

GIOVANNI FRANCESCO BUONAMICO'S *GAUDIA MELITENSIA*

John Azzopardi

Giovanni Francesco Buonamico's *Gaudia Melitensia* is a collection of epigrams in Latin extolling Malta's Pauline cult and traditions. Its title and contents reveal the author's belief in the fundamental role of these traditions in our religious, cultural and national identity.

This study will be commenting on three manuscript versions of this work, pointing out some interesting variants. In all probability, more copies are to be found in religious and private collections, as the work was often quoted by earlier and more recent authors who discussed the Pauline cult, centred mainly round the St Paul's Grotto complex in Rabat, Malta.¹

The three versions are: one, presumably the original, in the private collection of Dr Giovanni Bonello; a second version in the Cathedral Archives (ACM) at Mdina; and a third version in the National Library of Malta (NLM). A preliminary examination of the texts will readily show that the copies in ACM and NLM are not completely identical to the Bonello version, but copied from another exemplar: the Epigrams are given a different enumeration, and the text in both includes an initial hymn in honour of St Paul which is omitted in Bonello.

1 Gatt Said G. (1868), Farrugia Giuseppe (1915), Freller Thomas (1996), Bugeja Gerald (1990) among others.

The manuscript in Dr Bonello's private collection

The *Gaudia Melitensia* is inserted, together with other poems and essays, in the midsection of a long manuscript entitled *Memorie de Viaggi di Giovan Francesco Buonamico nella Francia, Germania, Olanda, Fiandra, Lorena, Svizzeri, Italia, Sicilia e spiagge e varie Isolae della Grecia. Dall'anno 1657, sino al 1666*. The work was dedicated *alli SS .DD. Tomaso ed Ignazio Costanzi*. The National Library of Malta, ms. 1191, has a copy of Buonamico's *Memorie de Viaggi* but this copy does not include the poems and other essays.² The pagination of the Bonello manuscript is irregular: it starts from page 323 and includes an unpaginated section at the end. The *Gaudia Melitensia* is inserted in pages 563 to 594. It is neatly written, in half foolscap size, and has a title page and a designed frontispiece followed by an explanation. It has 18 poems in all, starting with an unnumbered epigram of six lines as part of the title page, 16 numbered epigrams, and finally a hymn (10 stanzas of 4 lines each) in honour of St Paul's Grotto.

The work was definitely intended for an illustrated publication, to the extent that the author drafted detailed suggestions for each of the 16 illustrations. I am here transcribing these suggestions together with the author's text for an illustrated frontispiece. On page 567 of the same manuscript the author promised to send the suggestions and a plan of the façade of St Paul's Church in Rabat (then under construction) to an unnamed person. This person could have been Canon Ignazio Costanzo (1642-1698) to whom the *Memorie di Viaggi* is also dedicated. He was a literary man who compiled important manuscripts updating Canon

2 Information kindly supplied by Mr Jeremy Debono of the National Library.

Castelletti's *Giuliana* in 7 volumes³ and Mariano Hasciac's *Notizie di Alcune Chiese di Malta*.⁴ In fact, one of the sections of the *Gaudia Melitensia*, the section listing authors who registered our local traditions, is directly addressed to him.

The copy at the Cathedral Archives (ACM, Miscellanea, 56, ff. 149 to 159)

Another copy of the *Gaudia Melitensia*, made in 1745, belonged to the Capuchin Friar Fra Pelagio, *alias* Bartolomeo Mifsud, who inserted it in the middle of one of the several volumes of *Miscellanea* which he donated to the Cathedral Chapter before leaving Malta. The text varies from the other copies by virtue of three additions, as well as the complete replacement of Buonamico's epigram in section XVI with another epigram. The reason is that Padre Pelagio, who came into possession of this version, did not accept the dubious tradition of a second visit of St Paul to Malta to take Publius with him, even though he accepted the fact that Publius was transferred from Malta to the See of Athens. The author of this new epigram is not indicated. The identification of the Publius of Athens with the Publius of Malta was then a common belief based on an old chronological error. Another merit of the ACM version is its inclusion of the four-line poem inscribed on the fount of *Għajn Rasul* in St Paul's Bay.

The copy at the National Library of Malta (NLM, ms. 644, pp. 257 to 268)

This is a recent copy made in 1901 by a certain Antonio. It is included in a miscellany which has two descriptions of

3 ACM Miscellanea 56, 450-453.

4 NLM, Ms XVII.

Malta, one by Jo. Bleau and the other by Domenico Magri, and two works on the Pauline cult, namely the treatise *De Sancto Publio* by the Jesuit Girolamo Manduca and the *Gaudia Melitensia* by Buonamico.

Analysis of 'Gaudia Melitensia'

This analysis is based on the Bonello manuscript but important variants in the ACM and the NLM versions are also registered as footnotes.

Titlepage: GAUDIA MELITENSIA sive DIVI PAULI APOSTOLI GESTA IN MELITA INSULA totidem Epigrammatis celebrata. Inserted as part of the title page is an epigram of 6 lines *Dum cadit [...] aliosque Polum*.⁵

Frontispiece: The design (cf. Illustration 2) is followed by a *Dichiarazione Del mio pensiero circa al frontispizio* (transcribed in Appendix 1).⁶

Suggestions for the illustrations. For practical reasons each suggestion is transcribed in its respective section.⁷

Sections I to XVI: Each of the 16 numbered sections has the following structure: (a) title, (b) text from either the Acts of the Apostles or an old manuscript source dealing with our local Pauline traditions, and (c) an epigram of 8, 10 or 12

5 ACM 56: *Gaudia Melitensia sive Epigrammata In Divi Pauli Apostoli erga PUBLIUM Principem ac Melitensem gesta in Melita Insula A Joanne Fran.co Bonamico Melitensi 1745 (cancelled) Philosophiae ac medicinae Doctore, Romanis ac Graecis literis plurimis, ac per Europae Peregrinationibus Illustri, necnon quamplurimis Galliae et Germaniae litterariis Academiis [...] insigniter excultore clarissimo nunc primum edita. Item et alia a diversis quoque Melitensibus.* (Words in italics are additions by Pelagio to a manuscript in his possession) NLM: *Gaudia Melitensia sive Divi Pauli Apostoli Gesta in Melita Insula totidem Epigrammatis celebrata, Auctore Joanne Francesco Buonamico Melitensi, Philosophiae et Medicinae Doctore.*

6 This section is omitted in both ACM 56 and NLM XVII.

7 This section is omitted in both ACM 56 and NLM XVII.

lines. Seven of the 16 episodes are biblical events taken from the Book of Acts whereas the other nine episodes draw on Maltese traditions or legends.⁸

Hymn in honour of St Paul's Grotto: This composition consists of 10 stanzas of 4 lines each.⁹

Bibliography for local traditions: This bibliography is addressed to Signor Abbate di Costanzo.¹⁰

THE CONTENTS OF THE SIXTEEN SECTIONS

Section I: (*Biblical Theme: An angel appears to Paul indicating Malta as a safe haven*)

Title: Paulus tempestate iactatus, ad Melitam perventurum ab Angelo edocetur¹¹

Text: Acts 27

Illustration: La nave sbattuta da grave tempesta. Un'Angelo in aria su la Nave apparso a S. Paolo, mostrandoli con la mano l'Isola di Malta. Malta in lontananza per prua della Nave

Epigram, 16 lines: *Turgida quo [...] unus erit*

Section II: (*Biblical Theme: Paul is welcomed by the Maltese*)

Title: Naufragus a Melitensibus per humanimenter excipitur¹²

8 ACM 56 has XIX numbered sections, whereas NLM XVII has XVIII.

9 Published in G. Gatt Said, *Risposta [...] alla Dissertazione Anticritica del R.mo Can. Dr Vincenzo Paolo Galea sulla Primitiva Chiesa Vescovile in Malta*, (Malta 1868) 42-43 and by G. Bugeja, "The Grotto Motif in Pauline Poetry" in J. Azzopardi (ed.), *St Paul's Grotto, Church and Museum at Rabat, Malta* (Malta 1990) 221 (Latin text) and 227; (English translation).

10 This section is omitted in both ACM 56 and NLM XVII.

11 NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus tempestate iactatus ad Insulam Melitam perventurum ab Angelo edocetur.

12 NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus naufragus a Melitensibus per

Text: Acts 27, 28.

Illustration: Il Porto di S. Paolo, La nave rotta contro alle Rocche, come è delineate nell'Habela. Molti che nuotano per pigliar terra. S. Paolo ricevuto benignamente da molta gente che li tende la mano. Altri accendono un gran fuoco. Case in prospettiva

Epigram, 10 lines: *Frangitur at [...] corda parit*

Section III: (Biblical theme: Paul is bitten by a viper)

Title: A Vipera absque noxia mordetur¹³

Text: Acts 28.

Illustration: S. Paolo accanto al fuoco con una serpe pendente dalla sua mano. Gente che li sta intorno ammirata

Epigram, 8 lines: *Excitat arenti [...] vita cades*

Section IV: (Biblical theme: Paul's shipwreck is considered by the natives to be God's punishment by the gods for having (possibly) been a murderer)

Title: In Homicidae suspicionem venit¹⁴

Text: Acts 28

Illustration: Si può replicare la medesima immagine

Epigram, 10 lines: *Gurgite vix [...] Angue vomunt*

Section V: (Biblical theme: Paul throws the viper into the fire to the astonishment of the Maltese)

Title: Pro Deo habetur¹⁵

Text: Acts 28

Illustration: La vipera in mezzo alle fiamme. Il popolo in ginocchi tendendo le mani verso S. Paolo, adorandolo

Epigram, 8 lines: *Vidit ut [...] ipse Deum*

humaniter excipitur.

13 NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus in Melita a Vipera absque noxa mordetur.

14 NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus apud Melitenses in homicidae suspicionem venit.

15 NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus a Melitensibus pro Deo habetur.

Section VI: (*Local Tradition: The miraculous spring of Ghajn Rasul*)

Title: Fontem miraculo excitat¹⁶

Text: Nidersted: in descriptione Melitae, l.1 c. 4. vide VI

Illustration: S. Paolo tocca il suolo nella spiaggia, e ne scaturisce un fonte. Il popolo in ginocchio. Splendore del Cielo su'l Popolo

Epigram, 8 lines: *Paulus ut [...] ipse Deus*¹⁷

Section VII: (*Local Tradition: Immunity of Maltese serpents*)

Title: Noxa Animantia veneno, Homines superstitione in perpetuum exuit¹⁸

Text: P. Jacobus Tirinus super Acta Apostolorum

Illustration: S. Paolo con un crocifisso in mano in atto di predicare. Da un lato molte serpi, che fuggono. Dall'altro lato Idoli rotti, Demonij che fuggono per aria. Il popolo in ginocchi con raggi che dal Cielo li scendono di sopra.

Epigram, 10 lines: *Naufragus ut [...] Religionis amor*

Section VIII: (*Biblical Theme: Healing of the father of Publius and the sick*)

Title: Publij Patrem, coeterosque aegros miraculo sanat¹⁹

Text: Acts 28

Illustration: Una stanza aperta con un letto. S. Paolo che tende la mano ad un ammalato, presente S. Publio. Fuori della stanza in campagna numero d'ammalati che concorrono. Lume dal cielo sopra tutti.

Epigram, 10 lines: *Publius insuetis [...] edea fugat*

16 NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus Melitae mirum fontem excitat.

17 In ACM 56 this epigram is preceded by another epigram of 4 lines. The text is the Latin inscription on Ghajn Rasul in St Paul's Bay: *Hac sub rupe [...] Paulus aquas.*

18 NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus in Melita Insula noxia animantia veneno et Homines superstitione in perpetuum exuit.

19 NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus Sancti Publij Patrem ceterosque egrotos in Melita Insula miraculo sanat.

Section IX: (*Local tradition: 'Terra melitensis' is an antidote against poison*)

Title: Melitensi Terrae vim adversus venenata indit²⁰

Text: Habela noster [...] vide IX

Illustration: Una grotta in una Rocca vicino alla Città. S. Paolo quivi entra in oratione. Lume dal Cielo sopra d'esso.

Epigram, 8 lines: *Sidereas Paulus [...] venena domat*

Section X: (*Local tradition: Paul's preaching is heard throughout Malta and Gozo*)

Title: Concionantis vox per universam Insulam, vicinamque usque Gaulon, exauditur²¹

Text: P. Masuccius in vita S. Pauli. vide X

Illustration: Gran parte dell'Isola di Malta con la Città, e Terre e l'Isola del Gozzo in prospettiva. S. Paolo in campagna vicino alla Città, predicando con un crocifisso in mano a' quantità di popolo. Dalla sua bocca escono raggi, che si diffondono per tutta l'Isola sino al Gozzo.

Epigram, 10 lines: *Dum Melitae [...] vorabat edax*

Section XI: (*Local Tradition: Paul erects a temple with an image of the Virgin painted by St Luke*)

Title: Primum Templum B. Virgini erigit, eiusque imagine a S. Luca picta ditat²²

Text: Habela l. 2, not. 7, f. 237. vide XI

Illustration: In mezzo ad una gran piazza una chiesa che sta fabricandosi. S. Paolo che vi porta in processione una imagine della B. Vergine, preceduto da molto popolo con faci accese.

Epigram, 8 lines: *Solverat insano [...] abesse nequit*

20 NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus Melitensi Terrae vim adversus venena indit.

21 NLM XVII: Sancti Pauli Apostoli concionantis vox per universam Insulam Melitam, vicinamque Gaulon exauditur.

22 NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus primum Templum Beatae Virgini erigit, eiusque imaginem Sancto Luca picta ditat.

Section XII: (*Local tradition: S. Trophimus left sick in Malta*)

Title: D. Trophimum in Melita aegrum relinquit, maximo utique Melitensium beneficio²³

Text: Habela l. 2, not. 7, f. 238. vide XII

Illustration: Camera aperta con letto, e S. Paolo che abbraccia un ammalato. In prospettiva una nave nel lido.

Epigram, 10 lines: *Quotquot errant [...] ipse tuos*

Section XIII: (*Local tradition: Paul installs Publius as Bishop of Malta*)

Title: Publium Melitensem Episcopum instituit²⁴

Text: Baron annal l. 1, an. 58. vide XIII

Illustration: S. Paolo che consegna un libro ed il Pastorale a S. Publio in habito di Vescovo in ginocchi.

Epigram, 10 lines: *Te nostris [...] corda face*

Section XIV: (*Biblical text: Paul receives many gifts on his departure*)

Title: Discessurus, a melitensibus muneribus donatur²⁵

Text: Acts 28; Niderstedt in description Melitae: Cornelius a Lapide in proleg. Pauli c.7

Illustration: Un porto con una nave nel lido. S. Paolo che da la mano a baciare al Popolo che lo saluta. Molti con ceste e canestri che li presentano.

Epigram, 12 lines: *Tu, Pater [...] ipsa ferent*

Section XV: (*Local tradition: Return of Paul to Malta to take Publius with him as Bishop of Athens*)

23 ACM 56: Sanctum Trophimum for D.Trophimum; NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus Divum Trophimum in Melita aegrum relinquit, maximo utique Melitensium beneficio.

24 NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus Divum Publium Melitensem Episcopum instituit.

25 ACM 56: omits the word 'muneribus'; NLM XVII: Sanctus Paulus Apostolus discessurus a Melitensibus muneribus donator.

Title: In Melitam redux, D. Publium secum abducit Atheniensi Ecclesiae praeficiendum²⁶

Text: Habela L. 2, not. 7, f. 240: Manduca Hist. S. Publij cap.20

Illustration: Si potria replicare la medesima imagine.

Epigram, 10 lines: *Vix dum [...] potuisse dare*

Section XVI: (*Local tradition: Apparition of Paul in defence of the Maltese attacked by the Moors in 1427*)

Title: Obversos a Mauris Melitenses caelitus apparens liberat²⁷

Text: Cornelius a Lapide in Act. Apos, c. 28; vide XVI

Illustration: La Città assediata con molti padiglioni e Turchi d'intorno. S. Paolo in aria con spade di fuoco in mano che uccide, e fuga i Turchi, abatte padiglioni, e pone tutti in scompiglio.

(Note): Le figure d'huomini siano sempre alla Romana togate e a capo nudo. S. Publio da Cavaliere Romano.

Epigram, 12 lines: *Barbaricae Melites [...] ecce ducem*

Buonamico, the Order and Cosmana Navarra

Gaudia Melitensia was written c. 1666. Giovan Francesco Buonamico was promoting the Pauline Cult and traditions through this literary work as well as through another scientific work on the origin of the Maltese *glossopetre*, soon

26 ACM 56 transcribes this whole section but cancels it and replaces it by another epigram of 14 lines with the title: D. Publius Melitam deserens, Romam pergit, Ioanni Evangelistae comitatur, Illyricum, Acticum, Asiamque suis Praedicationibus illustrat, Clementis I Pontifici assensu Atheniensi Ecclesiae proficitur, Martir moritur pro fide. Epigramma: *Numinis excelsi [...] Dogmata vera suo*. NLM XVII: retains the whole section with the title Sanctus Paulus Apostolus in Melitam redux D. Publium secum abducit Atheniensi Ecclesiae ordinandum Episcopum.

27 NLM XVII: Obversos a Mauris Melitenses coelitus apparens Sanctus Paulus liberat.

after his brother Francesco Giacomo had written a treatise on the miraculous power of earth from St Paul's Grotto in Rabat, entitled *Relazione della Grazia di San Paolo*. At the same time, the Order of St John was promoting Malta as the apostolic island of St Paul's Shipwreck and of the Pauline cult, especially after the Order's historic acquisition of St Paul's Grotto in Rabat. In 1619, Grand Master Aloph de Wignacourt created a body of Chaplains and instituted the *Fondazione Wignacourt* to oversee the Grotto and its religious services. Already in 1610, the Holy See had severed the subterranean Grotto from the Parish Church above it, entrusting the place of worship to a Spanish Hermit, Juan de Venegas, who promoted it until he ceded the shrine to the Order. Some years later the Order commissioned the resident architect of the Order in Malta, the military engineer from Lucca Francesco Buonamici to construct a Baroque palace adjoined to the Grotto, which was to serve as the residence of the chaplains. This was probably the earliest Baroque building outside Valletta.

St Paul's Grotto, however, had always formed part of the Rabat Parish Church. The Baroque structure of the *Collegio* had completely outshone the structure of the Parish Church. Moreover, the population of Rabat, though increasing, consisted of mostly poor parishioners who could not financially support the enlargement of the Parish Church in harmony with the *Collegio*. Here is where the generosity of a noble woman, Signora Cosmana Navarra, comes in. Out of her own funds, she commissioned the construction of a larger Parish church and wisely entrusted the work to the same architect, Francesco Buonamici, thus establishing an architectural harmony between the Grotto and the Parish Church. The Maltese author of *Gaudia Melitensia*, who must have personally known the benefactress, gave her merited recognition when he designed the frontispiece of his literary

work. He drafted an allegorical representation of Fame holding with one hand the Cosmana Navarra coat-of-arms and with the other the title of the book. He also included the façade of Rabat's Pauline Complex, with the name 'Cosmana Navarra' inscribed above the façade, giving equal importance to the Parish Church and the adjacent church presided over by the Order. The façade was then (c.1666) on two bays whereas the present façade, completed in 1683, has three bays but still retains the inscription bearing the name of Cosmana Navarra. The vast territory encompassing the area of the Parish Church belonged to the Cathedral's prebend of *Ghar Barca* and its beneficiary was Don Nicola Buonamico (died 1725), who was the son of Gian Francesco Buonamico. During this period he was actively developing the area by conceding many portions of land on perpetual or temporary leases.

The noble Cosmana, on her part, commissioned our Giovan Francesco Buonamico to compose Latin verses for the octagonal Baroque monument she was erecting on the church parvis, popularly referred to by its local term: *Iz-Zuntier*. The monument was intended to commemorate St Paul's pastoral activity as preacher of the Gospel in the area. One version of *Gaudia Melitensia*, that found in the Bonello manuscript, includes four texts of inscriptions for this monument: one of these is still extant in marble;²⁸ another one was replaced a few decades ago;²⁹ the remaining two texts were just preliminary drafts.³⁰

By way of conclusion, I would like to quote this relevant passage from Giovanni Farrugia's work on this subject:

28 *Quisquis ades [...] Nobilis Cosmana Navarra P.*

29 *Tutelari ac Patrono [...] .erexit A.D. 1678.*

30 *Hic ubi suos [...] Hoc mon.erexit and Saxeum hic [...] fulmina.*

“Gian Francesco Bonamico Maltese (1639-1680), per la sua dottrina e cortesi maniere amato dai concittadini e caro ai più insigni personaggi stranieri del suo tempo, ‘era, dice il Ciantar, perito astronomo, geografo, antiquario, geometra, matematico, medico, fisico, meccanico, poeta ed oratore’. Conosceva bene sette lingue tra antiche e moderne, oltre la maltese: fu autore di molte opere, tra esse è un poema latino col titolo *Gaudia Melitensia*, in cui descrive al vivo la predicazione dell’Apostolo, e l’eco della sua voce che si diffonde, ripetendo per tutti gli angoli di Malta le sante parole. Della predicazione stessa poi udita dai Gozitani parla nella bella iscrizione da lui composta per il monumento, di cui ora mi tocca di dire. Infatti nel 1679, nell’area indicata dalla tradizione come il luogo donde S. Paolo predicò ai Maltesi dove, come sopra si è detto era stata innalzata ab antiquo una Croce per memoria del fatto, venne posta una statua dell’Apostolo predicante con iscrizione del Bonamico. Questo monumento, eretto bensì a spese della gentildonna Cosmana Navarra ma in luogo pubblico e sacro, ha un valore tutto speciale, come attestato solenne della ferma fede di tutta Malta nel nostro miracolo”.³¹

31 G. Farrugia, *San Paolo Apostolo e Padre dei Gozitani* (Malta: Tip. G. Muscat, 1915) 29-30.

Appendix 1

Dichiarazione del mio pensiero circa al frontispizio

Io non pretendo già dar disegno con questo rozzissimo abbozzo, ma solamente far capire il mio pensiero, che è tale.

1. Suppongo una sorte d'Architettura che possa accomodarsi al tutto, com ho qui notato.
2. Da un lato l'immagine della Fama che suoni la tromba, da cui pende una bandieruola con le armi della Signora Cosmana Navarra e con l'altra mano tenghi lo scartoccio, in cui sia il titolo del libretto tutto intiero.
3. Dall'altro lato, sarà l'immagine di Malta col capo coperto d'un velo che pende dietro ed a i lati, e di sopra il velo, incoronata di rose. La veste riccamata di Rose, ed Api. Con una mano tiene lo stesso scartoccio, e con l'altra un cagnuolino da Bologna. A piedi una navicella, o Vaso in cui le Api fanno il miele, con molte Api d'intorno.
4. In mezzo dell'Architettura in un ovato si rappresenterà da un lato un pezzo di Terreno della Siria con la Città di Damasco, e la caduta di S. Paolo, splendore dal Cielo con le parole 'Saule Saule quid me persequeris'. Dall'altro lato un pezzo dell'Isola di Malta col porto, e la nave naufragante, come sta nella Malta Illustrata. S. Paolo, che predica al Popolo.
5. Sotto, un scartoccio con i sei versi che stanno nella prima pagina.
6. Più sotto campagna aperta in prospettiva con qualche alberi e Case. Innanti la Chiesa di S. Paolo, conforme il disegno che se le invierà.

Sara meglio porre Malta dal lato, ove sarà l'immagine di Donna che la rappresenta e la veduta di S. Paolo.....

Appendix 2

Buonamico's additional bibliographical references to local traditions

Al Signor Abbate di Costanzo

VI: Nidersted in descriptione melit. Lib. 1 c. 4; Franciscus Carrera in Appendiculis Panthei Siculi; Hieronymus Manduca Hist. S. Publij cap. 3; Ioannes Franciscus Habela lib. 1, nott. 1: Cornelius a Lapide in cap. 28 Act.; Octavius Gaetano Isagoges ad Siculam historiam illustrandam c. 19; Thomas Massutius lib. 11, cap. 10.

IX: Thomas Fazellus Hist. Sicul. Dec 1; Joannes a Siderno in Direct. Theologico Epist. Ad Lectorem; Ioannes Dominicus Ottonelli Della Chiesa Moder. Del Teatro tratt. 3 ammonit. 3; Theophylus Raynaudus tom. 8. Tit. cult. Special. Sanct. Punct 6; Jacobus Tirino in cap. 28 Act. Apost. vers. 3; Baronius Annal. tom 2 ann. Christi 18 pag. 585; Ioannes Lorinus in cap. 28 Act. Apost.; Ioannes Baptista Cancellotto Annal. Marian. Num 33: Abbas Pirrus nott. 7 Eccles. Melit. X: Octavius Gaetano Isagoges Cap. 19; Mussutius Lib. 2, c. 30; et Cornelius a Lapide in cap. 28 Act. Apost.; Hieronymus Manduca Relatione di Malta mss.

XI: Abela lib. 2, not 7; Ioannes Ferrandi Disquisit reliquiar. Lib. 1 cap. 1; Cancellotto num. 33; Massutius In Epist. dedic. lib. 11, c. 10 ; lib. 14, c. 8; Franciscus Carrera in Appendic; Panth Siculi; Cornelius a Lapide in Cap. 28 Act. Apost.; Octavius Gaetano Isagoge c. 19.

XII: P. Laurenti Vita S. Pauli; Ecclesia Arelat. in Hymn et L 1. 2 nott; Baronius Annal. Eccles. Tom 1 pag mihi 586; Manduca in Proemio Hist. S. Publij.

XIII: Sebastianus Salelles Prolog 10 pag. 43; Paulus Belli Gloria Messanensium mihi 22; Bartolomeus Lavanto Vita S. Pauli ann. 58; Claudius Dansquio Paul. Apost. Sanctitudo

lib. 2, cap. 22; Gregorius Valentio Mansissa tom. 2, pag. mihi 595.

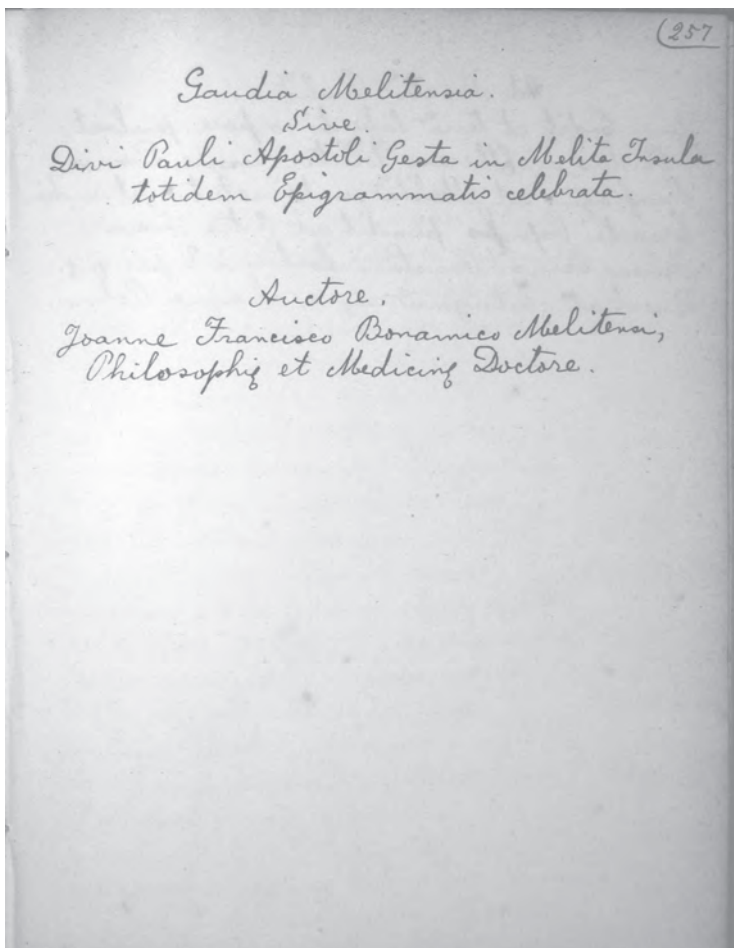
XV Manduca Hist. S. Publij cap. 20.

XVI Cornelius a Lapide in cap. 28 Act. Apostolorum; Gaetanus Isdagoge c. 11: Franciscus Carrera Appendice Panth Sicul; Massutius lib. 2, cap. 5: Pirri not. 7 Eccles. Melit: Hieronymus Manduca Relazione di Malta num. 11.

Appendix 3

The varied enumeration of the Sections of *Gaudia Melitensia* in the three versions

Theme	Bonello version	ACM Misc. 56	NLM ms 644
Prologue	Part of the title page	I	not numbered
Hymnus ad S.Paulum	omitted	II	I
Message of the angel	I	III	II
Welcomed by the Maltese	II	IV	III
Miracle of the Viper	III	V	IV
Considered as a murderer	IV	VI	V
Reputed as God	V	VII	VI
Miracle of the spring of water	VI	VIII	VII
Immunity of Maltese serpents	VII	IX	VIII
Healing of the sick	VIII	X	IX
Paul's voice heard throughout Malta and Gozo	X	XII	XI
Earth from St Paul's Grotto has curative powers	IX	XI	X
Paul dedicates temple to the Virgin	XI	XIII	XII
Trophimus left sick in Malta	XII	XIV	XIII
Consecration of Publius as Bishop of Malta	XIII	XV	XIV
Paul receives gifts on his departure	XIV	XVI	XV
Transfer of Publius to the see of Athens	XV	XVII	XVI
Paul liberated the Maltese from the Moors	XVI	XVIII	XVII
Hymnus ad Sacram Cryptam	Not Numbered	XIX	XVIII



Copy at the National Library



Buonamico's sketch for a publication of the epigrams

GAUDIA MELITENSIA
siue
DIVI PAVLI APOSTOLI
GESTA
IN MELITA INSVLA
Totidem Epigrammatis
celebrata.

*Dum cadit, et Terram labenti corpore pulsat
Paulus, ad aethereas sollicitus usque Domos.
Naufragus ad Melitam vento iactatus et undis
Erranti Populo pandit ad Astra viam.
Felicis casus! fausta infortunia! per que
Ducit ad astrigerum seque, aliosque Polum.*

Manuscript in possession of Dr G. Bonello