

# Gozo After the Siege of Malta: A Study of the Acts of Notary Tomaso Gauci, 1566-68

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Being an island in the Mediterranean sea, Malta absorbed a lot of what, during the centuries, took place in the region. The most prominent example is the command of the Maltese islands by all those people who, at one point or another, dominated the Mediterranean world. In this Malta has always been in the shadow of Sicily but in the sixteenth century Malta steered off this path and began to carve its own history and identity influenced by an Order which was European and Mediterranean. This article seeks to follow the path taken by the Maltese islands, especially Gozo, after the Siege of 1565, through a small window which is opened when studying the notarial acts of Tomaso Gauci, a notary who worked in Gozo in the sixteenth century.

Like most Mediterranean islands, Malta in the late Middle Ages was a 'self-contained world, with its own customs, language and archaic economy'<sup>1</sup> of about 20,000 inhabitants. In 1530 Malta was described as being 'a rock of a soft sand-stone, called tufa, about six or seven leagues long, and three or four broad',<sup>2</sup> that the land was not deep and thus unsuitable for the growing of grain but the island had an abundance of figs, melons and other different fruits. Also, the islanders exported their cotton, cumin and honey in exchange for grain. Jean Quintinus said that Malta was not 'a place that needs a long description'<sup>3</sup> while Fra Paolo del Rosso said that Malta was a 'confined, deserted and savage place.'<sup>4</sup>

In July 1551 Gozo suffered a massive blow when the Ottoman admiral Sinam Pasha and the corsair Dragut crossed over to Gozo, after trying to capture Mdina and failing, with a fleet of 140 galleys.<sup>5</sup> The Gozitans withdrew into the citadel but resistance was hopeless in front of the

strength of the Ottoman armada and within days, the Gozitans had to surrender. Practically all of the population of Gozo was taken into slavery. This resulted in a total devastation of the island.

### **The Siege of 1565, Gozo and the aftermath**

During the early 1560s, reports were rife that the Ottomans were preparing to attack the western Mediterranean. On 18 May 1565 the Turks were first sighted off Malta and the first canon of the harbour fired shots as a signal to the population that the enemy had arrived. The first target was Fort Saint Elmo. It took the Turks over a month to capture this fort and at the end it was reduced to ruins and cost them around 6,000 men, including Dragut.

The Turks then proceeded to attack Fort Saint Michael, Senglea and Birgu. The Turks attacked several times and the Knights managed to somehow keep going. At times both Mustapha Pasha and De Valette led the battle themselves in a bid to keep their troops going.

In September 1565, after three months of fighting, Malta was very close to being defeated and depended on the Spanish-Sicilian relief which was supposed to arrive in Malta. There were talks of abandoning Birgu but De Valette was against this. The defenders of Birgu were now fraught as were the Turks who were seeing all their efforts go in smoke. After the distorted news that 16,000 Christian troops had arrived in Malta reached Mustapha Pasha, when in fact only 8,000, had arrived, he decided to withdraw from Malta and on 8 September the Turkish fleet set sail.

During the Siege of 1565, Gozo was not a target for the attacks and it did not suffer heavy damages and the castle of Gozo was not taken by the Turks. This was very fortunate because Gozo's castle was very weak.

Although Gozo was not attacked in 1565, its people were involved in one way or another in the battle. This island was used as a 'staging

post along the lines of communications with Sicily' and was thus helping facilitate the risky crossing to and from Malta.<sup>6</sup> Don Garcia, the person in charge of the Spanish-Sicilian relief force, saw in Gozo an ideal place to help 'screen the approach of his fleet from any Turkish pickers patrolling the seas around the northern parts of Malta.'<sup>7</sup> The fact that Gozo was only partly involved in the siege is attested by the fact that the mother church on the island continued to register baptisms uninterrupted during the time of the siege.<sup>8</sup> The acts of Tomaso Gauci for the period May to September 1565 only contain a few contracts while as from 29 September 1565 life picks up fairly quickly and deeds are recorded on a regular basis.<sup>9</sup>

### **Gozitan society in the mid-sixteenth century**

Life in Gozo was soon re-established after the events of 1551 but it took time for things to settle down again and for life to return to its normal course. By time, the Gozitans began to find their way back to the island as some escaped from captivity and others were ransomed. The well-to-do Gozitans were soon ransomed as they had the means by which to do so.

As the island of Gozo was depopulated, the Maltese people started migrating to their sister island. There are a number of ideas as to what attracted the Maltese to the island of Gozo which was so vulnerable to attacks and which had just witnessed such a sacking, however it seems that the main attraction was the fact that they could easily take over property in Gozo. Probably these Maltese were in pursuit of agricultural land and thus places where they could work. This can be partly supported by the acts of Tomasso Gauci as the Maltese are involved in contracts which are mostly related to agriculture such as the trade in animals. For example on 30 August 1567, Andrea Luchia, a Gozitan, sold 3 oxen, a cow, an ass and 27 animals of cattle amounting to 32 *uncie* 24 *tareni* to Brancatio burg of *casali gregori Malta habitator huius terra et insule Gaudisii*.<sup>11</sup>

A very important attraction for Maltese farmers was the fact that there was much land available for leasing in Gozo. There were a number of landowners who had vast estates of land which now had no peasants to work them and thus these provided the Maltese farmers with ample opportunity to obtain land from which they could maybe make a better life for themselves. In the acts under review there are a number of examples with the lender being, in most cases, Gozitan. Some of them include, Joanne Grego, a Gozitan, who on 29 October 1566 leased to Dominico Tumne, a Maltese living in Gozo, one-fourth of a field in the Island of Gozo.<sup>12</sup> Another example is that of *nobile* Guarino Plathamone who on 3 March 1568 leased to Laurentio Mifsud, a Maltese living in Gozo, a farm with its fields and cisterns in Gozo in *gued il melach* (Wied il-Mielah) for four years starting on the following first of August.<sup>13</sup>

Apart from land there was also the leasing of houses and even sometimes animals. The leasing of houses is fairly common and there are various instances where houses are leased, sometimes with the lands surrounding them, and frequently with their store rooms. An example of this is a lease given by *honorabile* Joanne Bongebino who leased a house with its store room and kitchen in the castle of Gozo to Hieronymo Grima, a Maltese. This lease was to be for the duration of one year starting on the following November for the price of 1 *uncie* 9 *tareni*.<sup>14</sup>

Aside from the Maltese, there were a number of foreigners, especially from Sicily, who chose to live on the Island of Gozo. In the records studied, a number of people described mostly as '*siculo habitator huius terre et Insule Gaudisii*' are found.

This interaction between the Gozitans, the native population of the island, the Maltese and foreigners who, for various reasons, decided to migrate to this small island, contributed to the initial phases of economic and social reconstruction of Gozo.

## The Gozitans

The majority of Gozitans who appear in the notarial acts under review are all linked to agriculture and the work of the land. Most of them even appear to be landowners, however, as one goes through the notarial records of Tomaso Gauci, it is clear that there were a number of people belonging to the same family who were involved in a good number of transactions recorded by this notary. The majority of these people belonged to the families of the upper class in Gozo and thus they had more money and land with which to do business. These people were the first to be redeemed from slavery after the attack of 1551 and thus by 1566 they were actively participating in the economic activities which were being revitalized.

All of them appear constantly in the acts under study but the most prominent family is the Plathamone. Persons like Guarino Plathamone, who appears frequently in the acts under review, was one of the jurats in the Gozitan council in 1575. The two members of the Plathamone family who appear most in the acts under study are *nobile* Guarino Plathamone and *magnifico* Antonino Plathamone. They are seen in many instances buying and selling such as when Guarino sold an ass *pili morelli* to *magnifico* Antonino Deguyara for 4 *uncie* 24 *tareni* on 17 February 1557<sup>15</sup>, or when Antonino sold an ass and a mule *pili falbi* to Matheo Refalo for 3 *uncie* 6 *tareni*.<sup>16</sup>

There were also in Gozo people who acted as procurators for those who were still in captivity. Through these procurators, the people who were held captives could still hold on to their lands. These procurators were appointed by the grand master to take care of the interests of the Gozitans who were held in captivity. An example of this is Martino Mule. It was actually his father, Hon. Marcus Mule, who was appointed by the Governor of Gozo to administer the possessions of certain captives. However, *honorabile* Marcus Mule was taken prisoner himself and thus his son, Martino Mule, became the curator of his father taking on all of his responsibilities.<sup>17</sup>

## Agriculture as the basis of the economy of Gozo in the mid-sixteenth century

The economy of Gozo, like that of Malta, was mainly based on agriculture; on the working of the land and the raising of livestock. However there were also other activities mostly related to the sea like trade, corsairing and fishing. Cotton and cumin were the main cash crops and their trade as well as that of textiles also played an important part in the economy of the islands. From the proceeds which resulted from the exportation of these products, the Maltese imported wheat and other necessities. Gozo also produced wheat, barley, legumes, fruit and wine and the practice of animal husbandry was widespread. Even though the population of Gozo lived in the Castle of Gozo there were farm buildings all along the countryside as well as vineyards and orchards.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, with the arrival of the Knights of St. John the practice of privateering flourished and also began to contribute towards the economy of Malta.

Cereals were the main source of the sustenance of society in the sixteenth century. For small islands like Malta and Gozo this great demand for cereals could not be supplied by the local produce and thus the importation of these necessities was of vital importance. For the Maltese islands the wheat needed from abroad was acquired from Sicily.<sup>19</sup> The agricultural related problems were due to the fact that the islands were small and the soil was of poor quality. These problems were intensified by the siege of 1565 as thousands of Turks were stationed on Malta. They had arrived before the grain harvest was completed and having looted and despoiled all that could be found, they left behind a catastrophe, as was their intention. Moreover, the livestock was used to sustain the defenders or was captured by the Turks.

Having said this, when looking at the acts under study, one can see that the situation in Gozo was different. Here the production seems to have continued in the years following the siege and the records give quite a good number of contracts which deal with the trade in cereals. Small transactions of less than 10 *salme* were most common. For example,

Nob. Guglielmo la Russa sold 1 *salme* barley to Silvestro Zahra on 18 April 1567 for the price of 16 *tareni* payable on the Feast of St John the Baptist.<sup>20</sup> Nob. Guglielmo la Russa was also involved in the bigger transactions. On 20 January 1568 he sold 40 *salme* barley to Hon. Leonardo Pachi of Zebug (Żebbuġ) Malta for 76 *uncie* 8 *tareni* at the price of 23 *tareni* per *salma*.<sup>21</sup>

Wheat was only mentioned a few times in these acts and one of the references was in a contract of debt between *honorabile* Joanne Haius and Antonius Danfansino, a Gozitan. In the contract Danfansino stated that he owed Haius 3 *uncie* 21 *tareni* in order to complete a payment for a certain quantity of barley and wheat.<sup>22</sup> After barley the most popular cereal was grain; *frumenti mixti* and *frumenti necti*. Most of the time grain was sold in conjunction with barley such as when on 13 May 1568 Pasquale Grima sold to Mariano Fanchel of Rabbato (Rabat) Malta 2 *salme* barley and 1 *salme frumenti necti*; dried grain, for the price of 3 *uncie*.<sup>23</sup> A similar contract took place on 21 December 1566 when Pasquale Grima affirmed that he owed Antonio Burg 3 *uncie* 3 *tareni* for 2 *salme* barley, 6 *tumini frumenti necti* and 10 *tumini frumenti mixti*.<sup>24</sup>

As one can notice there were many Maltese people who were buying cereals in Gozo. This was presumably to feed the much larger population on Malta especially when keeping in mind the utter devastation of the agricultural lands left by the Turks following the events of 1565. Cereals were also used as a means of payment, in kind, for work. Augustino Circheppo agreed to work for Federico Caruana for one year against a payment of 5 *uncie* 3 *tareni*, and an amount of mixed wheat.<sup>25</sup> Cereals were also used to pay for leases and *gabella*. This is the case of Dionisio Vella who was given a lease, in *gabella*, a farmhouse with its fields in Gozo by *magnificus* Antonio Plathamone for two years starting on the previous 15 August against a payment of 4 *salme* barley and 1 *salma* grain per annum.<sup>26</sup>

In a world based on agriculture animals and livestock were vital for survival both when alive and also when dead. Beasts of burden were considered to be ‘bulky merchandise’<sup>27</sup> and when sold great attention

was given to give an accurate description of their colour, sex and whether they were mules, donkeys, oxen or horses as this could reflect a difference in the price.

The ox seems to have been the main draught animal used for ploughing and 'probably for treading the wheat out of the chaff in preparation for winnowing'.<sup>28</sup> Horses were not as common and were mostly used for transportation. The highest price for a horse was fetched by one *pili sauri* sold by Hon. Raynelio Machnne to Pasquale Grima for the price of 9 *uncie*<sup>29</sup> and another *pili rubei* bought by Joanne Cakie from Jacobo de Albano on 25 Aug 1568 for also 9 *uncie*.<sup>30</sup> The lowest price paid was for a horse *pili falbi* sold for 4 *uncie* 12 *tareni* by Joanne Grima, *Melitensis habitator huius terra et insule Gaudisii*, to Leonardo Vassallo, a Maltese living with Grima.<sup>31</sup> As for oxen, the prices were very similar.

The donkey and its hybrid, the mule were 'indispensable animals in production and transportation'<sup>32</sup> and have been, since time immemorial, associated with hard work. This is especially so in the smaller Mediterranean islands like Pantelleria, Malta and Gozo where these animals were indispensable to the work of the farmer. These smaller central islands came to be 'natural donkey sanctuaries'<sup>33</sup> where the donkey developed different individual characteristics. Braudel described the donkey as 'the symbol of everyday life in the Mediterranean'.<sup>34</sup> In Malta and Gozo idioms like '*bħall-ħmar tas-sienja*' and '*jaħdem daqs baħħal*' came to show both the hard work which donkeys and mules did everyday as well as the close relationship between the Maltese peasant and these beasts.<sup>35</sup> Mules and donkeys were the commonest means of transport available and the Maltese donkey in particular was said to be so good that it did not need horse shoes. Mules were particularly in demand for driving the mills that ground the wheat and barley before the introduction of windmills. In Malta donkeys and mules were reared on a wide scale and managed to gain a respectable reputation abroad, so much so that they were exported, in particular to Sicily.

In the records under review, the donkey and the mule occupy 30% of the whole animal occurrence. The donkeys were pretty cheap especially



when compared to oxen and horses. The highest price at which a donkey was sold was 6 *uncie*. This donkey *pili falbi* was sold by Vincentio Xuerib to Philippo Fenec on 8 November 1566.<sup>36</sup> The least expensive donkey was actually a she-ass *pili ferrantis* which Bendo Cumbo acquired from Mariano Micallef for 1 *uncie* 18 *tareni*.<sup>37</sup> As for mules, the story is a bit different as they tended to keep their price quite high. The maximum amount fetched by a mule was that of 11 *uncie* 20 *tareni* in a contract drawn up on 18 June 1568. Blasio Chilia, a Maltese living in Gozo, sold a mule *pili castagni* to Petro Casha of Birkirkara (Birkirkara) for the mentioned price which was to be paid in Christmas.<sup>38</sup> Although the lowest price fetched by a mule was 5 *uncie*, only one other mule fetched a similar price as all the others were sold for more than 7 *uncie*.

As can be expected from an agricultural community, the ownership of cattle was widespread, however according to Godfrey Wettinger, some landowners together with notaries, lawyers, priests and other better-off persons had a pre-eminent status among the dealers in cattle.<sup>39</sup> Though not necessarily the case, Antonio Plathamone was one person which features in two contracts of lease of quite large amounts of cattle. In the first instance he leased out 89 cattle to Federico Caruana. This lease was to be for one year starting on the following 15 August at the price of 6 *tareni* per *pecude*.<sup>40</sup> He also rented out 80 cattle this time to Joannello Spiteri for also one year starting on the following 15 Aug for the same price of 6 *tareni* per *pecude* payable in instalments of one-third.<sup>41</sup>

The importance of animals in the everyday life of the people of the sixteenth century is further emphasised when looking at the dowries. Apart from a number of other things such as property, the newlyweds were frequently given animals from their parents as well. Joanne Grima, son of Pasqualis Grima and the late Agathe, and Vincentia de Nicolachio, daughter of the late Andriotte de Nicolachio and Francine, were given a large number of animals, apart from other things, such as a house and two store houses in the castle. Animals received from the bride's parents included three bulls, two cows, a cow with its young, a she-ass with its young, an ass *pili ferrantis* and another *pili rubei*, two

mules, five heads of cattle and one pig, another bull *pili rubei aratorem*, and ten more heads of cattle, some of them pregnant.<sup>42</sup>

With agriculture being the basis of the sixteenth-century economy, the major occupation was farming. Landowners and fief-holders considered it degrading to work the land; hence they relied on peasants to do the actual work. Unlike their Sicilian counterparts, where the land was almost entirely owned by the king, the feudal classes and the Church, many peasants in Malta were landholders. The lands of the peasants were small and mostly each peasant would not have more than three or four fields, however this still gave them a superior status to the Sicilian farmers.<sup>43</sup> This superiority was, however, only in terms of landownership as most Maltese lands were of poor quality. The people who did not own land or in the case of Gozo in the 1560s, the Maltese who went to live on the island of Gozo, were able to lease lands from the proprietors. Larger properties were usually let out in smaller portions to farmers themselves. In the records under review this is evident. Sometimes the number of parts in which the field was divided was given in the acts such as in the leasing out of one-fourth of field by Joanne Grego to Dominico Tune for two years.<sup>44</sup>

One can see transactions between the people who belonged to the more well-off families as well as between the lower classes themselves. Not only lands were leased out but also fountains, gardens, mills, and farmhouses. A case in point is *magnificus* Matheo Falsono Secreto who on 19 October 1566 lent a fountain named *hainhabdum* (Għajn Habdun) to Deگو de Joseppi for three years which started on the previous 15 August for 4 *uncie* per year.<sup>45</sup> The leasing of farmhouses, frequently with the surrounding lands was a common occurrence as well. Such an instance is a contract between Joanne Grima and Andreas Gatto. Grima leased out and gave in *gabella a locum rusticum* with its fields in Gozo in *ta samar* (Ta' Samar) for one year starting on the day of the drawing up of the contract for the price of 3 *uncie* per year.<sup>46</sup> In another instance, Domenico Greco was leased a *locum rusticum* with its fields in Gozo, in *guedilhasri* (Wied il-Għasri) for four years. Greco was to pay 13 *salme* and 8 *tumini* of mixed grains per annum for this lease.<sup>47</sup>

The hiring of people to work in the agricultural sector was also quite a common occurrence. Some people were hired for the harvesting period or else for a number of years with the pay usually being a mix of money, cereals as well as food and clothing. Sometimes the wages were very low such as when Raynelio Machnne hired Gozimo de Amore on 18 February 1567 for the period of grain harvesting he agreed to pay him 12 *tareni* for the whole period.<sup>48</sup> However, there were better wages such as the hiring of Francisco Sammut, a Maltese, by Joanne Theobaldo, a Gozitan for three months starting on the day of the drawing up of the contract for the price of 16 *tareni* per month and the necessary drink.<sup>49</sup>

The acts under study contain few references to the sale of textiles and clothes between the local people. The acts under review give the description of a couple of clothing items which are decorated and which seem to have pertained to the upper class of society who saw fashion as a reminder of their social status. The transactions encountered are on a small scale usually with only one item sold. This is the case of a contract drawn up on 27 March 1567. Guarino de Plathamone sold to Josephus Rapa a women's mantle of common cloth, decorated with griffons and with a silver fastening for 6 *uncie* 16 *tareni* payable on the following 1 August.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, Jacobo Imbrogl of Gudie (Gudja) sold a dress of scarlet cloth decorated with five strips of black velvet and with decorated sleeves to Angelo Tabuni, of Siġġiewi but living in Gozo, for 4 *uncie*.<sup>51</sup> The only exception was a contract of *debitum* in which Francisco Grima declared that he owed Joanne Sammut of Naxaro (Naxxar) 3 *uncie* 18 *tareni* for 12 *palme* of black coloured cloth.<sup>52</sup>

With the Maltese islands being surrounded by the Mediterranean, this body of water invariably played a very important part in the life of the islanders. This is especially so with the arrival of the Knights of St John in Malta. During the sixteenth century, the Knights were involved, with other Christian forces, in attacks directed at the Ottoman Empire as well as in the protection of Tripoli. The Knights had their galleys whose characteristics 'rendered it most suitable for the war of corsairs'.<sup>53</sup> Thousands of Maltese people were employed on board these galleys

and sailing ships of the Order doing various kinds of duties.<sup>54</sup> Apart from working with the Order on the ships and in the dockyard, some Maltese had their own ships which they used both for trade as well as for corsairing purposes. The latter was done either through a formal declaration or by the obtaining of letters of marque which authorised privateering expeditions in a private capacity.<sup>55</sup> Privateering expeditions had their base in Malta and these attracted both Maltese and foreigners who practised the *corso* according to rules set out by the Order.

The records under review do not contain much reference to corsairing, however, there is an instance where a short narrative of what happened to Martin Mule who found himself the target of Muslim corsairing. In a contract drawn up on 20 July 1568, Johannes Haius, called *galtir*, of Gozo reported that a few days before, his partner Martin Mule had left the bay of Marsalfurn (Marsalforn) on a *fregata* named Santa Maria del Soccorso (del Securso) carrying 15 hinnies of horses and asses, as well as two mules, for the Magnifico Antonio de Mazara, with the licence to export these animals. His final destination was to be Pozzallo but while they were on high sea, they met pirate galleys of the infidel enemy. The patron of the ship escaped with the sailors on board the *scaffa* of the frigate leaving the frigate with the passengers on board in the bay of Cala di lo Corbo. However, the patron and the crew were captured by the enemy. The court of Gozo, thus, authorised Johannes Haius to act in order to recover the ship and redeem his partner who was held captive. In the contract, in front of notary Tomaso Gauci, Haius authorised Joannis Refalo as his procurator with full rights to go to Sicily and do whatever else is necessary in order to try and recover the said ship and to liberate the said Martin Mule from captivity.<sup>56</sup>

Another aspect of this seafaring side of the Maltese and Gozitans was seen in the sale of ships or shares in ships. One instance was the sale related to the previous contract. This was the sale of one-half of a frigate together with its *fragatina* armed with all the sails and furnishing needed to travel and which was at the time moored in the harbour of Malta by Johannes Haius to Martino Mule on 18 June 1568. This price was that of 103 gold *scudi* and 2 *tareni* which was to be paid in a year

from the drawing up of the contract. The sale was done on the condition that whatever income was made through the freight of the ship during this year was taken by Johannes while he was bound to safeguard the price to be paid by Martin Mule, the buyer.<sup>57</sup>

## Conclusion

Gozo in the mid-sixteenth century, as can be seen from these acts, was trying to rebuild itself from the devastation which fell upon it in 1551. Things moved slowly but steadily and almost fifteen years after this disaster took place, one can see that the daily momentum was being restored. While the siege of Malta of 1565 affected Gozo, in one way or another, normal life resumed fairly quickly.

Gozitan society was based on agriculture and landholding. One can see people from Malta, Gozo and Sicily mingling together and involving themselves in various contracts. The population was divided between the landowning nobility and the peasants. However, these were not cut off from each other and were frequently involved in the different kinds of contracts. These nobles were also involved in the importation of wheat from Sicily and in the *corso* which, when successful, yielded huge profits.

The above shows that notarial records enable the historian to see beyond the main events which took place in the island and help one focus on the lives of specific people in a particular place and time through the contract which they drew up in front of the notary. Furthermore, one is not only able to see the basic procedures but also to find unique events which happened in the lives of these people and which remain unknown until sources like these are tapped.

Beyond the contractual formalities and procedural niceties, one can perceive unique events and circumstances which marked the daily lives of the contractees, and which, if tapped by the historian, provide life and colour to the past rather than lie forgotten on an archival shelf, collecting dust.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> V., Mallia-Milanes, 'Introduction to Hospitaller Malta', in *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1789*, ed., Victor Mallia Milanes (Malta, 1993), 3.
- <sup>2</sup> Louis, de Boisgelin, *Ancient and Modern Malta*, vol. 2 (Malta, 1988), pp 15.
- <sup>3</sup> Jean, Quintin d'Autun, *The Earliest Description of Malta*, translated by Horatio C.R. Vella, (Malta, 1980), 17.
- <sup>4</sup> G. Bonello, *Del Rosso's description of Malta in 1566*, the Sunday Times, 6 May 2012, <http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20120506/life-features/Del-Rosso-s-description-of-Malta-in-1566.418641> as accessed on 16/02/2013.
- <sup>5</sup> A. Camilleri, 'Some Notes on the History of Gozo and its Old City under the Knights of St. John,' in *Focus on Gozo*, ed., J. Farrugia, and L. Briguglio (Malta, 1996), 21.
- <sup>6</sup> Stephen C. Spiteri, *The Great Siege: Knights vs Turks MDLXV, Anatomy of a Hospitaller Victory*, (Malta, 2005), 424.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 425.
- <sup>8</sup> Dominic Cutajar and Carmel, Cassar, 'Malta and the sixteenth century struggle for the Mediterranean', in *The Great Siege 1565, Separating Fact From Fiction* (Malta, 2005), 18.
- <sup>9</sup> Notarial Archives, Valletta [NAV], R287/3.
- <sup>10</sup> Henry Kamen, *The Iron Century: Social change in Europe 1550-1660*, (London, 1971), 134.
- <sup>11</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.221v.
- <sup>12</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.41r.
- <sup>13</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.201r
- <sup>14</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.26r (23.09.1566).
- <sup>15</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.99r.
- <sup>16</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.57v (21.11.1566).
- <sup>17</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.49v.
- <sup>18</sup> G. Wettinger, 'Agriculture in Malta in the Late Middle Ages', in *Proceedings of History Week*, 1981, ed. M. Buhagiar (Malta, 1982), 1-48.
- <sup>19</sup> Wettinger, 'Agriculture in Malta', 3.
- <sup>20</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.149r.
- <sup>21</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.117v.
- <sup>22</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.9r (18.09.1566).
- <sup>23</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.179v.
- <sup>24</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.66r.
- <sup>25</sup> NAV, R287/4, 8r (18.09.1566).
- <sup>26</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.142v (24.02.1568).
- <sup>27</sup> C. Cassar, 'U Mulu di Malta: The Maltese Trade in Donkeys and Mules', *Storja*, ed. H. Frendo (1996), 17.
- <sup>28</sup> Wettinger, 'Agriculture in Malta', 31.
- <sup>29</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.131v (29.03.1567).
- <sup>30</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.246v.
- <sup>31</sup> NAV, R287/4, f. 69r (18.11.1567).

- <sup>32</sup> Charles, Dalli, 'The rise and fall of the donkey: the central Mediterranean islands (Malta, Gozo, Pantelleria and Sicily)', unpublished paper, 1.
- <sup>33</sup> Dalli, 'Rise and fall', 2.
- <sup>34</sup> F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the Age of Philip II* (London, 1995), 226.
- <sup>35</sup> Cassar, 'U Mulu di Malta', 13.
- <sup>36</sup> NAV, R287/4, f. 48r.
- <sup>37</sup> NAV, R287/4, f. 199v (31.07.1567).
- <sup>38</sup> NAV, R287/4, f. 188r.
- <sup>39</sup> Wettinger, 'Agriculture in Malta', 36.
- <sup>40</sup> NAV, R287/4, f. 56v (30.10.1567).
- <sup>41</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.213v (27.07.1568).
- <sup>42</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.186r (11.06.1568).
- <sup>43</sup> Wettinger, 'Agriculture in Malta', 7.
- <sup>44</sup> NAV, R287/4, f. 41r (29.10.1566).
- <sup>45</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.36r.
- <sup>46</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.242r (20.08.1568).
- <sup>47</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.204v (12.07.1568).
- <sup>48</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.91r.
- <sup>49</sup> NAV, R287/4, 179r (30.06.1567).
- <sup>50</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.124v.
- <sup>51</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.219r (28.08.1567).
- <sup>52</sup> NAV, R287/4, f.186r (17.07.1567).
- <sup>53</sup> S. Bono, 'Naval Exploits and Privateering', in Mallia-Milanes, *Hospitaller Malta*, 377.
- <sup>54</sup> Bono, 'Naval exploits', 384-5.
- <sup>55</sup> Bono, 'Naval exploits', 388-389.
- <sup>56</sup> NAV, R287/4, f. 208r.
- <sup>57</sup> NAV, R287/4, f. 189r.