# STATUS ANIMARUM I: A Unique Source for 17th and 18th Century Maltese Demography

STANLEY FIORINI

If it is only arguable that Western civilization is largely the creation of the Church, it is certainly tenable that the development of one is inextricably interwoven with that of the other. The peak of human achievement in the realms of architecture, sculpture and painting is embodied in the master-pieces that adorn the Church's cathedrals, monasteries and palaces. Throughout the centuries, the Church has been a constant source of inspiration for music, drama and literature; in turn, its own endeavours in these fields reflect its spatio-temporal immersion in our civilization.

If one wants to delve into one's past, one must perforce turn to documents for centuries preserved for mankind in the Church's museums and archives, custodians of our heritage. In particular, this is true for any demographical investigations, especially for the 17th and 18th centuries for which parish records constitute the primary if not unique sources.

## I Status Animarum and other parish records

The symbiotic relationship between the Church and Western Civilization referred to is also evident in the juridical sphere. In the recording of vital events, the Church inherited the administrative procedures of the Roman Empire. Reference to the recording of marriages can be found as early as the year 534 in the *"Corpus Juris Civilis"* and more precisely in the "Novellae" of Justinian. (1) References to parochial records in the middle ages are sparse and invariably limited to local churches. The Synod of Augsburg held in 1548 prescribes four boks to be kept by the parish priest:

> *"Primum in quo baptizatorum; secundum confitentium et communicantium; tertium, in quo eorum, qui matrimonium in facie ecclesiae contraxerunt; et quartum in quo mortuorum...nomina et cognomina... descibantur."* (2)

1. *Novellae Constitutiones post Codicem* 74, IV 1-2 (Aug. Taurinorum, edid. Hered. Sebastiani Bottae, MDCCCXXIX) pp.888-9: *"...attestationem conficiat declarantem qui sub illa indictione, illo mense..., conjuncti sunt alterutri; et... talem reponat chartam... in Ecclesiae Archiviis".*
2. J.D. Mansi *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio,* XXXIII. Graz. 1901, p.1302.

At the *Concilium Viennense* (3) held in 1557 explicit instructions are given to the parish priest to take note of those of his flock who fail to adhere to the Paschal Precept and to report the same to the Vicar General. Similar instructions are to be found at the *Concilium Narbonense* of 1551 (4) and particularly at the *Concilium Mediolanense* I of 1565 held under Cardinal Carlo Borromeo. (5) The latter was echoing the edict of the Council of Trent which in its 22nd Session (6) laid down the law for the universal Church that marriages are to be recorded in a special register to be kept by the parish priest. The formal universal prescription was only extended to the five parochial registers in 1614 by Paul V. In the *Rituale Romanum* (7) the parish priest is expected to keep the following five registers: (i) *Liber Baptizatorum*, (ii) *Liber Confirmatorum*, (iii) *Liber Matrimoniorum*, (iv) *Liber Defunctorum*, and (v) *Liber de Statu Animarum*. This same norm has remained unchanged to the present day and till very recently was to be found enshrined in the *Codex Juris Canonici*. (8) In the 1983 revision of the Codex, (9) *Liber Status Animarum* no longer figures among the *Libri Paroeciales*.

The importance of these records for the 17th and 18th centuries even for the lay and civil spheres of life is self-evident especially when one considers that up to the French Revolution the parish records were practically the only records kept of births, deaths and marriages. It was only towards the middle of the 19th century that many states, following the lead of France, began to set up their own civil records so that the Church lost her prerogative in this area.

The situation in Malta to a large extent reflects what was happening on the Continent in this matter. Long before the official declarations of Trent and of the Rituale Romanum, parish priests on the island had been keeping their own records. In fact the island can boast of some very early parish records: For example, the Mdina Baptismal registers starting from 1539 are still extant although one can deduce that the missing first 38 folios of the register used to cover records dating from 1528. Some other examples are the

3. *Ibid.*, XXXIII. p.1287.
4. *Ibid.*, p.1264.
5. *Ibid.*, XXXIVA, pp.16, 17, 110.
6. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, pp.152-3: *Decretum de Reformatione Matrimonii, Caput* I *"Tametsi"*: *"...habeat parochus librum, in quo conjugum et testium nomina, diemque et locum contracti matrimonii describat, quem diligenter apud se custodia."*
7. *Rituale Romanum*, Vatican 1957, Appendix Pars IV: *De libris habendis apud Parochum*, p.42.
8. *C[odex] I[uris] C[anonici]*, Roma, 1965, Can. 470 §1, §3.
9. *Ibid.*, 1983, Can. 535.

excellently preserved records at Naxxar dating from 1546, those of Birgu from 1552 and of Birmiftuh from 1556. Mons. Pietro Duzina, in his Apostolic Visitation of 1575 one of whose aims was to ensure that the edicts of Trent took effect in these islands, took note of those parishes where these records were kept and where not. (10) Further, (11) the Apostolic Visitor instructs parish priests to keep separate registers for Baptisms, Marriages and Burials and a fourth book concerning the Eucharist.

It is with this last book, the Liber de Statu Animarum, that we are mainly concerned with here. The purpose of this register was and still is the keeping by the parish priest of a record, literally, of the "state of the souls" of his parishioners. In particular, information is sought as to the marital status of each and every one of his flock and whether the precept of yearly confession and communion during Paschaltide is adhered to. More specifically, the *Rituale* Romanum (12) prescribes the following format for entries:

*FORMA DESCRIBENDI STATUS ANIMARUM*

> *Familia quaeque distincte in libro notetur, intervallo relicto ab unaquaque ad alteram subsequentem, in quo singillatim scribantur nomen, cognomen, aetas singulorum, qui ex familia sunt, vel tamquam advenae in ea vivunt. Qui vero ad sacram Communionem admissi sunt, hoc signum in margine e contra habeant: C.*
> *Qui Sacramento Confirmationis sunt muniti, hoc signum habeant: Chr.*
> *Si qui ad alium locum habitandum accesserint, id adnotetur.*

Canon Law (13) imposes severe penalties by the Ordinary for parish priests who neglect to keep parish records. Furthermore, given that the parish priest is exercising the function of a notary public, it is understandable that the Law (14) exacts that an authentic copy of the books be sent yearly to the Curia. Exception, however, is made in the case of *Status Animarum*. This is perhaps due to the confidential nature of its contents, or more probably because it is of more immediate use to the parish priest himself than to anybody else.

10. N[ational] L[ibrary] M[alta] Ms. 643, f.173 (Birmiftuh): "*In libro describat mortuos hactenus describere minime solitus est.*"; f.248 (Victoriosa): "*Non habet librum mortuorum nec baptizatorum quem dominus mandavit fieri et in eo describi mortuos, baptizatos et qui matrimonia contraxerunt...*".
11. *Ibid.*, p.587.
12. *op.cit.*, p.49.
13. C.I.C., 1965, Can. 2383.
14. *Ibid.*, Can. 470 §3.

The situation in Malta however is very different in this regard. In fact it seems that the praxis in this matter was exactly the reverse to that prescribed by Canon Law. Practically no copies of any of *Libri Baptizatorum, Confirmatorum, Defunctorum* and *Matrimoniorum* from the period under review are to be found in the Curia Archives, whereas a whole section of some 30 volumes each containing some 40 quires from the various parishes is devoted to *Status Animarum*. On several of the documents it is expressly stated that the lists were ordered by the bishop and checked by him during his visitation. (15) One particular record (16) from Vittoriosa (1694) expressly connects the keeping of *Status Animarum* with the custom, surviving till very recently, of exchanging a card (*bollettino*) when the Paschal precept is fulfilled.

The earliest record dates from 1667 (17) and comes from the parish of Porto Salvo, Valletta. Entries for the following three decades are sporadic except for Valletta *(Porto Salvo)*, for which records of practically every year are available, and for the year 1687, for which a record of almost very parish in Malta is extant. The year 1702 is unique. It contains details of every single parish in Malta and Gozo. Thereafter, records are very full till 1745 when information starts to become rather patchy. However, where the Floriana archives become deficient the Mdina Cathedral archives supplement. It seems that towards the middle of the 18th century copies of *Status Animarum* began to be preserved in the Curia at Mdina rather than at the Magna Curia in Valletta. At Mdina one finds quite adequate records for the late 18th century and especially for the decade 1783-1794. It is interesting to note that the only records common to both the Floriana and the Mdina archives are the lists for Senglea 1697 and Għaxaq 1776.

This wealth of information is particularly valuable as no other civil censuses seem to be extant from this period. It seems that during the whole time the Knights Hospitallers were in Malta no censures of hese islands were undertaken by the civil authorities after 1632. Following the report of the Commission of 1524 (18) which is now apparently lost, one finds the census

15. *Vide, e.g., A[rchivum] A[rchiepiscopi] F[loriana], L[iber] S[tatus] A[nimarum]* III N.72, f 1.
16. *Ibid.*, N.81, f.46v.
17. The document in the Mdina Cathedral Archives (Misc. 441, ff. 118-9) datable to 1561 has been recently unjustifiably labelled *Status Animarum* (J. Montalto, *The The Nobles of Malta,* Malta, 1980, p.224).
In the Qormi Parish Archives (Lib. Bapt... II, ff. 381v -489v) can be found lists of communicants at Paschal-tide for years 1590-1611.
18. Summarized in J. Bosio, *Historia della S. Religione,* Napoli, 1684, Lib. III, p.300.

of 1590. (19) Then come the censuses of 1614 and 1617 (20) and that of 1632 (21) quoted by Abela, (22) who states that the

> *"ruolo (fu') fatto...per ordine del Duca d'Albuquerque, allora Vice-Re di Sicilia, dal Baglivo Fr. D. Carlo Valdina con assistenza del Dottor Bava, Procuratore Fiscale de Regio Patrimonio."*

Other censuses are extant like those of 1658, 1670 and 1680; (23) however, these are clear extracts from *Status Animarum.* (24)

A century or so later, Conte Ciantar's sources for population figures in his updating of Abela's work (25) were again *Status Animarum* lists:

> *"Dal ruolo, che vanno ogni anno facendo i Parrochi delle anime delle loro rispettive Parrocchie, e da altre notizie particolari da noi ricercati, troviamo che gli abitanti...ascendono al novero..."*

It seems therefore that the only official figures Ciantar had to go by were Status Animarum records and in particular (26) the 1760 figures.

The practice that civil authorities rely on the Church to keep track of the population persisted well into the 19th century, both during the brief French occupation and under British rule. During the Session of 30th July 1798, the Government Commission set up by Napoleon ruled that acts of births, marriages and deaths were to be recorded by the parish priests and countersigned in duplicate by the judges of each municipality. (27) The first official census was not taken before 1842 and birth, death and marriage records only began to be kept in the Public Registry from 1863. In the census of 1881, (28) when the compiler wanted to give a resumè of previous censuses, the figures

19. J. Bosio, *op.cit.*, Lib. V, p.93: *"Secondo la diligentissima visita. e descrittione, che fatta ne fu' nell'anno* 1590 *dal Baglivo di Negroponte Fra Ramon Fortuyn e da Diego della Quadra Pagatore delle Galere del Regno di Sicilia.. "*
20. N.L.M., AOM 6385, ff.120-128v.
21. N.L.M. Library Ms. 162, ff.127-127v.
22. G.F. Abela,*Della Descrittione di Malta,* Malta, 1647, p.79.
23. N.L.M., *Università* 2, ff.165, 213, 246.
24. *e.g., Ibid.*, f.246: *"Omnes animae Dioecesis Melitae prout colligitur ex statu animarum de praesenti anno* 1680 *a singulis parochiis accasione Visitationis Ill. Dn. Michaelis de Molina Epis. Melit. juxta rituale Romanum Pauli P.P.V."*
25. *op.cit.*, p.37.
26. *Ibid.*, p.260v.
27. W. Hardman, *A History of Malta,* London, 1909, pp.94,98
28. p.2.

presented for 1807 had to be "abstracted from the registers of the parochial priests".

In this connexion, some lists of names dating from 1708 included in the Floriana *Status Animarum* are particularly revealing. Reference is made here to lists in Volume VI N76-N94 and to some others (the undated ones) sporadically catalogued. These documents list the *males* between the ages of 17 and 65 in the various parishes of Malta and Gozo. A typical description (29) is:

> *"Nota distinta dell'huomini secolari abitanti in questo Casal Dingli dell'età d'anni 17 sino alli 65 fatta da me Gioseppe Mizzi Parrocco di d(et)to Casale fatto li 27 Marzo 1708 d'ordine di Monsignore Ill(ustrissimo) e R(everendissi)mo Ves(cov)o..."*

All dated lists were drawn up between 26th March and 31st March 1708. One can surmise that these lists, without any reference to Paschal observances or any other religious connotations, but with occasional reference to body deformities, (30) had more to do with military duties. This hypothesis is confirmed in the case of Valletta (*S. Paolo*) (31) where the list is explicitly entitled *"Homini d'armi habitanti dentro li limiti della Parochia di S. Paolo della Città Valletta nell'anno 1708"* and in the case of Luqa (32) where the *Rollo* is described as *"Nota dell'anime atte alla Militia d'anni 17 sino d'anni 65...fatta da me Par(roc)o sottoscritto"*. The game is given away completely in the case of Gudja (33) where the parish priest, not without a hint of protest, writes:

> *"Questo Rollo di tutti gli huomini secolari dell'età di anni 17 sino agli 65 conforme l'ordine di Ill(ustrissi)mo e R(everendissi)mo l'ho fatto 29 Marzo...a casa per casa in compagnia di tre Cavalieri e scrivano Testaferrata et e in tutto 136"*.

It seems clear that the civil authorities were using the Church, and in particular the influence exerted by the Ordinary Fra Davide Cocco-Palmieri on the parish priests, to collect information of a military nature about the people. This goes a long way to explain how the Church had the monopoly of keeping vital statistics of the population for so long. The state's requirements in this

29. AAF LSA VI N79A, f 1
30. *Ibid.*, N80(i), f.5v: *"...gobbo...zoppo.."*
31. *Ibid.*, N87, f.1.
32. *Ibid.*, XVI N146, f.1.
33. *Ibid.*, VI N81, f.1.

matter were adequately met so that the need to carry out the exercise was not felt. Whatever role the Church played in the compiling of the 1708 Militia List, as we may call it, the document remains an important contribution to the demographic picture of these islands at the time.

## II Population counts

A closer look at the contents of Status Animarum is now proposed. One cannot hope to extract systematically anywhere near all of the information available in this very rich source. The task is too time-consuming and can only be handled adequately by a sizeable team of researchers aided by a powerful computer with large storage potential. What one can attempt to achieve single-handedly is to obtain a bird's-eye-view of the material in the Floriana Curia supplemented where necessary by select material from the Mdina Cathedral and from the Parishes archives. A more exhaustive statistical search, on the lines adopted by Prof. C. Sant and Rev. Dr. M. Vassallo for the Tarxien records alone (34) needs to take these sources into consideration as well. The statistical approach is, of course, only one aspect that can be treated. Here are derived some statistics for the overall situation: in a subsequent publication, the information available for 1687 is considered in greater detail.

Before proceeding, and in order to see things in context, one needs to identify those churches which were parishes in the last decades of the 17th century and during the 18th century. It is well known (35) that in a chronological listing of the parishes, first come Notabile and Vittoriosa and the other ten parishes mentioned in Senatore de Mello's Rollo of 1436, (36) namely Naxxar, Birkirkara, Birmiftuħ, Qormi, Żejtun, Żurrieq, Siggiewi, Żebbuġ, Dingli and Mellieħa. Of these, the last two had ceased to exist by 1536 (37) and Birmiftuħ had become identified with Gudja after its dismemberment into various filial parishes. In the two decades following the Great Siege, one sees the erection of the parishes in Valletta and the Three Cities: Valletta (*Porto Salvo*) in 1571, Senglea in 1581, Cospicua in 1584, Valletta (*San Paolo*) in 1585, and the Greek Rite parish, Valletta in 1587; to this period also belongs Attard (1575). By the end of the century, five more parishes appear, namely Kirkop and Tarxien in 1592, Lija in 1594, and Mqabba and Safi in 1598. In the first half

34. K. Sant and M. Vassallo, "Tarxien in the XVIII Century: A Statistical Portrait," *Melita Historica*, 7 No. 4, 1979, pp.363-371.
35. See, for example, A. Ferris, *Descrizione Storica delle Chiese di Malta e Gozo*. Malta, 1866, pp.69 *et seq*.
36. N.L.M. Lib. Ms. 721, ff.2-4v.
37. F. Joan. Quintinus Heduus, *Insulae Melitae Descriptio* (trans., H.C.R. Vella), Malta, 1980, p.29; in fact, Quintinus only mentions eight parishes apart from Mdina.

of the 17th century, six more parishes are created: Mosta (1608), Gargur (1610), Zabbar (1615), Qrendi (1618), Għaxaq (1626) and Luqa (1633). The situation becomes stabilized for around 150 years with the creation of Balzan in 1655 and the re-constitution of Dingli in 1678. In Gozo, (38) apart from the *Chiesa Matrice* in the *Castello* and St. George of Rabat, one finds Xewkija becoming a parish in 1678, Għarb in 1679, and Sannat, Caccia (Xagħra), Nadur and Zebbug in 1688. Thus by the turn of the century and during the 18th century, one finds 29 parishes in all in Malta and 8 in Gozo.

One important piece of information that can be derived without too much difficulty from *Status Animarum* is the population count of each town and village for that particular year. Very often, the number of households as well as the number of people who have received communion and of those who confessed during Paschal-tide of that year are also given. At first glance, the latter figures may not seem to be all that relevant; however it turns out that one can deduce from them an estimate of the sizes of various age-groups. It is convenient to present the data as in Table I. This has the advantage of presenting both a catalogue of the records available at the Floriana Curia and at Mdina, as well as showing the actual population counts. All dated *Status Animarum* documents at Floriana are listed. The few which are either undated or fragmentary or are not strictly *Status Animarum* lists could not be properly included. These are: Vol. I N21 (Valletta, *Porto Salvo*), N22 (Notabile and Rabat); Vol.IC N1 (Valletta, *Porto Salvo* fragments), N3; Vol.II N36; Vol.III N80 (Valletta, *Porto Salvo*), N82 (Xewkija), N84 (Senglea), N87B (Pascualino), N95 (Mosta); Vol.V N61 (Cospicua), N81 (Gudja); Vol. VIIIC N11A (Zebbug); Vol.VIIIC N14 and Vol.XXII N96A are very probably the two 'halves' of Zebbug (1745); Vol.XLI N14 (Siggiewi); Vol.XIV N174 (Siggiewi); Vol.XXIIB N2 (Valletta *Porto Salvo* list of children), N7 (Zurrieq); Vol.XXIII N84B (Valletta, *Porto Salvo* list of children); Vol.XXIIIB N21B which is probably Nadur and dates from 1779; Vol.XXIV N121A (Valletta, *Porto Salvo*); Vol.XXIVA N138 (Għaxaq) and N180 (Balzan). With these is included the Militia List which will be dealt with later.

In Table I, (vide appendix) wherever an asterisk appears it means that the record for that place and year is available but that the count (although derivable) is not given. The cells in the matrix which are underlined refer to documents in the Mdina Cathedral Archives.

Even a cursory look at Table I immediately shows that for certain years

38. For parishes in Gozo which had become extinct in the late Middle Ages, cf. G. Wettinger, *Il-Ġrajja Bikrija tal-Knisja Matriċi f'Għawdex* 1435-1551, Malta, 1975.

the population counts are practically complete for both Malta and Gozo. These include 1702, 1716, 1726, 1728, 1785, 1790, 1792, 1793, 1794 and 1797. If one limits oneself to Malta, then many more are available including 1687, 1703 and most years between 1715 and 1745. Also, for any given locality, so much information exists that one can interpolate quite accurately for any desired missing figure. In this manner, one can abstract from Table I the actual figures, or very good approximations thereof, for each of the years 1687, 1702, 1716, 1726, 1736, 1745, 1784 and 1797 for each town and village in Malta. These together with Ciantar's 1760 figures and the 1807 count yield a clear picture of how the population in each town and village developed over some 120 years in 'small' steps of around 12 years (except for the period 1760-1785, a gap of 25 years). This data is presented in Table II, which for completeness' sake and to facilitate comparisons also includes other quoted/published censuses. It starts with the figures given by Bosio (1590) (39) followed by the 1632 count of Abela, (40) the 1645 census taken under Balaguer (41) and the figures for 1614, 1658, 1670 and 1680 quoted (but as far as is known still unpublished) by Blouet (Vide Table II). (42)

The rather undigestible details of Table II are reproduced graphically in Tables III — X. One can see at a glance a broad spectrum of ways of progress varying continuously from the unperturbed stability of the smallest villages like Safi, Kirkop and Dingli, through the steady expansion of the larger country-towns (terre) like Birkirkara, Naxxar, Qormi, and Zebbug, to the explosive situation in the cities. This, of course, is hardly surprising; it merely illustrates the fact that the population model is the expotential function $x(t) = ke^{at}$ for which a direct relation exists between population size x(t) and rate of growth $dx / dt$ [$= ax(t)$].

Several interesting features emerge: One notes the slumps in the populations of the Three Cities over the decade 1670-80 brought about by the disastrous plague of 1675, (43) which was confined to Cottonera and Valletta, at a loss of some 10,000 individuals. In spite of this, the loss in Valletta is offset by the subsequent immigration from the country so that a net increase is registered for the capital.

39. *op.cit.*, p.93.
40. *op.cit.*, *passim* and N.L.M. Libr. Ms. 162, ff.127-127v.
41. *Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Secreteria Status Malta,* 186, ff.403-406v, published in A. Bonnici, *Il-Maltin u l-Inkwiżizzjoni fis-Seklu Sbatax,* Malta, 1977, pp.213 *et seq.*
42. B. Blouet, "Rural Settlement in Malta", *Geography* 56 1971, pp.112-118.
43. cf. P. Cassar, *Medical History of Malta,* London, 1964, pp. 172-175

Not so readily explainable is the behaviour of Qormi (Città Pinto since 1743) over the period 1720-1760. Assuming reliability of the data, the very prominent peak can only be explained by mass immigration into the village over the 20 years prior to Pinto's succession in 1741, followed by more massive emigration during the Grand Master's reign. The coincidence of the peak with the bestowal of the title Città Pinto is most intriguing. In trying to quantify this migration, one sets the total island population $x(t) = ke^{at}$ and the village population $y(t) = he^{at}$, where one assumes, as one may, that the constant "a" for the village is identical with that for the whole island. One also assumes here that migration abroad is negligible, as can be verified from the smooth rate of growth for the whole island over this period (cf. Table III). It can be deduced that:

$$\frac{y(t)}{x(t)} = \frac{h}{k} = \frac{y(t+n)}{x(t+n)}$$

for any number n of years, so that

$$z(t+n) - y(t+n) = z(t+n) - \frac{x(t+n).y(t)}{x(t)}$$

represents the total (positive or negative) migration over the period (t,t+n), where z(t+n) is the recorded village population at time t+n. Computing this estimate for Qormi, one obtains an approximate total immigration of 600 and emigration of 2800 prior to and post 1745, respectively. Yet there is no apparent reason for this phenomenon. In search for more information, the Mdina records yield the all-important *Status Animarum* list for 1747 which gives the Qormi count as the deflated figure of 3568. This makes the migration hypothesis even less plausible, strongly suggesting the need for a closer scrutiny of the figures. It must be asserted at the outset that the count of 6134 for 1745 is no isolated, sporadic figure in the sequence, but the climax of a sustained increase:

| 1732 | 1732 | 1734 | 1736 | 1740 | 1741 | 1745 | 1747 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3558 | 3267 | 3750 | 5403 | 5928 | 6043 | 6134 | 3406 |

Each of these figures is asserted and certified as correct by Don Gioseppe Vella who was parish priest between 1733 and 1776. A typical affirmation in the last folios of the first list reads:

> *"Ego infrascriptus rector fidem facio quod animae existentes in hac terra Curmi sunt 6134 ex quibus 3800 adimpleverunt preceptum Paschale sumendo S. Eucha(ristiam) 1600 tantum confessi sunt ob deficientiam aetatis; reliqui sunt pueri et infantes...In cuius rei fidem hac die 11 Julij 1745 me subscribo. D. Joseph Vella."* (44)

Not taking the parish priest's word for it and painstakingly counting through the actual names listed, the following figures are arrived at:

| 1734 | 1736 | 1740 | 1741 | 1745 | 1747 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3240 | 3277 | 3435 | 3477 | 3568 | 3406 |

Things now begin to fall into place. The near-perfect coincidence of the peak of the curve with the bestowal of the title Città Pinto can now be seen in a new light. As asserted by Count Ciantar, (45)

> *"per le suppliche del Signor D. Giuseppe Vella e per altri motivi il Serenissimo Principe Dominante volle decorarla con questo specioso titolo."*

In fact, the *only* reason adduced by Don Giuseppe in his *Supplicatio* (46) was the population size. In his own words:

> *"Ser(enissi)mo Sig(no)re, Il Parroco Don Giuseppe Vella e popolo della Terra Curmi um(il)i Servi e Vassalli di V(ostra) A(ltezza) S(erenissima) con ogni dovuta riverenza le rappresentano, che da moltissimi anni a questa parte, per esser il d(etto)o Popolo allora del numero di tre mila in circa fu' onorato del titolo di terra, e sin d'allora sin' al scorso anno pervenne al numero di sei mila settantaquattro persone, E perche oltre l'obbligo li corre, desiderano avere memoria eterna alla somma clemenza di V.A.S., supplicano per tanto la bonta' della med(esim)a, perche si degni onorarli in vece del titolo di terra, col nome di Città, e titolo benvisto all'A.V.S., di che resteranno obbligatissimi."*

44. A.A.F. L.S.A. XXII N101, f.42.
45 *op.cit.*, p.290.
46 N.L.M. A.O.M. 547, *Liber Bullarum*, 27. iv. 1743, f.159v.

The figures produced by the Church without any countercheck from any other authority surely came in very handy. Having obtained what they set out to achieve, the Qormi figure-collectors saw no further reason to retain an infalted figure for the village population and, neither too soon nor too late, brought the count down to 3406 by 1747.

One must view the situation in the whole context of village insular parochialism and one-up-manship vis-a-vis neighbouring villages, which is well documented right up to the present day. It is relevant to note that during the pastorship of Don Giuseppe Vella, Casal Curmi received a high dose of morale-boosting from the several important works of art executed at the time in the newly-consecrated (1731) Parish Church. Suffice it to mention the inauguration of the processional statue of the village patron saint, the acquisition of a very expensive silver monstrance, the painting by Francesco Zahra of the Candlemas altarpiece and the erection of the marble main altar and baptismal font; of these, two took place in 1741. (47)

Another interesting feature that needs discussing is the sequence of peaks and troughs centered on the year 1632 present in the graphs of the larger localities. Table III shows that a rather prominent peak corresponds to 1632 also in the whole island population graph. It must be emphasised that the figure of 47249 does not include the whole island population but only the local Christian population, that is excluding slaves (649), members of the Order of St. John (621), crews on the Order's galleys (3080) and people under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office (1884), a total of 6234. (48) These numbers have been deducted to make the 1633 data comparable to that in *Status Animarum* which excludes these categories.

If the 1632 count is excluded, then the trend line is computed to be $y = 24.598303 + 0.2644881x$. On subtracting the trend value T, oscillations about the trend line are seen to vary with maximum modulus 5.2732315 (corresponding to the count immediately following the calamitous plague of 1675) strongly suggesting that the 1632 figure is rather suspect, having a deviation of over 11,000 from the trend estimate. Details are given in Table XI, in which entries in the X-column are number of years past the basis year 1590 (the origin of co-ordinates); it is noted that figures in this column do not tally perfectly with those in Table II since additional information has been built in to supply missing entries (e.g. Għaxaq 1670) and to correct errors (e.g. Qormi 1745). The Y-column gives the population in units of a 1000, whereas T indicates the trend estimate.

47. cf. J.F. Grima, ed., *Il-Knisja Parrokkjali ta' San Ġorġ Hal Qormi*, Malta, 1984.
48. Figures in parentheses are as given in N.L.M. Libr. Ms. 162, ff.127-127v.

A not unlikely explanation for this discrepancy is the different motivation behind the compilation of this census. It was conducted by the Sicilian civil authorities in an attempt to curb excessive demands for duty-free grain from Sicily, whereas most of the other censuses had a purely ecclesiastical character. This of course, should have produced a deflated rather than an inflated figure, strongly suggesting that strings were being very effectively pulled locally in the opposite direction. This need not be pure conjecture: it is reliably understood from Dr. Godfrey Wettinger that similar figures, "intended for the Sicilians' eyes only" do exist for 1780.

One final remark: Given sufficient data, the "migration" type of argument adopted for the case of Qormi can be put to good use to verify hypotheses about population movements from the smaller hamlets to larger communities.(49) With the present data, one can corroborate and quantify Blouet s assertion about immigration into Gozo between 1658 and 1670. (50) On the pattern of national growth, the 1658 Gozo population of 3923 could only have accounted for just over 4000 individuals in 1670, so that an immigration of some 2500 must have taken place during that decade.

## III Family Units

Another set of data that *Status Animarum* often gives is the number of households (often referred to as *fuochi*, hearths) in the town or village. In most documents the counting is done by the parish priest himself and is listed at the back together with other statistics. Failing that, one could painstakingly count the family units, which often include widowed grand-parents and other relatives from either side. This chore is lightened when the parish priest draws a line between one family and the next. Sometimes no clear similar demarcation exists, rendering it impossible to distinguish between units.

Here this information is collected for those cases where it is readily available, the object of the exercise being the drawing up of an estimate of the size of family units and of analyzing how this size varies with place and time, if at all. In many cases, for any particular year the statistics required of both population size and of number of households is available only for a few localities so that conclusions derived from such data could be biassed. In Table XII, only those years are considered for which complete sets of data from at least six localities are available. The table also includes rele-

49. For example as discussed in A.T. Luttrell, ed., *Hal Millieri,* Malta, 1976, p.22.
50. B. Blouet, *Gozo,* Malta, 1965, p.34.

vant figures for 1568 (51) and for 1575. (52) To allow a graphical representation of the data, an entry in the column marked X represents the date less the basic year 1550 (the origin of co-ordinates); the entry in column Y gives the ratio "population: number of households". The trend line is computed and found to be

$$y = 3.39162 + 0.002857x$$

which (as expected) goes through the centroid (X*,Y*) = (170.45,3.8786), 170.45 representing the year 1720 approximately, and 3.8786 being the mean of the Y-values. It is seen that the gradient is ascending very very gently and that the Y-values are closely packed around the mean, standard deviation being only 0.45965. Trend values T are computed in the next column and the quotient Y/T in the last. This information (CI=Y/T) is plotted in Table XIII to afford a visual perception of the cyclical patterns and of irregularities.

For most localities the figures follow the national trend. One exceptional case, however deserves mention. This is Paola, which with a mean number of households of 16.13 and mean population of 47 has a consistently low "population: households" ratio with mean 2.91. Count Ciantar (53) asserts that Casal Novo was not very popular because *"non vi si gode aria salubre"*. This may explain the low population count, which was slowly but surely decreasing to nothing by 1801, (54) but does not explain the low ratio. One hastens to add that this low ratio is not shared by other thinly populated hamlets of comparable size and comparable rate of decay like, for example Hax Xluq (limits of Siggiewi) with mean ratio of 3.87 or Hal Lew (limits of Qrendi) with mean ratio 3.41. To try to explain this phenomenon one needs to take a closer look at the people constituting this communiy; this is treated in a follow-up article.

## IV Age Groups

To handle adequately the mass of data available in *Status Animarum* regarding ages requires a great deal of effort. However, one simple conclusion can be drawn if we note that in several cases the figures of those who are of Communion age are also given. This figure affords a breakdown of the population into two classes: those of age at most 13 (or thereabouts) and those above that age.

51. A. Bonnici, *op.cit.*, p.208.
52. N.L.M. Libr. Ms. 643. *Visitatio Duzina, passim.*
53. G. F. Abela, *Malta Illustrata...del Comm. Giovanfrancesco Abela...corretta, accresciuta...dal Conte Giovannantonio Ciantar*, Malta, 1772-80, p.294.
54. N.L.M. Univ. 183, f.64.

The current custom of receiving Holy Communion round the age of 7 (that is, when one attains the "age of reason") dates to Pius X and his decree *Quam Singulari* of 1810. Although the norm that Paschal duties should be tied to the "age of discretion" had been laid down at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and re-iterated by Trent in 1562, in the wake of the Jansenist heresy, the customs of frequent and yearly Communion were held in abeyance so that First Communion around the age of 13 had become the rule of the day. (55) That this norm was also adhered to in Malta in the 17th and 18th centuries can be readily verified from several of the *Status Animarum* lists.

A time series analysis of the number of people above 13 as a percentage of the total town/village population is carried out for representative localities for which sufficient data is available. Conclusions are collected in Table XIV in which N denotes the number of randomly spaced points in time used between 1700 (the origin of co-ordinates) and the final date Z (column 3). The gradient of the trend-line is M (column 4), whereas (X*, Y*) (columns 5 and 6) is the centroid of the data. The randomness of spacing of points precludes the possibility of drawing accurate conclusions as to cyclicality. In almost all cases the data adjusted for trend oscillates between 0.88-1.12. Among irregularities, the ones listed in Table XV are worth nothing.

A higher percentage of people in the age group 13+ indicates a relatively small number of children and hence a small number of couples of child-bearing age; the possibility of genetic differences among populations of different localities being excluded. This suggests that where this phenomenon occurs, especially persistently, young parent families were emigrating. Evidence of this is available in the findings of G. Micallef (56) investigating the situation at Safi, where the small numbers permit a thorough analysis of data. The sharp contrast in this regard between this village and, say Dingli, a village of comparable size and trend gradient, is worth noting. Emigration need not only have been in the direction of the Cities but could, and in fact was, also to neighbouring larger centres. Count Ciantar (57) indicates this in the case of Gargur people moving into neighbouring Naxxar in the middle of the 18th century and a similar cause has been suggested for the depopulation of Hal Millieri by the beginning of that century. (58)

55. cf. *The New Catholic Encyclopedia,* New York, 1967, Vol. IV, p.37 *et seq.*
56. G. Micallef, *Hal Safi,* Malta, 1980, p.24 *et seq.*
57. *op.cit.,* p.274.
58. A. T. Luttrell, *op.cit.,* p.22.

## V Sex

One would have liked to derive some conclusions about a break-down of the population by sex and in particular verify for the 18th century the oft-repeated assertion that at present the females of the population in Malta outnumber the males. Another interesting affirmation in this connexion (59) is that the male birth-rate is appreciably higher than that of females, and that due to higher infant mortality among males, the respective numbers even out by the age of puberty and remain so till middle age, by which time the "weaker" sex start to outlive their male counterparts.

Short of counting through some two million individuals (or feeding that data into a computer, a daunting enough task) one can judiciously use the figures where the counting has already been done. To this end one notes that in some 50 lists randomly sprinkled over the 18th century, the breakdown into males and females is given. Of these, 9 come from 1784, 7 from Siggiewi and another 9 from Gozo. In each case, the number of males is computed as a percentage of the whole population. The mean and standard deviation for the whole set of data and for 1784 are found respectively, (48.0504, 3.40918) and (49.6513, 2.11451). For the data from Siggiewi and for Gozo the trend line gradient m and the centroid (X*, Y*) are computed as follows:

| | m | X* | Y* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Siggiewi | 0.077923 | 1726 | 45.7533 |
| Gozo | 0.029367 | 1767 | 48.6363 |

This information lends weight to the first assertion that the overall female population outnumbers the male.

With regards to the second assertion concerning the birth rate of males, one can only adduce the data available in one instance, the parish of *Porto Salvo* in Valletta. The relevant document (60) for 1748 gives a breakdown of the male and female children in the age-groups 0-6 and 7-15 as follows:

59. 1881 Census, p.6.
60. A.A.F. L.S.A. XXIIB N2.

| | 0 - 6 | 7 - 15 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Boys | 810 | 816 | 1626 |
| Girls | 545 | 768 | 1313 |
| Total | 1355 | 1584 | 2939 |

This data corroborates the second thesis. In the case of this parish, the percentage of males over the whole population decreases:

| | 0 - 6 | 0 - 15 | 0 - 100 |
|---|---|---|---|
| % of population | 59.78 | 55.32 | 48 approx. |

## VI **The Militia List of 1708**

The Militia List referred to earlier on which most probably was motivated by the scare of a Turkish invasion, (61) gives the names and surnames of all men between the ages of 17 and 65 for each town and village, except for Safi and Kirkop, which lists seem to be missing. However, this is no real handicap as a resumè of the numbers involved is given on VI N93 f.5. These numbers are presented in Table XVI, where inserted in parentheses are the resumè figures which differ from those of the actual lists.

As one can see from Table I, no *Status Animarum* records are available for 1708, so that it seems that for that year the Ordinary exonerated the parish priests from this duty, having obtained from them their full cooperation in the efficient compilation of the Militia List. This gap however, can be filled by deducing an estimate for the population from the Militia List itself. The crucial problem here is to determine a good approximation for the ratio x:y of the number x of men capable of taking up arms in a town or village to the number y of people in that town or village. This exercise has been done, for example, by Wettinger (62) in an attempt to determine the population of Malta in the early 15th entury. To this end we consider(i) the Balaguer Census of 1645 which conveniently also gives counts of men between the ages of 15

61. Mus. Cath. Mdina, A.I.M. Corr. 98, 1708, especially ff.32v, 33.
62. "The Militia List of 1419-20", *Melita Historica,* V No.2, 1969, p.4.

and 60; (ii) a Militia List for 1741 (63) compared with the *Status Animarum* figures for that year; and (iii) the relevant figures for Tarxien (64) spanning a period of 70 years. This data is presented in Tables XVII and XVIII.

The usual measures of centrality, the mean, median and mode for these sets of data are computed as follows:

| | 1645 | 1741 | TARXIEN |
|---|---|---|---|
| MEAN | 3.66 | 4.78 | 3.28 |
| MEDIAN | 3.75 | 4.82 | 3.24 |
| MODE | 3.85 | 4.75 | 3.25 |
| STANDARD DEVIATION FROM MEAN | 0.35 | 1.07 | 0.32 |

One notices that the statistics for the 1741 data are appreciably higher than those for the 1645 and for the Tarxien figures. One can justify this discrepancy by noting that the 1741 list is a genuine Militia List containing only the number of those males between the ages of 17 and 65 who are expected to do military service, that is, excluding those who for reasons of health or for whatever other reason were not bound to give this service. One can conclude:

(i) that a Militia List was probably compiled in two stages: by first drawing up a list of *all* males between 17 and 65 and then weeding out those who for reasons of health etc. were not expected to give this service;
(ii) that a ratio "males: population" of 1:4 from an initial draft and of 1:5 from a final version was not far from the truth (65);
(iii) that some 1/20 (=1/4 — 1/5) of the population were males between the ages of 17 and 65 who for some reason or other escaped military service.

On the assumption that the Militia List of 1708 was an initial draft, one can deduce therefrom the following population figures for 1708: 1704, 380,

63. 1881 Census. p.1.
64. K. Sant and M. Vassallo, *op. cit.*, Tables I and II.
65. In this context, the following information is worth noting: In a document of 1568 held in the Vatican Library and quoted by A. Bonnici (*op.cit.*, p.280) the population of Malta is given as 7813 (compare Boisgelin's figure of 10,000 for 1569) and the number of *utili per combatter* as 2307, giving a ration of 1:3.99.

1724, 800, 1476, 2448, 568, 848, 1016, 544, 1124, 160, 224, 528, 816, 3252, 1496, 3288, 1800, 776, 1836, 604, 1336, 8944, 4580, 6860, 4076, and 3308, respectively for Notabile/Rabat, Dingli,..., Vittoriosa (ordered as in Table I). It is seen that this data fits in well with the information in that Table. This exercise is particularly useful to derive estimates for Gozo, for which information is lacking. For Chiesa Matrice, Xewkija, Għarb, Sannat, Nadur, Xagħra and Zebbug, one obtains 2728, 688, 548, 396, 552, 632 and 380 respectively, a total of 5924.

## VII Conclusion

Summing up, one can deduce that apart from their intrinsic interest, *Status Animarum* records are invaluable since they constitute a practically unique demographic picture of the Maltese islands for about two centuries. The Church had the monopoly of the keeping of these records because it suited the State insofar as the latter's needs were being saisfied; the compilation of the 1708 Militia List is ample evidence. On the other hand, in some isolated case such as the Citta' Pinto affair, individuals within the Church took advantage of this monopoly to achieve their own ends.

## Acknowledgements

I should like to express my indebtedness to Rev. Dr. J. Busuttil, Curator of the Curia Archives, Floriana, for his courteous help while I was consulting the manuscripts, and Dr. G. Wettinger for several stimulating conversations which helped me clear several doubtful points.

# APPENDIX

## TABLES

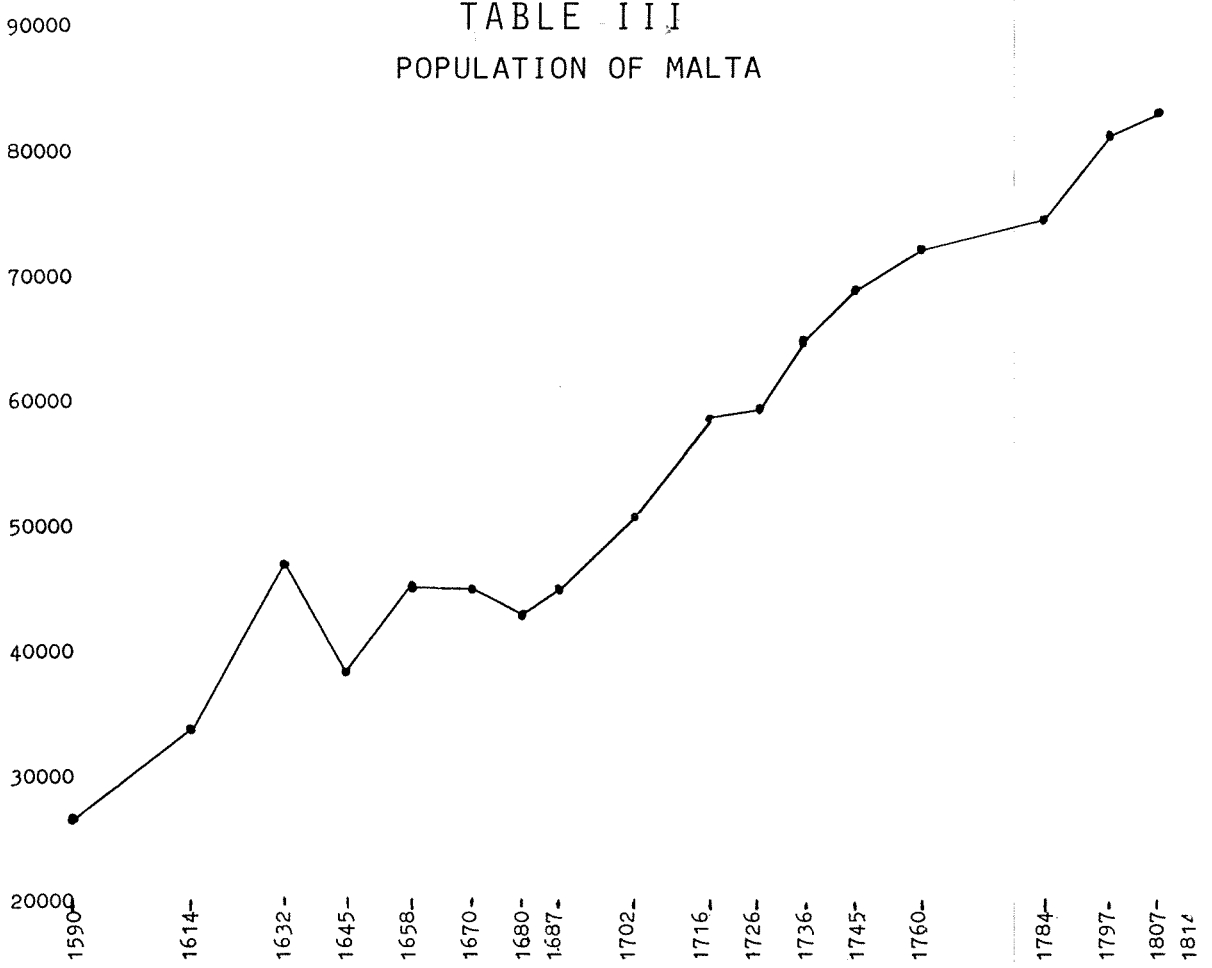
# TABLE 1

# TABLE II

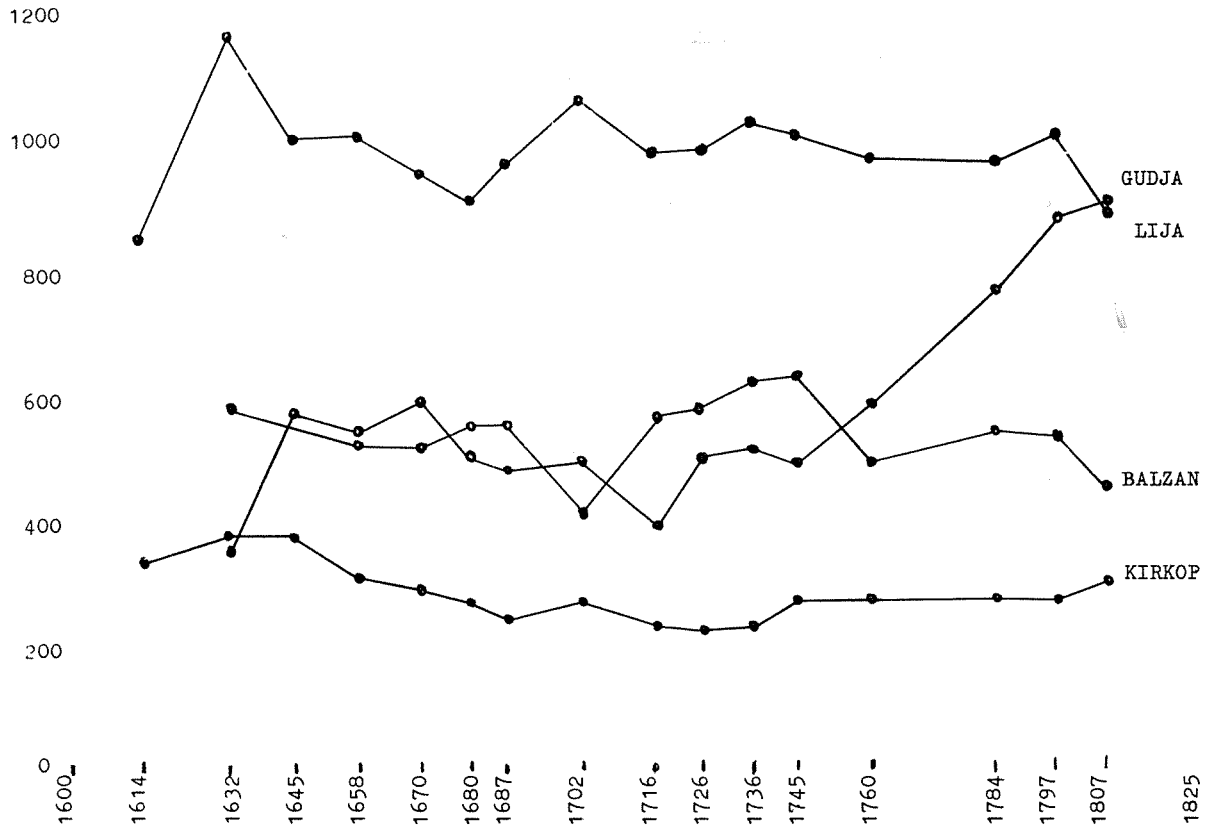
| | 1590 | 1614 | 1632 | 1645 | 1658 | 1670 | 1680 | 1687 | 1702 | 1716 | 1726 | 1736 | 1745 | 1760 | 1784 | 1797 | 1807 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOTABILE | | 507 | | 441 | | | 326 | 305 | 294 | 293 | 423 | | 407 | | | 369 | |
| RABAT | 2030 | 1829 | 2274 | 1389 | 2091 | 2000 | 1263 | 1633 | 1728 | 1782 | | | 2199 | 2873 | 3549 | 3501 | 3731 |
| DINGLI | | | 338 | | | | 370 | 356 | 375 | 360 | 410 | 362 | 390 | 384 | 398 | 390 | 364 |
| NAXXAR | | 1193 | 2085 | 1412 | 1455 | 1532 | 1564 | 1463 | 1529 | 1542 | 1558 | 1643 | 1741 | 1947 | 2201 | 2306 | 3020 |
| GARGUR | 2333 | 694 | 1200 | 800 | 719 | 733 | 800 | 706 | 723 | 713 | 700 | 723 | 740 | 795 | 851 | 973 | 949 |
| MOSTA | | 900 | 1579 | 1214 | 1078 | 1181 | 1300 | 1243 | 1443 | 1287 | 1382 | 1422 | 1700 | 2126 | 3458 | 2593 | 3003 |
| BIRKIRKARA | | 1981 | 2500 | 2484 | 2239 | 1996 | 2700 | 2251 | 2454 | 2629 | 2814 | 3068 | 3400 | 3253 | 3252 | 4010 | 3810 |
| BALZAN | 3281 | | 584 | | 534 | 525 | 550 | 552 | 411 | 564 | 569 | 620 | 625 | 491 | 540 | 514 | 444 |
| ATTARD | | 915 | 1218 | 968 | 922 | 1009 | 759 | 845 | 804 | 761 | 815 | 870 | 898 | 870 | 790 | 849 | 731 |
| LIJA | | 858 | 1184 | 1003 | 1115 | 957 | 911 | 975 | 1077 | 986 | 992 | 1034 | 1010 | 978 | 972 | 1005 | 872 |
| BIRMIFTUH-GUDJA | | 1280 | 357 | 572 | 541 | 595 | 500 | 485 | 492 | 388 | 498 | 513 | 491 | 587 | 762 | 880 | 890 |
| LUQA | | | 1082 | 913 | 1005 | 1060 | 1002 | 1019 | 1077 | 1046 | 1181 | 1229 | 1136 | 1195 | 1014 | 1086 | 836 |
| SAFI | 1973 | 223 | 238 | 197 | 235 | 217 | 243 | 186 | 187 | 155 | 135 | 130 | 145 | 162 | 324 | 186 | 178 |
| KIRKOP | | 334 | 373 | 374 | 305 | 291 | 263 | 240 | 268 | 227 | 221 | 226 | 265 | 270 | 273 | 270 | 300 |
| MQABBA | | 365 | 354 | 428 | 522 | 508 | 500 | 490 | 542 | 608 | 645 | 660 | 661 | 708 | 788 | 827 | 703 |
| TARXIEN | | 577 | 850 | 774 | 739 | 812 | 700 | 760 | 787 | 845 | 900 | 851 | 885 | 900 | 903 | 930 | 910 |
| QORMI | 1757 | 2070 | 3327 | 2540 | 2990 | 2853 | 2700 | 2669 | 3033 | 3156 | 3307 | 5403 | 6134 | 3726 | 3019 | 3395 | 3186 |
| SIĠĠIEWI | 1184 | 1317 | 1784 | 1531 | 1469 | 1723 | 1400 | 1394 | 1460 | 1463 | 1434 | 1571 | 1645 | 1788 | 2247 | 2865 | 2715 |
| ŻEBBUĠ | 1876 | 2395 | 2074 | 2964 | 3473 | 3670 | 3579 | 3484 | 3454 | 3446 | 3494 | 3661 | 3755 | 4000 | 4448 | 4821 | 4026 |
| ŻURRIEQ | 1683 | 1817 | 1973 | 1253 | 1807 | 2120 | 2042 | 1813 | 1746 | 1898 | 1873 | 2273 | 2314 | 2490 | 3463 | 3459 | 3016 |
| QRENDI | | | 1024 | 378 | 734 | 800 | 700 | 673 | 775 | 689 | 613 | 635 | 616 | 682 | 825 | 882 | 924 |
| ŻEJTUN | | | 1222 | 1087 | 1268 | 1480 | 1700 | 1607 | 2006 | 2224 | 2542 | 2899 | 2985 | 3529 | 3883 | 4665 | 4024 |
| GHAXAQ | 2027 | 1634 | 352 | 438 | 516 | | 600 | 669 | 558 | 772 | 855 | 982 | 997 | 1009 | 1054 | 1085 | 1003 |
| ŻABBAR | | | 786 | 824 | 1108 | 1214 | 1201 | 1127 | 1239 | 1393 | 1482 | 1832 | 2038 | 2287 | 2401 | 2576 | 2542 |
| VALLETTA,Por.Sal | 3397 | 6460 | 8601 | 4857 | 6034 | 4026 | 5350 | 6181 | 8410 | 12601 | 9446 | 10392 | 10342 | 18880 | 9339 | 10586 | 24546 |
| VALLETTA,S.Pawl | | | | 2280 | 3162 | 3200 | 2678 | 3608 | 3802 | 4906 | 5482 | 6244 | 7504 | | 8326 | 9522 | |
| SENGLEA | 1603 | 2709 | 4049 | 3243 | 3730 | 3750 | 3128 | 3371 | 4195 | 4526 | 4893 | 4765 | 4708 | 5539 | 4728 | 4395 | 4152 |
| COSPICUA | 1288 | 1396 | 2778 | 1810 | 2662 | 2877 | 2400 | 2933 | 3687 | 4305 | 5061 | 5845 | 6063 | 7112 | 6975 | 8130 | 9224 |
| VITTORIOSA | 2568 | 2618 | 3063 | 2700 | 3192 | 3000 | 1900 | 2250 | 2577 | 3325 | 3728 | 3525 | 3285 | 3766 | 4077 | 4355 | 3300 |
| Total | 27000 | 34081 | 47249 | 38874 | 45641 | 44129 | 43129 | 45288 | 51133 | 58890 | 57453 | 62527 | 69079 | 72347 | 74860 | 81425 | 83229 |
| GOZO | | 2655 | 1617 | 2941 | 3923 | 6500 | 5700 | | 5657 | 6556 | 6900 | | | | 12809 | 12231 | 12829 |

# TABLE III

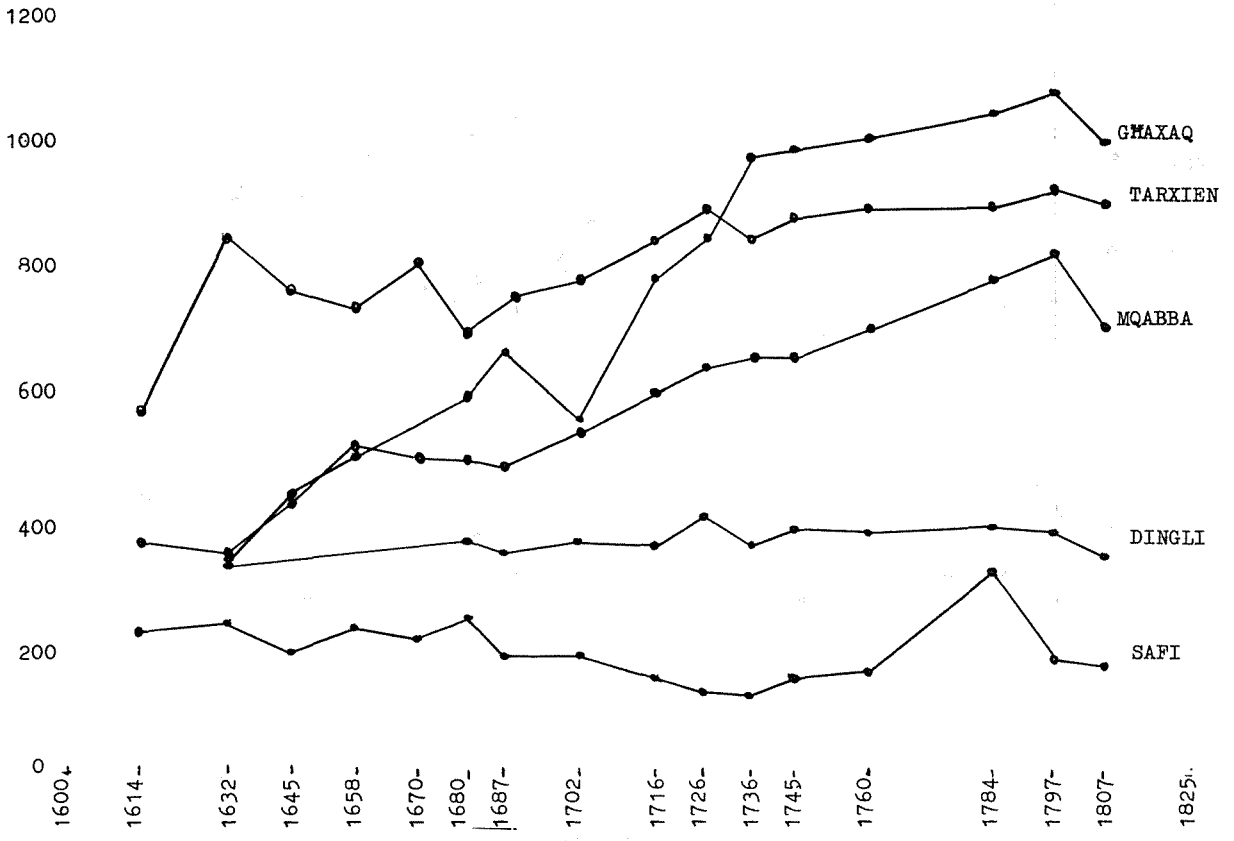
## POPULATION OF MALTA



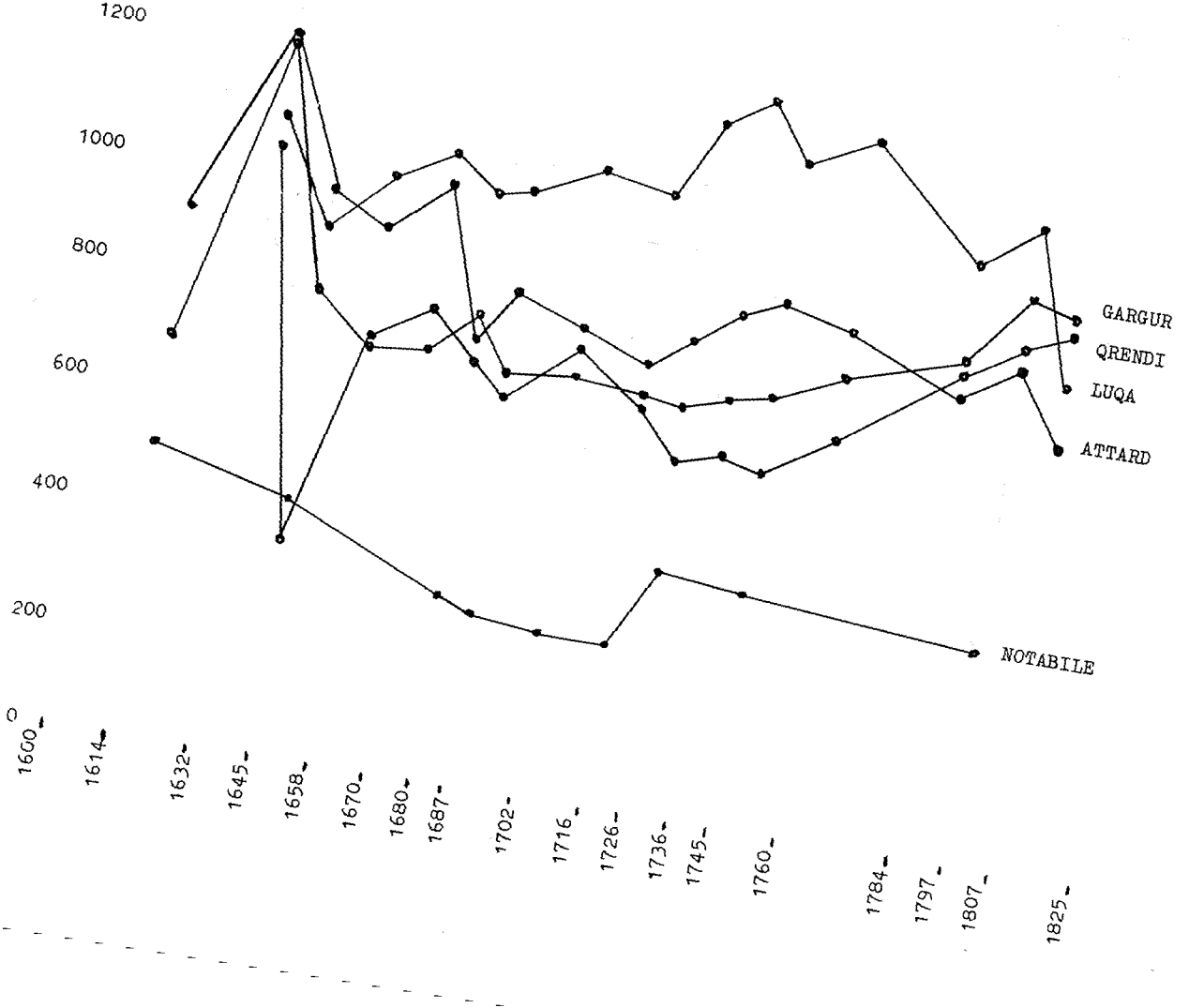
# TABLE IV


1200
1000
800
600
400
200
0
1600
1614
1632
1645
1658
1670
1680
1687
1702
1716
1726
1736
1745
1760
1784
1797
1807
1825
GUDJA
LIJA
BALZAN
KIRKOP

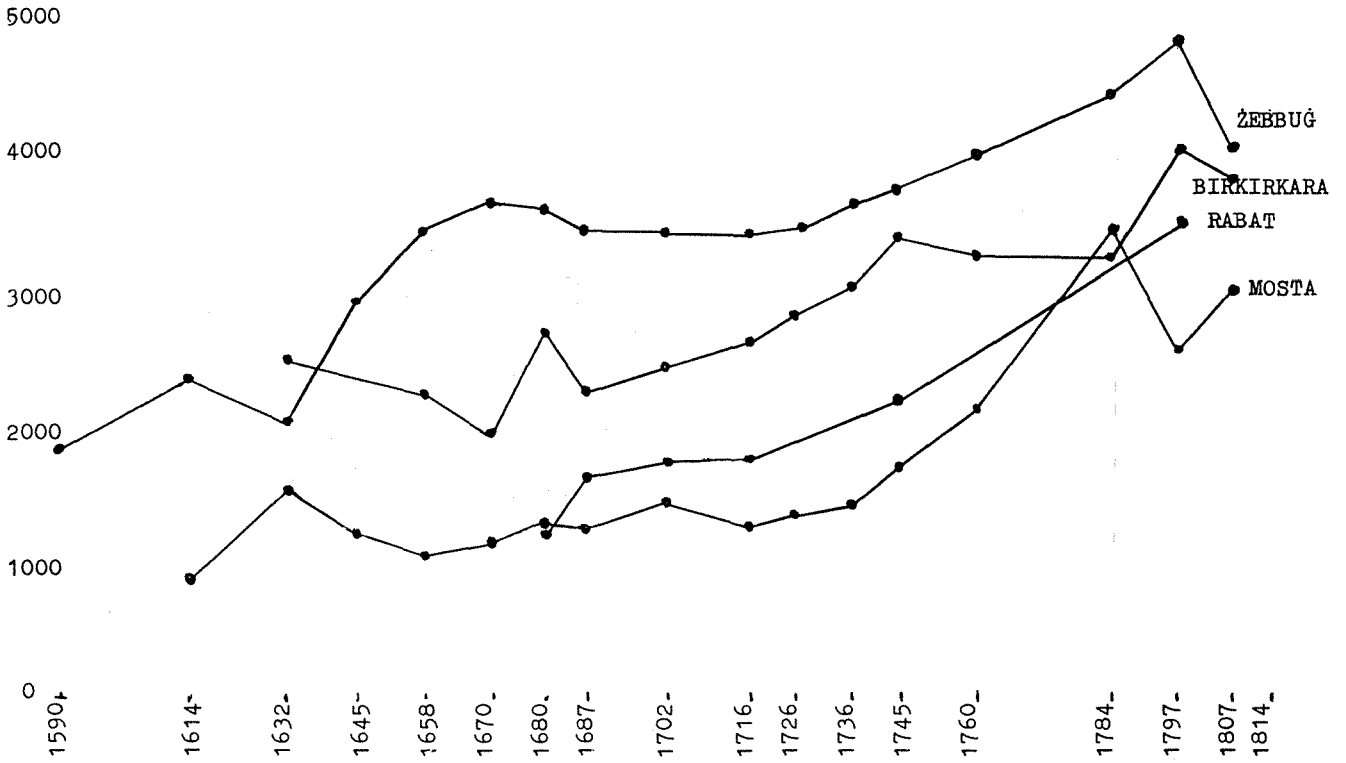
# TABLE V


1200
1000
800
600
400
200
0
1600
1614
1632
1645
1658
1670
1680
1687
1702
1716
1726
1736
1745
1760
1784
1797
1807
1825
GMAXAQ
TARXIEN
MQABBA
DINGLI
SAFI

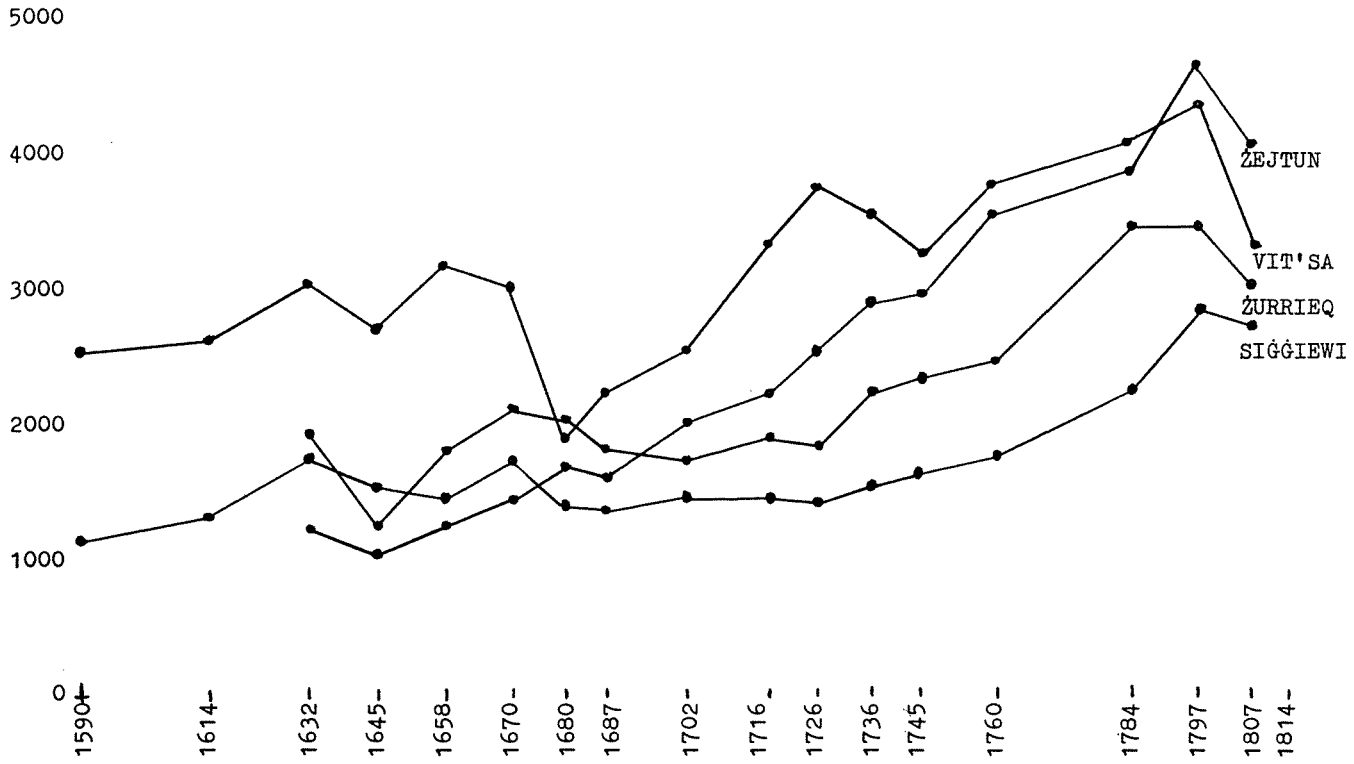
# TABLE VI


1200
1000
800
600
400
200
0
1600
1614
1632
1645
1658
1670
1680
1687
1702
1716
1726
1736
1745
1760
1784
1797
1807
1825
GARGUR
QRENDI
LUQA
ATTARD
NOTABILE

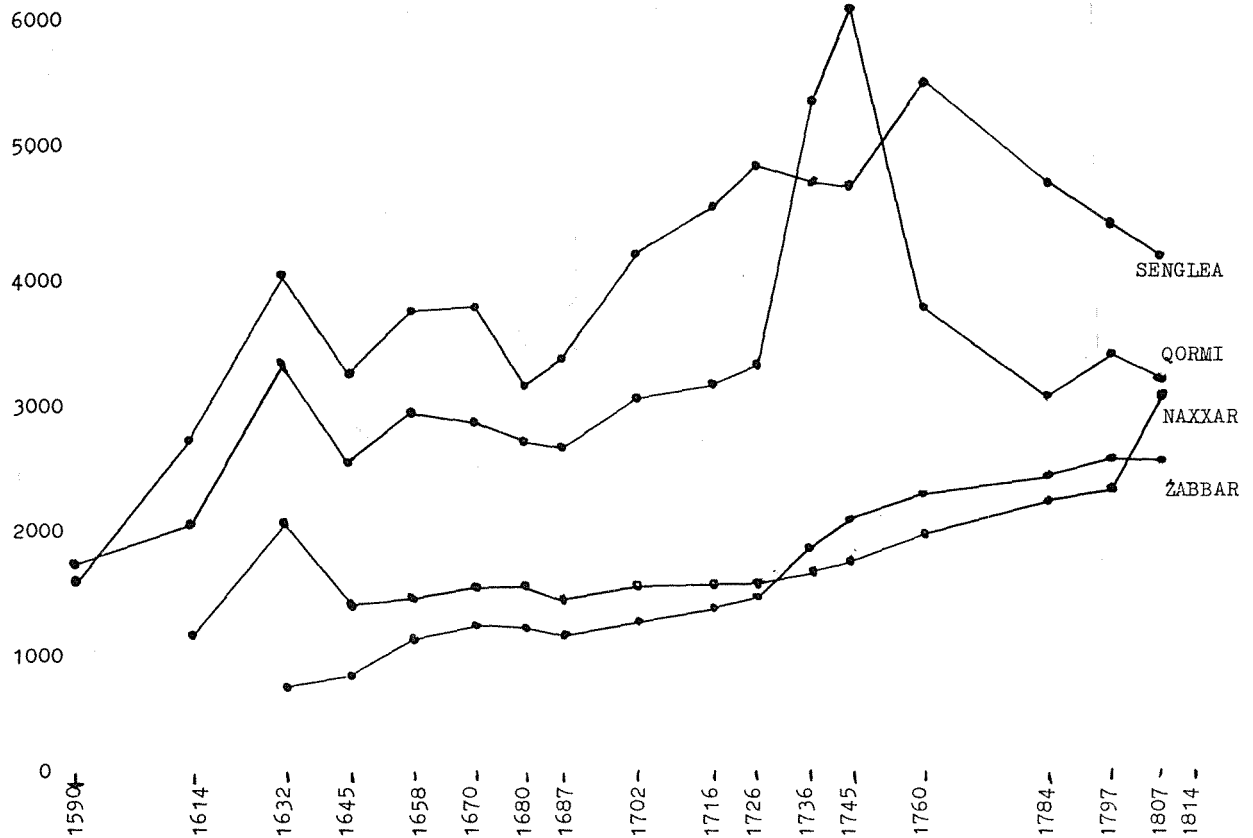
# TABLE VII


5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
1590
1614
1632
1645
1658
1670
1680
1687
1702
1716
1726
1736
1745
1760
1784
1797
1807
1814
ŻEBBUĠ
BIRKIRKARA
RABAT
MOSTA

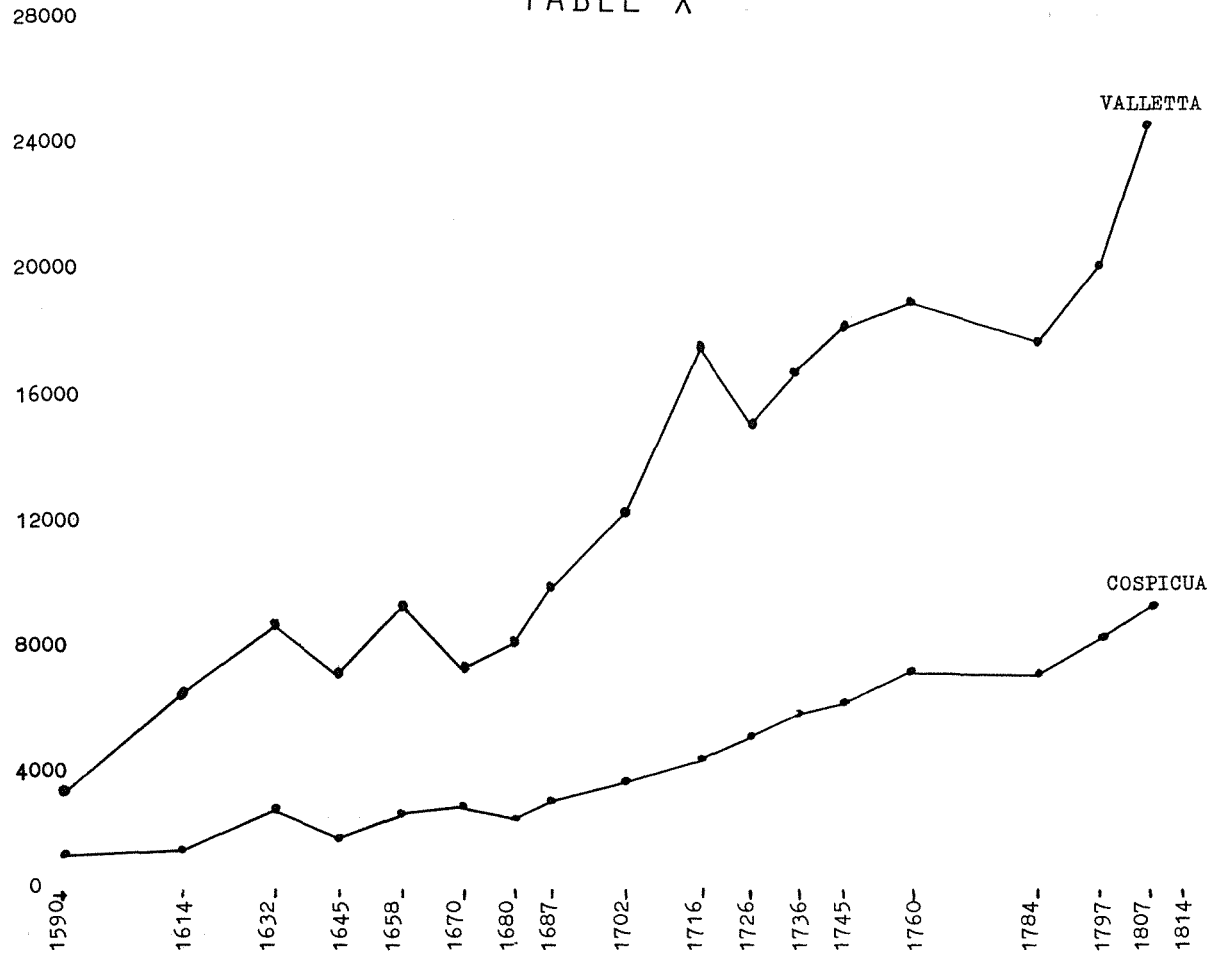
# TABLE VIII


5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
1590
1614
1632
1645
1658
1670
1680
1687
1702
1716
1726
1736
1745
1760
1784
1797
1807
1814
ŻEJTUN
VIT'SA
ŻURRIEQ
SIĠĠIEWI

# TABLE IX


6000
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
1590
1614
1632
1645
1658
1670
1680
1687
1702
1716
1726
1736
1745
1760
1784
1797
1807
1814
SENGLEA
QORMI
NAXXAR
ŻABBAR

# TABLE X


28000
24000
20000
16000
12000
8000
4000
0
VALLETTA
COSPICUA
1590
1614
1632
1645
1658
1670
1680
1687
1702
1716
1726
1736
1745
1760
1784
1797
1807
1814

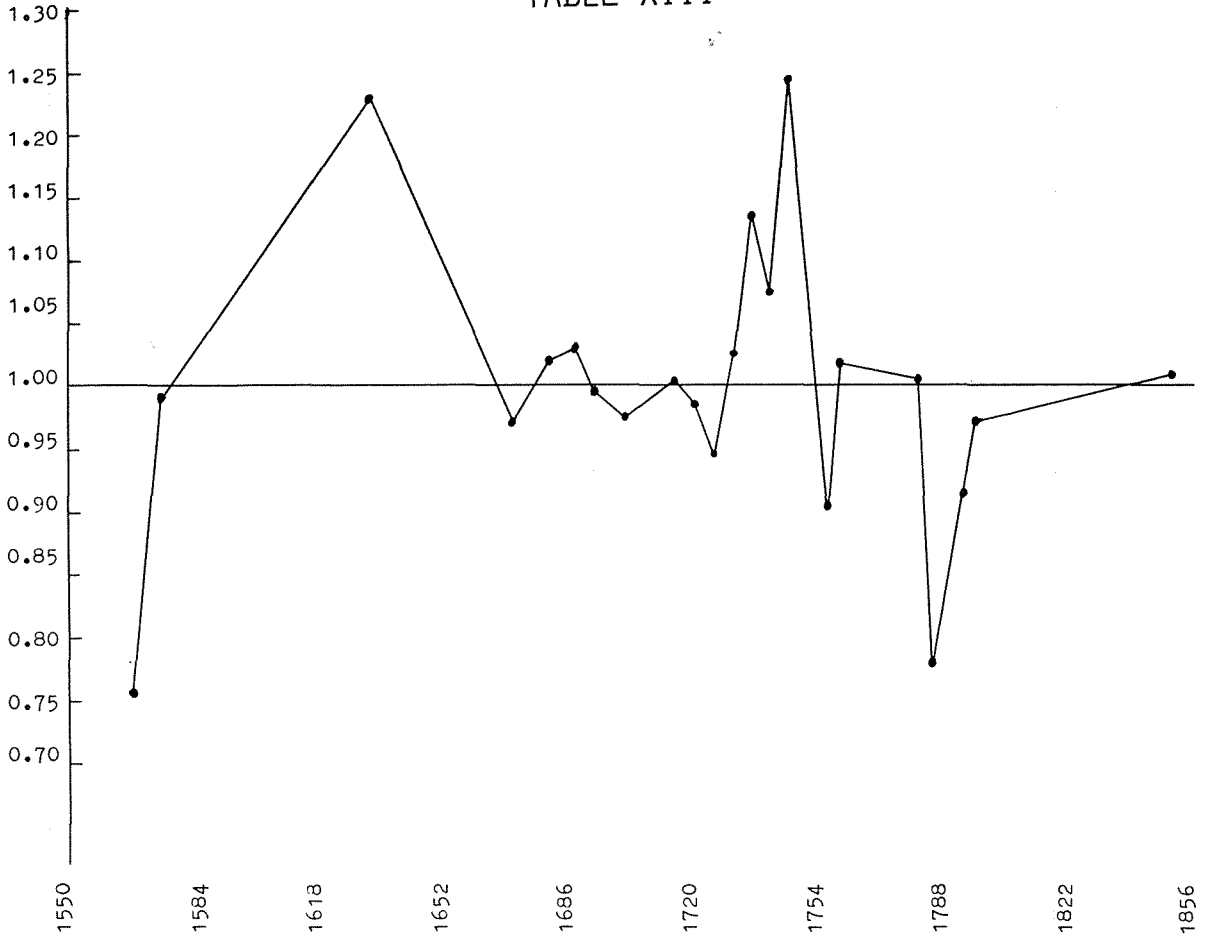
# TABLE XI

| X | Y | T | T - Y |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 27.000 | 24.598 | -2.402 |
| 24 | 34.081 | 30.946 | -3.1349825 |
| 42 | 47.249 | 35.706803 | -11.542197 |
| 55 | 38.874 | 39.145148 | 0.2711483 |
| 68 | 45.645 | 42.583494 | -3.0615065 |
| 80 | 44.679 | 45.757351 | 1.0783506 |
| 90 | 43.129 | 48.402232 | 5.2732315 |
| 97 | 45.288 | 50.253648 | 4.956482 |
| 112 | 51.133 | 54.22097 | 3.0879695 |
| 126 | 58.890 | 57.923803 | -0.9661972 |
| 136 | 59.323 | 60.568648 | 1.2456837 |
| 146 | 63.601 | 63.213565 | -0.3874354 |
| 155 | 66.513 | 65.593597 | -0.919043 |
| 170 | 72.347 | 69.561279 | -2.7857212 |
| 194 | 74.860 | 75.908993 | 1.048993 |
| 207 | 81.425 | 79.347338 | -2.0776619 |
| 217 | 83.229 | 81.992219 | -1.236781 |

TABLE XII

| YEAR | X | Y | TREND VALUE T | Y/T=CI |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1568 | 18 | 2.61 | 3.443046 | 0.75804 |
| 1575 | 25 | 3.44 | 3.46305 | 0.99334 |
| 1632 | 82 | 4.46 | 3.625898 | 1.23004 |
| 1670 | 120 | 3.64 | 3.760177 | 0.96803 |
| 1680 | 130 | 3.84 | 3.763034 | 1.02045 |
| 1687 | 137 | 3.90 | 3.783033 | 1.03091 |
| 1693 | 143 | 3.78 | 3.800175 | 0.99469 |
| 1702 | 152 | 3.73 | 3.825888 | 0.97493 |
| 1714 | 164 | 3.87 | 3.860172 | 1.00255 |
| 1720 | 170 | 3.82 | 3.877314 | 0.98521 |
| 1725 | 175 | 3.68 | 3.891599 | 0.94562 |
| 1730 | 180 | 4.00 | 3.905884 | 1.02410 |
| 1736 | 186 | 4.46 | 3.923026 | 1.13688 |
| 1740 | 190 | 4.24 | 3.934450 | 1.07766 |
| 1745 | 195 | 4.91 | 3.948739 | 1.24344 |
| 1756 | 206 | 3.60 | 3.980166 | 0.90448 |
| 1760 | 210 | 4.07 | 3.991594 | 1.01964 |
| 1781 | 231 | 4.08 | 4.051591 | 1.00701 |
| 1785 | 235 | 3.19 | 4.063019 | 0.78513 |
| 1794 | 244 | 3.74 | 4.088732 | 0.91470 |
| 1797 | 247 | 3.98 | 4.097303 | 0.97137 |
| 1851 | 301 | 4.29 | 4.251581 | 1.00904 |

# TABLE XIII


1.30
1.25
1.20
1.15
1.10
1.05
1.00
0.95
0.90
0.85
0.80
0.75
0.70
1550
1584
1618
1652
1686
1720
1754
1788
1822
1856

# TABLE XIV

| LOCALITY | N | Z | M | X* | Y* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birkirkara | 16 | 1741 | -0.2704 | 1722 | 69.4249 |
| Cospicua | 25 | 1757 | -0.1032 | 1735 | 68.5606 |
| Dingli | 16 | 1745 | -0.0265 | 1729 | 69.0978 |
| Gudja | 24 | 1797 | 0.0548 | 1736 | 72.1550 |
| Lija | 8 | 1784 | -0.0552 | 1733 | 74.7366 |
| Naxxar | 22 | 1745 | -0.0396 | 1725 | 72.8974 |
| Safi | 30 | 1793 | -0.0595 | 1731 | 76.4754 |
| Siggiewi | 10 | 1794 | -0.1818 | 1739 | 71.9540 |
| Zabbar | 13 | 1730 | -0.2141 | 1722 | 64.4518 |
| Zejtun | 16 | 1797 | 0.0285 | 1738 | 64.1680 |

# TABLE XV

| LOCALITY | YEAR | 13+ | POPULATION | % | TREND ESTIMATE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gudja | 1797 | 852 | 880 | 96.82 | 75.52 |
| Zejtun | 1716 | 1724 | 2224 | 77.52 | 63.54 |
| | 1724 | 1878 | 2436 | 77.09 | 63.77 |
| | 1779 | 2748 | 3610 | 76.12 | 65.34 |
| | 1783 | 1363 | 3687 | 36.97 | 65.45 |
| | 1797 | 3836 | 4665 | 82.23 | 65.85 |
| Lija | 1728 | 916 | 1027 | 89.19 | 75.01 |
| | 1756 | 638 | 997 | 63.99 | 73.47 |
| Safi | 1726 | 84 | 135 | 62.22 | 76.75 |
| Naxxar | 1720 | 1200 | 1442 | 83.22 | 73.09 |

# TABLE XVI

| PARISH | LIST LABEL | LOCATION IN AAF LSA | DATE (1708) | NO. OF MEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Notabile/Rabat | 1 | III N.62 | | 426 |
| Valletta (San Paolo) | 2 | VI N.87 | | 1145 |
| Valletta (Porto Salvo) | 3 | XXIVa N.139 | | 2236 |
| Vittoriosa | 4 | VI N.88 | | 827 (767) |
| Senglea | 5 | VII N.27 | | 1715 (1239) |
| Cospicua | 6 | XX N.18 | | 1019 |
| Birkirkara | 7 | VI N.78 | 29.iii | 612 |
| Naxxar | 8 | VI N.84 | 29.iii | 431 |
| Qormi | 9 | VI N.79 | | 813 |
| Zejtun | 10 | VI N.90 | | 459 |
| Gudja | 11 | VI N.81 | 29.iii | 136 (132) |
| Zurrieq | 12 | VI N.91 | | 450 |
| Siggiewi | 13 | VI N.85 | 28.iii | 374 |
| Zebbug | 14 | VI N.89 | 31.iii | 822 |
| Attard | 15 | VI N.76 | 26.iii | 212 |
| Tarxien | 16 | VI N.86 | | 204 |
| Kirkop | 17 | | | (56) |
| Mqabba | 18 | IX N.102 | | 132 |
| Safi | 19 | | | (40) |
| Lija | 20 | XX N.19 | | 254 |
| Zabbar | 21 | XVIII N.234 | | 334 |
| Luqa | 22 | XVI N.146 | | 281 |
| Gargur | 23 | XXI N.49 | | 200 |
| Mosta | 24 | VI N.83 | | 369 |
| Qrendi | 25 | VIII N.66 | | 194 |
| Ghaxaq | 26 | VI N.82 | | 151 |
| Balzan | 27 | VI N.77 | | 142 |
| Dingli | 28 | VI N.79a | 27.iii | 95 |
| Valletta (Rito Greco) | 29 | VI N.92 | | 9 |
| Matrice | Gozo | VI N.80/1 | iii | 682 |
| Xewkija | Gozo | VI N.80/2 | iii | 172 |
| Gharb | Gozo | VI N.80/3 | iii | 137 (132) |
| Sannat | Gozo | VI N.80/4 | iii | 99 (96) |
| Nadur | Gozo | VI N.80/5 | iii | 138 |
| Xaghra | Gozo | VI N.80/6 | iii | 158 |
| Zebbug | Gozo | VI N.80/7 | iii | 95 |

# TABLE XVII

TARXIEN 1699-1769

| YEAR | X = NO. OF MEN BETWEEN 14 AND 64 | Y = POPULATION | RATIO X:Y |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1699 | 228 | 696 | 3.10 |
| 1705 | 248 | 799 | 3.22 |
| 1710 | 293 | 949 | 3.24 |
| 1715 | 253 | 891 | 3.52 |
| 1719 | 257 | 875 | 3.40 |
| 1725 | 241 | 871 | 3.61 |
| 1730 | 277 | 926 | 3.34 |
| 1733 | 296 | 793 | 2.68 |
| 1741 | 282 | 909 | 3.22 |
| 1745 | 274 | 885 | 3.23 |
| 1750 | 227 | 915 | 4.03 |
| 1755 | 254 | 891 | 3.51 |
| 1760 | 280 | 939 | 3.35 |
| 1765 | 298 | 834 | 2.80 |
| 1769 | 264 | 796 | 3.02 |

# TABLE XVIII

| LOCALITY | 1645 | | | 1741 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | X | Y | X:Y | X | Y | X:Y |
| Attard | 258 | 968 | 3.75 | 179 | 886 | 4.95 |
| Balzan | | | | 137 | 660 | 4.82 |
| Birkirkara | 633 | 2484 | 3.92 | 603 | 3200 | 5.31 |
| Cospicua | 620 | 1810 | 2.92 | 901 | 5735 | 6.37 |
| Dingli | | | | | 374 | |
| Gargur | 214 | 800 | 3.74 | 193 | 740 | 3.83 |
| Gudja | 166 | 572 | 3.45 | 172 | 453 | 2.63 |
| Ghaxaq | 122 | 438 | 3.59 | 161 | 1025 | 6.37 |
| Kirkop | 97 | 374 | 3.86 | 59 | 232 | 3.93 |
| Lija | 156 | 1003 | 3.92 | 242 | 1044 | 4.31 |
| Luqa | 243 | 913 | 3.76 | 304 | 1169 | 3.85 |
| Mosta | 340 | 1214 | 3.57 | 349 | 1682 | 4.82 |
| Mqabba | 137 | 428 | 3.12 | 164 | 650 | 3.96 |
| Naxxar | 373 | 1412 | 3.79 | 242 | 1727 | 7.14 |
| Notabile | 142 | 441 | 3.11 | 626 | | |
| Rabat | 359 | 1389 | 3.87 | | | |
| Qormi | 734 | 2540 | 3.46 | 1000 | 6043 | 6.04 |
| Qrendi | 95 | 378 | 3.98 | | 645 | |
| Safi | 54 | 197 | 3.65 | 44 | 133 | 3.02 |
| Senglea | 907 | 3243 | 3.58 | 950 | 4728 | 4.98 |
| Siggiewi | 372 | 1531 | 4.12 | 361 | | |
| Tarxien | 232 | 774 | 3.36 | 216 | | |
| Valletta,P.S. | 1103 | 4857 | 4.40 | 3287 | | |
| Valletta,S.P. | 586 | 2280 | 3.89 | | 6788 | |
| Vittoriosa | 705 | 2700 | 3.83 | 713 | 3356 | 4.71 |
| Zabbar | 216 | 824 | 3.81 | 345 | 1938 | 5.62 |
| Zebbug | 840 | 2964 | 3.53 | 802 | 3740 | 4.66 |
| Zejtun | 286 | 1087 | 3.80 | 536 | 3259 | 6.08 |
| Zurrieq | 430 | 1253 | 2.91 | 723 | 2270 | 3.14 |