

A SIXTEENTH CENTURY ELIZABETHAN MERCHANT IN MALTA

by

Prof. A.P. Vella, S.TH.M., B. Litt. (Oxon), O.P.

With the Grand Duke of Tuscany's opening of Leghorn to all traders irrespective of religion (1), English merchants, petitioning for and obtaining the permission of Elizabeth I's Privy Council to export herrings to this port (2), were in a position seriously to resume a much older connection with the Mediterranean, "the most historical of all seas" (3). One Geoffrey (Juffrè) of London had come to Palermo with the Venetian galleys from Flanders as early as 1430, and the city's English colony, established by 1462-3, preceded the creation of a French consulate there by at least a year (4). Even considering only a more recent development, Richard Hak'uyt who "painfully prepared and published in Queen Elizabeth's reign . . . how and where . . . Britons had been for many a long year voyaging and travelling, dispersed and settled in all the known quarters of the globe and for the most part engaged in the glorious pursuit of improving and extending the boundaries of trade" (5), was able to write that "in the years of our Lord 1511, 1512, &C. till the yeere 1534 divers tall ships of London . . . with certaine other ships of Southampton and Bristow, had an ordinarie and usuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripo'is and Barutti in Syria. The commodities which they caried thither were fine Kersies of divers colours, course Kersies, white Westernne dozens, Cottons, certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinal-whites, and Calveskins which were well sold in Sicilie, &C. The commodities which they returned backe were

NOTE. This article deals with the last of a series of Inquisitorial documents relating to English seamen in Malta in the last years of the sixteenth century. We have prepared a full-length study, currently in the press, of the whole episode 'An Elizabethan plot to capture Malta in league with the Ottoman Turks'.

1. See F. Braudel, and R. Romano, *Navires et Marchandises à l'entrée du port de Livorne 1547-1611*, (Paris 1951) pp. 43-44.
2. **A**[cts of the] **P**[rivy] **C**[ouncil], 1571-75, p. 165.
3. Orhan Burian, "Interest of the English in Turkey as reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance", in *Oriens*, Vol. V, p. 209.
4. cf. C. Trasselli, 'Il mercato dei panni a Palermo nella prima metà del XV secolo', *Economia e Storia*, Vol. IV (1957), p. 140, n. 3.
5. W. Brenckley Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners* (London 1865) p. XIII. For Hakluyt in general, cf. G.B. Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, (2nd ed., Ed. J. A. Williamson. New York, 1961).

Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmesies, Muskadels and other wines, sweete oy'es, cotton wooll, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamom, and some other spices, &c. Besides, the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places, they had even in those dayes, traffique with Jewes, Turkes, and other for-reiners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne English shipping before mentioned, but sundry strangers also: as namely, Candiots, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliasses, Spanish and Portuguese ships. All which particulars doe most evidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier bookes of the R.W. Sir Wil'iam Locke Mercer of London, of Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, of master John Gresham, and of others, which I Richard Hakluyt have diligently perused and copied out." (6)

If even Hakluyt could find no more substantial detail than he prints in the ensuing pages, it would seem that there was indeed an *interrègne anglais* (as M. Fernand Braudel calls it in his magisterial study of the sixteenth-century Mediterranean) (7): while there is no doubt cause for criticism in that "some writers seem to interpret the withdrawal from the Levant as a withdrawal from the Mediterranean as a whole" (8), there was a considerable period during which goods from the Mediterranean — and indeed from every part of the known world — could be more conveniently purchased at Antwerp, not inappropriately called the warehouse of Christendom (9). From about 1570, however, "a number of influences were strengthening the direct English connections with the Mediterranean" (10). In part the English merchants were simply exploiting the opportunities offered by the Tuscan Grand Dukes' development of Leghorn, where twelve English ships ca'led in 1573-4, seven in 1577-8, nine in 1578-9, two in 1580, thirteen in 1581, and ten in 1582 (11). The Lepanto war of 1570-3, however, in which Venice lost Cyprus to the Turks, had a'so greatly weakened the Venetian hold on Mediterranean traffic, so that the English, Dutch and others who brought much-needed grain from the Baltic found occasion to penetrate every aspect of Mediterranean trade,

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6. R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nations*, (Everyman ed., London, 1907), Vol. III, pp. 2-3.
 7. F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (2nd ed., Paris, 1966), Vol. I, pp. 557-561.
 8. T.S. Willan, 'Some Aspects of English Trade with the Levant in the Sixteenth Century', *E[nglish] H[istorical] R[evue]* Vol. LXX (1953), p. 401.
 9. See L. Stone, 'Elizabethan Overseas Trade,' *Econ[omic] H[istory] R[evue]*, 2nd series, Vol. II (1949-50), pp. 41-3.
 10. R. Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry* (London, 1962). p. 5.
 11. See C. Trasselli, 'Sul naviglio nordico in Sicilia nel secolo XVII', *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives* (Barcelona, 1967), Vol. II, p. 698.

or merely to combine corsairing with commerce (12). Spaniards, indeed, believed much worse, for on 15th May 1582 Bernardino de Mendoza, Philip II's ambassador in London, reported, not for the first time: "Two years ago they (the English) opened up the trade, which they still continue, to the Levant, which is extremely profitable to them, as they take great quantities of tin and lead thither, which the Turk buys of them almost for its weight in gold, the tin being vitally necessary for the casting of guns and the lead for purposes of war. It is of double importance to the Turk now, in consequence of excommunication, pronounced '*ipso facto*' by the Pope upon any person who provides or se'ls to infidels such materials as these." (13)

It was in fact in July 1578, Hakluyt tells us, that William Harborne "departed from London by the sea to Hamburgh and thence accompanied with Joseph Clements his guide and a servant, he travelled to Leopold in Poland, and then apparelling himself, his guide, and his servant after the Turkish fashion (having first obteyned the king of Poland his safe conduct to pass at Camienijecz the frontier town of his dominions next unto Turkey) by good means he obtained favour of one Acmet Chaus the Turks ambassador then in Poland, and readie to returne to Constantinople to bee received into his companie and carovan. And so the fourth of September 1578 he departed with the said Acmet from Leopold in Po'and, and travelling through Moldavia, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Romania gratifying the Voivodes with certaine courtesies, he arrived at Constantinople the 28 of October next insuing. Where he behaved himselfe so wisely and discreetly, that within few moneths after he obtained not onely the great Turkes large and ample priviledge for himselfe, and the two worshipfull persons aforesaid [i.e. Edward Osborne and Richard Staper], but also procured his honourable and friendly letters into her Majestie", dated 15th March 1579, which Hakluyt also prints (14), together with the Queen's re-

12. cf. F. Braudel and R. Romano, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-53; A. Tenenti, *Naufrages, corsaires et assurances maritimes à Venise, 1592-1609* (Paris, 1959), pp. 13-27.

13. C[alendar] S[tate] P[apers] Spanish, 1580-86, p. 366.

14. R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.* Vol. III, pp. 51-3; cf. P. Wittek, 'The Turkish Documents in Hakluyt', *Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research*, Vol. XIX (1942-3), pp. 121-38.

Towards the end of 1578 Jacques de Germigny, French ambassador at Constantinople, reported that Harborne, trading there under the French flag, was trying to obtain full freedom of commerce for English subjects, hinting that Elizabeth's alliance would be valuable to the Sultan in his wars with Spain (cf. E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant ou correspondences, mémoires et actes diplomatiques* (Paris, 1848-60). Vol. III. pp. 884-6, 905-7).

p'y of 25th October of the same year, despatched this time by sea, in the Prudence of London, by Master Richard Stanely (15). All this was duly noted by the Spanish ambassador (with some inaccuracy) as evidence of manifest bad faith (16).

Turkish capitulations in favour of English traders were formally drawn up in June 1580 (17), while already in early April the English Privy Council, overruling the objections of the Merchant Adventurers, had given approval to a group of London merchants wishing to enter the direct carrier trade between Hamburg and Spain or the Levant (18) — neither of

15. See R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 54-6: Elizabeth styles herself as "by the grace of the most mightie God, and onely Creatour of heaven and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, the most invincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kinde of idolatries, of all that live among the Christians, and falsely professe the Name of Christ" (*verae fidei contra idolatras falso Christi nomine profitentes invicta et potentissima propugnatrix*).

16. Mendoza wrote from London on 28th November: "Esta Reina ha tenido otra carta del turco por via de Francia en que dice con muchas ofertas el buen acogimiento que se hará por los ingleses que fueren por mar y tierra à las suyas, así por la voluntad que muestra de desear su amistad, como por la que tiene con el Rey de Francia, la cual le pide que procure conservar y estrecharla lo más que fuere posible . . .

[The text of the Sultan's letter in Hakluyt merely says that "as our familiars and confederates, the French, Venetians, Polonians, and the King of Germany, with divers other our neighbours about us, have libertie to come hither, & to returne againe into their owne countreys, in like sort the merchants of your most excellent Regall Majesties kingdome shall have safe conduct . . ."]

" . . . fuera de que los turcos desean que le tengan con ellos los ingleses por respecto del estano que les han empezado á llevar de pocos anos à este parte, que les es de grandísimo fruto por no poder fundir sin él artillería, y para los ingleses de excesiva garancia semejante mercaduría, con la cual sola éntretienen la navegacion de Levante para donde están de partida cinco naos, y en una sola me afirman que va de 16 ó 20.000 escudos de estano en barras sin lo que llevan los demás; y por entender que fuero de la descomunion Apostólica en que incurren los que lo llevan en Levante á los infideles, V.M. tiene mandado que nadie lo pase del faro de Mecina y ser cosa tan en deservicio de Dios y de V.M. y universal dano de toda la cristiandad, aviso de la partida destas naos y de lo que llevan al Virey de Sicilia, porque entiendo que tocaran en Melazo ó Palermo, donde podrá confiscar los estanos. conforme á lo que V.M. tiene mandado." *C[oleccion de] D[ocumentos] I[n-éditos para la historia de Espana]*, Vol. XCI, pp. 439-40; *C.S.P. Spanish, 1568-79*, p. 705-6.

17. cf. R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 57-61.

The Turk's ambassador, apparently an Italian renegade, arrived in England at the beginning of November (see *C.D.I.* Vol. XCI, p. 523; *C.S.P. Spanish, 1580-86*, p. 65).

18. cf. *A.P.C., 1578-80*, pp. 439-43.

which latter destinations appealed to Mendoza, writing to King Philip on 9th January 1581 that it was "better to keep them [the Eng'ish] distressed and to weaken their power to carry out their wickedness. The effect is seen clearly, because with the great profit they make by the Spanish trade, and in confidence that it will continue, they are building ships without cessation, and they are thus making themselves masters of the seas. They not only employ this profit in sending a multitude of vessels to Barbary with arms and munitions, but have now begun to trade with the Levant, whither they take tin and other prohibited goods to the Turks, besides fitting out ships daily to plunder on the route to the Indies; which things they could not do unless they had the certainty of the heavy gains brought to them by their being able to ship goods in Spain" (19). Walsingham had indeed told the Queen in a memorandum drawn up the previous month that the opening of a Turkey trade would "set a great number of your greatest ships in work whereby your navy shall be maintained", besides eliminating the profits of foreign middlemen. The English vessels, he said, should sail in convoys of at least twenty, and preferably in winter, when unfriendly galleys would be at the greatest disadvantage. Further, "some apt man" should be sent to Constantinople to maintain the cause of English merchants against the rival interests represented by the ambassadors of France and Venice, and to "procure the Turk's letters to the King of Barbary and the rest of the princes of Africa, that the ports there may be free for our merchants, as also in the case of necessity to have a safe-conduct of the galleys from Algiers to pass the Straits withal." (20)

Elizabeth's letters patent were accordingly granted on 11th September 1581, to a "Company of Merchants of the Levant", comprising Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garrett "and such other person and persons Englishmen borne, not exceeding the number of twelve", since, the Queen observed in the preamb'e, Osborne and Staper "have by great adventure and industrie, with their great costes and charges, by the space of sundry late yeeres, travailed, and caused travaile to bee taken, as well by secret and good meanes, as by dangerous ways and passages both by lande and Sea, to finde out and set open a trade of Marchandize and traffique into the Lands, Islands, dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not heretofore in the memory of any man nowe living knowen to be commonly used and frequented by way of marchandise, by any the Marchants or any Sub-

19. C.S.P. Spanish, 1580-86, p. 72.

20. cf. M. Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London, 1908), pp. 245-51.

jects of us, or our progenitours" (21). A capital of £80,000 had been subscribed by the London merchants, and the Queen personally invested £42,000 from her share of Captain Drake's plunder on his then recently completed circumnavigation of the world (22).

The first of the Company's ships to trade with the Levant was the *Susan* of London, which carried Harborne out to become Elizabeth's first resident ambassador at the Ottoman Porte: commissioned on 20th November 1582, (23) he was officially received by the Sultan on 3rd May 1583, despite the objections of the French and Venetian representatives in Constantinople (24) — the latter was belatedly instructed by the Senate on 14th May to do all possible to hinder Anglo-Turkish negotiations since, *inter alia* "the English ships on their return journey usually commit acts of piracy" (25) — and the new ambassador had already on 25th April appointed Harvie Millers as English consul in Egypt, (26) proceeded by letters of 20th June and 5th September to charge Richard Forster with the same functions in Syria. (27)

In the next few years, although there were interminable squabbles with the French and the Venetians, ships of the Levant Company began voyaging seriously to Alexandria, to Syrian Tripoli and to Constantinople itself with tin, lead and textiles, bringing back substantial cargoes of pepper and other spices, (28) though Barbary corsairs continued to present difficulties, (29) so that on 20th July 1584 Sir Edward Osborne, as Lord Mayor of London, was obliged to write to the ruler of Algiers on behalf

21. cf. R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 64-72.

22. cf. *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (Cambridge 1929) Vol. I, p. 65.

23. cf. *C.S.P., Foreign, 1582*, p. 365; *C.S.P., Venetian, 1581-91*, p. 56; R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 85-9.

Cf. also Hakluyt's own memoranda on the Turkey trade, *ibid.*, pp. 89-100, and the description of the *Susan's* voyage and the ambassador's reception, pp. 101-114. For Harborne's mission in general, cf. H.G. Rawlinson, 'The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8', *Transactions Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, Vol. V (1922), pp. 1-27; A.L. Horniker, 'William Harborne and the Beginning of Turkish Diplomatic and Commercial Relations', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. XIV (1942), pp. 289-316.

24. cf. *C.S.P., Venetian, 1581-91*, pp. 50-9; E. Charrière, *op.cit.* Vol. IV, pp. 193-5nn.; A.C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford, 1935); pp. 12-14; F. Braudel, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 563-4; A. Tenenti, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice, 1580-1615* (tr. J. & B. Pullan, London, 1967), p. 60.

25. *C.S.P., Venetian, 1581-91*, p. 57.

26. cf. R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 114-15.

27. cf. R. Hakluyt, *ibid.*, pp. 115-17.

28. cf. *C.S.P. Spanish, 1580-86*, pp. 365-70, 432-3, 455, 465; *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584-1602* (ed. W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, London, 1931), pp. 131-6; A.C. Wood *op.cit.*, pp. 32-5.

29. On 28th November 1581 Elizabeth's Privy Council had formally thanked Ed-

of Englishmen seized in a ship returning from Patras, asking that orders be given to respect English vessels trading to the Levant under authority from the Su'tan. (30) Another English ship, the *Jesus*, seized by the local authorities at North African Tripoli, became the subject of a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Turkish Sultan on 5th September of the same year, (31) not the least of the captives' troubles being, as one of them, Thomas Sanders, afterwards reported, that "on the 28 day of the saide moneth of June [1584], one Geffrey Maltese, a renegado of Malta, ranne away to his countrey, anl stole a Brigandine which the king had builded to take the Christians withal', and caried with him twelve Christians more which were the kings captives." (32) Harborne's responsibilities clearly included this dubious and uncertain area of the western and central Mediterranean and at his request the Sultan wrote on 1st June 1584 instructing his deputy at A'giers to ensure freedom from molestation for English vessels passing along the North African coast, in view of the fact "that the ships of that countrey in their comming and returning to and from our Empire on the one part of the Seas have the Spaniards Florentines, Sicilians, and Malteses, on the other part our countries committed to your charge: which abovesaid Christians will not quietly suffer their egresse and regress into and out of our dominions, but doe take and make the men captives, and forfeit the shippes and goods, as the last yeere the Malteses did one, which they tooke at Gerbi [Djerba], and to that end do continually lie in wait for them to their destruction, whereupon they are constrained to their defence at any such time as they might meet with them. (33) Harborne passed this on to his agent in North Africa, Edward Barton, on 24th June — "commandments in Turkish, with a copy thereof in English, to the ends our ships might not come in danger of breach of league, if they should shoote at the gallies of Algier, Tunis, and Tripolis

ward Cotton, who, having a ship in the neighbourhood of Algiers, arranged the release of English captives there at his own expense (cf. *A.P.C.*, 1581-2, pp. 265-6).

30. R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 120-1.

Thomas Shingleton's safeconduct from the Pasha of Algiers on 23rd January 1583 is printed *ibid.*, p. 120, and other Algerine depredations are listed on pp. 129-30.

31. R. Hakluyt, *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 139-59; G. Fisher, *Barbary Legend: War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa, 1415-1830* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 116-118.
 32. R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 152-3.
 33. R. Hakluyt, *ibid.*, p. 125; *Voyagers Tales* from the collection of R. Hakluyt (Cassell's National Library) London 1886, p. 64.

An unnamed correspondent, no doubt Edward Barton or possibly John Tipton, had written to Harborne from Algiers on 10th February 1583 (= 1584?): "The premisses considered, your honor is with all speed to procure the Grand Signior his favourable letters directed to Hazan, the Cady,

in the West" (34) — and on 30th March 1585 he appointed John Tipton to the post of English consul in the Regencies of Turkish Barbary, informing him of the Sultan's guarantee of the release of prisoners "& that hereafter no violence shall be shewed, considering ours be merchants ships which go peaceably in their voiage, & were ignorant of the orders of Algier, neither knew afar off, whether they were friends or the Christians gailies in league against us, of whom they most doubted, who not suffering our ships to come into these parts, wil make prize of the goods & captive the men, so as they are not to let them come nigh here ..." (35). In neighbouring Morocco, meanwhile, the Earl of Leicester had invested heavily in a trade not only in cloth and tin but also in oars, spars, cordage and other shipbuilding materials, mainly from the Baltic, for which English merchants received in return (apart from sugar, which was still the principal and basic commodity) Muslim sa'tpetre for the making of Christian gunpowder (36). The circumstances of confused violence and constantly uncertain legality described in the English documents were not,

Captaines, Janisers, & Levents, & another like to Romadan Bassa, king of Tripolis, commanding them in no maner whatsoever to deale with our English ships bound into those parts or returning thence with their commodities, although they should shoot one at another: for when our ships shall meet them, for that, as your honor is advertised, the gallies of Carthagena, Florence, Sicilia and Malta have made a league to take all our ships coming in or going out of the Grand Signiors dominions, therefore if they meet with any of these gallies of Alger or Tripolis, thinking they be of them [i.e. the Spaniards, Florentines and Maltese], and not knowing them a far off, they may shoot at them, which if therefore they should make them prizes, were against Gods lawes, the Grand Signior his league, all reason and conscience, considering that all the world doth know that Marchants ships laden with marchandise do not seeke to fight with men of warre, but contrariwise to defend themselves from them, when they would do them harme." (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 118.)

34. After exhorting Barton to have the privileges formally registered by the appropriate magistrate and one copy delivered to "our friend M. Tipton", Harborne instructed him to continue his "proceedings" in Tripoli and went on: "The ship patronised [i.e., captained] of Hassan Rayes, which you wrote to be ours, proved to be a Catalonian. As for ours, by report of that Hassan and other Jewes in his ship, it was affirmed to be sold to the Malteses, which with the rest you are to receive there." (R. Hakluyt, *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 124-5.)
35. R. Hakluyt, *ibid.*, pp. 126-9.

For English relations with the Regencies in the Elizabethan period generally, cf. G. Fisher, *op.cit.*, pp. 111-24.

36. cf. T.S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade* (Manchester, 1959), pp. 107-8, 113, 116; J. Caillé, 'Le commerce anglais avec le Maroc pendant la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle' *RA*, Vol. LXXXIV (1940), pp. 186-219; E.W. Bovill, 'Queen Elizabeth's Gunpowder', *M.M.*, Vol. XXXIII (1947), pp. 179-86.

in fact, unusual. An eventful English vessel the *Roe*, (37) arrived in Malta shortly before, on 20th May 1581, the Knight Ottavio di Brancaccio was deprived of the habit and sentenced to imprisonment for thieving at sea the goods of Jews and Greeks (38). The *Roe* had previously landed at least part of a cargo of English metal in Malta. Then on its return visit, on the way back from the Levant, it remained to transport grain from Sicily, while some of its crew found other regular employment in the island; but the captain soon absconded and the crew were imprisoned on a charge of plotting for Queen Elizabeth to capture Malta in league with the Ottoman Turks. (39)

A second ship, the *Rainolds* or *Rainaldson*, Captain John Keele and Master David Fillie came to Malta in May 1582, when, according to the safeconduct eventually accorded by G.M. Verdalle on 12th July, "our gallies came on the voyage from Barbarie, where having commandment to succour a little ship of the Christians which was driven over into that part, being arrived upon this Island on the West part they found one English ship under the charge of the worshipfull John Keele and David Fillie master: and our men willing to know what ship it was, they seemed to put themselves in order for their defence, doubting that the said our gallies were of the enemies, & therefore one mariner attempted contrary to the will of the worshipfull John Keele, and David Fillie maister, and had shot off a piece of artillerie against one of the said gallies, and because she would not strike amaine her sayle, according to the will of the said worshipful John Keele, and David Fillie master, the said ship was brought backe again into the present port of Malta, according to the order of the reverend generall of the said gallies Avogadro: and in being here, maister Inquisitor staid it by outhoritie of the holy office, and in that behalfe by the holinesse of our Lord pope Gregory the thirteenth, in the end was licenced to depart on her voyage. They therefore the said worshipful John Keele and David Fillie, in the name and behalfe of the worshipful master Edward Osborne Alderman, and Richard Staper, English marchants of the noble citie of London, have humbly besought together with Thomas Wilkinson the purser, pilots, master and mariners, that we wou'd give our letters patents, and safe conducts, that they might goe and returne, when they shall see opportunitie, with their goods and merchandizes at their pleasure . . ." Therefore the Grand Master conceded "that every time the said marchants of the said ship or with any

37. F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 561.

38. It could in fact be the ship "sold to the Malteses" mentioned in Harborne's letter to Barton on 24th June 1584 (qtd above p. 204 n.)

39. A. Vella, *An Elizabethan Plot to capture Malta in league with the Ottoman Turks*. (in print).

other, shall not bring such marchandise as is forbidden, and that by sufficient prooffe and letters testimoniall it appeareth that they are free from the infections of the plague, they may victuall themselves with all necessarie victualls, and traffike with us, and in this Iland and dominion, and afterwarde may depart and follow their voyage whither they will into the Levant or else where, as all other vessels, and especially of France and other nations do, and sell and buy whatsoever marchandize they shal thinke good.

"Item, that they may bring powder for cannon and harquebush, saltpeeter, cole of Newcastle, plates of latten, tinne, steele, yron, common karsies white, course canvas to make saile for the galies, balles of yron for shot, fine mi'stones trees & masts for galies, litle and others, and in conclusion, having seene that they for the time of their abode here, did behave themselves like faithful and catholike Christians, & that his holines bath allowed the safeconduct of the great Turke to them granted for feare of the Turkishe armie, and other vessels of the enemie, submitting our selves to the pleasures of his holinesse, and especia'ly because our people have occasion to passe by divers places so farre off, as England, Flanders, and all parts Westwards, we have vouchsafed to make these our letters patents as our faithful assistant, so as more surely, and without let they may go and returne when they shall thinke good, with the said ship or with others at their pleasure." (40)

This was liberality indeed and John Lucas, (41) the object of our present study, declaring himself, when he appeared before the Inquisitor Mgr. Bellardito on April 7, 1589, to be the son of C'ement Lucas, an Englishman, born at Heyham (Hagham) (42) near the city of Ipswich, then about 24 years old and a merchant by profession: said that the Rainaldson's crew had told him they were not sorry to be in Malta (*avendo raccontato*

40. R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 83-4.

41. A Richard Lucas is mentioned in 1550 in **The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt. of Bisham Abbey, written by himself, 1547-1564** (ed. E. Powell, Camden Miscellany) pp. 49-51: "When I had taried three days in Siracuse attending for passage to Malta, there arrived suddenly in a night the gallies of Malta, upon the which I met with an Englishman called Richard Lucas, a gunner upon one of these, who persuaded me to go back again to Messina with them by sea, saying I should find nothing at Malta worth the sight, without it were the Knights there, whereof they had store upon their galleys went to Messina to be rigged, dressed and vitallyed to accompany Andrea Doria on his journey to win again the town of Aphrica upon the sea in Barbary, which Dragut Rais the famous rover upon these seas, had a little before taken by force and fortified; the which he brought to pass with great honour in the month of September." On this expedition see **Archives of the Order of Malta**, A.O.M. 422, ff. 208v-209.

42. MS. Heyham. The nearest we could find to this spelling is Hacham or Hag-

come qui non gli dispiacere). He also said that "on another voyage in the same ship, in 1582, he had brought cloth, tin, iron, alum, salted fish, charcoal and other merchandise on behalf of his owners — who would seem to be of the same company as John Kee's — and established himself here to pursue the business of merchant." The Maltese historian Micallef, likewise, gratified at the good outcome of the incident, finished his account of the matter by saying that relations between Malta and the English continued to be an "*ottima corrispondenza*". (43)

Circumstances had become markedly less favourable, however, with the victorious rising of the 'Catholic League' in France in early 1585, when Philip II thought the moment opportune for action against all his Northern enemies. In May he seized without warning all English ships in Spanish ports and waters, (44) and on 17th August he requested Parma, his governor-general in the Netherlands to consider plans for an invasion of England, (45) while Cardinal Granvelle was soon urging that the royal residence be transferred to Lisbon, facing the Ocean-Sea. (46)

The English Queen's ministers were sufficiently alarmed: Burghley, who had long been reluctant to countenance any direct confrontation with Spain in the Low Countries, now reacted strongly against suggestions that he was unwilling to help the Dutch, and although Elizabeth refused the offer of formal sovereignty over the Netherlands, she took the rebels there under her protection by the treaty of Nonsuch on 2nd October. (47) As a result, too, of the seizure of English ships in May, Drake had been commissioned with a large squadron to do what he could to recover the confiscated vessels: he chose instead to wait for the Spanish plate-fleets from the Indies, demonstrating off the Galician coast in late September and October, and then, realising that he had missed the treasure ships, bore away in a great long-range raid, sacking Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, Santo Domingo in Hispaniola, Cartagena on the Spanish Main

ham in the *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. II, p. 417 (No. 2044).

43. C. Micallef, *Continuazione dell'Istoria Gerosolimitana*, R.M.L., Library 226, f.25v.
44. R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 263-8.
45. L. van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse, prince de Parme, gouverneur-général des Pays-Bas (1545-1592)* (Brussels, 1933-7), Vol. V., p. 160.
46. On 10th January 1586 Vincenzo Gradenigo, the Venetian ambassador in Madrid, reported to the Doge and Senate that Granvelle had told him "that he was ready to advise His Majesty to reside there in Lisbon permanently, as a place excellently suited for France, England, Flanders, India, and also for commanding the Mediterranean." (*C.S.P. Venetian, 1581-91*, p. 129)
Cf. also M. van Durme, *El Cardenal Granvela (1517-1586): imperio y revolución bajo Carlos V y Felipe II* (Barcelona, 1957), p. 370.
47. J. Dumont, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens contenant un Re-*

and San Agustín in Florida (48). Among the many prisoners released from Spanish captivity in this vast offensive were a hundred Muslim galley-slaves, whom it was subsequently negotiated probably with success, to return to the Ottoman dominions (49). Among direct contacts with Muslim powers, the chartering of a Barbary Company on 5th July was perhaps also to some extent influenced by the seizure of English shipping, though its possible military advantages must still be somewhat remote: its primary aim was to give Leicester control, through merchant associates, of a formally incorporated trade (50). Walsingham, however, came directly to the point and instructed Harborne to seek a military alliance with the Ottoman Porte itself, (51) making explicit an association which had long seemed to the rest of Christendom too obvious to be used. (52)

This new military situation involved from the outset the Knights of St. John, whose galleys were operating with the Sicilian and Neapolitan fleets during 1585 and 1586, in the Levant and the central Mediterranean, with special intent to deal with Hassan Aga's flotilla from Tripoli. (53) Thus on 13th July 1586 the Spanish-Maltese squadron, under the command of Don Pedro de Leyva, skirmished unsuccessful-

cueil des Traitez d'Alliance, de Paix, de Trêve, etc. (Amsterdam, 1726-31). Vol. VI, pp. 454-5.

48. R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.*, Vol. VII, pp. 73-109; *Papers relating to the Navy during the Spanish War, 1585-1587* (ed. J.S. Corbett, Navy Records Society, London, 1898) pp. 1-96; J.S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (New York, 1899), Vol. II, pp. 1-59; K.R. Andrews, *Drake's Voyages: A Re-Assessment of their Place in Elizabethan Maritime Expansion* (London, 1970), pp. 113-127.
49. *A.P.C., 1586-7*, pp. 205-6; *Papers relating to the Navy during the Spanish War*, pp. 21, 95; *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-94* (ed. I. A. Wright, Hakluyt Society, London, 1951), p. 212.
50. R. Hakluyt, Vol. IV, pp. 268-73; M. Fernández Alvarez, *Felipe II, Isabel de Inglaterra y Marruecos: un intento de cerco a la Monarquía del Rey Católico* (Madrid, 1951), pp. 37-9; T.S. Willan, *op.cit.*, pp. 163 ff.
For Leicester's connection, cf. above, p. 204.
51. cf. C. Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*. Vol. III, pp. 225-230, 326-332.
52. "To the Catholic powers of Europe the lively intercourse which developed between England and the Porte was almost from the beginning a source of apprehension. Indeed, in the eyes of all Europe, the political importance of this friendship greatly exceeded its commercial significance. It was believed that England was keeping the Porte constantly informed of affairs of other European states, in no wise to their advantage, and was inciting the Turks against Christendom. Substance was given to this belief by the fact that Elizabeth made no secret of her desire to utilize the assistance of the Turks against her enemies." (A.L. Horniker, *op.cit.*, p. 306).
53. cf. *C.S.P. Venetian, 1581-91*, p. 184; B. dal Pozzo, *Historia della Sacra Religione militare di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano detta di Malta* (Verona, 1703), Vol. I, pp. 261-3, 266-7; J. Salvá, *La Orden de Malta y las acciones navales*

fully off Pantelleria with the *Edward Bonaventure*, the *William and John*, and the *Susan* — which had left England in November 1585 and were now returning from the Levant. (54)

The failure, however, set the tone of future activity. When the fleet was making ready to come out again from Naples and Sicily the following year there was indeed a rumour that it was destined against England, though M. de Maisse, the French ambassador in Venice, told Henry III, in March that "*au contraire, il semble que le roy d'Espagne aye quelque autre intention, et ont ces seignrs opinion que ce soit plus-tost pour celle d'Alger, ou il disent S.M.C. avoir intelligence avec le vice-roy Assan-Aga; et il semble que les préparatifs que l'on faisoit à Naples et Sicile soient plus propres pour cette expédition que pour la conquête du royaume d'Angleterre.*" (55) By July 1587 the Knights were vigorously resisting — and in their practice disregarding — yet another Papal decision that Muslim and Jewish goods on Christian ships should be exempt from their attentions. (56) In effect this meant the Venetians, whose chorus of complaint against the Knights was loud and long, (57) while the French ambassador at Constantinople was embarrassed to find the Sultan threatening to arrest all French ships in retaliation for damage done and Turks seized by Maltese galleys. Another Papal intervention in favour of Jewish traffic from Ancona was required in February 1588. (58)

espanolas contra turcos y berberiscos en los siglos XVI y XVII (Madrid, 1944), pp. 360-4.

54. cf. R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 359-68; *C.S.P. Venetian, 1581-9*, p. 195; J Salvá, *op.cit.*, p. 295.

In a letter from Cairo on 16th October 1586, "William Shales" and "F S." informed the "Turkey Company": "We are in good hope that before this the merchant Royall, Susan, Tobye, William and John, and the Edward Bonaventure are arrived at Savetia; which God grant. We have the news from Misina of their fight with XI gallies, seven of Sicilia and four of Maulta. With the first shot from the shipps was slaine the nephewe of the Vizier [sc. Viceroy] of Sicilia. After were slaine to the number of 150 or 200 men. Their gallies well paid, that, had they not retiered when they did, some of them had soncke." (*Travels of John Sanderson*, p. 136).

55. E. Charrière, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 585.
 56. cf. B. dal Pozzo, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 282-5; A. Tenenti, *op.cit.*, pp. 38-40.
 57. cf. A. Tenenti, 'Aspetti della vita mediterranea intorno al Seicento', *Bolletino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano*, Vol. II (1960), p. 10 n.
 58. cf. E. Charrière, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 593n.; *C.S.P. Venetian 1581-91*, p. 228.

On 17th November 1587 the French ambassador in Venice reported that the Sultan had seized all Italian vessels in his ports, on account of the attacks of the Knights of Malta and the Tuscan Knights of St. Stephen (cf. E. Charrière, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 623.)

It is not our purpose here to elaborate on these developments which would require relation to the civil war in France and all the events leading up to the great Armada. Suffice it to give merely the flavour of the circumstances in which, on January 28, 1589, the Cardinal of Santa Severina wrote to the Malta Inquisitor that the Pope and the Cardinals of the Holy Office in Rome had been informed by a competent and trustworthy person that an English merchant in Malta, John Lucas by name, kept up correspondence not only with England but also with Constantinople, and particularly with the English ambassador residing in that city. His Holiness had, therefore, with good reason instructed the writer to command the Malta Inquisitor to begin investigation of the matter, and if what was reported proved to be true, legal steps should be taken. The Cardinal further requested G.M. Hugh de Verdalle to give the Inquisitor every such assistance as the latter might deem essential, expedient and opportune towards the completion of this matter to the satisfaction of the Congregation of the Holy Office. (59)

The incumbent Inquisitor, Mgr. Paul Bellardito, Titular Bishop of Lipari, had obviously gone through the record of the action taken against the Englishman by his predecessor, Mgr. F. Cefalotto, and when Lucas was summoned in April 1589, it counted in his favour that he had been connected not with the bark *Roe* but with the *Rainaldson*, whose crew, because "they for the time of their abode here, did behave themselves like faithful and catholic Christians" (60) were allowed to use the harbour at will. Conscious of this permission, Lucas said he had reached Malta with John Keele after touching in Spain, namely at Cadiz facing the Atlantic and Malaga situated about 65 miles N.E. of Gibraltar in the Mediterranean, whence they passed to three trading ports in Sicily, namely Palermo, Termini and Messina, where they transacted some business, coming then straight to Malta with iron, lead, tin, copper and other merchandize.

While John Keele took his ship back to England via Palermo with a cargo of unrefined sugar (61), John Lucas stayed permanently in Malta, in the house of Oliver Starkey (62), who before dying gave instructions that two small rooms were to be reserved for him while staying

59. cf. *infra* p. 221.

60. cf. above, p. 206.

61. Braudel & Romano, *ibid.*, p. 32, say that Sicily competed for some time with Spain and Portugal in the production of sugar.

62. O. Starkey's house was situated in Merchants Street at No. 36 corner with St Lucia Street. See V. Denaro "Houses in Merchants Street Valletta" in *Melita Historica*, Vol. II, p. 161. Cf. A.O.M. Treasury "A", 78, f. 304, and Treasury "B" 295, f. 33.

here, and from this house he carried out his business. He also had a s'ave to serve him whom he had bought 18 months since from the Grand Master, and had christened him at the Christmas past.

Lucas now produced letters patent to himself from the Malta Law Courts dated 10th November, 1587, showing that he was a practising Catholic and could go to Syracuse for the feast of Santa Lucia (which fell on December 13th) notwithstanding the current hostilities between England and Spain. Eventually he did not go because the Lt. Grandmaster had enacted that nobody was to leave the island under pain of death, and so had to unload the merchanize he had already packed to take with him. (63)

On being questioned whether he had written any letters, Lucas replied that he was used to writing regu'arly to his parents in England but stopped all correspondence in the last three years owing to the Anglo-Spanish troubles.

The Inquisitor at this point told him that some letters of his were extant in the Holy Office, to which Lucas answered that they would be over three years old. "Did you write to Constantinople?" he was asked. "Never in my life," was the answer. Pressed to declare the truth, Lucas became less reso'ute and confessed that actually he had written previously, more than two years ago, to a certain Philip Grimes, resident in Patras, and advanced the possibility that Grimes might have sent his letter to the English ambassador resident in Constantinople who was anxious to know what merchandize he had in hand. This Grimes had always encouraged him either to join him or to go back to England as he felt that Malta was not a safe place, for political reasons.

Turning to the matter of the five Eng'ish ships which had passed near Malta, (64) the Inquisitor put it to Lucas that he had supplied more information on these than, as he had previously stated, the simple news that they had not suffered any damage. This Lucas altogether denied.

The Inquisitor then produced letters dated 13th January 1596 which Grimes had written to Lucas from Patras, and asked the Englishman to translate them into Italian. He read the first sentence: "On 14th and 21st of the last month we received the bills." Then he said: "Sir, I cannot read these letters because they are in cipher and between the lines are found the notes of the actual Bailiff dell'Aquila, Andrew Wyse, who by order of the Grand Master deciphered them since I was summoned in the

63. What follows is a summary of our documents pp. 221-239.

Consideration of space compelled us to be brief, but we do not regret the limitation since for the professional the original text is practically printed in full.

64. cf. above p. 209.

Law Courts and requested to produce the key or cipher of the writing which I submitted to the Bailiff in the presence of Fra Spirito Avogadro, Captain of the Slaves. Since then the Bailiff never came to see me or mentioned this fact except once when he came to visit me at the Castellania. Afterwards perhaps on a Sunday or feast of obligation when I was out, I called on the said Bailiff in his house and on Easter Sunday I accompanied him to Porto Salvo Church, Valletta."

Lucas, much annoyed by the interrogatories, confirmed his previous statements exclaiming: "May God pardon those who falsely accused me. I have suspicion in three persons: first William Crivel who three years ago reached Malta naked and penniless, having been a slave of the Venetians taken on a corsairing boat armed at Malta, and I gave him clothes and lent him 115 scudi. On my reporting him to the Head of the Order, because he failed to pay the debts, the latter ordered the confiscation of half of his salary, and William reacted by saying that he would revenge himself of me.

The second person is a Sicilian or Neapolitan who was sent to prison because he was found illegally in possession of an arquebus and suspected that I had reported him.

The third person of whom I have suspicion is a Scotsman who came to Malta with some Germans and having enquired of certain Peter Grif on whom he could turn to borrow money, was informed of the Bailiff and myself. I having refused to lend him money, I suspect him of responsibility for my detention."

On the eight of the same month, summoned again by the Inquisitor and asked whether he desired to qualify his former statements, Lucas replied that another Englishman, Raphael Ash'ey, had been with the aforementioned Philip Grimes at Patras, and had written entreating him to leave Malta and join the pair on the south shore of the Gulf of Corinth, whence they might return to England. So far from following this advice, Lucas said, he had not even acknowledged Ashley's letter, since he wished to remain a Catholic and would not return to his country until England returned to the true faith.

The Inquisitor, apparently somewhat sceptical of these statements, warned Lucas to tell the truth and confess whether Grimes had asked him for information on other matters. The English merchant bluntly affirmed: "He never wrote to me of this: may I be struck dead if it is otherwise. He did not write to me except about these ships, and to persuade me to leave, since I was wrong not to behave as they did."

Asked whether he had written to other persons not yet mentioned, Lucas said he had written to Richard Staper. Two other merchants, Christopher Audley at Aleppo and Thomas Hawkins (Dalkynss) at

Zante, were also named by Lucas, who said Raphael Ashley acted as messenger between them on Peter Grimes' behalf, and that both had written to him while he was in Malta *io che stavo a mezzo il mondo*, (I who stayed in the middle of the world) asking for news.

At this point the Inquisitor terminated the interrogation and dismissed the witness against payment of 500 scudi and other sureties *quod non audeat discedere ab hoc Palatio Sancti Officii*. (65)

Re-summoned on the thirteenth, Lucas repeated the story of his coming to Malta under the Grand Master's safe-conduct and gave further information concerning Christopher Audley, who five years previously, calling at Malta on his way to the Levant, had delivered to him a certain quantity of salted fish. Informed now of two letters in the Inquisitor's possession, dated respectively 1586 and 1588, Lucas admitted that he had been asked information of Anglo-Spanish relations but said he had not acknowledged the letters. Concerning the five English ships he had once written to Philip Grimes, asking him to forward the news to Thomas Hawkins. Raphael Ashley, he declared, had repeated the warning of his other companions, begging him to join them in the Levant. He concluded his statement with the protestation that, before God, what he had said was the truth, and that if he had been ill-intentioned he would have left as the letters besought him. "But I would rather eat bread and stones and be a Christian than go away".

The Inquisitor now again dismissed him on surety of 1000 scudi that he would appear *tocies quociens* whenever summoned. (66)

Asked, at another session on 13th July, how much of his principals' money he had in hand and how long it was since he had written to them, Lucas replied: "It is more than four years since I wrote to my principa's, who sent me here with 3960 scudi worth of merchandise, of which I returned to them more than two-thirds by way of trade, so that there remain with me under 1000 scudi on account (*in conto*) and 60 scudi in cash, the rest in debts, cloth, spices, and this money I received from selling some oils." Pressed then for the names of his creditors and where the remainder of this 1000 scudi might be found, he mentioned another 150 scudi "*in frumenti sopra la germa del Signor Fiot, scritti in nome mio*", and produced the list of "more than thirty" creditors which, with the inventory of his goods dated the previous day (and presumably presented at this stage by the Inquisitorial officials who drew it up, since it is recorded *after* Lucas's testimony), affords perhaps the most generally

65 cf. *infra* p. 225.

66. cf. *infra* p. 227.

important documentation of the whole inquiry. (67)

It would be premature here to attempt an analysis of the economic information these two documents provide: prices and quantities are scarcely significant without some basis for comparison, and what we publish in these pages is but one small step in the long and difficult task of establishing a coherent picture of the Maltese economy in the XVI century. Of immediate relevance to Lucas's own case is the appearance among his effects of two gold *ex votos*, which, it is observed in a marginal note, he sent to the shrine of Our Lady of Graces at Zabbar. We also find, among his list of creditors, another Englishman resident in Malta, William Watts (MS. Guacz), and a Turk, Mustafâ, who was a s'ave at the Palace, together with the titles of Police officers (The *Gran Visconte* and the *Sergente della Città Nova*) and the names and occupations of various Knights and Maltese, including a judge named Bonello and four public notaries: Salvo Briffa, Francesco Imbrug'io, Giacomo Silato and Scanio Scaglia. From Lucas's response to a query whether he had any other goods, he answered to be in possession of a black slave, aged 16, whom he had bought for 90 scudi, while the inventory of his goods, apart from mentioning a fowling piece (*un archibuso di cachia*), reveals that he kept a diary or journal (*libretto de memoria*) — a not surprising practice, no doubt, in one who had been lending money on a considerable scale. Due allowance being made for what must have been his own property — it was noted that some of the jewellery was found on Lucas's person, and further that Mgr. Bellardito had sanctioned his retention of certain items for his own use — the p'edges he accepted for loans seem for the most part to have been small objects of value: gold rings, seals, medals and buttons are listed, as well as clothes and fabrics of different sorts. (68)

The inquiry thus concluded, the Inquisitor sent Lucas on to Rome in the care of Jerome Scarpello, Captain of the Holy Office, whose passport for passage in one of the Order's galleys was made out on 22nd July, and whose arrival in Nap'es, with Lucas in custody, was formally acknowledged by the Papal Nuncio there on 11th August. (69) All that we know further of Lucas's case is that the Cardinal of S. Severina wrote to the Inquisitor in Malta on 12th January 1590 that the Englishman was imprisoned by the Holy Office, and that his goods should be sold at a just price. This was in due course done, total receipts of 198 scudi 5 tari 17 grani being recorded over the signature of the depository An-

67. cf. *infra* p. 231.

68. cf. *infra* pp. 232-238.

69. cf. *infra* p. 238.

tonio Testaferrata on 9th May that year. (70)

It is to be remarked that nothing in the Malta documents suggests that either John Lucas was in the *Intelligence Service* (71) or that his arrest had any direct connection with the attack by Drake and Norris on Corugna and Lisbon, for which Elizabeth obtained Moroccan aid in provisions, though her enemies said she received troops as well (72), and the retiring Venetian ambassador to Spain, held up in Barcelona in June, remarked that "if Spain is harried by the English to the West, it suffers no less from Algerines upon the East". (73) Before and after this date English diplomatic representatives were repeatedly busy at Constantinople, seeking a Turkish fleet to support themselves or their French allies, or at least working to prevent conclusion of new Spanish truces with the Porte. On 5th January 1591, Hieronimo Lippomano, the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople, reported that the Queen of England had at last persuaded the Turks to send a fleet to aid the French opponents of Philip II, perhaps securing some Provençal port as a base — Villefranche or Toulon or Marseilles — as the great admiral Kheyr-ed-Din had done in 1543-4. The ambassador enclosed what purported to be a copy of the English petition, harking back to that exploit: "The Sultan Suleiman of blessed memory, whom God pardon, on the merest request of the King of France, sent out a vast armament to prevent the King of Spain from growing in power and in forces. It is written in history... Now is the time to acquire infinite glory," (the document assured the present Sultan, Murat III) "and to confer vast benefits upon the empire which is committed to your charge... This is a question which concerns the faith, for, by acting as requested, all idolaters will be undone." (74)

Already by 14th January, however, Lippomano was saying that the projected expedition might be directed no further afield than Crete, while Spain was too busy to help the Venetians, (75) and on 2nd February he added that "if the attack on Spain is abandoned, Malta or Fez will be selected for attack... In fact, as far as the Grand Vizir is concerned, he is determined to sail next year to attack Spain, being assured by England that he can have the port of Toulon." (76) On 2nd

70. Cf. *infra* p. 238.

71. F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 566.

72. cf. R. Hakluyt, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 306-54; M. Fernández Alvarez, *op.cit.*, pp. 24-31; T.S. Willan, *op.cit.*, pp. 183, 225-6, 233-7, 273-4; K. R. Andrews, *Drake's Voyages: A Re-Assessment of their Place in Elizabethan Maritime Expansion* (Panther edition 1970), pp. 135-46.

73. cf. *C.S.P. Venetian, 1581-91*, p. 450.

74. cf. *ibid.*, pp. 512-15.

75. cf. *ibid.*, p. 516.

76. *ibid.*, pp. 521-2.

March the ambassador recorded that he had discussed naval affairs with the Silihdari Aga, who thought that the expeditions to Spain and Morocco would be impossible, and even that to Malta would be difficult. "He accordingly advised the Sultan to break his word which he has given to the King of Navarre, the Queen of England and Don Antonio of Portugal." (77)

On 19th April Lippomano noted that the French ambassador was urging the Sultan not to rely on the Queen of England or the King of Navarre, and not to aid those who were in fact rebels against the French Crown, the ancient ally of the Porte. (78) The Turks, meanwhile, had their own interests to protect. "The Sultan," said Lippomano, "declared to the Grand Vizir, after the last exploits of the Maltese galleys, that he was determined to have done with Ma'ta. The Vizir replied that although Malta was to Christendom what Mecca was to the Turk, and every Christian power would move in its defence, yet to His Majesty's puissance everything was possible. Then, talking of Crete, he added these very words: 'That island, sire, shall be thine at any moment that seemeth thee good!'" (79)

The Knights of St. John had in fact continued to co-operate with the Spanish fleets against Turks and Barbaresques, and to cruise on their own account, stirring particular Muslim animosity by their seizure, in December 1590, of a shipload of pilgrims to Mecca, and on 28th November 1591 Philip II ordered the Viceroy of Naples to be ready to aid Malta in case of necessity. That no great Turkish offensive materialised was just as well, in view of the dire domestic troubles which, as we shall see, beset Malta in these years, as part of a general Mediterranean development much to the advantage of the English. (80)

The Elizabethan government, it is clear, found the Morocco and Guinea merchants invaluable in waging a privateering war all across the Atlantic (81), and although no doubt the more immediate prospect of retaliatory action discouraged Mediterranean belligerency by members of the Levant Company as such (who "did not take to privateering in

77. *ibid.*, p. 528.

78. *cf. ibid.*, pp. 539-42.

79. *ibid.*, p. 541.

80. *cf. J. Salvá, op.cit.*, pp. 364-7; F. Braudel, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 501-12.

81. *cf. K.R. Andrews, Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 27, 36-7, 76, 101-4, 111-2, 140, 217-18, 229.

The readiness of some privateers to dispose of their prizes in Morocco roused, however, a certain amount of government concern about the resultant loss of profits (*cf. ibid.*, p. 43).

the same way as the Barbary and West African merchants") (82) certain of the Queen's greatest servants were not slow to take advantage of the opportunities for private profit in the war and trade of the inland sea. (83)

What, now, is to be made of the Lucas episode within the whole context of contemporary Maltese and Mediterranean history? As already indicated, the evaluation of the social and economic information provided by the Inquisitorial proceedings await the publication of comparable data from other sources. It may here be noted, however, that Maltese life at the time was still harsh and difficult, to the extent that in 1589, as on previous occasions, the Order's General of the Galleys was sent out to bring in grain ships by main force, (84) and although the following year an officer was sent by the Viceroy of Sicily to study the statistical basis for the Maltese claim that an increase in provisions was required, (85) the Viceroy of Naples on 22nd September 1590 wrote to Philip II that he could not increase supplies to Ma'ta, since people were starving in southern Italy and Sicily as well. (86) We know that non-native students were compelled to leave the University of Naples, as they had been in 1585, on account of the prevailing famine (87), and

82. K. R. Andrews, *ibid.*, p. 104.

83. cf. L. Stone, "The Fruits of Office: The Case of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury, 1596-1612", *Festschrift Tawney*, pp. 91-4. From this vessel between Sicily and Cephalonia, Charles Leigh and Thomas Norreis wrote on 19th January 1601 (=1602?) to Cecil and the Earl of Nottingham, giving their reasons for considering the flyboat *Salvator* of Hamburg, taken on its way from Iskanderun, to be lawful prize: "John van Hoovan, a Dutchman resident in Marseilles, was a dealer for the lading of the ship. He tradeth for Sicily and Malta, as appeareth by his own letters taken in another ship (and shall be sent by the prize), and was confessed by Frenchmen taken this voyage to be a colourer of Spaniard's goods.

"It is confessed by the purser and by the pilot, a Frenchman, that the same merchants in Aleppo, viz., Thomas van Strangh and Jeromye Rozo, which loaded this ship, are factors to John van Hoovan, and that they did at the same time lade another flyboat call the *St. Sebastian* for the said John van Hoovan, to be discharged in Malta. Whereby it is manifest that John van Hoovan is a colourer of Spaniard's goods, and those Dutchmen in Aleppo factors for the Spaniards; moreover, one of them, Jeromye Rozo, is cousin to the said van Hoovan." (*Historical MSS Commission Salisbury*, Vol. XII, pp. 25-6.)

84. A. Mifsud, "L'approvvigionamento e l'Università di Malta nelle passate dominazioni", *Archivum Melitense*, Vol. III, (1917-19), p. 186n.

85. cf. C. Trasselli, "Una statistica maltese del secolo XVI", *Economia e Storia*, Vol. XIII (1966), pp. 474-80. (The statistics given are not quite accurate).

86. cf. R.M.L. Univ. I, *Tratte comuni dal 1500 al 1599*, letter 68; A. Mifsud, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

87. cf. N. Cortese, "L'età spagnuola", *Storia della Università di Napoli* (Naples, 1924), p. 205.

that further seizures of grain ships by the Knights of St. John caused trouble with the Spanish authorities in Sicily, (88) while a population weakened by famine was struck by the great plague of 1592-4, introduced into Ma'ta by galleys of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which brought here merchandise from Alexandria captured in their own corsairing raids. (89) It was an alleviation of this epidemic, it will be remembered, that G.M. Verdalle authorised to be commemorated in the annual horse races on the feast of St. Roque, (90) and in the course of the outbreak, in January 1593, the General of the Galleys was ordered out again "*di condurci alcun soccorso di frumenti*", "this poor people" was dying even more of hunger than of the plague. (91)

From this time on, however, if the marine insurance records at Venice are a reliable guide, the corsairing of the Knights of St. John had become a good deal more circumspect: of claims paid on seven ships or cargos lost between 1592 and 1609 near, or on their way to or from Malta, none were seizures by Maltese corsairs, though one vessel was impounded by the port authorities in Malta in 1603, and another was captured on its way to Malta in 1607 by the galleys of the Viceroy of Sicily. (92)

It was, therefore, the John Lucases of the world who won out over the great schemes of the kings and queens and politicians. From Leghorn and other Italian ports (for Naples and Sicily became available to them after peace was made with Spain in 1604) (93) Englishmen carried broadcloths to the Levant in exchange for raw materials, capturing the carrying-trade in Levantine corn to the avid markets of Italy (94) and maintaining with the Ottoman empire a commerce which, it has been observed, "fulfilled all the dreams of a mercantilist: balanced, offering raw materials for English manufacturers, employing large ships on a distant voyage, hand'ed throughout by English merchants." (95) to such an extent, indeed, did the Northerners change the balance of the Me-

88. cf. A. Mifsud, *ibid.*, 186n.

89. cf. P. Parisi, *Avvertimenti sopra la peste e febbre pestifera* (Palermo, 1593); *Aggiunta agli avvertimenti sopra la peste* (Palermo, 1603); P. Cassar, *Medical History of Malta* (London, 1964), pp. 165-70.

90. cf. B. dal Pozzo, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 340.

91. cf. A.O.M. 447, f. 251v; P. Cassar, *op.cit.*, p. 166.

92. cf. A. Tenenti, *Naufraques, corsaires et assurances maritimes à Venise, 1592-1609* (Paris, 1959), pp. 220, 311, 317, 367, 506, 519, 560-1.

93. cf. H. G. Koenigsberger, 'English Merchants in Naples and Sicily in the Seventeenth Century', *English Historical Review*, Vol. LXIII (1947), pp. 304-26.

94. cf. M. Epstein, *op.cit.*, pp. 130ff.

95. R. Davis, 'England and the Mediterranean, 1570-1670', *Tawney Festschrift*, pp.

diterranean economy that the Ragusan vessels which had had connections with Sicily since the XIV century, and in the XVI were found also in western Sicily, at Trapani and Palermo, were entirely replaced by English and Flemish merchantmen from ear'y XVII century onwards. (96)

One might hazard a guess that, as more documentation like that of the Lucas case becomes available, Maltese social and economic history too will be seen to pass an important crisis in these same years 1590-1630. An extended review of parish records currently in progress by students of the History Department of the University of Malta will at least provide authentic population data for part of this period, during which, as we have remarked *a propos* of the foundation of the Jesuit College in 1592, Malta was breaking from her mediaeval past in search of a new national identity in the eye of Europe (97). There is evidence, at the least, of major economic changes in the Mediterranean generally which are hardly likely to have left Malta unaffected. For the Maltese historian, therefore, the study of these decades offers promise of bringing Maltese records to the service not only of his own country's history but the history also of a much wider world.

THE MANUSCRIPT

The Lawsuit instituted against John Lucas by the Inquisitor of Malta, Mgr. Paolo Bellardito, Bishop of Lipari, in 1589, is extant in the Mdinà Museum of the Cathedral Chapter of Malta, Vo'lume IX, No. 51, in the collection of *Registers of Criminal Proceedings*.

The MS is very worn out, worm-eaten and with portions missing. The following critical signs have been employed: [] for restoration; . . . (dots) for either illegible or missing words; and (?) point of interrogation, when a reading of a word is doubtful. The original spelling and a fair number of inaccuracies are not changed, but to avoid heaviness, we have supplied punctuation and inserted capital letters for the first words of sentences as well as for places and personal names.)

118-26, at p. 125; G. Ambrose, 'English Traders at Aleppo (1658-1756)', *Econ. H. R.*, Vol. III (1931-2), pp. 246-67.

96. cf. C. Trasselli, 'Note sui ragusei in Sicilia', *Economia e Storia*, Vol. XII (1965), pp. 40-79.

For Ragusan shipping in general, cf. M. J. Tradic, 'Le port de Raguse et sa flotte au 16e siècle', *Le Navire et l'économie maritime* (ed. M. Molat, Paris, 1958), pp. 9-26.

97. Cf. A. P. Vella, *The University of Malta* (Malta, 1969), p. 1.

CONTRA JOAN LUCAS

Molto Reverendo Monsignor come Fratello

Essendo venuto in notitia della Santità Sua di Nostro Signore e di questi miei Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi Cardinali Generali Inquisitori per mezzo di personaggio degno di fede e qualificato, che in cotesta Isola si ritrovava un mercante Ing'ese, chiamato Giovanni Lucas, il quale tiene corrispondenza non solo in Inghilterra ma in Constantinopoli, et particolarmente con l'Ambasciatore che ivi risiede per l'asserta Regina d'Inghilterra. La Santità Sua per giuste cause mi ha ordinato ch'io ne scriva a Vostra Signoria et le dica, come fo con questa, che sopra li cose predette pigli diligente informazione, e trovando le cose dette esser vere, proceda avanti nella causa conforme alla giustizia.

Mi ha parimente ordinato Sua Beatitudine ch'io ne scriva ancora a Monsignor mio l'ustrissimo et Reverendissimo Cardinale Gran Maestro, come ho già fatto, a cio che sua Signoria l'Ima. et Revma. ut sia informata et non manchi di darle tutto quel particolare aiuto et favore che 'e parerà necessario, espediente et opportuno, come Vostra Signoria da quella potrà intendere. Il che a lei servirà per avviso. Et non essendo la presente per altro, me le offero et raccomando, pregandole da' Signore ogni salute et contento.

Da Roma a XXVIII di Gennaro MDLXXXIX.

Di Vostra Signoria molto devoto

Come fratello il Cardina'le di Santa Severina.

Al Monsignor Vescovo di Lipari.

Die VII Apr'i's 1589.

Constitutus personaliter Joannes Lucas presens quoad se et testes quoad alios et ei delato iuramento de veritate dicenda etc., tactis etc.

Fuit interrogatus de nomine, cognomine, patria, etate et professione.

Respondit. Mi chiamo John Lucas, figlio di Clemente Lucas, Inglese, nato in un loco d'Inghilterra, Heyham (Hagham?) vicino una città chiamata Ipsech, et son mercante e ho da venti tre anni a li venti quattro secondo

a mia iudicio.

Interrogatus. Qua occasione reperiatur in hac insula et a quanto tempore hic moram trahit et ab Anglia discesserit?

Respondit. Io venni qui a Malta a posta con mercanzia per servizio del'a Sacra Religione Hierosolimitana circa sette anni sono, nel qual tempo mi son partito d'Inghilterra.

Et dicente Domino quas merces huc attulerit pro servitio Sacre Religionis et si ultro eas huc attulerit ve! requisitus et a quo?

Respondit. Io ho portato drappi, stagni, ferro, corduana (?) pesci salati, carboni di pietra per la forgia et altre sorte di mercanzie le quali mercanzie le portai da me per commissione de mei principali con occasione che essendo l'anno dinanci capitata qui sopra la Iso'a una nave Inglese che veniva da Tripoli di Suria, et uscita la galera et condottola dentro a' porto fu poi rilasciata et venuta in Londres havendo raccontato come qui non g'i fu fatto dispiacere.

Li mei principali caricorno una nave Inglese, nominata la Barca "Renauld" con queste mercanzie et maxime con un mercante che era capitato prima qui con la prima nave, nominato Joan Chey'e... Qui ci toccamo prima per la via in Spagna ne lochi cioè in Cales [Cadiz], Gran Malega et Vales Ma'ega et poi in Palermo in Cicilia, in Termini et in Messina: perchè in Termini caricamo di grano per Messina havendo io smaldito li pesci salati che havevamo bona parte in Spagna et in Palermo et poi fina'mente si semo condotti qui in Malta con i ferri, stagni, piombi et altre mercanzie.

Et ad interrogationem

Respondit. Quel Joan Cheyle morse poi in Palermo al ritorno che fece detta nave in Palermo dove carricò czuccari negri, cioe non raffinati, per l'Inghilterra.

Doppo che io venni qua mai mi son partito ma sempre stetti doi mesi qui al Borgo sul principio et poi al'a Città Nova in casa del Signor Baig'io dell'Aquila, morto, chiamato Fra Oliver Starkey, il quale ne la sua morte ordinò che mi fossero lasciati doi stantie bascie nella casa sua mentre restassi in Malta: et là sempre ho conversato et praticato quando era vivo con detto Signor et... un schiavo che mi serviva. Et ad interrogationem:

Quello mio schiavo è un negro christiano che io lo feci baptizare a Natal passato che lo comprai un anno et mezzo fa da Monsignor Illustrissimo.

Interrogatus. Si ipse constitutus hic... confessus et Sanctissimam Eucharistiam sumpserit et ubi?

Respondit. Signor Si. Sono confessato et comunicato mentre stetti qui et mi confessai ne la chiesa di Porto Salvo da un Frate Angelo, mona-

co di S. Domenico, essendo stato cinque anni fa confrate del Santissimo Sacramento et procurator di detta chiesa, et comunicai doi o tre volte l'anno.

Et dum haec diceret exhibuit quasdam litteras patentes sibi expeditas per Magnam Curiam Castellanie, die X mensis Novembris 1587, Prime Indictionis, et dixit: Io Signore, volendo andar a la feria di Santa Lucia in Siragusa per esser dichiarata la guerra fra il Re Catholico et la Regina de Inghilterra, per esser io Ing'ese, dubitando di qualche travaglio mi fece fare questa Patente, havendo prima provato come io mi confessava et comunicava.

Interrogatus.... indicar causas.

Respondit. Io non mi andai perchè fu dato ordine dal Signor Vice-gente mentre era absente Monsignore l'illustrissimo Gran Maestro che non mi lasciassi partir nessuno de la Isola, mettendo pena de la vita a tutti che havevamo imbarcato le robbe le sbarcassimo et cusì le sbarcati et non mi son altrimenti partito.

[Questioned on Religious knowledge, i.e. whether he knew the Our Father, Hail Mary, the Creed, whether he recited the Rosary of the B'essed Virgin, etc.]

Interrogatus. Si toto hoc tempore quo hic stetit testes hic constituto scribbere et transmittere litteras et presertim ad principales?

Respondit. Dal principio venne qua, sempre ho scritto a li mei parenti in Inghilterra ma da tre anni in qua io non ho scritto più.

Et ad interrogationem.

Respondit. Io non gli ho scritto da tre anni in qua perchè erano le guerre et io stante le differentie tra la magestà del Re Catholico et la Regina d'Inghilterra non volsi mettermi a scrivere.

Et dicente Domino ut dicat veritatem et bene cogitet: nam non est verisimile quod ipse constitutus tanto tempore cessaverit a scribendis litteris et etiam aliud constat huic Sancto Officio?

Respondit. Signore, Vostra Signoria Illustrissima non trovaria lettera di mia mano ne scrittura mia da tre anni in circa per Inghilterra.

Et item (sic) monitus ut dicat veritatem et si scripserit pro aliis locis?

Respondit. Manco per a'tri lochi ho scritto in quello tempo.

Interrogatus. Et monitus ut caveat a mendacio et disponat se ad veritatem dicendam: nam aliter se habet veritas quam ipse deponat?

Respondit. Certo certo de no. Doi in tre anni sono che io non ho scritto in Inghilterra ne meno in altri lochi.

Et monente Domino ipso constituto ut dicat veritatem si scripserit ad Civitatem Costantinopolitanam?

Respondit. Non in vita mia ho scritto in Costantinopoli.

Et ad interrogationem.

Respondit. Io ho scritto veramente ad un Philippo Grimes che stava a Patras et questo circa doi et più et credo che questo Philippo abbia corrispondentia con alcuno in Costantinopoli.

Interrogatus. Cum quibus?

Respondit. Io non so con chi potesse aver corrispondentia in Costantinopoli: so che ivi e' mercante et mi scrisse che l'ambasciatore di Inghilterra desiderava sapere che beni cioe' che mercantie, io avessi qui.

Interrogatus. Ad quem finem?

Respondit. Non so affatto, *et ex se addidit:* mi scrisse ancora questo Philippo Grimes che io mettessi in ora la mia mercantia et andassi a Patras dove era lui o in altro loco dove a me piacesse et che uscissi di qua.

Et ad interrogationem.

Respondit. Io non so a che effetto lui mi scrivesse accusi: ma mi imaginò che lo facesse per causa de le guerre che incominciavano tra il Re di Spagna e la Regina d'Inghilterra.

Interrogatus. Si fuit requisitus ipse constitutus a predicto Philippo de aliis rebus ut faceret vel scriberet?

Respondit. Signor No: non so mi ha scritto d'altro... mi disse ancora che meglio (?) andassi in Inghilterra che star qui.

Interrogatus. Si fuit etiam requisitus a dicto Philippo Grimes ad se scribere de rebus publicis et certiore faceret de omnibus que acciderint vel tractarentur in his partibus?

Respondit. Signor No: non mi ha scritto d'altro ne ricercò mai queste cose.

Interrogatus. Et monitus ut bene cogitet, si dictus Philippus ipsum constitutum requisivit eum nomine oratoris Constantinopolitani ut supra?

Respondit. Mai signore, mai si troverà tal cosa. Non mi ha scritto d'altro se non di quelli cinque vascel'i Inglesi che sono passati di qua et si sono imbattute nelle nostre ga'ere et nelle galere del Re et sopra di questo io gli ho risposto come li galeoni erano passati di lungo et che le galere non hebbero danno.

Et monente Domino ipsum constitutum ut dicat veritatem: nam per litteras ipsius Philippi constat contrarium quod ipse constitutus prior scripserit et cerciore fecerit dictum Philippum de dictis navibus seu galeonibus.

Respondit. Monsignor Reverendissimo, non si troverà mai che io habbi scritto prima di questo fatto de li galeoni se non ricercato che fui da detto Philippo: et altri avvisi non ho dato se non de li cose de la mercantia.

[Some questions follow of no importance.]

Tunc Reverendissimus Dominus ad convincendum ipsum constitutum

maxime quod exhiberentur sibi quasdam litteras predicti Phi'ippi Grimes, datas die 13 Januarii 1586, scriptas ipso constituto a civitate Patras quibus exhibitis et lectis per ipsum constitutum fuit ipso iniunctum quod ipse declaret et vulgarizet in sermone Italo predictas litteras qui ipse vulgarizavit modo sequenti.

A 'i 14 e 21 del mese passato noi havemo ricevuto qua li cunti. Et postea addidit: Signore io non posso leggere queste lettere perchè sono a cifra et in mezzo le linee de la lettera vi sono le dichiarazioni de' Signor Baglio de l'Aqui'a moderno, nomine Andrea Oys [Wyse] che per ordine di Mons. l'Illustrissimo le descifrò perchè io essendo ritenuto in Castellania fui chiamato et mi fu dimandata 'a cifra o la dichiarazione de la cifra et era presente il Baglio dell'Aqui'a et il Capitaneo delli schiavi, Fra Spirito, a 'i quali io mostrai la dichiarazione de la cifra et in presentia mia detto Signor Baglio incominciò a discifrare dette lettere. Il Baglio non g'i disse altro.

Et ad interrogationem.

Respondit. Non ragionò doppoi più meco il Signor Baglio sopra questo facto, ma venne ben una volta in Castel'ania a vedermi: et io poi in Domenica et festi che son stato fuori, fui a visitar detto Signor Baglio in casa sua il dì di Pasqua.

Interrogatus. Quas sermones habuerit cum dicto Domino Bajulivo tam in prima vice quam in secunda?

Respondit. Non occorsero altri ragionamenti tra noi se non addimandarmi come stavo, et il dì di Pasqua quando io sono stato a casa sua lo accompagniai da casa sua in Chiesa di Porto Salvo.

Et dum premissa scriberetur dixit: Dio perdoni a chi mi ha accusato falsamente. Io ho suspicioni in tre: cioe Guglie'mo Grivel il quale tre anni fa essendo venuto qui da scevitudine nudo et crudo io 'lo ho vestito et prestatoli cento et quindici scudi in denari, et non potendo rehaver il mio, io feci una supplica a Mons. Illustrissimo che ordinò che fussi impedita la mità del suo soldo et al'ora questo Guglielmo mi disse che fuor di qua mi faria mordere il dente più due volte.

Et ad interrogationem.

Respondit. Questo Guglielmo era schiavo di Veneziani preso su un vascel'o di corso che armò qui a Malta

Et ad aliam interrogationem.

Respondit. L'altro nel qua'i ho suspecto è un alio Siciliano o Napoletano, ricamatore, il quale essendo stato preso in Castellania perchè se gli trovò un archibusetto a casa, ebbe suspecto che io lo abbia accusato.

Ho ancor suspecto in un Scuccese, che venne qui con certi gentilhomini Tudeschi et avendo domandato ad un mastro Pietro Grif che homini erano qui, hebbe nova di me e de Baglio di l'Aquila et ven-

ne et mi trovò et mi ha demandato poi denari et io non havendo voluto prestare. Dubito che essendo andato fora mi habbi facto alcun mal officio.

Tunc fuit dimissum examinatum, iniunctum sibi silentio in forma Curie, et quod se subscribbat.

[Signed] Per me John Lucas.

Die VIII eiusdem.

Constitutus personaliter supradictum Joannem Lucas si vult addere vel minuere vel mutare?

Et ad interrogationem.

Respondit. Lui non mi ha scritto ne richiesto da ivi se non che io lo havisasse de' fatto di quelli galeoni et de li galieri. Et il medesimo scrisse un a'tro mio compagno, nominato Rafa Axiali, [Raphael Ashly] il quale stava pur a Patras et tutti doi mi scrissero ancora che io spedissi qui le mie mercantie et andassi a Patras per andar poi con l'oro in Inghilterra et io non li diedi risposta sopra questo perchè io son Catholico et voglio esser Catholico et non andarò in Inghilterra finchè li Christiani non 'a pigliano.

Et item dicente Domino ut dicat veritatem si dictus Philippus eum requisivit ut ad se scriberet de aliis rebus que hic occurrerint?

Respondit. Mai mi scrisse di questo et se si trova tal cosa, io voglio esser fatto morire. Non mi scrisse d'altro se non di quell'i galeoni et persuadermi che io mi parto perchè questa vita che io facevo era mala, poichè non facevo come essi facevano.

[The rest is not important].

Interrogatus. Si fuit de hoc requisitus ab hoc de aliquo alio et si ipse constitutus erat solitus scribere et rescribere aliis Angliis et quibus?

Respondit. Ancora ad un Richard Staper, un senatore (mercante?) de Londres, che io dovessi andar in Inghilterra. Mi scrisse ancora da Aleppo un Christofaro Addele che io che stavo a mezzo il mondo gli avvisassi de le cose de l'Inghilterra: et io non gli ho dato risposta. Et mi soleva scrivere ancora uno Inglese che stava a Zante che non mi ricordo il suo nome et ci deve essere lettera sua fra le mie lettere et postea dixit si chiama Thomas Da'chins, et è mercante al quale manco diedi risposta.

Si erant Catholici vel heretici [usual religious background].

Eodem

De mandato Revmi Domini fuit iniunctum supradicto Joanni Luce quod sub pena scutorum quingentorum et a'iis penis ad arbitrium quod non audeat discedere ab hoc Palatio Sancti Officii.

Die XVIII eiusdem

Constitutus personaliter supradictus Joannes Lucas etc., fuit interrogatus... si vu't aliquid addere, minuire vel mutare?

Respondit. Io non ho che dire altro a quanto ho detto negli a'tri mei examini se non che quando io venni qui in Malta io venni con salvo conducto di Monsignor Illustrissimo Gran Maestro che mi habia ottenuto un Joan Cheyla, mercante, i' quale come dissi morse pòi in Palermo. Et sotto questo salvo conducto io venni et stetti qua fina hora et non penso movermi. In quanto poi la mia vita io mostrai le mie bolle et hora per mia confessione di questo anno et comunione presento questa fede de' padre mio confessore.

Et exhibuit quamdam fidem quam dicit esse fratris Hieronymi Vaccaro, Ordinis Predicatorum, sub die 1a aprilis, 1589.

Interrogatus. Ut dicat quis sit ille Christopharus Audilly?

Respondit. Questo Christofaro è un giovane Inglese che venne qui con una nave Inglese più cinque anni sono o in circa, et mi consegnò certa quantità di pesci salati et andò in Levante: non so per che parti: credo per Patras.

Interrogatus. Si ipse Christopharus fuit solitus scribbere ipso constituto toto hoc tempore et unde?

Respondit. Mai più mi ha scritto di queste due lettere che sono qui in poter di Vostra Signoria Revma da Aleppo.

Et ad interrogationem.

Respondit. Mai io ho risposto a questo homo. La prima lettera è del 1586: la seconda è del 1588 et si vede nella seconda che si lamenta di me che mai gli ho scritto.

Interrogatus. Et monitus ut dicat veritatem si ab ipso Christopharo fuit requisitus ipse constitutus quod eum cercioraret de rebus Anglicis cum Rege Catholico?

Respondit. Signor si. Son stato pregato da lui per queste lettere ad havisar'o de le cose de l'Ingliterra con il Re di Spagna, ma mai l'ho risposto ne l'havisai.

Et dicente Domino: Cur ergo in precedentibus suis examinibus affirmaverit nemine fuisse requisitum de hoc?

Respondit. Era tanto tempo che non me ne aricordavo, et hora si non havessi letto 'e lettere manco me ne saria aricordato.

Interrogatus. Ut dicat, quis sit Thomas Dauchins?

Respondit. E' un Inglese che sia al Zante al quale io non conosco se non per lettere che me ne scritto alcuni incamminandomi certe altre di Philippo Grimes.

Et ad interrogationem.

Respondit. Io una so'a volta ho risposto a questo Thomas Dauchins

nel mese di Novembre o Dicembre del '86 che gli rispondeva sopra il facto di certi galeoni Inglesi che lui mi ricercava che io dovessi haveri notizia (?) che era successo con 'e galere di Malta: et altre cose non scrissi più.

Interrogatus. Quot litteras scripserit Philippo Grimes et si ipsum cercioraverit de rebus contra Regnum Ang'ie et Regem Hispaniorum?

Respondit. Una sola lettera scrissi medesimamente a Philippo Grimes in Patras al qua'e havisai medesimamente dell'incontro de li vascelli Inglesi con 'e galere di Malta et altri, et questo solo havisai di questi vascel'i. Ma non a Thomas Dauchins se non che pregai a detto Thomas che incaminasse questa lettera in mano di Philippo Grimes; ma a solo Philippo scrissi de fatto de li galioni perchè da lui solo mi fu ricercato se questo ho voluto dare nella precedente mia risposta perchè da Thomas Dauchins non fui ricercato dire tal fatto, ne meno io lo havisai, ma solo a Philippo com ho detto.

Interrogatus. Quis est Raphael Asli?

Respondit. E' un huomo Inglese compagno di Philippo Grimes et va da' Zanti al Patras et da Patras al Zante.

Interrogatus. Si iste Raphael Asli fuit solitus scribbere ipso constituto?

Respondit. Questo Raphael Asles mi ha scritto una sola lettera so'o, et una o doi in compagnia di Philippo Grimes pregandomi che me ne vadi via et che l'havisi de le cose che io negociava et non mi tracto d'a'tro che de mercantia et de amicitia.

Interrogatus. Si ipse fuit solitus scribbere in Anglia aliquibus et quibus?

Respondit. Da tre anni in qua io non ho scritto a nisciuno, ma prima ho scritto alcune lettere a li mei principali per negoci di mercancia come si può vedere per copie di una che mi e rimasta de li 5 de Maggio del '84.

Interrogatus...

Respondit. Se si troverà altro di quel che ho detto impendetemi et non voglio domandar gratia.

Et iterum monitus ut dicat veritatem si cupit expeditionem cause sue et quod benigne secum agatur.

Respondit. Monsignor Reverendissimo, questa è la verità come se havesse Iddio denanci di me perchè Dio sta qua et se io havessi havuto mal animo mi sarei partito siccome son stato ricercato per le lettere che hanno: ma io voglio più tosto mangiar pane et pietre et essere christiano che partirmi.

[What follows, is a reaffirmation of the same statements.]

Eodem

Pro supradicto Joanne Lucas de se presentando tocies quociens... a'ias de solvendo scuta mille de duodecim Fisco Santi Officii applicanda etc.

Fide iussit: Nobilis Stephanus Condullius.

Die 1 aprilis 1589

[Certificate by J. Lucas's confessor, Fr .Hieronymus Vaccaro O.P., testifying that Lucas performed his religious duties.]

"Facio fidem gli ho confessato e comunicato... al'a Chiesa di Porto Salvo".

[In the File are extant nine interesting letters addressed to John Lucas — reference to which has been made in the legal proceedings — which are here reproduced. They seem to be a literal translation from English into Spanish-Italian. We just give here the place, date and name of the addresser.

First letter written from Zante on May 5, 1587, signed "Raph Ashly".
Second letter written from Patras on January 13, 1586, signed "Raph Ashely".

Third letter written from Venice on August 17, 1588, signed "Gyffren Leuthario".

Fourth letter written from Patras on December 16, 1586, signed "Phillypo Grimes".

Fifth letter written from Zante on January 27, 1586, signed "Thomas Dalkyns".

Sixth letter written from Zante on July 13, 1586, signed "Thomas Dalkyns".

Seventh letter written from Patras on October 16, 1586, signed "Philippi Grimes".

Eighth letter written from Aleppo on March 30, 1586, signed "Christofor Audly".

Ninth letter written from Aleppo on June 10, 1588, signed "Christofor Audly", servitor alli Signor Eduard Osborn e Company Mercant'.

[As specimen we transcribe the fifth letter, since two ships, the "Toby" and the "Seraphim" together with the Bailiff of Eagle, O'liver Starkey, are mentioned.]

"Jhesus in Zahte li 27 del Janeary 1586.

Segner John Lucas you recomandar me a voy disiderando vostos salute como meo proprio qual y Dio demando, amen. Vostros delli 25 decembrio resevoto com que lo di vostro autro per Patراس que'ly you demandato a loro: et a quà sta uno trespost (?) fra di loro ally qual'y you remettate a'tro novo... et ly Toby sta a Patراس et ly Serafyn a qua per cargar pasolo piccolo.

You prego recomandar me ally illustre signor Bayleu signor Starkey com t.n. (?) conshot e you po in ca'che sarvisto sarvire suo Signore: suo signore puo comandar me you desidero per interesse: nostros veshels di Inglyterra puo venire a quella Isola cose: non tenendo altro per fastidir voi com you recomandar voy a Dio.

Vostros amyco per ussar Thomas Dalkynss.

[Another unsigned translation into a sort of Spanish-Italian of a letter written by John Lucas origina'ly in English, from Malta, [5th] May, 1584.]

Molto Illustre Signor, mi obb'igo servirci regordato a Vostra Signoria Illma a nostra salut que Dio demando, Amen.

Nell'ultimo aly Signorie Vostros era delly 20 del Marcio per esserly del 4 demandato per diverse caminio [by diverse ways] in tanto you sperar calche l'uno volo venga a'le mano delli Signoria Vostros come quista e la copia di questa you scrit Signorie Vostros per mio ultimo de'li "Elsabeth" arrivato salva mento a qua quelly era ally 10 di Marcio passato et suo dipartaro era delli 17 forno dello medesimo mesa: intanto 'y restato a qua 7 jorno, 11 contando ly jorno li venoto et ly jorno ly partoto me l'era tutto 7 jorno in ly quelly uno era domynico e uno altro uno gran festyva' jorno: intanto you spedito ly in manco 4 jorno..... ma venendo foro li staion como questo anno ly venoto donco medse di quantytà volo essery basto per ly quello you prego 'li Signorie Vostros per consideration del quello como ly vesshel po per essery a qua per desembre il tamben nel mio lettero delli 20 di marcio scrit li Signorie Vostro del'y venduto del 14 barrillos di heringos Ros et 2 caratele del pilchards; di poi quelly tempo you ha vendoto a'ly Jenerall et Capitaneo delly gallares de quisto Isola: questa quantytà di salmone per dire del marlous 10158 pishe a rason 4 grayns li pishy: quelly fa somo del 169 scoto; tarì 3, grayn 11; del haryngo russo 25 barrul'os a sey scoto ly barillo fa 60 scuto del pilchards, 25 caralettos qualli capoto 'ly numero del 113119 pesche: qualli vendoto a 3 tary e 10 grayn ly sentenaro, qualy fa 329 scoto, 7 tarie, 5 grayn; tutto qualy partijcular soms fa 708 scoto, 6 tarì, 17 grayn. Li qua'li dinary you star per reserveria a qua delly mano delly Sacro Relygion you havendo resevoto pollyses per ly detto somo... et reservirie mi dinaris como Avant detto per altro vendito ly qually you ha fatt di poi di arival del'y vesseheli in fin di ogio, fata delly vendita del 28 barrels di heringo ross, 167 scoto; sopra lo venduto del uno barillo di haringo banco 8 scoto; sopra ly vendito del 176 (?) marlous fatta 22 scoto; sopra ly vendito dell 6 caratelli del pilchards fata 79 scoto, 6 tarì, 10 grayns; sopra ly vendito del 4 stesso (?) di fyrmagio di F'anders et 1 pezze di fyрмаio di Essexe fatta... scoto; sopra ly vendito dell 2 crytales 18... caritel'a fata (?)... scoto, 10 taris ; sopra ly vendito doi barrullott di mo... scoto; sopra ly vendito 15 pels di baxetta vendoto a Signor...(?) pere et Nardo Poullo, costyrero, del quisto Issola . . . *

* [Interpretation of the above letter is here attempted]
Very illustrious Sir,

Per 'y peu parte delly denaris qually ha stato mettoto in tally comodytà donco neshon pericolo ha stato in pardito como in parte quisto pishe you pogoro vol esseri, e vendito a qua non che a manco vol esserii per tutto questo state: intanto you dubyto com quisto grand caldo volo guastar ly restant delly pilchards e heringons rouse, perchè you trovo di loro guastato com quisto caldo: adesso ly qualli non sta poco do'or a me.

Die XXII Aprilis 1589 .

Pro supradicto Joanni Lucas de se presentando tocies quocies ad omnem Revmi Domini Inquisitoris primam et simp'icem requisitionem, alias de solvendo scuta mille de tarenis duodecim pro scuto sancto Oficio applicanda sub omnibus obligationibus, c'ausulis, cautelis etc in forma curie etc.

Fide iussit Magister spectabilis Simiano Gurt (?) habitator
Civitatis Vallette.

Die XIII mensis Julji 1589.

Constitutus persona'iter Joannes Lucas, Anglus de quo supra, et delato iuramento de veritate dicenda, tactis etc.

Fuit interrogatus quot pecuniarum summas spectantes ad suos principales habeat pre manibus ipse constitutus et a quanto tempore ipsis non scripsit?

I remain very much obliged to you and pray God to keep you healthy.

In your last letter of March 20th which by diverse ways I hope it will arrive, as I have a copy you have written which reached me by the vessel Elizabeth that arrived safely here on March 10th, and departed on the 17th of the same month after 11 days stay, but actually only 7 working days, since we have to deduct the two days of arrival and departure, a Sunday and a great feast which occurred within this period. Anyhow, reaching here out of season when ideally I expected its arrival in December as I had written to you in my last letter of March 20th.

Out of the amount of merchandize received I sold 14 barrels of smoke cured herrings and two boxes of pilchards which were sold to the General of the Galleys of the Order of this Island.

A detailed account is given of the selling prices and the counter receipts of salted fish including great quantity of cod-fish (M.S. marlous, Italian **merluzzi**).

The piece of cloth (baxetta) received was sold in Malta to a tailor, Nardo Poullo by name.

The money collected is deposited in a safe place.

It is appreciated that in the great Malta heat the remainder of the consigned eatables, that is the red herrings and pilchards being perishable to the great pain of the writer could not be kept for sale during summer since they would not remain fresh.

Respondit. Ha più di quattro anni che io non ho scritto a li mei principali l' quali quando mi mandorno qui con mercantia di tre milia nove cento et sessanta scudi, e di questi ne ho remandato a 'oro con mercantia più de le due terze parti. Intanto che in poter mio restano manco di mille scudi li quali contenuti in conto et 60 scudi in denari et il resto in debiti et in certe robbe et... speczarie di... et questi danari lo ho ricevuto da certi og'i venduti.

Interrogatus. In posse cuius sunt dicte pecunie vel dicte res et nomina debitorum?

Respondit. In poter mio son questi danari et ancora le robbe che prima importare da cento scudi et da tre cento scudi di nomini (?) di debitori, et altro non so.

Interrogatus. Ut dicat ubi sunt relique pecunie ad complementum scutorum mille quos dicit esse in suo posse...?

Respondit. Non mi resta a'tro che questo; et postea addidit: vi sono ancora cento et cinquanta altri scudi in frumenti sopra la germa del Signor Fiot, scritti in nome mio.

Interrogatus. Ut dicat nomina debitorum.

Respondit. Sono diversi et più di trenta, chi poco chi assai.

Et dicente Domino quod eos nominet.

Respondit. Guglielmo Crivel, mio paesano, che mi deve cento et quindici scudi per contratto a l'acti di Notaro Salvo Briffa et vi sono diversi altri che non mi aricordo li nomi.

Ma vi è la lista fra le mie scritture si potrà vedere

. scudi 15

Tunc Revmus Dominus mandavit ipso constituto quod eam perquirat. Qua perquisita et inventa eam exhibuit et hic nomina debitorum continet, videlicet.

Antonio Francesco Bruccheri per resto de

magior somma che appare per contratto

di Notario Francesco Imbroglia scudi 3

Pietro (sic) Grimes per quattro salomoni scudi 2 tarì 8

Fra Antonio Fe'ici per sette rotoli di

stagno scudi 3 tarì 8

Magister Giorgio Farruge

Magister Joanni Famigliomeno per 26 ro-

tula di stagno et per doi canna di albaget-

to, più per 5 scudi et tarì cinque pagati

per lui a Giorgio Farruge, più per cinque

palmi di chiabellotto negro, più di quattro

camusi bianchi, più per doi pa'mi di

Olanda, in tutto	scudi	20	tari	7
Signor Bonello Judice passato per undici rotole et mezzo di stagno et doi fiaschi di stagno	scudi	6	tari	10 grani 10
Gran Visconte di hoggi prestato fra mag- gior summa et ho policza	scudi	1		
Guglielmo Crivel, che è que'lo che ho no- minato supra per contratto, come ho detto	scudi	5		
Più detto Guglielmo mi deve scudi 28 sopra pegni	scudi	28		
Guglielmo Guacz (Watts) per resto di mag- gior summa che ne ho policza	scudi	4		
Joan Domenico, barrettaro, per doi canni et mezzo di a'bagetto et una canna de baxetta: in tutto	scudi	3	tari (?)	
Il Signor dottor Calli per tre canni et mez- zo di baxetta negra	scudi	4	tari	8
Il Sergente della Città Nova, Andrea, per tanto albabetto et baxetta	scudi	2	tari	4
Carlo Barberi per resto di maggior summa per tanto drappo	scudi (?)		tari	9
	scudi	194	tari	3

Cristofaro Grego che sta in (?) infermeria per resto di maggior somma per tanti salami	scudi	1	tari	4
Fra Stefano, Camarier di Mons. Illustris- simo che fu mastro scudero, per cinque palmi di Olanda et per denari prestati et altra mezza canna di O'anda tiene policza: in tutto	scudi	7	tari	10
Francesco Bruno, scarparo, deve per con- tratto a li atti	scudi	13		
Mastro Narduchio Cassia per restante di una pezza da chiabellotto	scudi	1	tari	6
Fra Don Antonio del Bardo per policza per camusi prestatoli	scudi	3	tari	11
Il Signor Cavallier Morgolun (?) della san- ità Francese per una canna di Olanda . .	scudi	3	tari	6
Mustafa Turcho, schiavo di Palaczo per doi camusi			tari	8
Al sotto Castellano, che fu Spagnuolo,				

Gurpide, prestatì	scudi	4		
Il Signor Dottor Va'erio Michallef per resto di tanti tavoli	scudi	3		
Il Signor Capitan Martelli per mezza can- na di Olanda	scudo	1	tari	9
I' Signor Francesco Magnos per contratto a li atti di Magnifico Jacobo Sillato	scudi	45	tari	6
Mastro Alois Rega', ferraro, per restante .	scudo	1	tari	6
	(scudi	88	tari	2)
...Artigliaria per... palmi di baxetta tengo pegno	scudi	2	tari	1
Mastro Nardo, barrettaro, per restare di tanti tavoli tengo pegno	scudi	3	tari	3
Alexandro Baròn Bucceri mi resta dare .	scudo	1		
Mastro Lois, ferraro, per tanto stagno vi è contratto di atti di Magnifico Scanio Scaglia	scudi	3		
Mastro Ettore Vida'i per quattro canni di baxetta et più palmi 18 mezzo di baxetta incarnata et per 4 canni da chiabe'lotto negro: in tutto	scudi (?)		tari	9
Il Signor recivitor de Mons. Illustrissimo per novi camusi	scudi	3		
Giuseppi Canavan per havermi pigliato cosa non dovuta'i	scudi	17		
Joan Mava, cocchier di Mons. Illustrissimo per restante di tanto chiambe'lotto . . .	scudi	15	tari	9
	scudi	48,	tari	10
	scudi	88,	tari	2
	scudi	194,	tari	3
	scudi	331,	tari	3

Interrogatus. Si habet a'iqua alia bona propria vel aliorum?

Respondit. Io ho un mio schiavo negro qual comprai novanta scudi di età 16 anni, et ho certi pochi mobili cioè un mio letto, quattro seggi et doi caxi con certe mie rubicioli dentro et con quelli danari che ho detto di sopra.

Interrogatus. Si habet aliqua bona in a'ia domo?

Respondit. For di casa mia io non ci ho robba che vaglia un tari.

Interrogatus. Si est debitor alicuius?

Respondit. Signor no: io non ho da dar a nessuno se non qualche cosa che devo al fornaro che mi porta il pane che oggi credo non deverli un scudo.

Et ad interrogationem.

Respondit. Io doi anni fa ho comprato da una nave Veneziana certi chiabe'lotti; et le baxette furono che mi vennero da Inghilterra; et li tavoli li comprai da detta nave; et la Olanda mi venne da Inghilterra. Ma hora non ho più niente in mano che le ho spedite tutte.

Tunc fuit dimissum examen iniuncto quod se subscribat etc.

Jhon Lucas.

Die XII mensis Julii 1589.

Inventario del'e robbe trovate in potere et in casa di Joan Lucas, Inglese, facto per ordine del Molto Illustre et Revmo Mons. Inquisitore per me Giuliano Briffa, notario de' Santo Officio con assistentia del spettabile Signor Dottor Pasquale de Franchis, Fiscale di detto Santo Officio et del Magnifico Hieronymo Scarpello, capitaneo di esso Santo Officio et Theodoro Xuerib, herario, presente Gug'ielmo Guacz (Watts), Inglese, qual teneva la chiave di detta casa.

In primis in moneta de Reali da quattro et

da octo scudi scudi 115

In diverse altre monete scudi 71 tari 2 grani 10

Item in tanti piccioli tari 6

Item un sichietto de argento con una chatinella di sette magli.

Item una gunduletta di argento picco'a.

Item una taccetta di argento.

Item una cuchiararia et furchetta, unita insieme di argento.

Item una testa di corallo tondo.

Item doi voti d'oro [*In margin*] li prese Gio Lucas et mandò alla Madonna del'a Gratia.

Item un paro di calcetti di seta rossa incarnata di donna.

Item una scutella di porcellana piccola.

Item una caxetta di cipresso dentro v'e li infrascritti robbi, videlicet quattro cuchiar di argento et una forchetta, un anello doro con un rubinetto legato a serpi con una policina, un anello doro con una pietra turchina con sua policina.

Item doi ane'li doro con li petri rossi con loro policina resi a Giovanni Pancali per scudi doi.

Item un altro anello doro con una petra rossa et sua policina.

Un sigillo doro.

Un marte'laro doro di tredici pezi con altri alcuni petri diversi colori et vi mancano tre con la sua policina.

Un paro di manichotti de Olanda retagliati.

Item un sigillo doro et un anello doro con petra rossa con sua policina.

Item una medaglia doro con un cameo con sua policina.

Item una croce doro di S. Giovanni con tre cathinelle et un suo ane'letto et un anello fatto a sigillo con una petra turchina con octo bottoni doro con sua policza.

Item un marte'laro a lantica puro con certi perli in mezzo di 18 peczi.

Item un paro di circelli et un anello doro con una perla.

Item dieci bottoni doro con certa pietra bianca a la punta.

Item un anne'lo doro con doi petri una rossa et l'altra bianca.

Item un peczo de raxia negra de palmi quindici e mezzo.

Item doi pezzi di baxetta verde, uno scuro di canni tre et palmi doi, et l'altro chiaro di canni doi et panni doi.

Item un scampolo di baxetta incarnato de palmi doi et un a'tro di color pavonazzo di palmi cinque.

Item un paro di calcetti di seta rosa secca menati.

Item un peczo di raxia negra di palmi dodici.

Item un paro di calcetti di sargetta negra menati.

Item un cuxino di te'a lavorato di rosso.

Item tre collari vechi et un faccioleto.

Item un sciugatore.

Item doi scampoli di chiambellotto negro, l'uno de palmi sei et l'altro di palmi tre.

Item un atro peczo di baxetta verde di palme sei et mezzo.

Item un altro pezzo di baxetta turchina chiara di pa'mi dodici

Item un altro pezzo di baxetta turchina scura di palmi dieci.

Item sei palmi de carozia (?) turchina.

Item diciotto de panno grignano turchino.

Item un paro di calcetti bianchi de cavalcare.

Item un sigil'lo doro.

Item una medaglia doro con un cameo in mezzo.

Item un anello doro con una petra verde.

Item una medaglietta tutta doro.

Item un a'tro sigillo doro con sua poliza [*In margin*] manco

Item una lista di perli minuti et una perla grossetta dentro un scatolino piccolo.

Item un sigil'o d'argento

Item una petra de parto di donna.

Item un chiave de una caxetta.

Item un libretto de memoria

Item una cathena doro con un paro di braciolette doro in pezzi 34 che sonno di Bartholomeo Levantin in pegno li scuti 33 e tarì quattro [*in margin*] data un'altra in cambio.

Item una cathinella doro sottile di peso de una uncia et mezzo.

Item una pecza di indago di seta pavonacza et bianca legata in una carta.

Item un pezzo do tercianello pavonaczo dentro una carta de canni doi et palmi uno.

Item un altro peczo di tertianello negro legato in una carta di palmi sei et mezzo.

Item un pezzo di taffita turchino menato.

Item cinque cordoani, tre bianche et due negre delle quali una è incominciata.

Item un paviglione di barracano tinto verde con suo tornialetto et suo pumo.

Item mezo paviglione de tela bianca con la sua mezza porta lavorata. [*In margin*] pegno.

Item una tovaglia di tavola da mangiare de Fiandra usata.

Item doi maccetti de cotone filato legati in una carta.

Item un scampolo di baxetta verde di palmi cinque.

Item uno spechio.

Item una spata con li soi pendenti.

Item un pugna'e.

Item cinque quadretti del quale li tre sonno di petra

Item un archibuso de cachia di rota con soi faschi.

Item una statietta piccola.

Item quattro seggi, un capotto di tioletta usato.

Item un paro di calcioni et un gippone di borciato.

Item un paro di calcioni di damasco turchino.

Item un gippone de indiano di seta de! mesmo color.

Item un paro di calcioni di panno come lionato frappali.

Item una gazacca de panno pavonaczo.

Item un gippone vecchio.

Item due cazache di panno negro vechi.

Item un firiolo de chiambellotto vecchio.

Item un firiolo de panno vecchio negro con soi manichi.

Item un gippone di te'etta negra capixiola et un paro di calcioni de chiambellotto negro vechi.

Item una cazacha di raxia negra.

Item un gippone di chiambellotto negro vecchio.

Item doi firioli di panno negro vechi infodrati, uno di baxetta negra et l'a'tro di baxetta pavonacza [*in margin*] o firiolo negro fu reso al schiavo di detto Giov. Lucas che disse esser suo.

- Item un paro di calcetti di seta pardiglia.
Item una borsetta di tabi vechia usata a un cappello di feltro usato.
Item una va'igia.
Item una tavola di abito con un peczo di baxetta verde di sopra.
Item un cornetto di polvere.
Item doi carcazi voti.
Item un bacile et un bucale di fayenza.
Item tre candelleri doi di rame bianco et l'altro di rame giallo [in margin] restati alla capella.
Item un mortaro con il suo pistone di bronzo.
Item doi bucali di vetro con coperti.
Item tre taczi di vitro.
Item una salera di stagno.
Item una scupiglia.
Item una tazza di stagno.
Item una giarra con mezzo caviso d'oglio.
Item un paro di stivali de vecchietta.
Item un sacchetto de polvere da un roto'o e mezzo.
Item un pettine et doi scupigli de testa.
Item una mezza canna.
Item una tapeczaria de Bergamo nova in quattro peczi: sonno canni 29 et palmi 4.
Item altre quattro peczi di detta tapeczaria usati che erano in camera: canni 9 et palmi 4.
Item doi caxi bianchi nell'e quali sono conservati alcuni di detti robbi.

Eedem suprascripte pecunie, res, raube et alia bona supra descripta et nominata fuerunt de mandato molto Illustris et Revmo Domini Inquisitoris consignata Magnificis Antonino et Petro Testaferrata depositariis Sancti Offici Melitensis, presentibus et in so'idum etc.

Et ita iurarunt testes: Magnifici Joannes Pachi, Joannes... et alii.
Eodem.

[Additional Note] Vi sono oltre li sopradetti gioi, doi anelli doro con le petre rosse legati in una policina quali sono di Mastro Nardo.

[Marginal Note] Item li infrascritti anelli doro che foru trovati sopra detto Joan Lucas che li teneva ne li soi dita.

Et primo

Un sigillo doro con una petra de [?] laro con l'aquila et drago.

Item un altro anello doro con una petra verde o turchina.

Item un altro anello doro fatto a fede.

Item un altro anelletto doro.

Item tre virghetti doro ligati insieme.

De mandato Revmi Domini.

[By order of Mgr. Ballardito some of the items listed above were allowed to remain in possession of John Lucas for his personal use.]

Nuoi Paolo Bellardito, Vescovo di Lipari, Apostolico Delegato et General Inquisitore in questa Isola de Ma'ta facciamo fede indubitata a cui le presenti saranno in qualunque modo presentate qualmente. Mandamo con 'e galere di questa Sacra Religion Hierosolymitana nella città di Messina il Magnifico Hieronimo Scarpello, Capitaneo di questo Santo Ufficio. Perciò exortiamo et pregamo qualunque persona tanto ecclesiastica come secolare et in qualunque dignità costituita che non li vogli dare impedimento ne molestia a'cuna, quali occorrendo prestarli ogni aiuto et favore acciò possa seguir suo destinato viaggio.

In cui rei testimonium has presentes fieri fecimus per magnificum Notarium dicti Sancti Officii subscriptione nostre ac mei so'iti sigilli impressione munitas.

Datas Melite et in Palatio Sancti Officii. Die 22 mensis Julji, 1589.

Noi Alessandro Glorieri, Nuntio di Nostro Signore in questo Regno, ne declariamo con questo essersi stato consegnato per carcerato dal Magnifico Geronimo Scarpel'o, Capitaneo del S. Ufficio di Malta, Gioan Lucas, Inglese, con un fangotto di scritture che s'hanno a mandar in Roma per consegnarsi all'Illustrissimo et Rev.mo Cardinale di S. Severina, et in fede.

In Napo'i: questo di XI d'Agosto, 1589.

Alessandro Glorieri, Nuntio di Nostro Signore.

Molto Rev. Mons., come Fratello,

Si è riferita in questa Sacra Congregatione la causa di Giovanni Lucas, Inglese, i' quale fu carcerato costì, et dopo per ordine della Santità di N.S. è stato condotto nelle carceri di questo S. Offizio dove si ritrova al presente, et per giuste cause è stato ordinato, che V.S. facci fedelmente tutti li suoi crediti; di più che le sue merci si vendano pubblicamente per giusto prezzo, et a chi più offerirà li denari, che di quelle saranno ritratti insieme con li denari, che si essigeranno da predetti crediti, et i suoi danari, che si trovarono al tempo della sua carceratione tutti siano depositati appresso li Testaferrati depositarii di cotesta S. Inquisitione, i quali si obblighino e diano cedo'a fermata di loro mano di pagare i detti danari ad ogni semplice commissione et mandato di questo S. Offizio di Roma, et la detta cedola originale si mandi quanto prima qua, ritenendosene costì una seconda, o un duplicato. Onde V.S. non manchi d'eseguire quando è stato ordinato et non essendo la presente per altro. La saluto con pregar'i dal Signore ogni contento...

Di Roma, a XII di Gennaro MDLXXX.

Come fratello di Nostro Signore Molto Reverendo, i'
Cardinale di S. Severina.

(f. 34 r) Die nono mensis Maii 1590.

Robbi di sopradetto Lucas Inglese, vendute al prezzo indicato. Vendita Totale: scudi 198, tarì 5, grani 17.

Lista dei detti debitori del detto Luca Inglese.

Antonino Testaferrata.