Camilleri
 Micheli Gugla (?)
 Chiccu Fencu
 Januzu de lu Vechu
 Lemu Sillatu
 Perellu Manduca
 Antotoni (sic) Furmica
 Johanni Butirica
 Saldu Xikilune
 Gullielmu de Bonannu
 Jacobu Callusu
 Pinu de Marinu
 Giliu Ziguchi
 Gullielmu Furrialu
 Benedittu Balderi
 Benedittu Cagege
 Masi Velenti
 Giliu Skembri
 Niculozu Burgi
 Cola Bundichi
 Furuza *surgente*

[f. 13] *die sabati ali mura*
 Thumeo Seykil
 Marcu Cauzanu
 Antoni Capu
 Nuzu Rifacanu
 Luca Burgi
 Andria Calleja
 Andria Deyf

Continued on page 35

Continued from page 34

Rayneri Tabuni
 Pascualinu Tabuni
 Antoni Hellule
 Ximuni Cassanu
 Andrea de Palma
 Bartholomeo Maniauaacca
 Gulinu Xikilune
 Lenzu Cahalun
 Cola Meyri
 Ramundu Sillatu
 Nuzu Maniuni
 Johanni Grecu
 Manfre Mahaduf
 Madiu Zamit
 Sardinu Curmi
 [Total] xxii

[f. 13v] *Judey*
 Xamueli Hikidinar
 Xellule Fandar
 Aruni Levi
 Lia Ketib
 Jacob Turki
 Salamuni Minchin

Jumentu
 Masi Atardu
 Masi Harabi

[f. 14] *die sabati ala plaza*

Vituchu de Luita
 Johanni de Caru
 Bartholomeo de Chalona
 Marcianu Falca
 Frankinu de la Licata
 Masi Far
 Paulu Chilia
 Bertu Muhumud
 Lemu Firaru
 Masi Mullica
 Jacubu Manduca
 Franciscu Axac
 Antoni Cusburella
 Cola Vella
 Marcu Haiuz
 Petruzu de Bonannu
 Lemu Faruge
 Paulu Axac
 Niculinu Muxi
 Burdinu Cauki
 Perellu Xeluki
 Johanni Triassu
 Jacobinu Vinizianu
 Perellu Bunichi
 Cola Furiolu
 Rugeri Zumahac *surgente*

[Total] xxvi

[f. 14v] *Jumentu de la porta de lu castellu de la marina*

Blascu Zayra — die dominica — C 1
 Mundu Calafatu — die luni — C 1
 Cataudu Barru — die marti — C 1
 Burdinu Pachi — die mercuri — C 1
 Pericuni Faruge — die jovi — C 1
 Micheli de lu Vechu — die veneri — C 1
 Jacobinu Skembri — die sabati — C 1

li guardiani de santu Eramu

Petru Azupardu }
 Jacubu Ristaynu } sanctu eramu
 Costa Camenzuli }
 Johanni Xuerib }
 Bringeli Zumahac — a lu camaha
 Philippu Cumbu }
exi cum Arrigu } a lu gumeri
Cassar per lu focu }

[f. 16] *a la guardia di blahit meze*

Micheli Dinkili }
 Nuzu Gutaye } die dominica
 Niculozu Capu }
 Jacobinu Zamit }
 Petru Luuki } die luni
 Chiccu Cusinu }
 Franciscu Luuki }
 Jorgi Calimera } die marti C 1
 Ximuni Xikilune }
 Laurenzu Zarur }
 Andria Fauzuni } die mercuri
 Marcu Calleya }
 Burdinu Camilleri }
 Benedittu Farmusa } die jovi
 Culayta Zurafe }
 Andrea Burasi }
 Bertinu Bunichi } die veneri
 Salvu Bigeni }
 Thumeo Galata }
 Nardu Cauki } die sabati
 Chiccu Bugeya } C 1
 R. Jacupu Cadum R. }

[f. 16v] *alu mijarru*

Lemu Bartulu }
 Andrea Fenec } die dominica
 Paulinu Burgi }
 Orlandu Galie }
 Lemu Bartalu } die luni
 Luca Calleya } C 1

Gaddu Bartalu	} die marti	Lanza Bertelli	} die mercuri		
Johanni Xuerib				Thumeo Vassaldu	
Antoni Fenec				Ramundu Bertelli	C 1
Antoni Samud	} die mercuri	Luca Dayona	} die jovi		
Lenzu Seykil				Luca Bakibat	
Antoni Brancatu		C 1		Marcu Calleya	
Gullielmu Maltisi	} die jovi	Jacubu Deyf	} die veneri		
Benedittu Dayona				Custanzu Parnisi	
Jaquinu Muhumud		C 1		Laurenzu Kiticuti	
Paulu Maltisi	} die veneri	Angilinu Xeberasi	} die sabati		
Benedittu Dallu				Johanni Mahali	
Gullielmu Staferagi		C 1		Andria Mahanuc	
Johanni Buhaiar	} die sabati	R. Antuni Chumi R.		C 1	
Johanni Zabara					
Thumeo Tabuni		C 1			
R. Jacupu Cadum R.					
[f. 17] <i>guardia hayn tufaha</i>		[f. 18] <i>guardia de santu Paulu</i>			
Johanni Muzangar	} die dominica	Masi Delia	} die dominica		
Andrea Curcurullu				Andrea Cuskeri	
Ximuni Mautisi				Randinu Damiata	C 1
Ximuni Bertelli	} die luni	Luca Dayona	} die luni		
Deunisi Xebirasi				Niculinu Curmi	
Marcu Bindinu				Andrea Dinkille	
Julianu Hakim	} die marti	Gullielmu Samud	} die marti		
Culayta Xerri				Paulu Vella	
Fidericu Busitin				Petruzu Xeberas	
Antoni Mahaduf	} die mercuri	Andrea Xeberas	} die mercuri		
Fidericu Xikilune				Micheli Xerri	
Jakinu Calleya				Fidericu Dayona	C 1
Jacubu Cumbu	} die jovi	Salvu Milahi	} die jovi		
Gulinu Guaractu				Nardu Chumi	
Thumeo Cuzinu				Leu Mifsud	
Johanni Dibonu	} die veneri	Thumeo Skembri	} die veneri		
Pascualinu Cagege				Rugeri Buni	
Johanni Mahanuc				Carnivali Dayona	
Arrigu Xerri	} die sabati	Franchiscu Gaudixi	} die sabati		
Lenzu Frendu				Custanzu Xikilune	
Dimitri Haiuz				Benedittu Samud	
R. Jacupu Cadum R.		R. Antuni Chumi R.		C 1	
[f. 17v] <i>guardia de razun</i>		[f. 18v] <i>guardia bu Jubbe</i>			
Baldu Chumi	} die dominica	Perellu Samud	} die dominica		
Fidericu Spiteri				Manfre Burgi	
Nardu Vassaldu				Antoni Seykil	
Niculetto Assant	} die luni	Marcu Mahallif	} die luni		
Signuri Mifsud				Salvu Curmi	
Mariu Buhaiar				Randinu Bertelli	
Muni Haiuz	} die marti	Baldazaru Haiuz	} die marti		
Andrea Xerri				Bringeli Bakibac	
Niculozu Habeyr				Luca Galata	
		Franciscu Buhaiar	} die mercuri		
		Palmeri Millahi			
		Fidericu Maniuni			

Dimitri Curmi	}	die jovi	Aguystinu Kiticuti	}	die veneri		
Lippu Meze			Salvu Bindinu				
Thumeo Xeberasi			Jacobinu Ponzu				
Ximuni Gaudixi	}	die veneri	Marcu Farmusi	}	die sabati		
Dimitri Chilie			Petru Hili				
Bartolomeo Hayculina			Benedittu Mifsud				
Pinu Grecu	}	die sabati	R. Petru Busitin	}			
Antoni Xeberasi							
Gulliellmu Chaffur [?]							
R. Antuni Chumi R.		C 1	[f. 20] <i>guardia de Climenti</i>				
[f. 19] <i>guardia de bu Rata</i>			Petru Natalia	}	die dominica		
Bertinu Delia	}	die dominica	Paulinu Causin			}	die dominica
Antoni Hantuse			C 1				
Arrigu Mifsud				Antoni Fenec	}		
Ximuni Mifsud	}	die luni	Gaddu Xibib				
Andrea Mahallif			C 1	Pinu Skembri			
Carnivali Bertelli				Paulu Mahallif	}	die marti	
Paulu Calleja	}	die marti	Alduynu Zarbu				
Andrea Fauzuni			C 1	Petru Bunichi			
Johanni Samud				Bernardu Mifsud	}	die mercuri	
Marcu Vella	}	die mercuri	Nardu Kercheppu	}			die mercuri
Petru Vella			C 1				
Gulliellmu Zarur					Bernardu Haiuz	}	
Thumeo Bunichi	}	die jovi	Petru Bartalu				
Culayta Galie			C 1	Antoni Dulzamuri			
Bernardu Muscat				Niculozu Mahallif	}	die veneri	
Benedittu Atardu	}	die veneri	Jakinu Bezine				
Baldu Samud			C 1	Gulliellmu Dayona			
Jorgi Vella				Manfre	}	die sabati	
Johanni Galter	}	die sabati	Gamusu Heleu	}			die sabati
Bertinu Ponzu			C 1				
Ximuni Maniuni					R. Paulinu Saccu R.		
R. Petru Busitin		C 1	[f. 20v] <i>Nadur Callel</i>				
[f. 19v] <i>bir ilbahar</i>			Orlandu Mahallif	}	die dominica		
Johanni Buhaiar	}	die dominica	Petru Calleya			}	die luni
Ximuni Burgi			C 1				
Johanni Skembri				Nellu Cassia	}		
Andrea Chilie	}	die luni	Bergu Pachi				
Andrea Seykil			C 1	Luca Ponzu			
Thumeo Buhaiar				Laurenzu Lukisi	}	die mercuri	
Marcu Bartolu	}	die marti	Salvu Parnisi				
Manfre Bezine			C 1	Laurenzu Zirenu			
Pascualinu Xebiras				Gulliellmu Mahallif	}	die jovi	
Cola Buhaiar	}	die mercuri	Gulliellmu Cassia				
Burdinu Samud			C 1	Martinu Calleya			
Angilu Galata				Deunisi Habeyr	}	die veneri	
Parisi Ponzu	}	die jovi	Manfre Kiticuti				
Ximuni Bartalu			C 1	Gulliellmu Grecu			
Mariu Grecu				Custanzu Calafatu	}	die veneri	
		Orlandu Lamannu					
			Chiccu Frendu				

Thumeo Lukisi	}	die sabati	[f. 22] <i>curtin tabiad</i>	}	die dominica
Gulliellmu Samud			Pinu Farruge		
Antoni Albagianu			Nardu Curmi		
R. Paulinu Saccu R.			Nardu Grecu		
[f. 21] <i>bir bitut</i>	}	die dominica	Pinu Bonavia	}	die luni
Cola Kiticuti			Benedittu Camilleri		
Ansaldinu Saccu			Ramundu Muscat		
Thumasi Lukisi			Manfre Saccu		
Cola Muxi	}	die luni	Marcu Lukisi	}	die marti
Dimitri Hauchellu			Rugeri Cutiti		
Julianu Consiglu			Lemu Caldes		
Antoni Xebirasi			Angilinu Galata		
Petru Zirenz	}	die marti	Pericuni Caldes	}	die jovi
Andrea Mahallif			Franciscu Zamit		
Ramundu Consiglu			Micheli Grecu		
Marinu Saccu			Angilinu Frendu		
Laurenzu Burgi	}	die mercuri	Chiccu Fauchellu	}	die veneri
Girardu Mahallif			Thumeo Grecu <i>carabot</i>		
Angelu Sapia[n]			Johanni Xara		
Cola Lukisi			Ramundu Zayra		
Antoni Zayra	}	die veneri	Nicoulozu Burgi	}	die sabati
Johanni Atardu			R. Dimitri Dayona		
Paulu Bunichi					
Cola Skembri					
Antoni Spiteri	}	die sabati	[f. 22v] <i>Santu Eramu</i>	}	die dominica
Baldu Fenec			Luca Mallia		
R. Dimitri Dayona R.			Petru Camilleri		
			Laurenzu Skembri		
[f. 21v] <i>ginen feris</i>	}	die dominica	Pinu Delia	}	die luni
Nuzu Skembri			Luca Pulluchinu		
Agujstinu Cassar			Philuppu Calleya		
Ansaldinu Vella			Bernardu Haiuz		
Antoni Skembri	}	die luni	Masi Bigeni	}	die marti
Randinu Camenzuli			Marcu Anna		
Pinu Grecu			Antoni Grecu		
Paulinu de Bonu			Rayneri Skembri		
Fidericu Skembri	}	die marti	Carnivali Muscat	}	die mercuri
Johanni Fauzuni			Aguystinu Brancatu		
Gaddu Skembri			Santoru Caruana		
Benedittu Balzanu			Nardu Felu		
Frankinu Felu	}	die mercuri	Deunisi Pullichinu	}	die jovi
Niculachi Kiticuti			Franciscu Zamit		
Cola Camenzuli			Marcu de Laurenzu		
Micheli Balzam [sic]			Bertinu Calafatu		
Johanni Delia	}	die veneri	Gulliellmu Deyf	}	die sabati
Andrea Grima			Cola Calleja		
Petruzu Camenzuli			R. Dominicu Bonavia		
Ansaldinu Anna	}	die sabati	[f. 23] <i>guardia zenac</i>	}	die dominica
Andrea Cuzinu			Andrea Caruana		
Pinu Xebirasi			Micheli Mullica		
R. Dimitri Dayona R.			Salvu Zarur		

Vizenti Bunnichi	}	die luni	C 1	Antoni Kerfixi	}	die marti
Bernardu Grecu				Paulu Mahallif		
Dimitri Cassar				Puchu Vella		
Johanni Battaye	}	die marti	C 1	Cola Vella	}	die mercuri
Marcu Mahallif				Cola Firaru		
Pinu Cassar				Thumeo Percopu		
Andrea Barbara	}	die mercuri	C 1	Lenzu Axac	}	die jovi
Jufre Zabara				Saldu Axac		
Paulu Zabara				Antoni Muhumud		
Antoni Mullica	}	die jovi	C 1	Antoni Buhaiar	}	die veneri
Angelinu Kercheppu				Fidericu Deyf		
Bringeli Baldakinu				Gaddu Deyf		
Antoni Baldakinu	}	die veneri	C 1	Dimitri Buhaiar	}	die sabati
Burdinu Pulisi				Antoni Galata		
Johanni Bunichi				Lagu Deyf		
Gaulteri Calleya	}	die sabati	C 1	R. Bernardu Galata	}	die dominica
Jayme Haleue				[f. 24v] <i>Lu gadir</i>		
Azimundinu Pachi				Johanni Pachi		
R. Paulu Mahallif	}	die dominica	C 1	Antoni Cassar	}	die luni
[f. 23v] <i>Zuncul</i>				Ximuni Xerri		
Dominicu Firaru				Dominicu Hili		
Jacubu Spitali	}	die luni	C 1	Salvu Cassar	}	die marti
Giliu Stafiragi				Salvu Zayra		
Micheli Muhumud				Pinu Vella		
Andrea Stafiragi	}	die luni	C 1	Gulliellmu Cuzinu	}	die mercuri
Pinu Caruana				Randinu Vella		
Johanni Caruana				Jakinu Vella		
Paulu Kerfixi	}	die marti	C 1	Pericuni Pachi	}	die jovi
Jakinu de la Barba				Bertinu Zarur		
Johanni Bunichi				Mariu Pachi		
Thumeo Dub	}	die mercuri	C 1	Mariu Spitali	}	die veneri
Arigu Cassar				Dominicu Vella <i>Heris</i>		
Ramundu Pachi				Bernardu Habdille		
Jakinu de Bonu	}	die jovi	C 1	Lanza Haiuz	}	die sabati
Laurenzu Muhumud				Fidericu Hellul		
Antoni de Burdinu				Pinu Percopu		
Ansaldinu Vella	}	die veneri	C 1	Lippu Hellul	}	die dominica
Vuchi Muhumud				Dominicu Cassar		
Staynu de la Barba				R. Bernardu Galata		
Franciscu Muhumud	}	die sabati	C 1	[f. 25] <i>Ras Juliana</i>	}	die luni
Andrea Kerfixi				Gulliellmu Bugeya		
R. Paulu Mahallif				Jorgi Cagege		
[f. 24] <i>Iu Marnisi</i>	}	die dominica	C 1	Partu Busayle	}	die marti
Bernardu Scalisi				Paulu Xirihe		
Paulu Bunellu				Laurenzu Faruge		
Thumeo Calleya	}	die luni	C 1	Luca Mahallif	}	die sabati
Antoni Bezine				Cola Zamit		
Johanni Muhumud				Niculozu Xirihe		
Thumeo Azupardu	}	die luni	C 1	Laurenzu Faruge	}	die marti

Azimundinu Axac	}	die mercuri C 1	Chiccu Cusmanu	}	die jovi	C 1
Pinu Zamit			Bertinu Farmusa			
Johanni Gaudixi			Antoni Buturra			
Gullielmu Barbara	}	die jovi	Cataudu Zamit	}	die veneri	C 1
Cola Faruge			Orlandu Cagege			
Gullielmu Xikilune			Bertinu Axac			
Baldu Xiriha	}	die veneri	Mariu Barbara	}	die sabati	C 1
Antoni Faruge			Cola Caresi [?]			
Arigu Calleya			Thumeo Habdille			
Culayta Axac	}	die sabati	R. Johanni Fauzuni	}	die dominica	C 1
Nuzu Cutiti			[f. 26v] <i>Cabar garib</i>			
Franciscu Tunne			Thumeo Faruge			
R. Johanni Fauzunj	}	die sabati	Mariu Faruge	}	die luni	C 1
			Culayta Zamit			
			Masi Bugeya			
[f. 25v] <i>Alu minahc</i>	}	die dominica	Johanni Faruge	}	die marti	C 1
Micheli Axac			Tuchi Cassar			
Micheli Zamit			Johanni Vella			
Puchu Damiata	}	die luni	Salvu Busalib	}	die mercuri	C 1
Vizenti Hakim			Cola Habdille			
Johanni Zamit			Ranu Spiteri			
Randinu Curmi	}	die marti	Antoni Bugeya	}	die jovi	C 1
Marinu Zamit			Cola Maniuni			
Johanni Gaudixi			Antoni Maniuni			
Lichardu Cassar	}	die mercuri	Franciscu Maniuni	}	die veneri	C 1
Anton Cuskerj			Marcu Bunichi			
Bernardu Cahalun			Fidericu Cagege			
Nardu Zamit	}	die jovi	Andrea Maniuni	}	die sabati	C 1
Andrea Cahalun			Pinu Abdille			
Chiccu Busayle			Pericuni Bugeya			
Julianu Fitien	}	die veneri	Cola Hayed	}	die mercuri	C 1
Fidericu Mahallif			Birnardu Bugeya			
Antoni Calleya			R. Danzu Chili			
Ximuni Zamit	}	die sabati	[f. 27] <i>Guardia Xutu</i>	}	die dominica	C 1
Simege [?] Axac			Perellu Bugeya			
Cola Zamit			Thumeo Xara			
Manfre Busayle	}	die sabati	Pinu Tunne	}	die luni	C 1
R. Johanni Fauzuni			Deunisi Azupardu			
			Frankinu Vella			
[f. 26] <i>Nadur kelbe</i>	}	die dominica	Thumeo Bertelli	}	die marti	C 1
Johanni Gaudixi			Laurenzu Bertelli			
Marcu Spiteri			Rugeri Axac			
Micheli Nuara	}	die luni	Johanni Casar	}	die mercuri	C 1
Lemu Sayd			Johanni Camilleri			
Birnardu Spiteri			Gullielmu Camilleri			
Johanni Spiteri <i>pulisi</i>	}	die marti	Thumeo Staferagi	}	die jovi	C 1
Bringelj Cumbu			Petruzu Faruge			
Marcu Zamit			Marcu Luuki			
Jumia Barbara	}	die marti	Lenzu Mautisi	}	die sabati	C 1
Aguystinu Zayra						
Antonj Faruge						
Frankinu Bunichi	}	die mercuri		}	die jovi	C 1

Tumasi Casar	}	die veneri	Antoni Hayculina	}	die mercuri
Luca Tabuni			Johanni Xikilune		
Agustinu Gambinu			Rugeri Bunichi		
Bernardu Delfe	}	die sabati	Marcu Skembri	}	die jovi
Johanni Xara			Gulliellmu Battaye		
Paulu Bugeya			Luca Xara		
R. Danzu Chili			Marcu Casar		
			Johanni Busalib		
[f. 27v] <i>Guardia Petra Nigra</i>	}	die dominica	Marcu Faruge	}	die veneri
Johanni de Bonannu			Giliu Azupardu		
Cola Axac	}	die luni	Jorgi Galata	}	die sabati
Luca Xintil			Pinu Damiata		
Angilu Skembri			R. Johanni Skembri		
Gulliellmu Mahallif	}	die marti		}	
Gulliellmu Xara					
Lippu Xara					
Martinu Xara					
Orlandu Xara		C 1			

NOTES

1. See especially A. Mifsud, "La Milizia e le torri antiche di Malta", *Archivum Melitense*, IV, No 2 (1920).
2. G. Wettinger, "The Militia List of 1419-20: a new starting point for the study of Malta's population", *Melita Historica*, V, No 2 (1969).
3. Cathedral Museum, Mdina, Cathedral Archives, *Quaderni Diversi*, No 4; the militia list of ca. 1425: *ibid*, No 6.
4. "On 11 July 1418 a foreign secreto... was nominated to the office then vacant following the death of Vituchius de la Vita": H. Besc, "The "Secrezia" and the Royal Patrimony in Malta: 1240-1450", *Medieval Malta*, ed A.T. Luttrell, p 145.
5. Probate of will of Margarita d'Aragona, 14 June 1418: notarial copy in deeds of notary Andrea Allegritto, N[otarial] A[rchives] V[alletta], R 16/28 (1612-13), f. 826v: Judice Luciano de Parisio.
6. His pardon: ASP, A[rchivio di] S[tato di] P[alermo], Protonotaro del Regno, vol 18, ff. 332v-333; *ibid*, Real Cancelleria, vol 51, ff. 223v-224v; his outlawry was pronounced by Notaro Fortugno de Carusio in Malta: the latter visited Malta in 1413 to put down crime: *ibid*, Real Cancelleria, vol 48, f. 38v.
7. ASP, Real Cancelleria, vol 13, ff. 147v-153, dated 5 December 1375.
8. Capitoli, 11 February 1416: S. Giambruno and L. Genuardi, *Capitoli inediti delle città demaniali di Sicilia*, Palermo, 1918, pp 376-77.
9. ASP, Real Cancelleria, vol 36, ff. 173r-v dated 25 October 1399.
10. ASP, Real Cancelleria, vol 40, ff. 207 r-v, dated 27 January 1402.
11. *Ibid*, ff. 209r-v, dated 22 August 1403.
12. Capitoli of ca. 1409-10 in: R. Valentini, 'Gli ultimi Re Aragonesi et i primi Castigliani in Malta: Documenti', *Archivio Storico di Malta*, VIII, 75.
13. ASP, Real Cancelleria, vol 49, f. 45, dated 19 April 1413; *ibid*, f. 57v, dated 20 April 1413.
14. ASP, Real Cancelleria, vol 51, f. 43v, dated 20 December 1415.
15. *Ibid*, f. 90 r-v, dated 9 January 1416.
16. Capitoli, 11 February 1416, in Giambruno and Genuardi, p 377.
17. ASP, Real Cancelleria, vol 51, f. 144r-v, dated 24 March 1416, referring to court sentence of previous day.

18. *Ibid.*, f. 341v, dated 28 None Indicionis, the month is omitted, the appointment referring to 10th and 11th Indictions (September 1416 to August 1418). In 1402 the municipality of Lentini complained that the town mayor had been claiming the right to appoint the officials and men of the watch on the town walls and to impose a penalty on those who missed their turn of duty, much to the prejudice of the king's bailiff as the watch was aimed at the depredations of the Saracens and not that occasioned by wars between states. King Martin answered that it was the universal custom of the whole kingdom for the town mayors to appoint the night watches: Giambruno and Genuardi, *op. cit.*, p 354.
19. G.F. Abela, *Descrittione di Malta*, Malta 1647, p 60.
20. "ki di la guardia supradicta si divissi exiri tanti homini ki pagassinu omni annu chinquanta florini": capitoli of 11 Feb 1416 in Giambruno and Genuardi, pp 378-79.
21. Capitoli of 11 February 1416 in Giambruno and Genuardi, p 377.
22. ASP, Real Cancelleria, vol 13, ff. 147v-148, dated 5 December 1375.
23. Capitoli of 11 February 1416 in Giambruno and Genuardi, p 377.
24. I should like to thank Brigadier A. Samut-Tagliaferro CBE for his helpful advice in determining the location of the various coastal watch-posts, any errors remaining of course being my sole responsibility.
25. Cf. "ta bir il-bachar" alias "il gallis", contrata: 26.viii.1539, Not Br de Caxario, NAV, R 175/4, f. 577v.
26. A. Mifsud, "La milizia e le torri antiche di Malta", *Archivum Melitense*, IV, No 2 (1920), p 80 "torre tad-dar sive Nadur Kal'el o Madlena".
27. Cf. "bir bitut", (territorium) in contrata "Fi ras il Cortin": 13.viii.1543, Not Juliano Muscat, NAV, R 376/7, f. 492v; "sancti georgii ta birbitut", (contrata): 24.xii.1537, Not Gerolamo Cumbo, NAV, R 196/1, f. 76v of 6th pt.
28. Cf. "terrae beneficium tal feris in contrata Rachal miside": 23.xii.1548, Not Br de Caxario, NAV, R 175/23, f. 581. That Gnien Fieres has nothing to do with the locality of that name to the west of Rabat is also apparent from the fact that it was mainly manned by people from Qormi as one would expect by placing it at St Julian's.
29. G.F. Abela, *loc cit.*, Cf. "il minech, clausura in contrata bin hise": 6.iii.1500, Not C. Canchur, NAV, R 140/1, f. 33v.
30. ASF, Protonotaro del Regno, vol 19, ff. 119v-120, dated 14 December 1415.
31. ASP, Real Cancelleria, vol 46, f. 338r-v, documents dated 17 June 1407.
32. See my forthcoming study 'Honour and Shame in Late Fifteenth Century Malta'.
33. For a list of craftsmen and stone masons exempted from watch duty in return for three days' unpaid work on the town walls, dated 8 July 1473 (not 1472 as printed) see: E.R. Leopardi, "Bandi" of the XV Century", *Melita Historica* II, No 3 (1958), pp 189-90.
34. In 1453 the Maltese town council obtained permission for the watch roster to be drawn up on a permanent basis, neither town mayor nor jurats being able to relieve anyone of his duty, all being posted at the nearest place, and subsequent changes to be made only for legitimate reasons by the town council: Giambruno and Genuardi, *op. cit.*, p 419. In 1458 it was explained by the spokesmen of the town that the revision of the roster took several days rendering it impossible for the town council itself to see to the matter. They therefore obtained permission for the town jurats with the consent of the mayor and his judge to make the requisite changes in the roster without bringing it before the town council and only in case of death, long absence, grave infirmity, old age and change of residence, without the payment of any tip or bribe, everyone having to serve at the nearest post to his place of residence: *ibid.*, 434.

NOTE: In the "Melitia List of 1419-20", *Melita Historica* V, No 2 (1969) pp 80-106; the name "Cutiti" was wrongly transcribed as "Cunti".

FLAGS IN THE SERVICE OF HEALTH

by

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The use of flags in the service of health may be considered under two aspects:— (a) Health communication flags and (b) Health protection flags.

Health communication flags

These are signalling flags hoisted by ships to convey information or other messages about the state of health of crews and passengers to other ships or to shore stations. The need for transmitting medical data between ships on the high seas and between ships and shore establishments is an essential requisite not only to render assistance to passengers and crews with impaired health but also to forestall the dissemination of infectious diseases by sea transport from one country to another. This latter function is of vital importance because the bland appearance of a ship may conceal a destructive cargo in the shape of highly communicable illnesses and because the immediate exchange of information of an epidemiological character forms an integral element of the preventive measures available to control the spread of infectious diseases on an international scale.

For such exchanges to be effective they must be clear, concise and universally understood by mariners irrespective of language and nationality. Before the advent of wireless this communication was carried out by visual signalling by means of flags of various shapes and combinations of colours. It appears that the first international code of signals was that devised by Captain Marryat in 1817 but even before that year flags were already being used as signals to denote health conditions on board ships and shore establishments, prominent among which were the Black Flag and the Yellow Flag.

The Black Flag

In 1783 one of the vessels of the Order of St John came into our harbour flying "une flamme noir au mat" to announce the sinister news that it had plague on board¹. It must be observed, however, that a black banderole does not figure among the flags which formed the code of signals used by the navy of the Order of St John until 1719².

A black flag was used fifty years later at Constantinople to signify that the ship hoisting it had a Foul Bill of Health. White and black colours signified that the vessel had a Suspected Bill and a white flag meant that the ship carried a Clean Bill of Health³.

The black flag no longer forms part of the modern international flag signalling code though the colour black is combined with yellow in two flags (letters I and L) which when flown with a white and blue flag (letter A) stand for "plague"⁴.

The colour black, however, was not always of evil omen; on the contrary, as

will be stated later on, it had a quite different significance when as a black flag it was raised as a protective sign over a site where the wounded on the battlefield were being sheltered and cared for.

The Yellow Flag

A yellow flag formed part of the naval code of signals of the Order of St John but it had no medical connotation until at least 1719. Indeed, according to the part of the mast where it was hoisted, it meant either that the *Capitana* was on the point of sailing along the coast or else that the galleys were to follow the *Capitana* in their order of seniority ⁵.

The first instance that I have come across of the health use of the yellow colour in Malta goes back to 1813 when it was raised on ships kept in quarantine. A contemporary writer records that during the plague that struck the island in that year ships in harbour were displaying the "yellow flag with black discs in the centre" ⁶.

On the 12th October 1820 the Maltese government issued a set of regulations to the effect that all ships arriving in our harbour had to keep flying a yellow flag in a conspicuous part of its mast if the ship had a Clean Bill of Health; if the ship did not carry a Clean Bill, she had to raise a yellow flag with a black disc in the centre. The Captain of the Port was enjoined to have a number of these flags available to be handed to ship-captains who had not provided themselves with them ⁷.

The yellow flag was being used as a quarantine signal in other parts of the world. For instance, in 1820, vessels calling at Cape Town in South Africa were obliged to hoist the yellow jack at the fore top masthead if they had touched at cholera infected ports. In 1836 this flag was also raised over a lazaretto where passengers had been isolated when the ship carrying them entered the Cape with smallpox cases on board ⁸.

On the 22nd June 1839, the Council of Health of Constantinople instructed ships with a Suspected or Foul Bill of Health, passing from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea, to fly a flag with two vertical bands coloured yellow and black on reaching Gallipoli or the Dardanelles ⁹. In 1841 the British Consulate at the Dardanelles enjoined ships passing from the ports of Southern Russia through Constantinople to Malta to hoist the yellow flag on the main top gallant mast. It was only after obtaining sanitary clearance at this consulate that the ships were allowed to lower the yellow flag ¹⁰.

The yellow flag, now known among mariners as the Yellow Duster, is still in use to-day either by itself or in combination with others. Its message, according to the international code of signals, means:—

One yellow flag (letter Q) — "My ship is healthy. I request free pratique".

Two yellow flags — "My ship is suspect i.e. I have had cases of infectious diseases more than five days ago or there has been unusual mortality among the rats on board my ship".

One yellow flag over a black-and-yellow flag (letters Q and L) — "My ship is infected i.e. I had cases of infectious diseases less than five days ago" ¹¹.