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## THE SPATIAL MOBILITY OF SEAFARERS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN: A CASE STUDY BASED ON *STATUS LIBERI* DOCUMENTATION (1581–1640)\*

SIMON MERCIECA

*University of Malta*

Seafaring has always tended to be a cosmopolitan pursuit and both merchant and naval vessels in the Early Modern Period have typically been manned by crews made up of different nationalities. This was particularly so in the Mediterranean. Starting from the mid-sixteenth century and as a consequence of its new role as the Hapsburg Empire's southern outpost the island of Malta became an increasingly important centre of maritime activity which attracted seafarers from near and far. This paper, based on the *Status Liberi* documentation which regulated the marriage of foreigners in Catholic countries, sets out to give details concerning the geographical origin and other characteristics of the seafarers who constituted the bulk of the foreigners who set down roots by marrying locally.

Until recently, the contribution of foreign settlers to the development of Maltese culture and economy had not been sufficiently appreciated. Many migrants could easily be classed within that group of individuals defined by Eric Wolf as people without history.<sup>1</sup> It was only recently that migration into Malta in early modern times has started to attract serious study.<sup>2</sup> The main historical sources exploited so far were the departure and arrival lists of passengers preserved at the National Archives<sup>3</sup> and the quarantine records held at the National Library in Valletta.<sup>4</sup> Such sources, even if often incomplete, are a mine of information for cumulative studies on mobility in Malta. However, they have some important drawbacks. Firstly, in most cases, it is impossible to determine if the individuals are married or single. Secondly, it is difficult to establish how long they stayed on the island and thirdly, these records lack precise data on the occupation of the immigrants. In view of these shortcomings, I propose to use another source of documentation, the *Status Liberi* or *Dictum* documents, which had until now, remained practically unused by historians. They will enable

us to study the backgrounds of those who opted to settle permanently on the island.

The *Status Liberi* are court documents that were intended to establish the civil status of foreigners seeking marriage in Malta. The *Tametsi* ordinances of the Council of Trent had sought to limit the possibility of error with regard to the rules governing Catholic marriages. Catholics were only allowed to marry once in their lifetime. The only exceptions were widows and widowers and those who could prove, even if this was a provision rarely utilised in the post-Tridentine era, the existence of a rightful impediment resulting from sexual impotency.

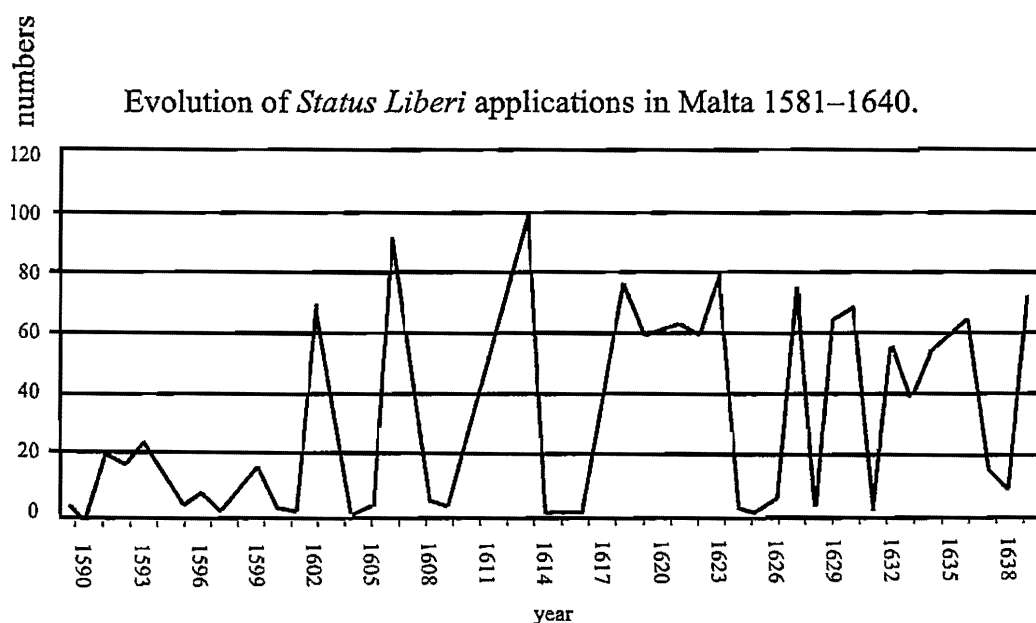
Lack of effective means of communication in the Mediterranean meant that polygamy could be a problem. Men, in particular, could remarry by abandoning their wives and settling in another diocese. The sixteenth-century Church was highly conscious of this possibility and sought to both identify and limit abuses, and to unmask polygamists. Thus, the most effective way of controlling this abuse was by keeping marriage records for all foreigners, which partly relied on hearsay but also involved a thorough investigation and a court procedure known as *Status Libero*.<sup>5</sup>

The *Status Libero* procedure required that each foreigner appear in front of an ecclesiastical judge to prove his or her single status.<sup>6</sup> In the documents of the late sixteenth century, the plaintiff did not take the witness stand. He was in many ways dependent on the witnesses whom he asked to appear in court to give testimony on his behalf by recounting details of his life to the ecclesiastical judge conducting the proceedings. By the seventeenth century, this system had undergone some improvements. The plaintiff began to be allowed to recount his own life story. This has proved to be a valuable resource as it deepens and extends the amount of information about the life of many migrants in Malta. Moreover, the plaintiff and the witnesses began to be asked to sign their deposition. A set of four to five questions was addressed to each of them in turn. They were first asked for their name, surname, provenance and profession. Judges explicitly asked the plaintiff if he or she had been married. The witnesses were asked to detail their acquaintance with the plaintiff and the plaintiff was asked to recount briefly his life from his childhood to the time he had settled in Malta. It was at this stage that plaintiff and witnesses would be interrogated on the pattern of their mobility and asked to give information about their travels before settling on the island. However, during this stage of the investigation, the information obtained was not corroborated with written evidence from the migrant's diocese of origin. The latter was a legal proviso that began to assume a fundamental

importance in the court cases of the *Status Libero* in the late eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century, it was mainly through the cross-examination that a certain degree of certainty was established.

This study was undertaken on the basis of 1,626 *Status Liberi* acts covering the period from 1581 up to 1640. Of these 1,626 foreigners marrying in Malta, 1,095 gave details of their profession, and the overwhelming bulk of the latter, 926, or 84.56% of the total, declared having a profession linked to the sea. We are, as a consequence, very well placed to look into the spatial origin and type of foreign mariners arriving and settling in Malta. Indeed, this source can probably be used also as a proxy for the evolution of migratory flows into the Maltese Islands, in the absence of specific migration figures. In Graph 1, I set out the evolution of applicants for the *Status Libero* during the period 1590–1640.

Graph 1



Source: AAM *Status Liberi* 1581–1640.

In the earlier years, the number of the *Status Liberi* documents is rather sparse. This may be the result of lacunae in the documentation. The number of migrants marrying goes up from around 20 per year for the period 1590–1613, to around 43 per year after 1614. While the significant troughs in Graph 1 can be associated with the loss of a whole series of *Status Liberi* documents for the years concerned, note should also be

taken that these averages were not being reached during times of hardship, in particular, periods of famine, as was the case in the early 1590s, 1598, 1602 and 1605; or during plague epidemics, as in the outbreak of 1632, or in the aftermath of the massive Turkish attack on Malta of 1614. Immediately following this particular year, the number of applications was negligible. Unfortunately, I have so far been unable to account for the dips during the year 1610, 1626, 1629 and 1638. In these cases, they could be a reflection of the incompleteness of the records.

An unforeseen drawback of these documents could be the fact that foreigners, after marrying in Malta, would have decided to leave these shores. While such a scenario is possible, it was very unlikely in past societies. Maltese families in the Early Modern Period tended to be matrilineal<sup>7</sup> and sedentary.<sup>8</sup> It is therefore probable that marriage to a Maltese girl tended to represent a fairly long-term commitment to the island. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of long periods away as a consequence of the demands made upon them by their jobs.

### The European Background

Politically, the division between East and West in the Mediterranean was well established by the 1600s. The Turkish defeat at the Battle of Lepanto and the defeat of the Spanish Armada have become synonymous in Mediterranean history with the decline in Early Modern times of the two important Mediterranean powers, Spain and Turkey. However, it must also be kept in mind that the decline was not sudden; it developed over a number of decades for Spain and over the course of centuries for Turkey. This decline benefited France, Britain and Holland, but in their case, the ascendancy occurred over decades in a backdrop of internal reforms and costly wars.

The *Status Liberi* constitute an indicator of sorts of the entrance of the 'Northerners', as Ferdinand Braudel describes the owners of the big ships that began to call in the Mediterranean in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The first to enter were the English at the beginning of the 1570s followed by the Flemish around the 1590s. The reference to English ships in the *Status Liberi* documentation dates back to the early sixteenth century. In 1604, the death of Ambrogio Arbamiense from Vittoriosa was recorded. Arbamiense was a sailor on a ship carrying wheat, and died fighting when his ship fought against an English *vascello* near Capopassero in Sicily.<sup>10</sup> Similar stories were reported by other widows, who lost their husbands in 1608<sup>11</sup> and 1611,<sup>12</sup> fighting against English vessels. There

are even direct references to English sailors in the *Status Liberi* documents. These were probably deserters who had enlisted on the Hospitallers' ships or other southern Mediterranean fleets. Some of them appear in the court records both as plaintiffs and witnesses. In 1607, two English sailors requested authorisation to marry in Malta.<sup>13</sup> One of the plaintiffs, Giachos explicitly declared working on a Hospitaller galley. Both plaintiffs had fellow Englishmen to declare on their behalf at the ecclesiastical court.<sup>14</sup> Flemish sailors originating from Holland are mentioned for the first time in the *Status Liberi* in the same year. Unfortunately, the study of this latter group is rather more difficult to undertake, as sailors from the Low Countries and the United Provinces were rarely distinguished by nationality, but referred to simply as Flemish.

The religious divide created in Europe after 1518 was translated into a war which reached the Central Mediterranean with the arrival of the 'protestant' enemy in the shape of the English and the Flemish big ships. The Hospitallers were directly involved in this war and in 1620, the Grandmaster Aloff De Wignacourt sent the Hospitaller big ship, the *Gran Galleone*, to assist the French King, Louis XIII, in the religious wars.<sup>16</sup> Such participation seems to have had consequences, even if mild ones, on French migration to Malta.<sup>17</sup> A year after, a dismissed soldier, Daniele Briffuli from Bordeaux, sought to settle in Malta. In 1622, Briffuli declared to the Maltese ecclesiastical court that he had fought in Toulouse in what he defined as the *guerre contre luterani*. This must be a direct reference to the Huguenot wars in France.<sup>18</sup>

However, what worried the Central Mediterranean powers most was the Ottoman Empire and Islam. After the battle of Lepanto of 1571, Malta's importance as a maritime outpost of the Western Powers in the fight against Islam, increased considerably. Within this framework, the *Status Liberi* make direct reference to the Mediterranean policy applied by Pedro Girón II, Duke of Osuna and Viceroy of Naples between 1616 and 1619. The Duke's ambitions to increase Spain's power in the Mediterranean were first made clear when he was Viceroy of Sicily between 1612 and 1616, and emerged more strongly when he became Viceroy of Naples.<sup>19</sup> This policy had a direct relevance to Malta, as the Duke sought to strengthen Spanish hegemony in the Mediterranean by developing a strong fleet to defy the Venetian and Ottoman powers. Such a foreign policy fitted well with the Hospitallers' goals, as Venetian diplomatic and commercial relations with the Porte were considered an obstacle in the ongoing war against Islam. Malta became a port of call for the Duke of Osuna's fleet, and some of the sailors serving in it decided to settle

permanently in Malta after finding Maltese wives. Theirs was not an isolated experience. The Duke of Savoy was another partner in the Western Alliance against Islam.<sup>20</sup> His was one of a number of Catholic fleets that sought to strike against Ottoman might, as happened in 1601 and 1619. Some Piedmontese sailors and soldiers settled in Malta after withdrawing from service with the forces of the Duke.<sup>21</sup> Giovanni Ruet and his friend Giovanni Fabro, for example, declared having participated in the war of Piedmont on the side of the Grand Duke of Savoy.<sup>22</sup>

The ecclesiastical records also throw light on certain aspects of the Hospitallers' naval history and its role in the alliances formed by the Christian powers against the Ottomans. Besides direct reference to the Battle of Lepanto, known locally as the *giorno della presa del armata turca*,<sup>23</sup> there is information on the raid on the town of Algiers in 1579.<sup>24</sup> Other references were encountered on the decisive attack launched by the Hospitaller squadron against the town of Hamamet in Tunis in 1606,<sup>25</sup> and the successful attack on the city of Corinth in Greece in 1610. According to an eyewitness, the latter was mercilessly ravaged and pillaged by the Christian army. During these two engagements some sailors married to Maltese women were killed.<sup>26</sup> For the second decade of the seventeenth century, the *Status Liberi* documents contain details of raids undertaken in 1619 in *Terra di Susa*<sup>27</sup> in Tunis and Tornese Castle in Morea,<sup>28</sup> while during the late 1620s the Greek island of Santa Maura was raided.<sup>29</sup> These attacks were only a small number of the many amphibious attacks launched by the Hospitallers against Ottoman lands. The references in the *Status Liberi* to these attacks corroborate the information given by Bartolomeo Dal Pozzo, and reproduced by Ettore Rossi in his *Storia Della Marina Dell'Ordine di Gerusalemme, di Rodi e di Malta*, concerning the heavy casualties among the Christian troops. By way of contrast, the campaign for the recovery of Tripoli in 1590, the assault on Castelnuovo in Morea in 1601, Hamamet in 1602, Lepanto and Patrasso in 1603, Kerkennah Islands in 1611, and Fogie (next to Smyrne) in 1612, to mention but a few examples, seem to have left no major casualties among the local population as they found no reflection in the *Status Liberi* documents.

These documents also make reference to a serious setback suffered by the Hospitallers in 1581. A *Status Libero* record stated that the whole squadron had come to grief following a spell of bad weather. Testimony given by some of the widows who had lost their husbands in this tragedy, reiterated what seems to have been the official version. The widows affirmed that the galleots of the Cardinal Grandmaster, i.e. of Hughes Loubenx de Verdale, had sunk in bad weather off the Barbary Coast.<sup>30</sup> There is, however,

no mention of this event in the official chronicle of the Order of Saint John written by Bartolomeo Dal Pozzo, although he does mention that in that year it rained continuously for twenty hours while strong winds uprooted trees.<sup>31</sup> The fact that these galleots were the personal property of Verdale (it was only with hindsight that witnesses addressed Verdale as Cardinal Grandmaster as he was only elected to that post in the following year) could explain why Dal Pozzo omits to make any reference to them. The Order's official historian may have felt that the event was not part of the Order's history. This was not Verdale's only loss at sea. In testimony given to the court in 1624, it was said that one of the galleys of Grandmaster Verdale was captured by the Turks.<sup>32</sup> This was probably a direct reference to the loss of two Hospitaller ships that took place in the Levant in 1583,<sup>33</sup> but recovery was swift. New galleys were commissioned and in just a few years the Hospitaller navy regained its former strength, as shown by the fact that in 1589 the squadron registered a major victory over the galleys of Rhodes.<sup>34</sup> The same did not apply to the wives who lost their husbands at sea. As the above-mentioned court cases illustrate, some of these widows took many years to remarry, if at all.

The ebb and flow of the naval campaigns caused some mariners to settle in Malta, but as is often revealed by the documentation, migrants, particularly sailors, sometimes followed tortuous routes. Broadly speaking, there existed four different itineraries. The first relates to sailors and soldiers who came directly to Malta. This route was typical of Sicilians and those who had been working as soldiers prior to seeking service on the Hospitaller galleys. The second typified sailors who had been sailing in the western Mediterranean. Usually these were Spaniards or Frenchmen who would have finally embarked on a vessel heading for Malta from an Italian port. The French, for example, came mostly from Genoa, where they would have spent some months prior to their coming to Malta. It was the continuous use of Genoese ports by the Hospitaller galleys that attracted Frenchmen to Malta. The third route concerned sailors from the Levant, the majority of whom were southern European corsairs of different nationalities, though their number also included central and eastern Europeans engaged in mercantile shipping. Greek sailors predominated within this latter category: being Christian but at the same time subjects of either the Ottoman Empire or Venice, they could act as intermediaries between the Latin West and the Muslim East. The last type of sailors would have travelled all over the Mediterranean. They described themselves as having been 'to other parts of the world',<sup>35</sup> which must have meant having worked on different vessels that had sailed to both Christian and Muslim harbours.



The convergence of these mariners, soldiers and other individuals from different parts of Europe in Malta introduced a number of potential foreign spouses onto the local marriage market. Ecclesiastical judges gave great importance to provenance. Out of 1,626 cases analysed, 1,560, or 95.94% of the plaintiffs, indicated their provenance clearly and unambiguously. Less importance seems to have been given to occupation, with only 1,095, or 67.34%, declaring it.

The *Status Liberi* show people originating in France, especially Marseilles, as the biggest ethnic group. The Italian contingent continued to be dominated by migrants from Sicily, followed by spouses described as being from the 'Regno di Napoli'. The third important ethnic group was made up of migrants of 'Greek' origin. They came from all over the Greek world, including the Greek islands, mainland Greece, Napoli di Romania in Morea as well as Jerusalem. Others came from Flanders, England and so on as can be seen in table 1.

In my doctoral study on the harbour parish of Cospicua, in Malta, the following pattern emerges. In the sixteenth century, the largest majority of migrants were Sicilians. The situation changed in the seventeenth century, when the French constituted the largest contingent. The situation changed again in the eighteenth century, when the Italians, many from mainland Italy, took the upper hand.<sup>36</sup>

**Table 1.** Place of origin of the foreign plaintiffs encountered in the *Status Liberi* 1581–1640

France	562	36.02%
Italy	559	35.83%
Greek Ethnicity	217	13.91%
Flanders	49	3.14%
Holy Roman Empire	36	2.30%
Spain	35	2.24%
England	28	1.07%
Ragusa	9	0.05%
Other Ethnicities	48	3.07%

Source: AAM *Status Liberi* 1581–1640.

### The Maritime Professions

Most of the migrants encountered in the *Status Libero* acts declared being from a port city. Few were those who came directly from rural

districts. This highlights the maritime character of the bulk of migrants and their occupations. A look at the migrants' professions confirms the new strategic role that Malta acquired in central Mediterranean maritime affairs after 1565. The highest percentage of immigrants were in maritime employment. Out of 1,095 cases in which the working profession is given, 804, or 76.7%, were free mariners, 7% were freed Christian slaves, 5% were forced rowers while the rest were craftsmen, infantrymen and a few traders.<sup>37</sup>

The *Status Liberi* refer to mariners either through the Latin word *nauta*, meaning sailor, or as *navigatore*, an Italian word then generically used for seafarers. Sometimes, another word was used for sailor, *marinarus* or mariner.<sup>38</sup> The majority defined their occupation by using one of the first two terms. Some plaintiffs or witnesses, referred to themselves as *capitanus*, i.e., captain, or *patronus*. The latter had an ambiguous meaning, as it was used both in relation to ship captains and owners. Other maritime occupations encountered include ship's clerks,<sup>39</sup> *muzzi*,<sup>40</sup> pilots,<sup>41</sup> *consiglieri*,<sup>42</sup> caulkers,<sup>43</sup> *remolaro*,<sup>44</sup> *arguzini*,<sup>45</sup> *fattori*,<sup>46</sup> guardians of *vascelli*,<sup>47</sup> helmsmen,<sup>48</sup> store-keepers,<sup>49</sup> barber surgeons,<sup>50</sup> doctors,<sup>51</sup> *comiti*,<sup>52</sup> *sotto-comiti*,<sup>53</sup> instrument players,<sup>54</sup> carpenters,<sup>55</sup> cooks,<sup>56</sup> ship chaplains,<sup>57</sup> and servants.

The *muzzi*, also known by the name of *garzoni*,<sup>58</sup> were young lads, in their early teens, who wanted to apprentice themselves in seafaring. Once they approached the age of adulthood, judged to be sixteen or over, they assumed a dual function, working both as *muzzi* and sailors.<sup>59</sup> It was only on reaching the eighteen-year-old threshold that they could fully assume the role of sailors and emancipate themselves from the title of *muzzi*. The word *garzone* carried another meaning. It was used in the records for both the *muzzi* who had done their apprenticeship but were still not deemed to be good sailors and for prospective seafarers who initiated their maritime career as adults.

Caulkers also took young apprentices under their wing to teach them the trade. These were known by the title of *servitore*.<sup>60</sup> They were not the sole *servitori* on board. Some knights employed a footman,<sup>61</sup> as well as a personal chef.<sup>62</sup> Marco De Francesco was one of these *servitori*. His wife Angelica declared that Marco held the position of *maestro di sala*.<sup>63</sup> The provisioning of the crew was a headache for the stevedore. The big ships in particular reserved a special space for the storage of food, besides employing an individual, the *pagliero*,<sup>64</sup> to look after this particular compartment. The importance that bread and biscuit had in the society of the *ancien régime* finds reflection also on board ship. Food was rationed, and the *scalco*<sup>65</sup> held the responsibility for its proper distribution.

Another occupation tied to age was that of *arguzino*. The post was usually assigned to mature men with the result that this occupation was even occupied by individuals in their sixties.<sup>66</sup> It was often a job associated with the galleys, as they employed oarsmen, over whom the *arguzino* had to be continuously vigilant to check that they rowed in unison and according to orders. The high number of rowers on board created the need for the *arguzino* to employ assistants, the *sottoarguzini*.<sup>67</sup> The slave and convict rowers fell under the control of another maritime officer, other than the *arguzino*, known as the guardian of the ship. This job differed from that of *arguzino*, in that the latter co-ordinated the rowing, while the guardian supervised and guarded against any attempts at rebellion or desertions from the galley by the slaves or convicts. This post was filled by an individual chosen from among the forced rowers or the *buonavoglie*.<sup>68</sup>

The *comito* was another maritime occupation. It was characterised by a number of ranks, the *primo*, *secondo* and *terzo comito*. The last two were also known by the name of *sotto-comito* or *vicicomes*. The duties of the *comito* were those of a quartermaster, with overall responsibility for the *ciorma* (sic), (as the crew on board was referred to at the time) the hull, the ropes and the sails. After the captain, he was the second in command on a Hospitaller ship, provided that there were no knights on board, in which case the latter took precedence. The *comito*'s responsibilities were shared with the above-mentioned assistants,<sup>69</sup> and the *remolaro*, employed on the galleys, to look after the oars.<sup>70</sup> The employment of *comito* and *sotto-comito* was predominantly linked to big ships such as the galleys, *vascelli* and galleons.

Another high-level occupation on board was that of the *consigliere*, which literally means counsellor. He acted as the pilot's advisor, helping in weather forecasting and navigation. His status is evident in the fact that he could be invited to attend the war council. Then came the auxiliary professions, which were held in high esteem but were not directly linked to sailing. Surgeons were mostly employed on the *vascelli di guerra*, or other vessels engaged in corsairing activity, as it was on these that their job was most in demand. Smaller vessels such as the *tartane* might also have the services of a barber-surgeon.<sup>71</sup> Francesco Buonamico was a surgeon on a Maltese *pitacchio*.<sup>72</sup> The Hospitaller galleys also employed physicians or a *medico ordinario* to look after the physical well being of the crew.<sup>73</sup>

The playing of music was another activity catered for on board ship, for the purpose of keeping rhythm in rowing and for night and battle signals.<sup>74</sup> During the period under study, the trumpeters were a fairly

noteworthy body, and can also frequently be found as witnesses in the *Status Liberi*.<sup>75</sup> It seems that in the Hospitaller navy in particular, the nature of music played changed over time. In the late sixteenth century, the Hospitaller *galeotto maggiore*, for example, employed a person to play *li ciarmelli* (sic),<sup>76</sup> a form of wind instrument. In the early seventeenth century, they relied more on trumpeters besides making use of the drummer boys.<sup>77</sup> Migrants, who had played the trumpet and the drums in European armies or else on French vessels are to be found on Maltese vessels.<sup>78</sup>

The real motor of the galleys and of most of the smaller ships was the massive number of oarsmen. This was truly a motley lot made up of locals and foreigners, freemen and slaves. The Hospitaller flagship, for instance, had a crew of around 494, of whom 284 were oarsmen, while each of the other five galleys had a crew of around 443 including 280 rowers.<sup>79</sup> The rowers consisted of four different categories. In descending order of status they were the *remiga voluntarius*, the *buonavoglia*, the *forzati* and the slaves.

The *remiga voluntarius*,<sup>80</sup> also referred to as *scapulo* or *agritate di rimularo*,<sup>81</sup> were free individuals who contracted to work for a set period of time in return for a wage and their keep. If they decided to leave before the expiry of the stipulated period they had to refund the wages they had received and the cost of the victuals they had consumed. This category enjoyed the highest status of the rowing component of the galley and also undertook duties normally carried out by sailors. Furthermore, they were often posted on the first four benches situated next to the *rambate*, i.e., the fighting platform situated at the bow of the ship. This latter position commanded a degree of respect as the *scapuli*, rowing on these benches were known under the title of *proerius*.<sup>82</sup> It appears from the *Status Liberi* documents that these paid rowers were to be found mostly on the chief galley of the Hospitallers while the *buonavoglie* were posted on lesser vessels. The next category of rowers were the *buonavoglie*, freely enrolled but often desperate individuals on the run from the law or creditors. They worked in conditions very similar to those of the third category of rowers, the *forzati*, individuals sentenced to row on the galleys by the courts of justice for crimes they had committed. Last and most definitely least, as far as status on board was concerned, were the Muslim slaves captured during incursions into Ottoman lands and raids at sea and set to row. All three lower categories of rowers, namely *buonavoglie*, *forzati* and slaves were chained to the rowing benches to prevent rebellion or desertion.<sup>83</sup> They also had all their body hair shaved except for a forelock, as a sign of ignominy.<sup>84</sup>

### Corsairing Activity and Occupations

Corsairing was an important activity in Malta and its practice resulted in an increase in the presence of certain types of mariners, particularly those specialising in gunnery and firearms. A number of plaintiffs and witnesses declared working or having worked as *bombardieri* or master gunners,<sup>85</sup> *harquebusiers*, musketeers<sup>86</sup> or as soldiers on corsairing vessels. It should be pointed out that the term musketeer only acquired a notable presence in the documentation in the middle of the seventeenth-century, reflecting developments in firearms.<sup>87</sup> Gunners and soldiers were employed by both armed corsairing ships and by merchantmen. The latter needed escorts in order to defend themselves from enemy action which could come not only from the Muslim enemy but from European corsairs as well. It was not rare for Christian ships to be raided by Venetian *vascelli*<sup>88</sup> or English brigs.<sup>89</sup>

The gunners were headed by a *capomastro*,<sup>90</sup> who had an assistant or *aiutante*.<sup>91</sup> The soldiers were put under the command of a corporal,<sup>92</sup> who in turn was supervised by a sergeant.<sup>93</sup> War ships in general employed a boatswain—*nochiero*—to serve as the liaison between captain and crew. Boatswains, in the period under study, were not only employed on big ships,<sup>94</sup> but also on smaller craft such as the *tartana*,<sup>95</sup> in order to permit a harmonious transmission of orders from the *patron* to the crew.

There seems to have been two types of soldiers employed on the vessels in question. In various cases, the soldiers were only referred to by the Latin term of *miles*. However, in some cases, the position of these soldiers is designated differently. A number of witnesses and plaintiffs considered their working status as *miles stipendiatus*, which in English can be literally translated as salaried soldiers, that is individuals receiving some form of salary at a fixed rate, possibly on a monthly basis. This suggests that the *miles stipendiatus* were not mercenaries, for the latter are instead referred to as *soldati venturieri* and were rarely employed by the fleet except in cases of special amphibious missions. This fits perfectly with the general perception of mercenaries, whose trustworthiness had already been questioned by Nicolo Macchiavelli. Yet mercenaries remained in use in European armed forces throughout the entire period of the *ancien régime*. At sea, the Hospitallers were loath to employ mercenaries, and only made use of them when the navy thought of combining its corsairing missions with a land attack.<sup>96</sup>

The *Status Liberi* provide the names of some individuals who had armed a vessel for corsairing activity. Between 1580–1600, no name emerges with any frequency. A number of ship owners or *patroni* are

mentioned as having been active in the corsairing scene, namely captain *Signor Fra Francesco di Napoli*,<sup>97</sup> *Laurentio Burlo*,<sup>98</sup> *Masi Micei*,<sup>99</sup> the Illustrious *Signor Fiotto*,<sup>100</sup> the *Patron Matteo Cuttogna*,<sup>101</sup> *Signor Sciammazon*,<sup>102</sup> and the Neapolitan, *Patron Francesco di Summa*.<sup>103</sup> The memory of past enterprising seafarers remained strong among sixteenth-century mariners. This was particularly the case for the Knight Mathurin d'Aux de Lescout, popularly known as Romegas. His seafaring expeditions became legendary. He participated in the attack on Djerba in 1552, and escaped unhurt in an endeavour to salvage the galleys from being wrecked by a storm in 1555.<sup>104</sup> Despite his clash with Grandmaster Jean Leveque de Cassière, against whom he organised an abortive coup d'état, his crew continued to cherish his memory long after his death. This is suggested by the fact that sailors on the galleys of the Prior of Capua boasted of having worked *alla buona anima del Sign. Romegas*.<sup>105</sup>

The seventeenth century introduces a new class of foreign corsair who owned what the sailors used to call *navigis ad piraticam*. In 1605, the Grandmaster Alof De Wignacourt regularised corsairing activities through the creation of the *Tribunale degli Armamenti*. A direct effect of this reform was that the working activities of private corsairs in Malta began to be of a longer duration. For example, the first to dominate the Maltese maritime scene in the seventeenth century was Captain Antonio Baleggia, but he was only active between September and November 1603.<sup>106</sup> Baleggia's apparently short period of activity was representative of the other corsairs appearing in the *Status Liberi* records before 1605. After that date, in general, private corsairs in Malta manifested a longer period of activity. The individuals who dominated the local corsairing scene during the first two decades of the seventeenth century were Viniguerra and Vintimiglia. Filandri Viniguerra was active mostly between 1604 and 1621. He was at first active on a *bertone*,<sup>107</sup> a merchant ship that was becoming popular during this period, but as early as 1604 his name appears in the documents in connection with the ownership of war galleots, employing *muzzi*, soldiers and sailors.<sup>108</sup>

*Domini Fra Giovanni de Vintimiglia* was a Hospitaller knight active in Malta between 1613 and 1621. He owned a number of different vessels, ranging from galleots<sup>109</sup> to *tartane*<sup>110</sup> and *urche*.<sup>111</sup> Among his crew, he employed *miles stipendiati* of various nationalities for what were effectively corsairing expeditions. His maritime activity was extensive and well organised, as he is the sole individual encountered in the *Status Liberi* to have his enterprise described as *societas*.<sup>112</sup> Seamen were conscious of the extensiveness of Vintimiglia's venture; some even gave their job description as being employed in the *societatis facte* by Vintimiglia.<sup>113</sup> They were not exaggerating.

In 1631, Vintimiglia transformed his *Società* into a trust-foundation, governed by the Common Treasury of the Order of St. John for the financial support and building of galleys for the Knights.<sup>114</sup>

In the same decade, the acts make reference to another corsair, *Domini De Granville*, whose *vascello* known as *Il Pappagallo*,<sup>115</sup> employed a crew ranging from sailors to gunners and salaried soldiers. Captain Massalet's name appeared in the documents in 1619; he led *vascelli* and a *sciacca* on corsairing expeditions.<sup>116</sup> During the same decade, the Knight Beucort (sic)<sup>117</sup> organized a *tartana* and a galley for corsairing activity.

The early 1620s are dominated by the figure of the Knight Bottinera. Bottinera was active with his *vascello* and *urca* between 1619 and 1624, having armed soldiers and corsairs under his command.<sup>118</sup> Between 1624 and 1628, the local corsairing scene was dominated by the Hospitaller knight, *Signor Fra Castelnovo*, and the exploits of his armed *tartana*.<sup>119</sup> The name of Castelnovo appears in the records again in 1633. Soon after, the corsairing scene was dominated by Musu La Grue,<sup>120</sup> whose activity continued unabated at least up to 1640. Other corsairs active during these decades were the Knight *Fra. Musu de Bencha* (sic), whose name is found associated with a *tartana* in 1620, a *vascello* in 1624 and a *pitacchio* in 1639,<sup>121</sup> and Musu Di Xagliun or Seglion. The latter was active with his *vascello* between 1631 and 1637, using Malta as a base for his corsairing activities.<sup>122</sup> In 1634, the corsair captain Villages entered the local scene with his *vascello*, remaining active at least until 1637,<sup>123</sup> the same year that Musu Di Xagliun halted his local activities.

In the meantime, the Hospitaller knight Riveli<sup>124</sup> and *Magnificus* Luciano Tolossenti<sup>125</sup> were active in Malta, the first with his *tartana* and the latter on his *bergantino*. Riveli was active between 1634 and 1636 while Tolossenti was active between 1636 and 1640. Other corsairs worth mentioning for their activities in the early seventeenth century were the owner of a Latin-rigged frigate, Gabriele Rosso,<sup>126</sup> Captain Orazio Ferri,<sup>127</sup> *Illustrissimi Domini de Morreal*,<sup>128</sup> Captain Aloisio Meresi,<sup>129</sup> *Patron* Paolo de Vivo,<sup>130</sup> the captain of the galley *San Filippo*, *Illustrious Signor Barbeta*,<sup>131</sup> and Captain Martius De Nicola,<sup>132</sup> Captain Ospizio Guidotti,<sup>133</sup> *Domini De Savligier*,<sup>134</sup> and *Magnifico* Captain Guglielmo Roux of Marseilles.<sup>135</sup>

Names of Maltese *patroni* are encountered more frequently in the records for the early seventeenth century but the number remained small compared to that of the foreign corsairs. *Patron* Pietro Magro,<sup>136</sup> *patron* Demetrio de Rodo from Senglea,<sup>137</sup> Antonio Naudi<sup>138</sup> and *patron* Gabriele Pulis<sup>139</sup> were Maltese boat owners mentioned in the *Status Liberi* during this period of study.

Yet the most important corsairing power of all was that of the Duke of Florence, under whose control fell the city of Pisa and the Knights of Santo Stefano. The latter are never mentioned by their name, but the continuous mention of the *vascelli* of the Grand Duke or the Duke of Tuscany can be hiding an indirect reference to the fleet built by the Knights of Santo Stefano. The galleys of the Duke are first encountered in the *Status Liberi* records in 1592. Reference to sailors or soldiers from these galleys who were married in Malta is found intermittently in the records throughout the period under study.<sup>140</sup> Following in the footsteps of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Duke of Osuna, Pedro Girón II, in his capacity as Viceroy of Sicily and Naples, called at Malta. Osuna continued to use Malta even after he relinquished his political post of viceroy of Naples in 1619, and his vessels continued to call at the local harbours between 1620 and 1624. He employed both locals and foreigners in the manning and repair of his ships.<sup>141</sup> Here, they found a welcoming Order ready to share with the Duke his maritime ambitions against Venice and the Ottoman Empire.

In overall terms, corsairs represent a very small proportion of the seafarers in our documents, contrary to what we might have expected given the amount of attention they have received from researchers. In fact, the number of corsairs marrying during this period constituted a mere four per cent of all seafarers married. The biggest majority (82%) simply declared themselves to be sailors without making any direct allusion to privateering or any other form of piracy. Another group of seafarers, amounting to nine per cent, were soldiers engaged in the defence of the fleet, mostly employed by Hospitallers as professional gunmen and harquebusiers. The remaining five per cent was made up of high-ranking officers, service providers and craftsmen, including doctors and surgeons working in the navy.

The *Status Liberi* documentation also highlights a seasonal element in seafaring. A number of sailors were engaged by the navy during summer, but once the fleet returned home for winter, they sought part-time employment ashore, often engaging in some form of trade like keeping a tavern or a shop,<sup>142</sup> working as servants<sup>143</sup> or fishermen,<sup>144</sup> or else putting their efforts into crafts like tailoring, carpentry, or shoemaking.<sup>145</sup> The opening of a shop was particularly popular among sailors. In part, this presents a rather different image to the one reported for Early Modern Europe, which has crewmen returning to work the fields in winter. Most of the foreigners settling in Malta normally owned no land and they seem to have had no inclination to find employment in the rural districts. The



cosmopolitan atmosphere of Valletta and the Three Cities seems to have offered other possibilities.

Life at sea was no bed of roses. Michele Laferla, a sailor from Syracuse, claimed that his pay was so meagre that he did not have enough money for subsistence—*nessun ricapito da vivere*.<sup>146</sup> The *patroni* were the ones making money out of maritime trade and corsairing expeditions. The sailors and soldiers had to find other ways of making extra money, usually by enlisting on pillaging expeditions where they risked capture or death.<sup>147</sup>

The attacks on a *nave grossa di infidele* may have been very rewarding for some but it could spell tragedy for others. Death or mutilation during engagements were common.<sup>148</sup> Many were cut down by musket fire,<sup>149</sup> while cases were still being recorded in the early seventeenth century of Christian sailors dying from arrow wounds.<sup>150</sup> The Frenchman, Antonio Ventibruno, was killed near Rhodes after an enemy arrow lodged itself in his neck.<sup>151</sup> Other sailors died the moment that the grappling hooks were cast. Some sailors and soldiers were crushed between the galleys while attempting to board the opposing vessel.<sup>152</sup> Once the battle was over, the dead bodies were buried at sea as was the 'usual custom on the galleys'.<sup>153</sup> In cases where the ships were not far from shore, the crew preferred to perform a proper burial on land.<sup>154</sup> In the absence of any written attestation concerning the death of their husbands, the widows of the deceased sailors were left with no other option than to wear mourning clothes<sup>155</sup> or cover their heads with a black veil<sup>156</sup> and paid the sexton to toll the church's bells,<sup>157</sup> thereby publicising their bereavement and widowhood and indirectly increasing their chances of remarriage. Mourning could be cited as evidence in the ecclesiastical court and accepted as an attestation in support of the widows' claims regarding the death of their husbands beyond Maltese shores.

In defeat, surviving sailors and crew faced an appalling situation; they were either executed or enslaved. The latter option was the unwritten law of naval battles. The former was normally applied to soldiers or corsairs caught on land incursions. The captured soldiers faced decapitation after which their heads were stuck on poles. Those conducted into slavery ended up on the rowing benches of the Ottoman forces or else kept in the slave *bagni* of Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers or Constantinople awaiting ransom.

### **Migratory Trends<sup>160</sup>**

A glance at the substantial corpus of *Status Liberi* data confirms that Malta followed the general pattern of migration typical of European and Mediterranean countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with

migration being heavily male oriented.<sup>161</sup> Such a pattern was in general only broken (until the beginning of the grand migrations) by natural or manmade crises such as epidemics, wars and religious persecutions. The cultural environment in the past acted against women travelling, especially if this involved a sea crossing. The fear of slavery and sexual assault further discouraged women from taking this risk. Slavery had a different implication for women. Unlike men, they were highly valued for their physical beauty. Travel put at risk their code of honour and shame. Consequently, whenever they travelled, more often than not, they travelled at the instigation of their husbands or parents, and rarely on their own. This explains why women constituted a mere one per cent of those seeking marriage in our database.<sup>162</sup>

As a consequence of their far greater mobility, men were seen as infinitely more prone to polygamy. Having 'a woman in every port', as the English put it, may be stretching it a bit but having more than one liaison was not an impossible feat. Sailors were one of the few categories that had the means, due to their mobility, to achieve this state. Malta was not an exception. At least one *Status Libero* case survives of an irregular marriage.<sup>163</sup> This was not the sole instance as Inquisition records show a number of cases of polygamy.<sup>164</sup>

In general, the foreign plaintiffs had an average age of 25.96 years when they took their marriage vows in Malta. This was slightly higher than that of the endogenous male population who tended to marry at the age of around 24 years.<sup>165</sup> This difference in age helps to explain the difficulty that the migrants encountered in finding a spouse. At a time when spouses sought to marry rather young, demographers are of the opinion that a rather advanced age at marriage amongst the migrants, when compared with the locals, is evidence of the former having difficulty finding a spouse.

In Malta, the division of the *Status Liberi* applicants according to profession, shown in the following table, reveals that the local population gave some importance to the occupation of the migrant when it came to marriage.

**Table 2.** *Status Liberi* applicants; average age at marriage

Freed Christian Slaves	31.83
<i>Buonavoglie</i> and <i>Forzati</i>	31
Soldiers (at sea)	28.48
Soldiers (on land)	26.91
Servants	26
Craftsmen and Traders	25.85
Seafarers	25.1
Corsairs	24.45
<i>Muzzi</i>	20.54

Source: AAM *Status Liberi* 1581–1640.

Such figures once again confirm the relative advantage held by the sailors, in particular corsairs, at the time of finding a spouse. The exceptionally young age of the *muzzi* is tied to their profession, as they were sailors within a defined age bracket usually lasting only up to the early twenties. However, the remaining figures show that the corsairs married youngest. Despite the fact that the modern reader may consider corsairing as a rather ghastly and despicable trade, sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries Maltese families seem to have held corsairs in high esteem and considered them a good match for their daughters.

Few of the *Status Libero* applicants declared having come directly to Malta. Many had spent time at intermediate ports before reaching the island. Those living in the European hinterland would have first moved to a port city and after a stay of some years, they would have moved on to settle here. In fact, many of the migrants had lived for some years in at least two different countries, with the last stage before settling in Malta being Sicily for the Italians, and Sicily and Marseilles for the French.

Our documentation also permits us to know how long the migrants had been in Malta before taking their marriage vows. The calculation of the period of absence of the migrants from their place of origin until settling in Malta was calculated on 325 cases. On average the migrants got married after having been in Malta for 4.1 years. On further analysing this information according to professions, the seafarers appear to have been here for 3.53 years before marrying. These figures once again support the earlier assertion that foreigners working as seamen were more readily accepted by the Maltese families as future husbands of their children.

The next two tables set out the age at which the migrants left their country and the number of years in Malta before settling. These are based on those individuals who declared having spent time in other countries

before settling in Malta. Of the 1,626 cases analysed, 515 declared having been in at least one other country before settling in Malta.

**Table 3.** The average age at which the migrants left home and the number of years passed before settling in Malta.

	Average age at which migrants left home	Average number of years passed before settling in Malta
All applicants	19	5.5
English	21.57	4.28
Italian	19.42	4.51
French	19.26	4.51
Flemish	18	8.9
Greek	17.51	8.29
Spanish	11	11.81
Eastern Europeans	8.71	19.14

Source: AAM *Status Liberi* 1581–1640.

In table 3 we can see that the general average age at which foreigners left home was 19 but it took them about 5.5 years before they settled in Malta. During this period, they made a number of voyages in Europe, in particular to Southern France and Sicily or the Levant. A striking difference exists between eastern and western European migrants. While those from the West (with the exception of Spaniards) fell within the above average range, eastern Europeans declared having left home rather young, sometimes after having been captured by the Ottomans from Russia or other eastern European countries, conducted to Constantinople and made to serve in the Ottoman navy. They were often conducted to Malta after the ship on which they had been assigned service was captured by the Hospitallers.

Another point of interest is the fact that the English were among those spouses who took the least time to marry. This could be explained first of all by the fact that they migrated at an older age. Secondly, the political and religious differences existing at the time could have increased the pressure on the English for a quicker marriage. Judging from the fact that only Roman Catholics were permitted to marry in Malta (the only other exception were the Jews),<sup>166</sup> the English sailors were the ones pushing most for an early marriage. They may have come under pressure to publicly manifest their attachment to the Roman Catholic faith. The fact that the Roman Catholic Church recognised one marriage, the one which took place within its fold, turned this sacrament into an instrument by which the English could make themselves more welcome in Malta.

Table 4, on the other hand, shows the average age at which the applicants left their home and the years between the former and settlement in Malta according to profession.

**Table 4.** Age at which migrants left home according to profession

	Age at which migrants left home	Average number of years before settling in Malta
All applicants	19	6.53
Corsairs	20.32	5.41
<i>Buonavoglie</i>	19.42	14.05
Craftsmen and traders	18.83	6.45
Marine crew	18.2	6.18
Slaves	15	14.1

Source: AAM *Status Liberi* 1581–1640.

The corsairs seem to have been the oldest at the time of leaving their homeland, while the slaves were the youngest. This average in fact did not reflect the age at which most of the slaves fell into slavery but rather, the difficulty that the slaves had in marrying. Judging from the fact that the time passed in slavery was often long, only those that had been captured young had a good chance of marriage after acquiring their freedom. At least, when they were released they were still in the framework of a marriageable age. In fact, from the testimonies given, those acquiring liberty passed a rather long time in slavery—an average of fourteen years. The same timeframe was found present among the *buonavoglie* and *forzati*.

## Conclusion

Our analysis of the *Status Liberi* documentation has shown that the overwhelming majority of foreign settlers seeking to marry Maltese spouses were seafarers who had been brought to the island's shores as a consequence of the latter's increasing importance in Mediterranean maritime affairs. Predictably consisting mostly of Italians, French and 'Greeks' they nevertheless also came from countries such as Flanders and England whose presence in Mediterranean waters was to become increasingly important, in particular after 1573. Marriage was the key which enabled all of them to become fully accepted members of the local Maltese community.

## Notes

- \* I would like to thank Mr. Alistar Borg for helping me in the research on the *Status Liberi* documents.
1. E. R. Wolf *Europe and the People without History* (University of California, 1997).
  2. C. Cassar, *Society, Culture and Identity in Early Modern Malta*, (Malta, 2000), 95–120 and X. Labat Saint Vincent, *Malte et Le Commerce Français au XVIIIe Siècle*, Thèse de Doctorat, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1999–2000.
  3. The documents I am referring to are the 37 volumes of the *Registrum Patentorum*, covering the period from 1564 to 1798 and the *Registrum Manciporum*, volume *Unico*, 1588–1617. These two series of documents are currently kept at the Banca Giuratale in Mdina under the heading *Magna Curia Castellania*. Dr. C. Cassar made use of some of these documents for a quantitative analysis of the migratory trends in Early Modern Malta. Cassar, *passim*.
  4. National Library, Valletta, A[rchives] O[f the Order of St. John] M[alta].
  5. These documents are nowadays archived in two places. One series is preserved in the Cathedral Museum of Mdina. This series focuses mainly on the eighteenth century. Another series, more complete and more extensive, is stored in the Curia's archives in Floriana. The latter covers the last two decades of the sixteenth century and the entire seventeenth century. The Floriana archives have few documents for the eighteenth century, as most of the *Status Liberi* of the said century, are deposited at Mdina. Then, the *Status Liberi* at the Curia recommence in the nineteenth century and continue to the present day.
  6. It should be remembered that at this point in time, namely the sixteenth century, the legal arrangements concerning marriage was still at a very early stage of development. The early documents demonstrate the difficulties encountered in the actual setting up this legal instrument. The earliest records of the *Status Liberi* suggest the 1570s as the date of their inception. That would mean that such a legal procedure came into existence in Malta roughly about 10 years after the conclusion of the Council of Trent. In the context of the time, this represents an insignificant delay, suggesting that the local Church was zealous in seeking to align itself with significant developments occurring in the Latin West.
  7. C. Cassar, *Daughters of Eve. Women, Gender Roles, and the Impact of the Council of Trent in Catholic Malta* (Malta 2002), 22.
  8. S. Mercieca, *Community Life in the Central Mediterranean. A Socio-Demographic Study of the Maltese Harbour Towns in Early Modern Times: Bormla 1587–1815*, unpublished thesis submitted at the University of Paris-IV Sorbonne, (2001–2002). *Vide* chapter 4.
  9. F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Region of Philip II*, (Fontana, 1975), 295–312.
  10. A[rchivum] a[rcivescovilis] M[elitensis] Floriana, Status Liberi, 21-07-1604.

11. *Ibid.* 14-08-1608.
12. *Ibid.* 24-03-1611.
13. *Ibid.* 17-07-1607.
14. *Ibid.* 07-04-1607.
15. *Ibid.* 28-09-1607.
16. J. Muscat, *Il-Flotta ta' l-Ordni* (Malta, 2000), 102.
17. AAM Status Libero, 09-03-1638.
18. *Ibid.* 08-08-1634, 16-04-1638, 20-10-1638, 21-11-1640.
19. G. Coniglio, *Declino del vicereame di Napoli (1599-1689)* (Napoli, 1990), 9, 12.
20. E. Rossi, *Storia della Marina dell'Ordine di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme di Rhodi e di Malta* (Roma-Milano, 1926).
21. AAM Status Liberi, ?-10-1596, 04-08-1603, 20-03-1618, 27-03-1618, 02-08-1618.
22. *Ibid.* 02-08-1618.
23. *Ibid.* 13-11-1579.
24. *Ibid.* 29-12-1584.
25. *Ibid.* 18-10-1608.
26. *Ibid.* 24-10-1614.
27. *Ibid.* 29-04-1620, B. Dal Pozzo, *Istoria Della Sacra Religione di Malta*, Vol. 1 (Verona, 1703), 1683.
28. AAM Status Libero, 1621. Dal Pozzo, Vol. 1, 655.
29. *Ibid.* 08-06-1629.
30. *Ibid.* 05-08-1581, 30-10-1584, 06-09-1585, 26-11-1586, 28-11-1586, 20-12-1586, 30-11-1592, 27-08-1593.
31. Dal Pozzo, Vol. 1, 195.
32. *Ibid.* 25-11-1624.
33. Dal Pozzo, Vol. 1, 238. Muscat, 55.
34. *Ibid.* 16-08-1592.
35. *Ibid.* 27-02-1603, 30-03-1622, 03-02-1624, 07-09-1624, 19-11-1624, 20-08-1624, 20-01-1634, 08-05-1635, 13-06-1636, 13-12-1636, 10-02-1637, 14-04-1640, 03-08-1640.
36. S. Mercieca, 2001-2002, *vide* chapter 9, 'The Migration Network'.
37. In this period one encounters three silversmiths (one from France, the other from Italy and the third one of unknown origin), three chemists, six barbers and three surgeons, carpenters and masons, rope makers, coopers, blacksmiths, a goldsmith, a number of traders and merchants, four painters, seven shoemakers, sixty-three servants, two tinsmiths, a cotton dyer, a cook and finally an optician.
38. AAM Status Libero, 15-02-1635.
39. *Ibid.* 12-07-1607, 08-08-1634, 18-04-1636, 27-11-1638.
40. *Ibid.* 15-01-1607, 05-10-1620, 06-02-1620, 16-03-1624, 07-05-1638, 15-05-1640.
41. *Ibid.* 04-09-1581, 21-03-1603, 21-03-1603, 23-12-1627, 03-01-1628, 17-09-1637.

42. *Ibid.* 26-11-1584, 17-01-1600, 20-11-1603, 27-02-1604, 17-04-1612, 07-09-1613, 12-09-1614.
43. *Ibid.* 26-10-1585, 16-08-1592, 31-07-1599, 04-08-1603, 23-06-1607, 05-12-1613, 15-09-1614, 17-08-1618, 16-01-1635, 04-12-1637.
44. *Ibid.* 26-11-1586.
45. *Ibid.* 27-11-1585, 14-04-1586, 16-02-1607, 29-10-1620, 16-08-1633.
46. *Ibid.* 08-02-1636.
47. *Ibid.* 06-03-1637.
48. *Ibid.* 05-08-1603, 27-08-1607, 22-12-1614, 1637.
49. *Ibid.* 21-08-1592, 29-04-1600, 04-02-1603, 15-11-1612, 12-07-1607.
50. *Ibid.* 20-12-1604, 09-04-1608, 25-06-1608, 16-04-1610, 08-02-1620.
51. *Ibid.* 11-03-1620, 18-03-1630.
52. *Ibid.* 04-09-1581, 17-07-1595, 18-11-1597, 11-12-1603.
53. *Ibid.* 29-01-1600, 03-04-1603, 10-01-1624.
54. *Ibid.* 27-06-1622, 22-03-1624.
55. *Ibid.* 22-03-1624, 28-04-1636, 24-01-1640.
56. *Ibid.* 24-01-1628.
57. *Ibid.* 20-12-1604. Rev. Dominus Fra Pietro Bonin a Hospitaller chaplain on the galley *San Giovanni*, 08-02-1614.
58. *Ibid.* 15-01-1630, 03-11-1635, 02-05-1635, 02-05-1635, 08-03-1640.
59. *Ibid.* 07-05-1638, 08-03-1640.
60. *Ibid.* 04-11-1593, 12-01-1607, 18-08-1628.
61. *Ibid.* 04-03-1631.
62. *Ibid.* 11-02-1584, 27-07-1607.
63. *Ibid.* 22-03-1633.
64. *Ibid.* 21-08-1592, 04-02-1603, 15-11-1612.
65. *Ibid.* 29-04-1600, 12-07-1607.
66. *Ibid.* 29-10-1620.
67. *Ibid.* 19-01-1628.
68. *Ibid.* 22-08-1603.
69. Muscat, 19, 35.
70. S. Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo, Christiani e musulmani fra Gwerra, schiavitù e commercio* (Arnaldo Mondadori editore, 1993), 101.
71. AAM Status Libero, 19-01-1640.
72. *Ibid.* 18-08-1631.
73. *Ibid.* 18-03-1630.
74. Muscat, 25–26.
75. AAM Status Libero, 27-06-1622, 22-03-1624, 30-10-1634.
76. *Ibid.* 05-08-1581. *Vide also* Muscat, 129.
77. Muscat, 25–26.
78. AAM Status Libero, 22-04-1636.
79. G. Gatt, *Il-Bidu ta' L-Istampa f' Malta*, (Malta, 2002), 13.
80. AAM Status Libero, 27-08-1607.
81. *Ibid.* 01-07-1587.



82. *Ibid.* 04-02-1603, 01-02-1614, 22-02-1620.
83. *Ibid.* 11-02-1584.
84. Muscat, 58.
85. *Ibid.* 31-07-1608.
86. *Ibid.* 09-05-1640.
87. *Ibid.* 09-05-1640.
88. *Ibid.* 25-10-1585, 12-05-1603, 11-02-1604, 08-12-1611, 19-07-1635.
89. *Ibid.* 21-07-1604, 14-08-1608.
90. *Ibid.* 22-09-1607, 06-06-1636.
91. *Ibid.* 16-08-1592.
92. *Ibid.* 12-12-1636, 03-07-1640.
93. *Ibid.* 11-01-1608.
94. *Ibid.* 13-11-1579.
95. *Ibid.* 23-06-1614, 04-03-1634.
96. *Ibid.* 24-10-1614.
97. *Ibid.* 11-02-1584.
98. *Ibid.* 26-11-1586.
99. *Ibid.* 20-10-1590.
100. *Ibid.* 15-11-1593.
101. *Ibid.* 10-09-1592.
102. *Ibid.* 30-04-1594.
103. *Ibid.* 07-09-1599.
104. J. F. Grima, *Żmien il-Kavallieri f' Malta 1530–1798* (Malta, 2001), 28.
105. AAM Status Libero, 27-09-1585.
106. *Ibid.* 04-09-1603, 22-09-1603, 04-11-1603, 20-11-1603.
107. *Ibid.* 10-05-1604.
108. *Ibid.* 26-05-1604, 07-09-1607, 31-10-1614, 11-10-1614, 25-09-1614, 22-12-1614, 11-08-1614, 24-10-1614, 26-09-1620, 1621.
109. *Ibid.* 17-07-1613, 17-07-1613, 21-06-1614.
110. *Ibid.* 12-08-1614, 10-09-1614, 1621.
111. *Ibid.* 29-07-1614, 12-12-1614, 1621.
112. *Ibid.* 22-08-1614.
113. *Ibid.* 03-08-1614.
114. Muscat, 33.
115. AAM Status Libero, 12-08-1613, 07-09-1613, 21-07-1614, 29-07-1620.
116. *Ibid.* 18-09-1619, 12-10-1619, 22-06-1619.
117. *Ibid.* 01-07-1613, 14-11-1614.
118. *Ibid.* 01-11-1619, 1621, 30-07-1622, 17-10-1624, 12-11-1624.
119. *Ibid.* 16-03-1624, 20-11-1624, 03-01-1628, 20-09-1628, 01-04-1633.
120. *Ibid.* 09-01-1630, 04-01-1630, 15-01-1630, 30-06-1633, 18-07-1634, 22-09-1634, 31-05-1635, 18-07-1636, 04-07-1636, 11-07-1636, 25-10-1640, 18-07-1636, 06-02-1637, 09-03-1639, 18-08-1640 and 12-10-1640. Incidentally his surname was also recorded as di Bagliu, De Beuli, Gangiu, Cangiu, Granier, Bocuze, Beise, Bevise, Bouize, Bocuze, Beise and Bellagarda among others.

121. *Ibid.* 07-11-1620, 23-08-1624, 16-06-1629.
122. *Ibid.* 01-1631, 20-12-1633, 05-09-1634, 18-01-1636, 21-04-1636, 16-06-1636, 08-06-1637, 07-07-1636, 27-08-1637. He was also referred as Xiglion, Xagliun, Seglion, Xigliu, Xiglon, Sceglion.
123. *Ibid.* 19-10-1634, 09-06-1636, 15-06-1637.
124. *Ibid.* 07-01-1634 and 13-06-1636.
125. *Ibid.* 20-10-1636, 22-06-1640.
126. *Ibid.* 15-07-1603, 14-08-1603.
127. *Ibid.* 20-11-1604.
128. *Ibid.* 28-10-1603.
129. *Ibid.* 11-12-1603.
130. *Ibid.* 16-09-1608.
131. *Ibid.* 20-12-1604.
132. *Ibid.* 28-11-1603.
133. *Ibid.* 25-08-1600.
134. *Ibid.* 17-01-1612.
135. *Ibid.* 02-10-1624.
136. *Ibid.* 15-07-1603.
137. *Ibid.* 15-01-1607.
138. *Ibid.* 22-04-1634.
139. *Ibid.* 07-02-1635.
140. *Ibid.* 02-09-1592, 01-09-1610, 21-10-1611, 22-05-1619, 07-08-1619, 28-10-1619, 23-01-1620, 31-01-1620, 1621, 09-02-1624, 24-01-1628, 07-1631, 31-07-1637, 19-11-1637.
141. *Ibid.* 17-06-1620, 10-01-1622, 28-01-1622, 24-03-1622, 03-11-1622, 29-04-1623, 01-02-1624, 03-02-1624, 21-03-1624, 12-11-1622, 14-10-1624, 27-01-1631.
142. *Ibid.* 31-10-1603, 21-03-1620, 13-03-1620, 11-10-1630.
143. *Ibid.* 12-01-1603.
144. *Ibid.* 02-09-1614, 01-02-1636.
145. *Ibid.* 1621. Alessandro DeGiovanni declared working in 'una bottega di calzolaro.'
146. *Ibid.* 17-08-1599.
147. *Ibid.* 04-01-1581, 09-10-1592, 24-10-1614.
148. *Ibid.* 16-04-1622.
149. *Ibid.* 30-11-1585, 03-10-1597, 13-04-1599, 29-04-1620, 1621, 10-09-1624, 14-10-1624, 08-06-1629, 04-06-1636.
150. *Ibid.* 30-05-1612.
151. *Ibid.* 05-04-1624.
152. *Ibid.* 17-10-1622, 24-01-1628.
153. *Ibid.* 18-11-1597.
154. *Ibid.* 07-09-1599, 21-07-1604, 10-05-1604.
155. *Ibid.* 25-02-1581.
156. *Ibid.* 11-09-1581.

157. *Ibid.* 28-03-1618, 21-11-1638.
158. *Ibid.* 09-01-1624.
159. *Ibid.* 25-07-1607.
160. The following observations are based on all *States Liberi* applicants, unless otherwise indicated. Nevertheless, as the seafarers were, by far, the largest majority, these observations reflect, to a certain extent, the general trends amongst seafarers.
161. J-P. Poussou, 'Migrations et Mobilité de la population en Europe à l'époque moderne', *Histoire des Populations de l'Europe, Des origins aux prémices de la revolution démographique*, Ed. J-P. Bardet et J. Dupâquier, vol. 1, 262–286.
162. Out of 1623 applications, only nineteen acts concerned a female migrant.
163. AAM. Status Libero, 05-05-1592.
164. A. Bonnici, *Storja L-Inkizizzjoni ta' Malta* (Malta 1990), Vol. 1, 241.
165. Mercieca, 2001-2002, chapter 4, sub-title Age at Marriage.
166. S. Mercieca, 'Amicitia Extenditur ad Extraneos, Marriage Law and the Concept of Citizenship (1563–1789)' *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1–2, 2000, 158–159.