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The Falzon Family and the *Capomastro* of its House at Mdina

The Falzon Family

From before 1300 right down to the seventeenth century, but especially after 1399, the family with the surname Falzon, under several different spellings, always took a prominent part in the municipal affairs of the Malta, although its social position could not compare with that of the principal feudal families long settled in Mdina. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries it shared power in the small municipal administration of Mdina with the Bordinos, the Caxaros, the Falcas, the Vaccaros and one or two others, although none of these could compare in sheer wealth and power with the greater feudal families, like the Desguanes, the Mazaras, the De Navas, the De Guevaras, and, earlier on, the Gattos. This the Falzons persisted in doing for generation after generation, when other families like the Vagnolu, the D'Alaimo, the Calavas, the Vassallos, even the Sillatos, the De Nasis, and the Bonellos were unable to perform for the same length of time and with the same uniform success.

The earliest reference to a member of the Falson family goes back to 8 February 1299 when Guglielmo di Malta left instructions in his will that a black slave he had wrongly taken from Philippo Falzono of Malta should be returned to him. Almost exactly a century later, on 19 July 1399, Anthonius Falzono, a citizen of Malta, obtained the grant of Deyr Chandun, a tenimentum (holding) of thirteen salmas, from King Martin in reward for having greatly assisted in the recovery of the Maltese Islands to his rule, but for which Anthonius was expected to pay an annual census of six golden uncie. On 15 October 1457 Notary Anthonius de Falsone was granted a stretch of land at II-Fiddien extending towards II-Hafa carefully described in the grant not to exceed six tuminatas in amount, subject to the annual payment of one tareno per tuminata of

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land.³ It is referred to as a vineyard but Falzon was allowed to plant any other trees there. In 1506 Luca Berbieri in Palermo was already noting that the annual payment of five golden uncie of Sicily on the fief of Dejr Handul had not been paid for years. Yet another century later, another Antonius Fauzuni married Caterina, the daughter of Petrus Vaccaru, from whom he received a dowry amounting to an annual royal grant in the form of a money fief of twelve uncie which she inherited from her father.⁴ In 1510 the 'nobleman' Salvus de Falsone received royal approval for the contractual agreement he had reached with Don Paulo de Aragona (*sic*) providing for the continuation of his lease of the land of Għajn Riħana which he had obtained from the latter for as long as Aragona remained indebted to him. In other words, he had practically taken over the fief and three of its vineyards.⁵ However, it is clear that the influence of the Falsone family can hardly be attributed to its possession of feudal property in whatever way it was obtained.

Before 1500 members of the family did their very best to acquire ecclesiastical preferment. This must have contributed to the prominence of the family. Thus, the well-known roll of benefices of 1436 records one attributed to Antonio Falsuni.6 Donnus Nicolaus de Falsono held the cathedral prebend of Bir iż-Żgħir.⁷ The priest Lemus de Falsono held the benefice of Farfar. 8 As for all other Falsone of the first half of the fifteenth century, it is not possible to place either Don Nicolaus or Don Lemus (i.e. Guillelmus) Falsone in the Falsone family tree, but it is known that both names recur within another generation. Of these, Don Nicolaus is known to have been the son of a Petrus Falsone. He eventually became Treasurer of the cathedral and archdeacon. He died in 1505. Don Lemus de Falsone Junior was his brother. Don Michaele de Falsone, the son of Notary Antonius, served as diocesan vicar in the later years of the fifteenth century. There were other closely connected Falsone clerics who achieved less prominence: a Don Paulus et Petrus de Falsone who was Don Michaele's brother and died in 1505, a Don Petrus de Falsone who was 48 years old in 1495 about whom not much is known, and a Dominican friar Nicolaus de Falsone, another brother of Don Michaele and don Paulus et Petrus. He served as representative of the Inquisition in Gozo in 1491. His nephew, another Don Michele de Falsone, a son of the lawyer Andreas, became a cleric early in life and obtained preferment to at least one church benefice, but finally renounced Holy Orders in 1505, got married and eventually had at least three sons and a daughter. His own son Lorenzo was also referred to as Don Lorenzo.

but is otherwise largely unknown. It does seem that with these final efforts the Falsone family avoided Holy Orders for generations afterwards.

They seem instead to have concentrated their ambitions on amassing property by private property deals and obtaining influence by public appointments. For the first fifty years of the fifteenth century, members of the Falzon family were rather modest in their administrative ambitions. Except for Antonius Falcon, possibly standing for Falson, who became a town jurat for 1407-08, and who was possibly the same person who signed the Capitoli of 1410, one does not come over another Falson or Fauzuni jurat before 1452 when Petrus Fauzuni became jurat for the year 1452-53. In 1461 Franciscus Falczuni called Chamsun became jurat of Malta. A Petrus Fauzuni became jurat for the years 1477-78, and 1487-88. The lawyer Andreas de Fauzono became one of the town jurats for the year 1485-86. His brother Laurencius Fanchuni (for Falczuni) was jurat for the year 1493. Their other brother, Notary Jacobus Falczuni, was jurat for 1500-1501. Antonius Angelus Fauzuni was jurat for 1502-03. Palvus Fauzuni was jurat for May 1504 to April 1505. Antonius Jacobus Fauzoni was jurat for 1513-14, Antoni Petri Fauzuni was jurat for 1521-22, and Antonius Jacobi Falsone in 1522-23. A second Laurencius Fauzuni was jurat for 1519-20.

Throughout the period under review, that is the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Falzuni family made its mark mainly in the judicial sphere. Pinus Falsuni became judge for the years 1404-05,²³ 1407-08,²⁴ 1428-29,²⁵ 1434-35,²⁶ and 1438-39.²⁷ Lemo [i.e. Gugliermo] Fauzuni was judge for 1409-10,²⁸ 1419-20,²⁹ 1421-22³⁰ and 1436-37.³¹ Franciscus Fauzuni became judge for the year 1447-48.³² Neither Pinus nor Franciscus or Lemo probably had any legal training. This certainly could not be said of the lawyer brothers Laurencius Fauzuni and Andreas Fauzuni. or the other brother Jacobus, who was a notary. Laurencius was the assessor or trained judge in the town mayor's court for the years 1479-80, 1483-84 and 1501-02.³³ Andreas filled the same post in 1477-78.³⁴ Jacobus was assessor or judge for the mayoralty court in 1496-97, and 1512-13,³⁵ and he served as registrar in the civil court in 1477-78, 1486-87, 1491-92, 1506-07, 1509-10.³⁶ Subsequently, his son Antonius Jacobus Fauzuni also served as court registrar in 1504-05.³⁷ The notary Antonius de Falczono, who was the common parent of Laurencius, Andreas and Jacobus, was judge in the mayor's court for the year 1470-71.³⁸ On his death, he was succeeded by his son Andreas.³⁹ Andreas served on at least three other occasions: 1472-

73,⁴⁰ 1474-75⁴¹ and finally in 1484-85 in the place of Johanni Chantar who was being prosecuted for various misdeeds.⁴² Andrea's brother, the lawyer Laurencius, for his part served as judge or assessor of the mayor's court in 1472-73,⁴³ 1475-76,⁴⁴ 1477-78,⁴⁵ 1479-80⁴⁶ and 1501-02.⁴⁷

The highest municipal post of all, that of Capitan della Verga, or loosely town mayor (in Maltese Hakem), was attained by Ambrosius de Falzono, the son of the lawyer Laurencius, on 22 June 1523.⁴⁸ His appointment had to run for the year 1523-24, but he died in the latter year and was followed by his locum tenens, the jurat Alvarus de Cassares. 49 On 11 May 1523 he presided over a meeting of the town council which among other matters had to decide on the accusation made by the widow of Guterre de Armanino that his three cousins and the in-law of one of them had caused the death of her son during the enforced isolation of Birgu while an outbreak of plague raged within that locality. 50 He also held the post of Vice-admiral of the Maltese Islands, which he had inherited from his uncle Salvus, who had held it on pawn for 300 uncie from the crown. He was also at the time acting as secreto during the minority of the incumbent of that post.51 This was an unheard of concentration of power, the only important post not held by him being that of Castellan Salvus Falzono, a youger brother of Laurencius, had also attained to the post of town mayor in 1512.52 Michael de Falsone, a son of the lawyer Andreas, was town mayor in 1525-26.53 Petrus Falson became Hakem or town mayor in 1526-27.54 According to Commendatore Abela, Malta's first historian, Giacomo (i.e. Jacobo) Falsone had served as town mayor in 1513-14.55

It is evident that for none of the time during which the family Falzon took a prominent part in the public affairs of Malta did it ever monopolise power in the island, though Ambrosius came quite near to it and even he for barely one year. None of the Falzons ever became castellan, or full secreto. To be town mayor and alderman or jurat at the same time was forbidden by law. And it should be noticed that it was mainly the descendants of notary Antonius de Fauzono (died 1470), most of whom had full legal training, who shared in the distribution of power during the last decades of the fifteenth century and the first couple of decades of the sixteenth. The descendants of Petrus Fauzuni (a nephew of Manna, who had married first Manfrido la Chabica and afterwards Guglielmo Desguanes) hardly participated at all. None of these seem to have had legal training. Three of them became clergymen, one of them,

Don Nicolaus, to rise to the ranks of Treasurer and Archdeacon of the cathedral. ⁵⁶ In post-1530 years, Michael Falsuni was Jurat in 1533-34. Petrus Falsuno in 1540-41 and 1554-55, Antoni Falsoni (which one?) in 1530-31 and 1539-40. On the other hand, another Ambrosio Falson, presumably the grandson of Michael, was jurat in 1567-88 and the lawyer Matteo de Falsone, the son of the heretic of the same name, in 1598-99.

An examination of three wills of members of the family belonging to the first half of the sixteenth century gives much information on their economic activities. The will of Antonius Falsone, son of Antonius and brother of Laurencius, 13 August 1535, reveals that the family connection with Deir Handul still survived.⁵⁷ He left a small field situated in that area to found a church benefice. He had already sold with the right of redemption for the sum of 80 uncie, a price which he now claimed was too low to his two nephews two fields at the same locality which he had obtained from his late brother Reverend Nicholas. He therefore now suggested they should surrender one of the fields to his own son Petrus. The main property at Dejr Handul consisted of a viridarium (orchard) which he left to his son Petrus to be held by him and his heirs in perpetuity. On the whole the estate was of modest proportion. There was no transfer of property to the descendants of notary Anthonius Falsone, except that the two nephew recipients were married to females from that branch of the Falsone family.

The wills of Salvus de Falsone, 1517, and Ambrosius de Falsone, 1524, involved a much greater amount of property as well as, in fact, much other information on the economic activity of the person on behalf of whom the wills were drawn up. Taking the earlier will first, Salvus de Falsone belonged to the 'legal branch' of the family, though there is no evidence that he himself had any legal training. He left to his illegitimate son Antonius, after his return from captivity, a shop in the town square adjoining the monastery of St. Peter in Mdina priced at twenty uncie and the sum of 180 uncie, and immediately on his arrival the sum of 40 uncie in cash in addition to the 200 uncie in immovable property, already mentioned, for him and his descendants to hold for ever. The will mentions three other illegitimate children to whom, to his brother the notary Jacobus, and to his wife Imperia, he left legacies, but the bulk of his goods was distributed among a number of nephews.⁵⁸ He left to the chapel he erected in the Dominican church of Our Lady of the Grotto at Rabat all his lands at II-Qinz. To his nephew Matheum, son of his brother

Jacobus, he left the viridarium which once belonged to Johannes de Nava, son of Alvarus, to be held by him and his descendants of the surname Fauzun, and he should also receive the rent money for the past year as well as for the field known as II-Wilga and adjoining field in the district of Tarxien. To Matheus's brother Anthonius he left the field called 'Tal-Madliena' to be inherited from male to male among his descendants. Anthonius had to manage the lands 'Tal-Madliena' and 'Ta' Venezja' paying the lease charges due from himself. He also left another field in the area of Tat-Targa which used to belong to the daughter of Ta' Chalit. And he finally left Anthonius another field-strip that he had bought from Petrus Spatafora. To the two brothers Michael and Federicus Fauzuni. his nephews and their cousin Anthonius, just mentioned, Salvus left the lease over the feudal property at Ghain Rihana with all that he had to receive from the lord of that fief, namely Don Paulo de Alagona. To Michael he also left a field-strip named II-Wilda at Maarr which he had bought from Paulo Vitar (=Bitar?) and another called Habel Ghimeni with some small patches of land which he had bought from Michaele Zarb situated in the area of Ta' Bugana as well as the management of the office of vice-admiral for the next eight years during which time he had to render account for up to half of its revenues to the other nephew named Ambrosius who would then take it over completely. The office was held under pawn from the government for the total sum of 350 uncie.

It is also clear from the same will that Salvus had several other commercial interests. Andreas Manduca administered, together with Salvo himself, on his own behalf as well as on behalf of Salvo's nephew Ambrosius, the estates of the bishop of Malta as well as the estates of the Sicilian monastery of St. Nicholas de Arenis and that of St. Mark at Rabat, Malta. He sold wheat and barley on his own account and that of Salvo in his shop, drawing up his accounts, and writing out public and private receipts in Salvo's own name. Salvus also left the sum of 50 uncie to Gabriel de Noto to cover claims for his share of the profits on the import of seven pieces of cloth from Barcelona, profits that had to be divided equally between Salvus and Gabriel and any other claims Gabriel may have on him. Reference is also made to a partnership with Michaele Tonna who still owed him the sum of 24 uncie, fourteen of which were now forgiven.

Several tenants are referred to as 'locati', 'lessees'. Matheus di Nasi, Johanni Dihif Tersana, Augustinus Zirafe, Bartolomeus Zirafe, Michaeli Grima, Laymo, Nicolao Caruana, Andreas Bonello who owed

rent for a shop and had other debts. Other debtors included Leonardo Aczuppardo who had sold wheat on his behalf and performed other services for him. He also forgave Pino Berach for the debt he owed him. Finally he left all his remaining effects to his residuary heir, his nephew the nobleman Ambroxius Fauczuni, son of the lawyer Laurencius. He and his descendants were forbidden to alienate his house where he lay:

'I forbid the alienation of the house in which I lie unwell, which I wish to come into the possession of the said Ambrosii and his male children from first born to first born and if the said Ambrosius dies without male children I wish and order that the said house come to those who were closest to the said Ambrosius being first born and their own first born for ever such that it cannot be sold nor alienated for ever, and if it should happen that the said house be alienated that it should be recalled by those next in succession being male first born such that it thus remain for ever the house of the family of the Fauczuni'.

The other Falzon will that must be analysed is that of Ambroxius de Falsone of 1524, drawn up on his death bed at a time when he was actually *capitano di verga* or *ħakem* of Malta. It is characterized mainly, after a whole series of pious bequests to the religious orders male and female, by a whole series of marriage legacies and waivers in whole or part of debts by various persons. Many concerned mortgages on property. He thus held Deyr Limara from Inguterra de Nava redeemable at the price of 110 uncie within a time limit of nine years. The nobleman Leonardus de Burdino could redeem his previous lands within the same time limit, and was forgiven the rent of ten uncie for the current year. Paulus Skembri was similarly forgiven payment of rent for the current year. The gardener at Pwales was to be allowed an extension of his tenure for another two years at the rate of eighteen uncie per year.

The most important part of the will of Ambroxius Fauzuni is the statement that his wife Margaret was probably pregnant. Ambroxius therefore wished his unborn child to become his residuary heir. It is apparent from all other sources of information that Ambrosius did not have any male or even female heir. His residuary property, especially the house in which he lay dying ,which he must have inherited from his uncle Salvus, must therefore have gone to the next male heir, namely his cousin Michael Fauzuni, who also inherited the vice-admiralty.

Subsequently, Michael Fauzuni consulted Jacobu Dimech to

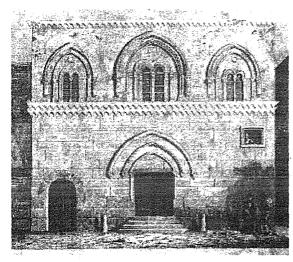
carry out modifications to his house at Mdina.⁵⁹ That also explains how it happened that only six years later Michael Fauzuni, the vice-admiral, was able to preside over the reception that was given by the Mdina municipality to Grand Master L'Isle Adam in 1530.⁶⁰ Just as significantly, a few months before the arrival of the Turkish army at the commencement of the Great Siege of 1565, Margarita de falsono, almost certainly Michael Fauzuni's daughter-in-law, rented out her house to the municipality to serve as the place of residence of the Capitano d'Armi for the following six months.⁶¹ It therefore became the residence of the knight-Don Pedro-Mesquita, the commander of the Order's forces at Mdina and in the Maltese countryside during the Great siege of that year.

Casa Falson and capomastro Jacobus Dimech

In the study of Malta's architecture before the arrival of the Order of St. John, it has been invariably accepted that although craftsmen themselves might be known by name and surname from the few surviving lists in contemporary payment records, their actual handiwork, the buildings they erected, cannot be identified any longer. The architects or *capo mastri* themselves, as they more usually were known, were apparently doomed to remain wrapped up in an impenetrable cloud of anonymity.

Lately, capo mastro Jacobo Dimeg has had the luck of being brought to attention by the praise once showered on him in an ecclesiastical court in Malta by his son the reverend Dominicu, the Treasurer and later archdeacon of the Cathedral. The latter personage was summoned in 1527 before the Church authorities for various alleged acts of harassment of the Reverend Jacobo Vassallo. During the legal proceedings, Don Jacobo alleged that Dominicu's father was a mere stone mason, a day worker, while the latter replied that Jacobo's father was a mere tailor who sewed cotton clothes for slaves and Jews before the expulsion of the latter in 1492.

Don Dominico's glowing description of his father bears retelling in full. In fact, he stated that he was himself the legitimate son of the late master craftsman Jacobus Demec and Agata Vella his wife, who lived throughout their lives as good and virtuous Christians, had a good reputation concerning their way of life and manners, residing honourably within the town of Malta. His father was a master builder and chief of the master builders of this city and island and was on several occasions



◄ Illustration entitled 'Maison des Grands Maitres de Malte' identifiable with the Norman House at Mdina published in some editions of F. Lacroix, Histoire et description de l'isle de Malte et de Goze, first published in 1814.

master builder in charge of the town walls and earned his pay more honourably than the other master builders. He had previously lived at Zebbug but had come to the town of Mdina more than forty years before this time, becoming a citizen and living in his own house, the same in which Don Dominicu then stayed, eventually dying in the same town. He was a very good craftsman, one of the very best, making fine things such that the Captains-at-Arms, the town Jurats and all the officials and gentry who desired to erect some pretty building or a nice church all called on him and asked him for his advice and opinion and they did whatever he told them. When he gave advice he always came out with full honour because his advice was given justly and without malice and he was very open and did not meddle in the affairs of others but kept to his own work. His wall was always well erected such that all officials and men of honour gave him honour and regard as if he were their brother.

Generally, of course, the witnesses he produced supported all he said about his father. Federicu Fauzuni stated that Don Dominicu's father was a good builder who had built the house of the nobleman Micheli Falczuni, his own brother. The craftsman Salvus Burg testified that Mastru Jacobu Dimeg was a good master builder and one of the first craftsmen who served his craft well, behaved honourably and was virtuous and a good Christian, and had a good reputation. All who

wanted to make a pretty window or a pretty wall always called on Mastru Jacobu. Don Jacobus Raficano said that when his parishioners wanted to erect a new church for their parish they called on Mastru Jacobu and took his counsel and advice because he was a good craftsman and one of the best in the town and island of Malta. ⁶²

The worst that the other side said was that Mastru Jacobu Dimeg accepted daily wages. Gilius Casha said that both Don Dominicu's father and his brother were employed by the day and Petrus Fabian explained that Don Dominicu's father was a master builder who accepted payment by the day. That in his early years Jacobu Dimeg, already a skilled builder, was paid by the day can be easily proven by the surviving accounts of the Cathedral at Mdina. Thus on Tuesday, 29 May 1464, and a day later, he was paid 30 grani [= Maltese habbiet] a day for two days' work, the same as other master masons. 63 The payment records of the Hospital of Santo Spirito for 1494 show several other entries for work there, where he was paid at the rate of 28 grani a day, the same pay that was given to Mastru Nicolau Muscat and mastru Blasi Attard, presumably as master builders. Other master craftsmen received a progressively smaller pay, presumably as mere stone dressers.64 On one occasion Mastru Jacobu was paid for half a day's work, and on another for two-thirds.65 The cathedral accounts also record his father's name as Mastru Andria,66 most probably therefore also in the building trade. The Angara List shows Mastru Jacobu still living at Hebbu; round about 1485.67 He is also probably to be identified with the Mastru Jacobu who received payment for a small job on the clock face of the cathedral at Mdina as late as 30 May 1515.68

It is not being suggested that the whole of what is now frequently referred to as Norman House was built by capomastro Jacobu Dimech. It is obvious that large parts of the inner structure are much older than his time, and several other portions are relatively modern. What Dimech erected are probably the front parts of the existing building particularly those containing the characteristic windows.

¹ H. Bresc, 'Malta dopo il Vespro Siciliano', *Melita Historica*, VI, No. 3 (1974), 318-9.

² ASP, RC, vol. 29, f.141v et seq.; S. Fiorini, Documentary Sources of Maltese History. II Documents in the State Archives of Palermo, doc. 274. ³ ASP, RC, vol. 105, f.75rv.

⁴ NLM, Univ. 206, f.4v.

- ⁵ ASP, RC, vol. 230, ff.248v-249, (27 April 1510).
- ⁶ NLM, Libr. MS 721, f.2.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 ASP, RC, vol. 44-45, f.75v.
- ¹⁰ ASP, RC, vol. 89, f.21.
- ¹¹ G. Wettinger, *Acta Juratorum et Consilii Civitatis et Insulae Maltae*, (Palermo, 1993), Doc.
- 12 ASP, RC, vol. 138, f.292.
- 13 ASP, RC, vol. 165, f.319.
- 14 ASP, RC, vol. 157, f.508v.
- ¹⁵ ASP, RC, vol. 191, f.140.
- 16 ASP, RC, vol. 202, f.99.
- 17 ASP, RC, vol. 208, f.284v.
- ¹⁸ Documentary Sources of Maltese History, Part III: Documentsw of the Maltese Universitas, No. 1: Cathedral Museum Mdina, Archivum Cathedralis Melitae, Miscellanea 33: 1405-1542, ed. Julio del Amo Garcia, et al., Doc. 70.
- ¹⁹ ASP, RC, vol. 238, f.810.
- ²⁰ ASP, RC, vol. 269-70, f.621v.
- ²¹ ASP, RC, vol. 273, f.200v.
- ²² ASP, RC, vol. 259, f.183v.
- ²³ ASP, RC, vol. 42, f.179.
- ²⁴ ASP, RC, vol. 46-47, f.75v.
- ²⁵ ASP, P, vol. 30, f.30v.
- ²⁶ ASP, P, vol. 69, f.150v.
- ²⁷ ASP, PRC, vol. 74, f.64v.
- ²⁸ ASP, P, vol. 4, f.252.
- ²⁹ ASP, P, vol. 21, f.27v.
- ³⁰ ASP, P, vol. 24, f.311; ASP, RC, vol. 63, f.54.
- 31 ASP, P, vol. 34, f.24; ASP, RC, vol. 71, f.80rv.
- 32 ASP, P, vol. 39, f.199v.
- ³³ ASP, RC, vol. 141, f.575v; ASP, RC, vol. 150, f.109; ASP, RC, vol. 208, f.279v.
- 34 ASP, RC, vol. 138, f.194.
- 35 ASP, RC, vol. 193, f.338; ASP, RC, vol. 236, f.440.
- ³⁶ ASP, RC, vol. 138, fl. 292; ASP, RC, vol. 160, f.568; ASP, RC, vol. 176, f.541; ASP, RC, vol. 219, f.108; ASP, RC, vol. 226, f.80v.
- ³⁷ Documentary Sources of Maltese History, Part III, Doc. 70.

- 38 ASP, RC, vol. 125, ff.33v-34.
- 39 ASP, RC, vol. 126, f.60v.
- 40 ASP, RC, vol. 1128, f.294.
- 41 ASP, RC, vol. 130, f.163v.
- ⁴² ASP, RC, vol. 154, f.49rv.
- ⁴³ ASP, RC, vol. 128, f.334.
- ⁴⁴ ASP, RC, vol. 135, f.95rv.
- ⁴⁵ ASP, RC, vol. 135, f.367rv.
- ⁴⁶ ASP, RC, vol. 141, f.575v; ASP, RC, vol. 142, f.122.
- ⁴⁷ ASP, RC, vol. 208, f.279v.
- ⁴⁸ His cousin Antonius Jacobi Fauzuni represented the town mayor of the previous year, Leonardus de Bordino, in a meeting of the town council on 11 June 1523: NLM, Univ., vol. 12, f.336.
- ⁴⁹ 'Magnificus Alvarus de Casseres Juratus ac locumtenens magniici capitanei', 30 June 1524: NLM, Univ. 12, f.360.
- ⁵⁰ The cousins were Michael de Falsono, Antonius Jacobi de Falsono and Matheus de Falsono; the in-law was Michael Bondi: NLM, Univ. 12, ff.356 *et seq*.
- ⁵¹ ASP, RC, vol. 240, f.80rv: 'regenti regie secretie ... ob minoritatem magnifici secreti'.
- ⁵² ASP, RC, vol. 236, f.429.
- ⁵³ NLM,Univ. 112, f.390: pro magnifico Micaele Fauczuni Capitaneo notabilis civitatis....
- 54 ASP, RC, vol. 282, f.566rv.
- ⁵⁵ G. F. Abela, *Della Descrittione di Malta Isola nel Mare Siciliano*, 439.
- ⁵⁶ ACM, MS Misc. 369A, Giuspatronati in Malta e Gozo, f.497rv.
- ⁵⁷ Deeds of Notary Antonius Rapa, NAV, MS. 1035/A1, ff.155-157v.
- ⁵⁸ Will of Salvu Falsone, made on 9 January 1517, opened on 22 January 1517, deeds of Notary Julius Cumbo, official copy in the deeds of Notary Franciscus de Falsone, R 846, ff.176-187, (8 August 1595).
- ⁵⁹ G. Wettinger, 'Priests in Court: A Harassed Schoolmaster and his Traducer', *Melitensium Amor, Festschrift in honour of Dun Gwann Azzopardi*, eds T. Cortis, L. Bugeja et al, (Malta, 2002), 106.
- ⁶⁰ There is therefore no doubt that we are here dealing with the house known as Palazzo Falzon or Norman House.
- ⁶¹ NLM, Univ. 85, f.16v, (11 February 1565). Margerita nee Brincat, must at the time have been already a widow. Alternatively, her husband could have been absent from the island. Her grandson Matteolo married Scolastica Cumbo Navarra.

- ⁶² Since Raficano was the parish priest of Naxxar he must have been referring to the parish church of that village, but it was rebuilt between 1613 and 1630, and the handiwork of Mastru Jacou Demeg there has not survived: A. Ferres, *Descrizione Satorica delle Chiese di Malta e Gozo* (Malta, 1968), 335, 337.
- 63 Cath. Mus., Md., Cath. Arch., Procura, 'C', ff.42v, 45.
- ⁶⁴ Cath. Mus., Md., Cath. Arch., Misc.438, n. 1; 'Santo Spirito book of accounts', edited in S. Fiorini, in *Santo Spirito Hospital at Rabat, Malta. The Early Years to 1575* (Malta, 1989), passim.
- 65 Ibid., pp. 12, 13.
- 66 Cath. Mus., Md., Cath. Arch., Procura, 'C', f.54.
- 67 Cath. Mus., Md., Angara List, f.8
- ⁶⁸ S. Fiorini, *The 'Mandati' Documents and the Archives of the Mdina Cathedral, Malta 1473-1539*, (Malta 1992), 185.