

THE RESETTLEMENT OF GOZO AFTER 1551

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1. The Build-up

Fifteenth and early sixteenth century life on the Maltese Islands was characterized by a protracted series of corsair incursions, increasingly daring in conception and execution and devastating in consequence. In the early 1400s it is asserted that:

...la dicta insula di Malta è molestata diversimode per Mori et dāpnificata per maynera ki,..., sirrā per diveniri ad finali excidiu et destrucionì in la maynera di Gozu.⁽¹⁾

This text testifies to the fact that the more exposed and smaller island was bearing the brunt of these razzias and was reduced to near-extinction. In the same *capitolo*, a request was being made for the erection of a protective tower on Comino:

...per vuliri et putirisi oviari a li continui invasioni, decepcioni et danpni ki li dicti fusti di Mori fannu continue a la dicta insola a loru habitationi fora necessariu hedificari una turri a la insola di Cominu, nidu et latibulu di li dicti Sarrayini.⁽²⁾

The repeated complaints by the inhabitants that the rhythm of life on the island was being continually disturbed need not be interpreted as a laboured piteous plea aimed at shirking excise responsibilities:

La extrema povirtati di la dicta insula per la vinuta di li Mori per modu ki pirdiu tucta la bestiāmi et pero non si po seminari et la insula est povira et destructa.⁽³⁾

The arrival in Malta, in 1530, of the Knights Hospitallers, the sworn enemy of the Turk and of his ally the Barbary corsair, actually exacerbated the situation. Between 1530 and the fateful year 1551, incursions by corsairs were stepped up, with no fewer than eight landings, in most cases by Dragut on Gozo, being recorded. Comino is often identified as the lair where the cut-throats lurked and whence they pounced onto their unsuspecting prey. In 1553

dieci Galeotte e Fuste...del Giudeo gran corsale andarono al Comino; dove essendo dimorati tre' giorni, finalmente à ventinoue d'Ottobre...presero un grippo...di Ceylo Xuereb...ritornando da Saragosa.⁽⁴⁾

In 1540,

Dragut Rais, con due Galere, e tredici Galeotte, improvvisamente diede sopra l'Isola del Gozo; Et hauendo nel far del giorno posta gente in terra, prese à salvamano intorno à cinquanta di quei poveri Gozitani; i quali pagarono la pena d'havere mancato di far le guardie alla marina,...e di non curarsi

1. Text of 6.iv.1419 published e.g. in R. Valentini, "Gli Ultimi Re Aragonesi ed i Primi Castigliani in Malta: Documenti", *Archivio Storico di Malta* VIII (1937) 80.
2. Idem.
3. Texts of 31.x.1432 e 4.v.1438 in S. Giambruno e L. Genuardi, *Capitoli delle Città Demaniali di Sicilia, I* (Palermo, 1918) 323,326-7.
4. Giacomo Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Illma. Militia di San Giovanni Gerosolmitano, III*, 2da Impressione (Napoli, 1684) 127-8.

di dormire nel Castello.⁽⁵⁾

In the following year,

Fu l'Isola di Malta, mentre le dette Galere assenti se ne stettero, molto da' Corsali infestata, e molestata...nel Freo fermandosi, molti danni facevano.⁽⁶⁾

In 1544,

Draguto...con dieci Vaselli...si voltò per dare il guasto all'isola del Gozo. Però il Cavalier Fra Giouanni Ximenes...Gouernatore...costrinse i Turchi à reimbarcare; rimanendoui morto nella carica, che riceuerono, il proprio Fratello di Draguto.⁽⁷⁾

It was perhaps out of vengeance for the loss of his brother on this occasion that Dragut was so determined on the total destruction of Gozo seven years later. In the meantime, in 1545,

...capitate erano al Gozo cinque Galeotte d'Infedeli; le quali [furono] discacciate dal Freo à furia di cannonate...⁽⁸⁾

and in 1546,

Draguto invano insidiate hauendo le Galere della Religione...riuolse lo sdegno suo contro Gozitani; e per essere il tempo, che si tagliuano le biade, fece disegno di fare Schiaua una gran moltitudine di Metitori.⁽⁹⁾

Again in 1547,

Dragut...messe...genti in terra, dalla parte di Marsa Sirocco, ad una Cala detta Hayn Ramont...prese trecento Anime... [ma fù] costretto à ritirarsi, lasciando più della metà de prigionieri.⁽¹⁰⁾

Dragut practically owned the place, coming and going as he pleased. In fact, one finds that in 1550

Draguto...sperando di poter pigliare lingua: e d'haver certo e sicuro auiso de' progressi dell'Armata Christiana: ...à quindici di Luglio s'andò à porre nel Freo, fra' l'Isole di Malta, e del Gozo. ...[Et] havendo fatta la sua acquata al Gozo; ...nauigò alla volta di Barbaria.⁽¹¹⁾

2. The Depopulation of 1551

The invasion in July 1551 by Sinan Pasha and Dragut Rais can be interpreted as a climax in a sustained escalation of pressure on the Order intended to oust it for good and gain supremacy in the central and western Mediterranean.⁽¹²⁾ As had happened in earlier times, so too on this occasion, the enemy hit at Gozo, the easier prey, the soft belly of the fortified islands. Having landed on Malta, reconnoitered the newly-constructed fortifications on St. Angelo⁽¹³⁾ and hovered around Notabile, the Armada

5. *Ibid.* 191.

6. *Ibid.* 212.

7. *Ibid.* 236-7.

8. *Ibid.* 238.

9. *Ibid.* 244.

10. *Ibid.* 251.

11. *Ibid.* 273.

12. Vide D. Cutajar and C. Cassar. "Malta and the 16th Century Struggle for the Mediterranean", *Mid-Med Bank Ltd. Report and Accounts* (1985) 22-59.

13. G. Bosio, *op.cit.* 214.

headed towards Gozo and its weakly defended *Castello*. The near-contemporary chronicler of the Order, Giacomo Bosio records:

...Cominciò à battere le muraglie, nel Venerdì à 24. di Luglio, mez'hora inanzi al giorno, & andò sempre con gran furia, e con fracasso continuando fin alla seguente Domenica.⁽¹⁴⁾

The exertions "*di un sol Bombardiero Inglese trovato nel Castello*" were soon silenced for good and the end became inevitable. Bosio recounts eye-witness accounts of the finale:

Dicono, e raccontano ancor hoggidi' i vecchi Gozitani, con gran Passione della rouina della Patria loro; che'l Governatore sopradetto [Fra Galatiano de Sesse] sbigottito, e quasi del tutto smarrito, rimesse le cose all'arbitrio della fortuna. Talmente, che parendo à quel popolo, d'essere rimasto senza capo: molti di esso calandosi con funi giù dalle muraglie, da quella banda, doue i Turchi accampati non erano; per la commodità d'alcune case, c'haueuano le finestre nell' istesse muraglie, procurauano di saluarsi almeno la vita... La conchiuisione in somma di questa Tragedia fù, che Domenica à ventisei di Luglio; renduto... essendosi à patti quel Castello, furono aperte le Porte à Nimici; ... messero ogni cosa à sacco, & in rouina: senza ritrouar alcuno, che gli facesse resistenza; da un Soldato Siciliano impoi; La cui fortezza d'animo, ò più tosto barbara, e cruda ferocità, tacere non si debbe... Posciach' in tal modo morendo, liberò se stesso, e la famiglia sua dall'obbrobrio, e dalla dura seruitù, e schiauitudine; nella quale settecento Huomini condotti furono. E da cinque, in sei mila Anime, frà Donne, e Fanciulli.

Il Bascia... fece metter in libertà quaranta Poueracci vecchi decrepiti, stropciati, e quasi dal tutto inutili. [Et]... havendo à tutto poter suo fatto rouinar il Castello, e dar il guasto all'Isola; dopo haver fatto diligentemente cercare, senza poter trouar alcuno di quei Gozitani, ch'ascosi essendosi nelle Grotte, s'erano saluati, si torno' ad imbarcare con l'artiglierie, e con l'Essercito. Et hauendo aspettato il tempo propitio, uscendo dal Freo, sciolse con tutta l'armata, alla volta di Barbaria al penultimo giorno di Luglio.

Partita che fù l'Armata dell'Isola del Gozo, il Gran Maestro, & il Consiglio mandarono quiui le Galere: le quali hauendo raccolto tutto il rimanente delle vettouaglie, che vi potero trouare, lo portarono à scaricar in Malta, insieme con quei pochi Gozitani, che rimasi v'erano. I quali dopo ch'alquanto furon cessati i sospetti della vicina Armata, tornarono à ripatriare, sotto la cura, e gouerno del Cauallier Fra Pietro d'Oliuares; che... ristaurò al meglio, che si potè, con gran diligenza il Castello; & attese à far seminare, & à rihabitare pian piano l'isola. Nella quale essendo nate infinite liti, per cagione de' Morti, e de' gli Schiaui; Furono per questo deputati alcuni Commendatori Antiani... conseruando à ciascuno le ragioni sue.⁽¹⁵⁾

14. *Ibid.* 304.

15. *Ibid.* 304-5.

3. The Resettlement

3.1 The Problem

The foregoing description amply documents:

- (i) how some 5500 Gozitans were taken into slavery in July 1551,
- (ii) that of these, some 700 were men,
- (iii) that 40 old men were spared,
- (iv) that an undefined number of able-bodied men managed to escape the final catastrophe, and
- (v) that this depopulation gave rise to several litigations concerning the captives' property.

This situation raises the following problems on the resettlement of Gozo, which questions are addressed in the rest of this paper:

- (i) What happened to this great multitude of people?
- (ii) How many never made it back to their island home?
- (iii) Who were the Gozitans who were never captured or did return from slavery and what became of them?
- (iv) How was Gozo resettled so that in about a century its population had reached its pre-1551 level?
- (v) What became of the captives' property, particularly their lands?

3.2 The Sources

What evidence there is for the information available is mainly gleaned from the deeds of notaries working in Gozo during the period under review: 1551-ca. 1600. The more important of these were the Gozitan notary Don Lorenzo de Apapis (1540-1583), and the two Maltese notaries Thomas Gauci (1557-1616) and Ferdinando Ciappara (1573-1610).⁽¹⁶⁾ The deeds of these notaries are particularly illuminating because, more often than not, the parties are described both by their nationality as well as by their habitual place of residence. Other notarial records are less extensively tapped. This information is buttressed by the Baptismal, Marriage and Death records of the period, embodied in the single register, starting in 1554, held at the Episcopal Curia in Gozo.⁽¹⁷⁾ This register accounts both for the *Matrice* as well as for the parish of St. George, Rabat, as its title (on f.1) indicates:

Liber Ba[ptizatorum] /in parrochia gau[...]/endo a p^o mense 7^b/factus et ordinatus per/Leonardum de Cace diq[tae] parro/chie Indignum Rectore [m].

The records thereafter are held separately in the two parishes; Volume I of the *Matrice* starts in August 1603, whereas the earliest, Volume II (sic), of St. George's starts in 1625.

Evidence for the population of pre-1551 Gozo derives mainly from the "Crociana List"⁽¹⁸⁾ analyzed by Wettinger⁽¹⁹⁾, as well as from the copy of 1545 of notarial deeds

16. Reference to these deeds, kept in the Notarial Archives Valletta, will henceforth be made only by quotation of the notary's index number. Thus, Not. L. De Apapis: R203, Not. F. Ciappara: R185/00, and Not. T. Gauci: R287/00.
17. A(rchivum) E(piscopi) G(audisii), Lib(er) Bap(tizatorum, Matrimoniorum et Defunctorum) I, microfilm copy at the M(dina) C(athedral) M(useum) No. 5335.
18. MCM CEM 12 (1533) 9-18.
19. G. Wettinger, "The Place-Names and the Personal Nomenclature of Gozo: 1372-1600", *Oriental Studies*,

relating to the benefices of the Gozitan Church and dating back to 1435.⁽²⁰⁾

3.3 Gozitan Survivors

That life in Gozo was re-established soon after 1551, with a certain degree of normality, can be ascertained both from the notarial deeds of Lorenzo de Apapis which start again, after a two-year interruption, on 28th October 1553⁽²¹⁾, as well as from the baptismal records that start on 27th September 1554. It is of interest to note that the surnames that appear first are all typically Gozitan. The first few baptismal records read:

*Io do (n) leonardo de Cace curato baptizavi a Ioanna de Nic(ola)o de Manue-
li li p(at)rini foro paulo vella (a) la porta don Jac(ob)o tavula in fonte et Ant(oni)
o Theobaldo in evangelio*

*...M(ast)ro...flamingo bombarderi li patrini foro Andrea Santoro a la porta
et M(ast)ro ferranti hamayra in fonte et (...gelio.*

*Adi 25 di Aprile del 55 Georgio de Ant(oni)o Teobaldo...patrini Salvaturi Mon-
tag(nes) paulo Navarra et Salvaturi Platamunj.*

These surnames, De Caci, De Manuei, Theobaldo, Santoro, D'Avola, Apap, (Ha)Maira, Montagnes, Navarra, Plathamone, are all typically Gozitan, most of them appearing exclusively there in contemporary and earlier documents. They are also associated with the more well-to-do families, so that one is inclined to conclude that these were the people who were first redeemed from slavery.

Other Gozitan surnames that occur very soon after 1551 are Bonnici, Beniabin, de Laurerio, Mадiona ⁽²²⁾, De Luchia, Calabachi, Sansuni, De Marino, Parnis, Nicolachi and Basili.⁽²³⁾

The following table includes those surnames of individuals explicitly described as "Gaulitanus", as opposed to *Melitensis* or *Siculus* and so on, by Notaries Gauci and Ciappara and who were living in Gozo - "*habitor hujus terre et Insule Gaudisii*" - between 1557 and 1586. They therefore represent those who either managed to escape capture altogether or were redeemed from slavery. The entries are subdivided into three subsets covering the decades 1557-66, 1567-76, 1577-86, respectively

TABLE I

1557-1566

(Al)garia, (A)ragonisi, Bacbac, Bongibino, Cavallino, Cefai, Cini, Chappisa, Cozullura, Gaduara, Gamich, Hordob, Kettut, Kinzi, Mannara, Mejlaq, Refalo, (De)Rigio, Vella;

1567-1576

(A)maira, Anfa(n)sino, (H)apap(is), Balistrera, (De la)Barba, Bercax, (De)Bisco(n), Bringheli, (De)Caci(s), Castelletta, Caxaro, Chabarra, Ciappara, Cremona, Critelli, Dallo,

Leeds University Oriental Society, Near Eastern Researches II (Edition in honour of Benedict S.J. Isserlin) (1980) 173-198.

20. A(rchivum) A(rchiepiscopi) F(loriana), Reg(istrum) Fund(ationum) Benef(iciorum) Ins(ulae) Gaud(isii).
21. R203 f.90.
22. R203 (28.x.1553) 90: "Testamentum Guillelmi de Manuele alias Mollica...Testes: Ven^{is} Donnus Jacobus de Avula, Mathias de Manuele, Andreottas Bonnichichi, Fredericus Beniabin, Jo(annes) Aloisius de Laurerio, Leonardus Beniabin, et Matheus Mадiona."
23. *Ibid.* (27.iii.1554)93: "Testes testamenti Manfridi de Luchia gaulitani: Petrus Calabachi, Petrus Sansuni,

Dandalona, Dighif, (In)fantin(o), Gentil(i), Guarreri, Gurabe, Machnuc, Magro, (De)Manueli, Mompalao, Navarra, (De)Nicolachio, Sala, Sans, Sanson, Santoro, (De)Scotia, Theume, Xiricha;

1577-1586

(De)Anastasio, Bayada, Barberi, Bonnici, Chumi, (De lo E)piscopo, Finara, Gauci, (C)haber, (De)Luchia, Madona, Mintuf, Mochtara, Modlum, (O)rigiles, Parnis, Plathamone, Pontremoli, Scavuni, Vagnolo.

References for Table I are grouped in Appendix I.

Other typically Gozitan surnames that are not found in this list drawn from notarial records but which are encountered in the register of Baptisms and Marriages of 1554-1628 include the following:

TABLE II

(D')Alagona, (D')Avula, Basili, Bianco, Brunetto, Chetcuti, Dolfin, Farmusa, Ferriolo, (De)Federico, Fontana, Gambino, Laureri, Lombardo, (De)Marino, Merchica, Montagnes, Munbron, Rapa, Riera(?), Saguna, Saliba, Soria, (De) Theobaldo, Xeibe, Xiberras.

One can be quite sure that most of the persons listed in Appendix II with surnames in Table 2 are of Gozitan stock in spite of the fact that the ecclesiastical records hardly ever make any reference to locality of origin. However, the more common surnames like Farmusa, Saguna, Saliba and Xebiras, which Gozo shared with Malta, present a problem as there is evidence of Maltese migrating to Gozo precisely during this period. Details of this migration are dealt with later.

Other records include: Bercax, (De)Bernardo, (In)Fantin, Ferulla, Frontina, Laureri, Mercieca, Sabat, Sahona and Theuma.⁽²⁴⁾

One concludes that these lists taken together account for most of the surnames appearing in the Crociata List of 1533 as well as for others not figuring there. The ones not accounted for are the following:

Agueina, (D')Aluisa, Baruni, Bellia, Buhagiar, Calimera, Cap, Cappellano, Cianba, Coleiro, Darmanno, Delia, Ebejer, Falzon, Farrugia, Florentina (=? Frontina), Frankinu, (Di)Gerardu, Giarda, Lazu, Lazarun, Marinara, (Di)Micheli, Mollica, Peregrino, Rekec, Sammut, Xaura, Xluc, Xucula, and Zabbar.

Baptista de Marino, Magister Pascualis Burlo, Magister Leo Parnisi, Andreotta de Nicolachj et Nicolaus Basili."

24. Not. Angelo Bartolo R48/1 (18.xi.1552)103^v: "Alesander Merchiech gaulitanus patronus brigantini"; *Ibid.*R48/3 (8.iii.1555)324: "Jacobus Ribaza filius Petri gaulitanus"; Not. Placido Abela Ms514/1 (6.iv.1558): "Lanza Teume gaulitanus presens"; *Ibid.*(13.vi.1558): "Magister Paulus Frontina Carpentarius gaulitanus"; *Ibid.*(13.x.1558): "Antonius de Bernardo gaulitanus presens"; Not. Barth. Haxixa R32/3 (8.viii.1559) 592: "Inguterra Bercax qdm. Francisci de Insula Gaudisij"; *Ibid.*(6.iii.1560) 310^v: "Matheo Chappisa et Leonardo Meilac gaulitanis"; Not. Angelo Bartolo R48/6 (13.x.1561)24^v: "Instantia Salvi Sabat presentis"; Not. L. DeApapis R203 (28.ix.1565) 121: "Don Angelus Fantino"; *Ibid.*(25.ix.1574)137: "Testamentum Berti Ferrulla".

One can safely deduce that the people represented by the surnames: Agueina, (D')Aluisa, Calimera, Cianba, (Di)Gerardu, Giarda, Lazu, Lazarun, Marinara, Xaura, Xluc, and Xucula, ended their days in slavery as these surnames are never encountered again either in Gozo or in Malta, except occasionally as place-names.⁽²⁵⁾

3.4 *The Captives*

There were, of course, several others with surnames appearing in Tables I and II who were still captives decades after 1551. Yet the fact that practically all pre-1551 surnames actually re-surface after the tragedy is very surprising indeed. In search of an explanation, one seeks to quantify Bosio's "*molti*", who in desperation scaled down the sheer north face of the Citadel, taking into account the 1:5 ratio of "able-bodied males": "total population".⁽²⁶⁾ Considering the total population, made up of the 5500 or so taken, together with the 40 old men released and an unknown number X of escapees, as being five times the total number of able-bodied males, consisting of some 700 taken and the X escapees, the resulting straightforward equation $(5500 + 40 + X) = 5(700 + X)$ is readily seen to have solution $X = 510$. If there were some 500 surname-propagating males in Gozo immediately after the catastrophe, then the hundred or so males listed in Appendices I and II were in all probability and in their majority escapees and that only a small number of male captives, namely the very well-off, were actually redeemed. Using entirely different sources and drawing on his knowledge of slavery at the time, Wettinger⁽²⁷⁾ comes to the same conclusion when he asserts that "most of the adult male (captives) were soon 'used up' helping to man the oars of the large Ottoman fleet of galleys".

References to captives are found all over the place. In the same paper, Wettinger gives some of the names of these unfortunate Gozitans and argues convincingly that Constantinople was the city where they were dragged to and where they pined away.

•His evidence for Constantinople is corroborated by other data. This was the case with "*magnifica Donna Damma relicta quondam Magnifici Antonij Rapa de terra et Insula Gaudisij dyocesis Meliveti olim captiva Infidelium modo vero libera et franca de suo captiverio existens in hac civitate Constantinopolis*"; her will was drawn up on 14th May 1555 by Notary Don Lorenzo de Apapis (sic) "*apud civitatem Constantinopolim intus cortile domorum Magnifici domini oratoris Sacre Majestatis Domini Regis Francorum*".⁽²⁸⁾ The daughter of Petrus Salibe was also known to have been led captive to Constantinople:⁽²⁹⁾

Item desiderando isso testatori di riscatarj et liberarj del cattiverio alcuna delle sue figle sclave...delli sarraceni seu Jnfedeli della fe catholica et specialmente ad Angela sua figlia laq(u)al(e) si ritrova sclava in lacita di constantinopoli.

Not all were as fortunate as Magnifica Donna Damma Rapa who was freed within

25. Not. G. D. Formosa Ms836/1 (13.xi.1592) 222: "*Contrata ta xaura*"; Not. T. Gauci R287/5(I) (3.i.1569) 199^v: "*Terras in contrata garbi appellatas di xocla*."
26. For the 1:5 ratio *vide*: S. Fiorini, "Status Animarum I: A unique Source for 17th and 18 Century Maltese Demography" *Melita Historica* Vol. VIII No.4.(1983) 341-342.
27. G. Wettinger, "The Gozitan Captives of 1551", *Malta Year-Book* (1977) 427-430.
28. Not. L. DeApapis R203 f.96.
29. *Ibid.*(4.ix.1556) 98^v. Fr. Daniel Glavina S.J. kindly drew my attention to the following reference which also points to Constantinople: "*Federico Fruntina morto (schiavo) presso il nemico a Constantinopoli*" (AEG AO Vol.1 Doc.2 (?..ii.1565)24-25).

four years of her capture. It is asserted by the Augustinian friar, Fra Paulo Bajada, that he had spent more than fourteen years in captivity and that his parents were still unredeemed. He was freed through the efforts of some merchants who followed him to Gozo to be remunerated for their exertions (*Vide Appendix V*).

Among unredeemed captives Wettinger lists the following: Ioannes Axac, Paula wife of Andreas Chappara, Paulina wife of Dominicus Gambino, Antonia wife of Mathias de Manuele, Ysabella de Manuele, Ioanna wife of Fidericus Mongebino, Scania wife of Ioannes Nicolachi, Don Johannes Rapa, Decia wife of Matheus Saliba, and Inigus Vagnolo. He also produces evidence of how poor and inadequate was the response to the appeal for funds for the redemption of the captives. Little wonder therefore that decades after the tragedy the following were either known to have been still unredeemed or had died in captivity:

Gismundo di Alagona and his sons, Salvus Apap, Antonio and Angela Bajada, Gullielmo de Biscon, the sons of Antonio Cavallino, Leonardo Chappara, Ioannes Dallo, Margarita de Federico, Peruna the wife of Andriotta Gambino, Ioannella the widow of Andriotta Gambino, Leonardo Gamich, Gregorio Haius, Antoni Hordob, Dianora de Manuele and her daughters Ysabella and Beatrice, Margarita the widow of Antonio Merchic, Paulina the wife of Gregorio Merchic, Martin Mule, Bernardus Parnis, Ioannella the wife of Leonardo Rapa, Matheo Rapa, Margarita Rogiles, Thomasio Said, Imperia Saliba, Paulo Theume, Dionysio Vella, Hieronymo Xicalune and Lucas Xiricha.⁽³⁰⁾

3.5 *Gozitans in Sicily*

Other Gozitan surnames like Rechic and Tellerixio are not to be found in Tables I and II because, having been redeemed from slavery or not having been captured in the first place, several Gozitans fled to the comparative safety of the fortifications

30. R287/5(I)(6.ix.1568)1: "...qui locus domorum erat Malgarite filie francisci de Federico captive"; *ibid.*(13.x.1568)59: "...utj curator bonorum Martini Mule captivi"; *ibid.*(22.x.1568)75: "...consanguinea dianore mulieris relicte qdm. Ioannis de Manuele beatrix et ysabelle puellarum filiarum legitimarum pefate dianore et dicti qdm. Ioannis de Manuele captivarum penes osten detemptarum"; *ibid.*(4.xii.1568)117: "...quod quidem casalenum fuit et est antonelle mulieris uxoris Antonij Darmano captive penes osten detempte"; *ibid.*(16.xii.1568)131: "...possidet in communi et pro indiviso cum angela mulier uxor Antonij Burg, Antonino Gentil et Salvo de Manuele terras... personarum captivarum penes hostes detemptarum"; *ibid.*(27.v.1569)311: "Gismundi de Alagona et suorum filiorum captivorum penes hostes detemptorum"; *ibid.*(12.viii.1569)406: "...curator Ioannis Rogiles eius nepotis ex fratre captivi penes hostes"; *ibid.*R287/5(II)(29.xii.1569)144: "Egregius Notarius Carolus Cassia tamquam curator captivorum Gaulitanorum...scilicet Ioannes Dallo, Gregorius Haius, Dionysius Vella, Hieronymus Xicalune"; *ibid.*f.145: "Guilielmi de Biscon captivi"; *ibid.*f.146: "Thomasij Said captivi...et Leonardi Chappara captivi"; *ibid.*(23.i.1570)185: "Margarite Rogiles captive"; *ibid.*(6.iv.1570)252: "Antonij et Angele baiada captivorum"; *ibid.*(1.viii.1570)362: "...filiorum Antonij Cavallino captivorum"; *ibid.*R287/6(I)(6.ii.1571)197: "Presens...Agnes...Callea exposuit quod cum possedisset...quedam bona stabilia existentia in hac Insula Gaudisij...infrascriptarum personarum...Antonij Hordob Malgarite uxoris qdm. Antonij Merchic Ioannelle uxoris qdm. Andriotte Gambino Ioannelle uxoris leonardi Rapa Pauline qdm. gergorij merchic Leonardi Gamich nec non et qdm. perne uxoris andriotte Gambino captivarum et captivorum consanguinearum et consanguineorum ipsius Agnetis"; *ibid.*R287/6(II)(30.viii.1575)201: Antonine mulieris uxoris luce xiricha captivi"; Not.L.De Apapis R203 (28.xi.1575)149: "...pro anima pauli teume mortui apud Infideles"; R287/9(II)(9.v.1579)223: "...si fortassis repatriavit ab eius captivitate Salvus Apap filius qdm. Mazulli"; R287/12(I)(4.x.1584)240: "...Petram seu Imperiam eius filiam... ex se et qdm. Theramo Saliba...ad presens captivam penes hostes detemptam"; R287/14(25.iii.1588)179: Si Bernardus Parnis repatriaverit ab eius captivitate".

in Malta or even went abroad to Sicily. Table III (details in Appendix III) includes those Gozitans for whose permanenece in Sicily evidence exists in the notarial records.

TABLE III

Petrus Bacbac at Agrigento, Francesco Balistrera at Trapani, Ioannes Balistrera at Agrigento, Andriottas Balistrera at Heraclia, Leonardus and Jacoba Barnaba at Sciacca, Jacobus de le Boffi at Sciacca, Magnificus Salvator Caxaro at Heraclia, Dominicus and Salvator Chettut, Georgius Cini at Trapani, Antonius Finara at Sciacca, Magister Angelus Gaduara at Agrigento, Paulus Hordob at Messina, Michael de Luchia at Heraclia, Magnifica Malgarita Malatesta et Nicosia, Petrus Mintuf at Sciacca, Petrus Rikic at Licata, Paulus Saliba at Licata, Zaccarias Saliba at Heraclia, Petrus Subtili and family at Licata, Francina Tellerixo at Agrigento, and Francesco Theuma at Xicli.

Other Gozitans like Hyeronima Balistrera, Federicu Cattut, Antonio Chinsi, Antonius Gauci, Jacobus Gurabe and Tuchio Theuma⁽³¹⁾ had left Gozo for Malta or Sicily even before 1551. They may have been impelled to do so for a variety of reasons ranging from work conditions to kith and kin attractions, or simply for having interpreted correctly the writing on the wall.

One should not underestimate the closeness of family connexions with Sicilians and interpret in this light the appreciable number of Sicilian surnames both on Malta and in Gozo.⁽³²⁾ Some Gozitans were unquestionably of Sicilian extraction, such as for example, "Nicolaus de Lucia alias Siracusano"⁽³³⁾ and "Guillelmus de Manuele alias Mollica".⁽³⁴⁾ It is claimed by Wettinger (personal communication) that some had been exiled to Gozo from Sicily. Also worth noting is the high incidence of, for example, the surnames Balistreri, La(Barberi), (Lo)Capo, (Di)Guirreria, (La)Sala, and Vaccaro in Sicily at the time, in the Communi of Augusta, Giarratana and Gangi alone.⁽³⁵⁾ This goes a long way to explain both why so many Gozitan Balistreras were to be found in Sicily at the time (*Vide* Table III) and how the surname came to near-extinction in these islands.

A lot has been made of the numbers of Maltese, and presumbaly also of Gozitans, who were allegedly evacuated to Sicily prior to 1565.⁽³⁶⁾ If the *bandi* of 14.i.1561,

31. Not. N. DeAgatjjs R202/1(II)(10.vi.1537)70^v. "Antonius Gaudixi habitator Insule Gaulitane in presenti in hoc suburbio commorans"; *ibid.*R202/2 (4.iii.1538)167: "Testamentum Hieronyme Balistrera"; *ibid.*301^v: Antonio Chinsi terre gaudisii in presenti in hoc suburbio (i.e. Birgu) esistenti"; *ibid.*R202/4(7.ii.1540)115:"Jacobus Guraba gaulitanus patronus cujusdam sagittie habitator civitatis Leucate";*ibid.*R202/5 (12.iv.1541)168^v: "Tuchio Teuma habitator t erre xicli"; Not.V.B. DeBonetjjs R206/7 (27.iv.1543)119: "Federicu Cattut patrono del bergantino ...nominato Sto. Martino".

32. These connexions dating to medieval times are discussed in: S. Fiorini, "Sicilian Connexions of Some Maltese Medieval Surnames", *Atti del Congresso Malta-Sicilia: Contiguità e Continuità Linguistica e Culturale*, 1986,(G. Brincat, ed.) in print.

33. Not. L. DeApapis R203 (23.ii.1551) 88.

34. *ibid.*(28.x.1553) 90.

35. Armando de Pasquale, *Note su la Numerazione e la Descrizione Generale del Regno di Sicilia dell'Anno 1548*, (Palermo, 1970) 69-71.

36. D. Cutajar and C. Cassar *op.cit.* 43-44.

24.i.1561 and 10.iv.1565, ⁽³⁷⁾ offering free passage out of these islands to *gente inutile*, were availed of at all, then the people involved certainly do not tally with the passengers to Sicily whose numbers have been quoted. A perusal of the relevant document ⁽³⁸⁾ shows that the great majority of these passengers were in fact foreigners and male, not *gente inutile*. Out of the 765 who left in 1564, for example, only the following could have been Gozitans:

Dominico Chettut, Stefanu Gentil, Cola Gozitano, Hercole Gozitano, Vincenzo Finarin, Baptista Gambino, Cola de Rigio, Martino di Sala, and Domenico Zabar. ⁽³⁹⁾

Repetitions of names, such as that of Stefano Gentil, suggest that in such cases the reason for travel was work (e.g. member of crew, business in Sicily) rather than migration.

3.5 *Gozitans in Malta*

Other Gozitans yet looked for safety behind the fortifications of Malta. Again, the numbers for which evidence exists in the early years are not very impressive. The following table (references in Appendix IV) lists these and includes names of probable Gozitan origin.

TABLE IV

Andreas Amayra at Senglea (?), Antonella de Amfasino at Vittoriosa, Ferdinandus de Anastasio at Senglea, Nicolaus Petrus Balistrera, Antonius Bonnich at Vittoriosa, Paulo de li Buffi at Senglea, Geronima Cangura at Qormi, Antonius Cappellano at Mdina, Andreotta Cattut at Birgu, Manfre Dandalona at Qormi, Leonardus Gaduara at Birkirkara, Antonius Guarreri at Bormla, Andreas Guarrer at Senglea, Vintura Hordob at Vittoriosa, Thomas Hordob at Vittoriosa, Matheus Mahnuc at Rabat, Fangius de Manuele at Rabat, Ioannes Mintuf at Senglea, the Navarra Family, Lucas Saguna at Casal Chibir, Andreas Sueyde at Valletta and Joannes Xeiba at Vittoriosa,

One notes that numbers tended not to decrease with time. This may be accounted for both by the continued threat of raids by Barbary corsairs who kept up the pressure, particularly on Gozo, right to the end of the century, ⁽⁴⁰⁾ as well as by gravitational

37. B(ibliotheca) V(alletta), A(rchivum) O(rdinis) M(elitae) 90 f.128^v; 173 ff.152, 154^v, 155; 91 ff.146-147.

38. P(alace) A(rchives) V(alletta), Magna Curia Castellaniae, Registrum Patentarum, I (1564-1578).

39. *ibid.*f.20: "Patente del Caramusalino patroneggiato da Antonio Canberi con compagni vz...Dominjco Chetut...per li Sgarambi et tutta la costa"; *ibid.*9: "Patente della saittia padroneggiata da Ioseppi lo Blundu con compagni otto... vz Baptista Gambino... per la Licata et tutta la costa"; *ibid.*9^v: "La patente del navilio patroneggiato da Gieronimo Romano con compagni tredici vz...Antoni Suria (or possibly Sunia)... per Siracusa et tutta la costa"; *ibid.*14^v: "Navilio patroneggiato da Breito Burlo con compagni diece vz Stefanu Gentil...per la Licata"; *ibid.*16^v: "Il gallionetto padroneggiato da Pietro Farvella con compagni sedici vz... Vincenzo Finarin...per Siragosa e tutta la costa"; *ibid.*18^v, 19: "La fregata padroneggiata da Constantino Ralli con compagni sedici vz... Cola de Rigio... per Siragosa"; *ibid.*22^v: "Il Caramusalino della Sacra Religione Hier. patroneggiata da Antonio Bellia con 14 vz... Hercole Gozitano..."; *ibid.*25^v: "La patente della saittia patroneggiata per Braitto Xacquato per Tripoli di Barbaria(!) con 9 vz... Martino di Sala"; *ibid.*37: "il caramusalin patroneggiato da Giovanpaulo Ros con 13 vz...Cola Gozitano...Stefanino Gentil...per girgente"; *ibid.*39: "...Dominico Zabar".

40. Brian Blouet, *Gozo*. (Malta. 1965) 19, asserts that raids by corsairs took place in 1560, 1563, 1572, 1574,

forces towards Valletta and the Three Cities (for socio-economic reasons) operative on a much larger scale at the time in Malta.⁽⁴¹⁾

Worth noting is the distribution of Gozitan surnames in Malta in 1687.⁽⁴²⁾ All 16 Fontanas are at Valletta. Each of the surnames Amaira, Cavallino, Fnara and Mintuf is to be found only at Senglea. Of the 44 Merciecas, 39 are at Cottonera and at nearby Tarxien; of the 30 Madionas, 12 are at Cottonera and the rest in Valletta; 4 out of the 6 Bajjadas are at Cottonera; 29 out of 41 Ciumis are at Cospicua and Senglea; half the Dandalonas are at Cottonera and 11 out of 35 Theumas are at Vittoriosa.

Of considerable linguistic interest are certain speech peculiarities common to Gozitans and to inhabitants of Cottonera. Particular reference is made to the uvular pronunciation (q) common in those two geographically unrelated regions in contrast with the glottal stop (?), for the same consonant, encountered everywhere else in Malta. A thorough analysis of this and of similar phenomena awaits treatment by an expert in the field. What can be said here is that influence could not have been mutual but must have taken place *only* in the direction Gozo — Cottonera, and not vice-versa. Evidence of this migration has just been exhibited; that no migration took place in the opposite direction will be shown later.

In sharp contrast with the rather meagre evidence for Gozitan post-1551 presence in Gozo, the records, both notarial and ecclesiastical, abound with information about Maltese and Sicilians, particularly the former, settling pretty permanently to fill in the vacuum created by the absentee Gozitans. The motivations behind this pretty massive migration into Gozo are considered later.

3.6 Sicilian Immigrants

Starting with the foreigners first, each of the individuals listed in Table V, is described by his locality of origin, practically always some town in Sicily, and as *habitor hujus terre et Insule Gaudisij*, or some such phrase. The order is chronological.

A couple of entries in this Table are of great interest. The occurrence "*Petrus de Soltano Siculus et habitator hujus terre et Insule Gaudisij*" both represents the earliest appearance of the surname Sultana in these islands⁽⁴³⁾ and answers the question raised by Wettinger concerning the enigmatic absence of this seemingly Semitic surname from medieval lists. That Petrus cast his roots at Gozo is evident from the baptismal register which records the baptism of the child his wife Ventura bore him.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The patchiness of the documentation from this period conceals the birth of other offspring and of Petro's marriage.

Other foreign surnames in this list that survived in these islands for an appreciable length of time are Parascandalo, found also to-day, Carnemolla, still encountered in Gozo more than two centuries later,⁽⁴⁵⁾ Pisci, found later at Żebbuġ (Malta),⁽⁴⁶⁾ and

1582, 1598 and 1599. In the 1582 raid, four galiots from Bizerta actually carried away some 70 people from Rabat, just outside the Gozo *Castello*.

41. For population trends in 17th Century Malta vide S. Fiorini, *op.cit.*.

42. S. Fiorini, *Status Animarum II: A Census of 1687, Proceedings of History Week 1984* (S. Fiorini, ed.) (1986) Appendix (pp.74-100).

43. *ibid.* pp.72-73.

44. AEG Lib. Bapt...1 (3.ix.1571) 29^v: (Io) Don Nardo B(a)ptizavi a (...) f. di Pietro Sultano (et) ventura jugali. Note the change, within just two years, from De Soltano to Sultano.

45. AAF LSA II N.36 (Gharb, 1780ca) and XXV N.10 (*Matrice*, 1805)^{30v}.

46. AP Żebbuġ, Lib. Bapt. VI (16.xii.1734) 640.

TABLE V (Foreigners in Gozo: 1557-1583)

DATE	NAME	NATIONALITY/PLACE OF ORIGIN	REFERENCE
25. iv.1557	Pocurobba, Jacobus	Siculus	R287/1(I) 4
1. ix.1561	Pixi, Antonius de	de Montileone	R287/2(I) 5
17. x.1567	Pariscandalo, Nobilis Joannes Maria	Neapolitanus	R287/4(II) 48
27. iv.1568	Laurentio, Nobilis Jacobus de	de Verona	172
4. xi.1568	Marino, Joannes de	de terra Bizini R(egni) S(icilie)	R287/5(I) 91
25. vi.1569	Chirino, Nicolao	Siculo	338
25. vi.1569	Reveddu, Antonius	Siculus de Civitate Modice RS	338
22. viii.1569	Soltano, Petrus de	Siculus	423 ^v
8. vii.1571	Chiaramonti, Vincentius	Siculus	R287/5(II) 321
15. vii.1570	Zalubriki, Michael	?	334
28. ix.1570	Xacca, Nicolao de	Siculo	R287/6 210 ^v
8. xii. 1571	Kurida, Vincentio de	Siculo	230 ^v
19. xii.1571	Franco, Arphyus de	Siculus	242
8. ii.1572	Canteda, Santorus	Siculus	300
26. ii.1572	Cincomani, Ioannes	Siculus	332 ^v
29. iv.1572	Florina, Bernardinus de	Siculus	431
21. viii.1572	Cuchinella, Philippus	Siculus	650
1. x.1572	Calimera, Andreas	de terra Raphudali RS	R287/7 116 ^v
22. x.1572	Sudano, Petrus	Napolitanus	181
29. xii.1572	Fava, Joannes	de Civitate Nari RS	320 ^v
31. iii.1573	Straquadaino, Magistro Paulo	Modicano	510
20. iv.1573	Cantella, Santoro	Siculo	533 ^v
29. iv.1573	Rabbito, Matheus	Siculus	547 ^v
1. v.1573	Allegro, Ioannes	Gallicus	548 ^v
5. x.1575	Metaddo, Mariano	de terra Mohac (i.e. Modica)	R185/2 35
20. iv.1577	Cascon, Guglelmus	Gallicus	R185/3 318 ^v
6. ii.1578	Metallo, Marianus	(<i>vide supra</i>)	R287/9(I) 113
17. ix.1578	Carnimolla, Bastianus	Scarparius Syracusanus	R287/9(II) 44
1. ix.1580	Hernandes, Thomas	Lusitanus	R185/5 8 ^v
3. ix.1580	Gianti, Hieronymi de	Graeci	15 ^v
3. ix.1580	Ziza, Franciscus	Siculus de civitate Mohac	17
12. iv.1583	Gliacca, Magister Andreas	Siculus	R185/8 708 ^v

del Giante, common at Senglea well into the 19th century.

Of particular linguistic interest are the Sicilian surnames Metaddo, Canteda and Reveddu. They exhibit the phenomenon ll > dd, widespread in Sicily and other Southern Italian regions.⁽⁴⁷⁾ It is highly intriguing as to why the linguistic area where it is manifested should exclude the Maltese islands. The documentation presented here gauges the resistance presented in Gozo to this transition. Sicilian *émigrés* bring with them surnames pronounced in the only way familiar to themselves (i.e. as -dd-), but are forced to revert to the -ll- pronunciation within the space of a couple of years in the foreign Gozitan environment. Cantella appears almost contemporaneously with Canteda (See Table V) and Metaddo reverts to Metallo similarly.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Reveddu is not encountered again later.

This kind of cultural pressure that warps and moulds the language manifests itself whenever mutually alien cultural tendencies come in contact. It is a mere platitude to state that the weaker minority ends up accommodating the less resilient majority, wherever this occurs, be it on Maltese/Gozitan soil, as exhibited, or equally in a Sicilian milieu. This must have been the case with the Gozitan Petrus Rikic (Irqiq/the thin) (see Appendix III) who migrated with his family to Licata and there adopted the less jarring and more accommodating translation Subtili of his surname. In fact, in the deed of 15.vii.1586 to which his mother Vincentia Rekić was a party (R287/13 f.167^v), he is referred to as *Petrus Subtili alias Rikic*. The surname Subtili, fairly common in Sicily at the time, is encountered a century earlier in Malta (Not. G. Zabbara R494/1(II)(13.iii.1494) f.99^v). It is well-known, of course, that during the stepped-up Europeanization of 16th century Malta, it was becoming fashionable to change one's Semitic surname in this way; standard instances quoted are Dejf > Magro (a translation that stuck) and Psaila > Cipolla (a still-born creation).

3.7 Maltese Immigrants

By far the most abundant records relate to Maltese who emigrated to Gozo. The following list includes those who are known to have settled permanently in Gozo, so that cases described as "*reperiens in presenti hic Gaudisij*" or "*in presenti hic Gaudisij existens*", indicating a transitory presence, are excluded. Each individual is described as *Melitensis* and as *habitor hujus terre et Insule Gaudisij*; in most cases, the village or town of origin is also given.

47. Girolamo Caracausi, "L'Elemento Bizantino ed Arabo", *Tre Millenni di Storia Linguistica della Sicilia*, (Pisa, 1983)95.

48. Cf. also: AP Senglea, Lib. Def. I. (23.xii.1619) unpaginated: "Mariano Metallo il vechio"; AP Cath. Gozo, Lib. Bapt. I(12.ii.1644) 437: "Baptista Metallo et Susanna jugali"; AAF LSA XIII N.64c (S. Giorgio, 1726)17: "Ninfa vedova del fù Mario Metallo".

TABLE VI (Maltese Immigrants: 1557-1585)

LOCALITY OF ORIGIN IN MALTA	DATE	PERSON	REFERENCE
Attard	12. xi.1574	Flamengo, Petrus qdm, Pauli	R185/1 f.17
	26. ix.1575	Attardo, f...]qdm. leonardi	R185/2 f.26 ^v
	19. ix.1581	Vella, Dionysius qdm. Dalmai	R185/6 136
Balzan	11. viii.1564	Mifsud, Augustinus	R287/3(I) f.347
	26. iii.1571	Grima, Pasqualis	R287/6(I) f.251 ^v
Birkirkara	15. iv.1573	Parnis, Jacobus	R287/7 522 ^v
	17. vii.1579	Grillo, Dominica mulier vidua relicta qdm. Jacobi	R287/9(II) f.253 ^v
Bisqallin	2. ix.1580	Zahra, Thomas Silvestri	R185/5 f.13 ^v
	22. ix.1580	Aczuppard, Mariano qdm. Thome	f.62 ^v
	28. ix.1580	Baldacchino, Vincentius Dancij	f.76 ^v
Bordi	23. viii.1558	Zarb, Hieronymus qdm. Dominici	R287/1 f.281
	20. v.1570	Canchun, Angelus	R287/5(II) f.276 ^v
	29. i.1572	Cassano, Ioannes	R287/6(II) f.269 ^v
	25. iii.1572	Canchun, Clara puella virgo filia Angeli et Imperie	f.369 ^v
	24. iii.1565	Zammit, Michael	R287/3(II) f.249 ^v
Bubaqra	13. ix.1580	Camilleri, Mariano qdm. Ioannis	R185/5 f.46
	3. ix.1580	Gambino, Ambrosius Pauli	f.20
Dingli	10. xii.1561	Chaxixe, Jacobus filius qdm. Magistri Dionysii	R287/2(I) f.125
Farruġ	25. viii.1564	Canchun, Simon	R287/3(I) f.347
Għarghur	5. xii.1567	Sammut, Agnes mulier uxor Leonardi	R287/4(II) f.86 ^v
	10. iv.1572	Bezine, Laurentius	R287/6(II) f.388
	26. ix.1575	Burg, Pancratius qdm. Georgij	R185/2 f.26 ^v
	12. ix.1580	Mellechi, Marianus Ioannis	R185/5 f.40 ^v
	1. ix.1580	Bonnichi, Antonius	f.4
Għaxaq	1. ix.1581	Bonnichi, Leonardus qdm. Antonij	R185/6 f.22

TABLE VI (Continuation 1)

LOCALITY OF ORIGIN IN MALTA	DATE	PERSON	REFERENCE
Gudja	3. vii.1576	Dirbes, Dominicus Simonis	R185/2 f.198
	13. ix.1580	Vella, Dominicus Simonis	R185/5 f.46
Kbir	8. xi.1568	Cakie, Francia mulier vidua relicta qdm. Luce	R287/5(I) f.95 ^v
	30. v.1566	Bertelli, Ioanna puella virgo filia qdm. Michaelis Bertelli et Paole viventis olim jugalium.	R287/3(III) f.175 ^v
Lija	12. ix.1580	Galie, Simon qdm. Petri	R185/5 f.40 ^v
	12. ix.1580	Vella, Blasius qdm. Juliani	f.43 ^v
	15. ix.1580	Attard, Leonardo qdm. Ioanni Pauli	f.51 ^v
	15. xi.1568	Pisayle, Marcus	R287/5(I) f.104
	1. xi.1575	Bisaile, Silvester qdm. Martij	R185/2 f.49 ^v
Luqa	11. i.1577	Seichel, Paulus qdm. Andree	R185/3 f.158
	2. ix.1580	Vella, Nicolao qdm. Bartholomei	R185/5 f.12 ^v
	12. i.1562	Camilleri, Gregorius	R287/2(I) f.154 ^v
Millieri	13. ii.1562	Xebirras, Ioannes	f.180 ^v
	8. xi.1575	Attardo, Damma mulier uxor Thome	R185/2 f.54
Mosta	1. ix.1580	Xerri, Lemo	R185/5 f.7
	1. ix.1580	Sammut, Dominicus	f.8 ^v
Naxxar	12. ix.1580	Vella, Leonardo qdm. Francisci	f.45 ^v
	12. i.1562	Spiteri, Johannes	R287/2(I) f.154 ^v
	16. i.1562	Galie, Gregorius	f.158 ^v
	18. ix.1564	Canchun, Simon	R287/3(II) f.32 ^v
	7. i.1568	Zarb, Franciscus	R287/4(II) f.104
	30. x.1568	Spiteri, Bendu	R287/5(I) f.88 ^v
	15. xi.1568	Stivala, Leonardus	f.103
	21. ii.1575	Galata: Markisia mulier vidua relicta qdm. Ferrandi de Mayra...concessit Manfredo Galata de casali Naxaro eius fratri. (Marriage ca.1567 <i>Vide: AEG Lib.Bapt.I (13.i.1568) 18^v.</i>)	R287/8(II) f.137 ^v

TABLE VI (Continuation 2)

LOCALITY OF ORIGIN IN MALTA	DATE	PERSON	REFERENCE
Naxxar (ctd.)	7. iii.1578	Fenec, Ferrandus	R287/9(I) f.134 ^v
	27. vii.1578	Portelli, Ioanni	f.225
	12. ix.1580	Spiteri, Dominicus dictus Sennuc qdm. Francisci	R185/5 f.45 ^v
	8. iii.1585	Zambac, Catharina filia virgini in capillis qdm Pauli Zambac etatis annorum viginti.	R271/1 ff.231 ^v , 232
Notabile	1557	Gauchi, Not. Thomas (civis Notabilis Civitatis Melite)	R287/1 f.1 R185/5 f.29
	7. i.1562	Cassar, Magnus Alphonsus	R287/2(I) f.148 ^v
	9. x.1568	Haius, Gregorius filius qdm. Ioannis	R287/5(I) f.51 ^v
Qormi	6. x.1575	Ferriolo, Michael	R185/2 f.40
	29. ix.1565	Schembri, Bertus	R287/3(III) f.2 ^v
	28. ix.1568	Cardona, Blasius	R287/5(I) f.33 ^v
	12. ix.1580	Burg, Berto qdm. Angeli	R185/5 f.43 ^v
Qrendi	22. ix.1568	Mangion. Ambrosius filius qdm. Bendi	R287/5(I) f.25 ^v
	5. ii.1562	Cumbo, Paulus	R287/2(I) f.172
Rabat	16. x.1564	Debono, Dominicus	R287/3(II) f.85
	6. v.1569	Xeibe, Mastro Berto	R287/5(I) f.304
Safi	1573	Ciappara, Not. Ferdinando (de Rabbato Civitatis) (Vide: Not. A. Sillato Ms1068/1 Bundle III (2.i.1593) unpaginated.)	R185/1 f.1
	25. viii.1578	Dusi, Ysabella mulier soluta filia qdm. Andree	R287/9(I) f.253
	5. vii.1579	Liftech, magister Vincentius ferrarius	R287/9(II) f.277
	2. ix.1580	Cumbo, Ioanello qdm. Pauli	R185/5 f.13 ^v
	26. ix.1580	Grima, Vincentius	f.67
	26. ix.1580	DeGuivara, Magister Antonius qdm. Ioannis	f.69 ^v
	17. iv.1566	Vella, Nicolaus filius Bartholomei	R287/3(III) f.165 ^v

TABLE VI (Continuation 5)

LOCALITY OF ORIGIN IN MALTA	DATE	PERSON	REFERENCE
	26. ix.1575	DeAlbano, Jacobus qdm. Salvi	R185/2 f.20 ^v
	26. ix.1575	Attardo, Petrus qdm. Andree	f.26
	28. ix.1575	Spiteri, Antonius qdm. Ioannis dictus Brondina	f.33 ^v
	3. x.1575	Haius, Antoninus qdm. Thome necnon et Sebastiana eius uxor.	f.36 ^v
	18. x.1575	Mallia, Antonius Berti	f.43
	3. xi.1575	Bonnich, Ioannes Paulus qdm. Antonij	f.51 ^v
	12. xi.1575	Bigenj, Marcus qdm. Simonis	f.57
	14. xi.1575	Chiantar, Petrus	f.62 ^v
	14. xi.1575	Mangion, Benedictus Blasij	f.62 ^v
	4. iv.1577	Borg, Jacobus filius Gregorij	R185/3 f.293 ^v
	16. xii.1577	Cumbo, Dominicus, filius qdm. Joannis	R287/9(I) f.85
	1. ix.1580	Xuereb, Jacobus qdm. Demetrij	R185/5 f.10 ^v
	2. ix.1580	Vella Dionisius Francisci	f.11 ^v
	2. ix.1580	Bigeni, Stephanus qdm. Marci	f.14
	3. ix.1580	Mule, Martinus filius qdm. Marci	f.15 ^v
	3. ix.1580	Grima, Ioannes Pasqualis	f.17
	3. ix.1580	Spiteri, Philippus qdm. Ioannis dicti Brondina	f.18
	7. ix.1580	Sammut, Thomas dictus Hudic(?)	f.24 ^v
	10. ix.1580	Mellechi, Andreas filius Ioannis	f.34
	10. ix.1580	Vella, Marianus qdm. Dalmai	f.36
	10. ix.1580	Frendo, Josephus Pauli	f.36
	12. ix.1580	Haius, Gregorius	f.44 ^v
	17. ix.1580	Carcheppo, Cosmano Augustini	f.57
	26. ix.1580	Attardo, Ioannes Paulus	f.68

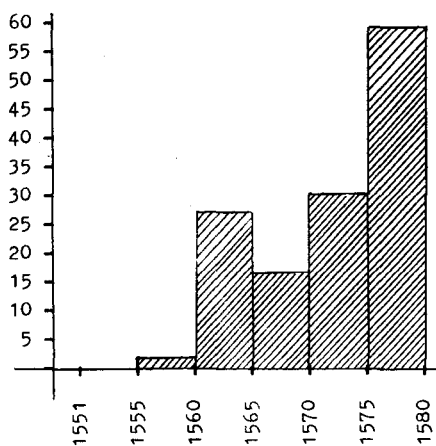
The 100 or so names whose origin in Malta is known (*vide* Table VI) are broken down by area of provenance in Table VII, which table also gives these numbers expressed as a percentage of the 1590 population.⁽⁴⁹⁾ It is seen that this percentage for the Żurrieq area is appreciably highly than that for each of the other centres.

TABLE VII

PLACE OF ORIGIN IN MALTA	NUMBER OF ÉMIGRÉS	POPULATION IN 1590	%
Attard, Balzan, Birkirkara Bordi, Lija	16	3281	0.49
Għarghur, Mosta, Naxxar	21	2333	0.90
Dingli, Notabile, Rabat	14	2030	0.68
Kbir, Qormi, Siggiewi, Xluq, Żebbuġ	28	4817	0.58
Bisqallin, Farruġ, Għaxaq, Gudja, Luqa	12	1770 ca.	0.67
Bubaqra, Millieri, Qrendi, Safi, Żurrieq	21	1880 ca.	1.11

Considering next the distribution of these names in time, the following histogram shows an oscillating rate of growth of emigration into Gozo with troughs following immediately the tragic years of 1551 and 1565, and reaching an over-all peak in the period 1575-1580.

MALTESE MIGRANTS FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION: 1555-1580



49. Bosio *op.cit.*, p.93.

The permanence of the Maltese *émigrés* at Gozo can be assessed from Table VIII. Each of the common Maltese surnames in this list is shown by Wettinger⁽⁵⁰⁾ to have been absent from pre-1551 Gozo, each appears in Table VI, almost every one is represented in Gozo to-day, and evidence exists for their continued presence there. The sources for this data are the protest of 1644⁽⁵¹⁾ quoted by Wettinger, the *Matrice Liber Status Animarum* for 1678⁽⁵²⁾, *Status Animarum* for 1726-28⁽⁵³⁾, for 1781⁽⁵⁴⁾ and for 1805⁽⁵⁵⁾ for the whole of Gozo, as well as the Electoral Registers for 1880, 1939, and for 1986. One concludes that these surnames are of Maltese origin and appeared in Gozo soon after 1551.

TABLE VIII

SURNAME	1644	1678	1726	1781	1805	1880	1939	1986
Agius	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Attard	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Azzopardi	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Baldacchino			✓	✓				
Bezzina	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Borg	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Camilleri	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cassar	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ciantar	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Cumbo	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Debono		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Frendo		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Gatt	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Grima	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Carcheppo	✓				✓			
Mallia	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓
Mangion	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
Muscat	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pace	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Portelli	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Psaila	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
Schembri	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Scicluna	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Spiteri	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Xuereb	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

50. G. Wettinger (1980), *op.cit.*, p.179.

51. BV Libr. Ms.670 ff.63-66^v.

52. AAF LSA I N.6.

53. AAF LSA XIII Nos.60a(Gharb), 63 (Xaghra), 64(Nadur), 64a(Sannat), 64b(Żebbug), 64c(San Ġorg), and XIV. Nos. 101 (*Matrice*), and 106 (Xewkija).

54. AAF LSA XXIIIb N.21a (Xewkija), XXIV Nos.110-114, and II N.36 (Gharb).

55. AAF LSA XXV Nos. 8-15.

3.8 Population Growth

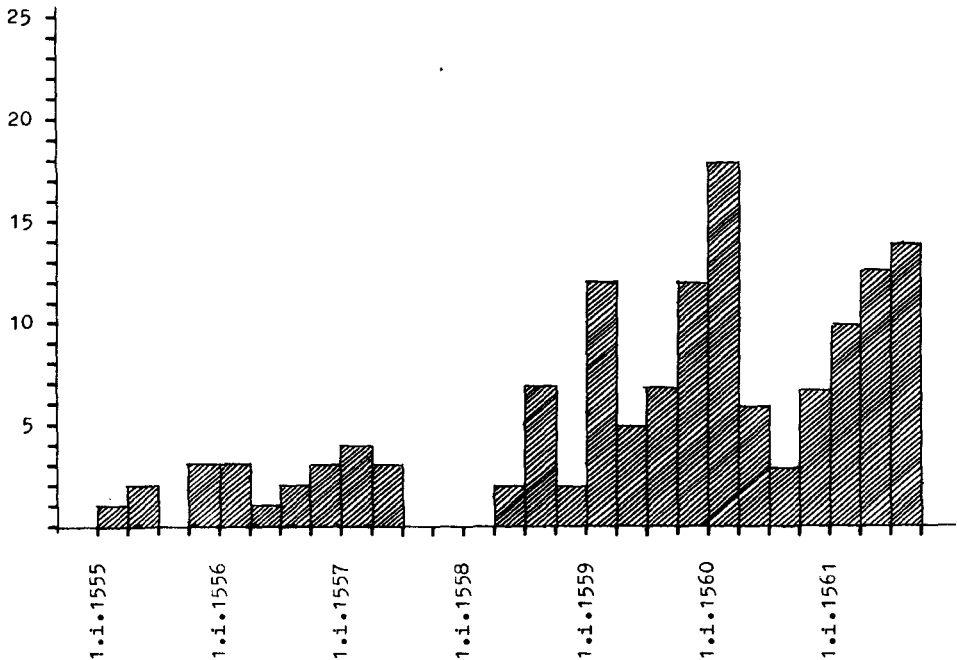
Statistical data for the Gozo population in the 16th century is full of lacunae. Bosio⁽⁵⁶⁾ states vaguely:

Vivevano in quest'Isola da otto mila Anime. Pero hora (dopo il 1551) sono ridotte quasi alla quarta parte di questo numero,

which is interpreted to mean that around 1580 some 2000 were living there whereas before 1551 there had been some 8000.

One can attempt to obtain an estimate of how the population grew after 1551 by considering the frequency distribution of births/baptisms. This data is presented in the following two histograms. The first shows the early hesitant steps of growth between 1551 and 1561 in 3-monthly periods. The second shows development between 1551 and 1580 in yearly stages. In the records one encounters gaps (corresponding to slumps in the graph) during the summer months of various years. Some of these coincide with years when corsair raids are known to have taken place.⁽⁵⁷⁾ In spite of this deficiency, for want of better documentation, the data is valuable.

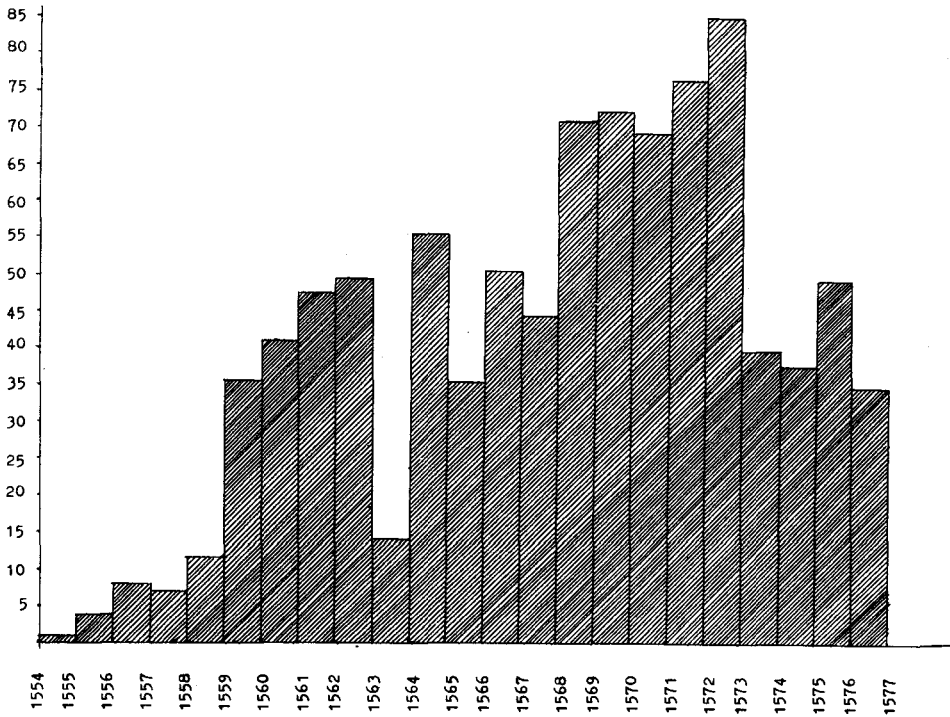
BIRTHS/BAPTISMS FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION: 1.i.1555-1.x.1561



56. Bosio *op.cit.*, p.96. The Gozo population in 1535 was estimated to be around 6500: Cathedral Museum ACM 34 Università Tom 1 'A', f.351^v.

57. Such raids took place, for example, in 1572 and 1574 *vide* Blouet(1965), *loc. cit.*.

BIRTHS/BAPTISMS FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION: 1554-1577



One can translate the baptism/birth figures into overall population statistics by first obtaining an estimate of the ratio Y:X of "population": "number of baptisms" from near-contemporary data from Malta. To this end, the mean number X of baptisms/births from various Maltese parishes is computed and correlated to the known population Y. The information is presented in Table IX.⁽⁵⁸⁾

TABLE IX

LOCALITY	PERIOD	X	Y	Y:X
Birmiftuh	1600-1635	48	1300	27
Mosta	1630-1650	36.5	1200	33
Naxxar	1600-1650	44	1400	32
Tarxien	1623-1649	25.5	750	29

58. The figures in the X-column are extracted from data in: G. Zammit and S. Muscat, *The Parish of Birmiftuh: 1600-1635*, B.A.(Gen) Thesis, R(oyal) U(niversity of) M(alta) (1973) (unpubl.), C. Calleja *Aspects of the Social History of Mosta: 1630-1650*, B.A. (Gen) Thesis, RUM (1973) (unpubl.), E. Camilleri and J. Pirotta,

From this information one concludes that the ratio Y:X is approximately 30:1. Estimates for the Gozo population can then be computed as follows:

1556-60	1561-65	1566-70	1571-75
600	1400	1850	2350

It is seen that this last entry fits in pretty well with Bosio's round figure of 2000.

4. The Reasons

One questions the motivations behind the mass migration of Maltese into Gozo in the wake of 1551. One asks whether or not the migrants were prepared to give up the relative safety of Malta for rather unprotected life in Gozo, ever under the threat of corsair attacks, in the hope of gaining a reward commensurate with the risk, such as the acquisition of real estate abandoned by unredeemed Gozitans. The answer can again be retrieved from the notarial records which shed much light on the occupations, activities and way of life of the Maltese migrants in Gozo at the time.

4.1 Land Ownership

It should be affirmed at the outset that the well-to-do Gozitans who were captured in 1551 soon got themselves ransomed because they possessed the necessary means to do so. This subset, including such well-known names as Alagona, De Apapis, Castilletta, Navarra, Plathamone and Pontremoli, albeit small, must have coincided with the land-owning majority.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The will of Guillelmo de Manuele *alias* Mollica⁽⁶⁰⁾ especially his *inventarium*⁽⁶¹⁾ that lists no less than 26 distinct properties, the will of Notary Lorenzo de Apapis,⁽⁶²⁾ and that of Raynelio Machnuc,⁽⁶³⁾ particularly his *inventarium* listing 32 distinct pieces of land,⁽⁶⁴⁾ give an indication of the extent of property in the hands of a mere handful of owners.

Furthermore, evidence exists that the relatively few Gozitans taking refuge, and eventually settling permanently, in Sicily sold their possessions, presumably to the highest bidders, who more often than not were also Gozitans who stayed behind. Such was the case of Magister Matheus Grego son of Magister Andreas, living at Agrigento, who sold his immovable property on Gozo to his uncle Antonio Grego.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The same happened in the case of Michael de Luchia son of Andriotta, living at Heraclia, who sold his property to Bartholomeo Gamich, another Gozitan⁽⁶⁶⁾, or in

Naxxar Parish 1600-1650, A Demographic Study, B.A. (Gen) Thesis, RUM (1973) (unpubl.), J.R. Grech, V.L. Seychell and G.G. Zammit, *Tarxien 1596-1650*, B.A. (Gen) Thesis, RUM (1973) (unpubl.) For the figures in the Y-column *vide* S. Fiorini (1986) Table II.

59. This statement is based on a study, being prepared jointly with Dr. G. Wettinger, of land-distribution in Malta, where the situation must have been very similar.

60. Not. L. DeApapis R203 (17.iv.1562) 109..

61. *Ibid.*(28.iii.1562) 108.

62. Not T. Gauci R287/9(II) (9.v.1579) 223.

63. Not. F. Ciappara R185/3 (1.ix.1576) 1; Not. G.D. Formosa Ms836/1 (4.vi.1592) 196.

64. Not G.D. Formosa Ms836/1 (13.xi.1592) 222.

65. R287/5(I) (Ult^o.ix.1568) 39.

66. *Ibid.*(13.xii.1568) 127^v.

the case of Paulus Saliba son of the late Petro, living at Licata, who sold to Andrea de Luchia, a Gozitan, his lands at Żebbuġ, Gozo,⁽⁶⁷⁾ or in the case of Leonardo and Jacoba Barnaba, living at Sciacca, who sold to Leonardo Meilac, a Gozitan, through the good services of Leonardo de Manuelli, a third Gozitan go-between, their lands at *ta' Qabbieža*.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The same can be said of Lucas de Luchia, a Gozitan living at Sciacca, who sold his land at Ghajn Qasab and at Wied Bingemma, to Angelo de Avola, another Gozitan⁽⁶⁹⁾.

4.2 Captives' Procurators

It is also apparent from several deeds that others, while still in captivity, were holding on to their lands through procurators in Gozo who administered their estates. One could argue that these "procurators" were Maltese sharks who flocked to Gozo to take immediate control of this property, callously oblivious of their relatives rotting away in slavery, and who took over the estates wholesale on the Gozitan slaves' death. This may have been the case in one or two isolated instances, but for the large majority this hypothesis is not borne out by the documentation available. It is stated by Bosio⁽⁷⁰⁾ and confirmed by many of the deeds⁽⁷¹⁾ that procurators were appointed by the Grandmaster to look after the interests of the enslaved Gozitans. Thus, Notary Carolo Casha, or Cassia, is defined as:

curator et administrator bonorum captivorum Gaulitanorum ordinatus et constitutus per Ill^m R^m D^m Magnum Magistrum N^m Principem⁽⁷²⁾

It appears that with the course of time, Notary Cassia, and presumably others like him, were relieved of their duties and the onus passed on, again in an official manner, to relatives of the enslaved, who in most cases were themselves Gozitans already living in Gozo. This is particularly clear in the case of Guarinus Plathamone, a relative of Gulielmus de Biscon:

Guarinus Plathamone (Gaulitanus habitator terre et Insule Gaudisij)⁽⁷³⁾ tamquam ut asserit curator bonorum Hon. Gulielmi de Biscon captivi consanguinei ipsius (Gulielmi) ordinatus per Curiam Multi Rev^{di} Dⁿⁱ Gubernatoris hujus terre et Insule Gaudisij die (...)...ad instantiam Nob. Egr. Caroli Casha olim curatoris et administratoris bonorum prefati Gulielmi et aliorum captivorum Gaulitanorum ordinati et constituti per Ill^m R^m D^m Magnum Magistrum N^m Principem ut asserit constitutus virtute Dominicalis Decreti...⁽⁷⁴⁾

The case of the Bajada family (See Appendix V) is also illuminating.

No. Egr. Carolus Casha tamquam curator captivorum gaulitanorum sponte...

67. *Ibid.*(7.ii.1569) 206.

68. R287/9(I) (7.x.1578)35^v.

69. *Ibid.*(2.x.1578) 29.

70. *Vide supra*..

71. To mention a few: R287/5(I)(27.v.1569)311, R287/5(II)(29.xii.1569)145, *ibid.*(Penult^o.xii.1569)146, *ibid.*(23.i.1570) 185^v, *ibid.*(P^o.vii.1570) 362, and several others.

72. *Ibid. et passim*. For the appointment of Carolo Cassio *vide* B.V. AOM Liber Bullarum 429 (30.i.1563) cclxi.

73. R185/5(3.ix.1580)19.

74. R287/5(II)(29.xii.1569)145.

renuntiavit Imperie mulieri vidue relicte quondam Petri Apap absenti stipulanti pro ea Fra Paulo Baiada...bona stabilia existentia in hac Insula gaudisij et Angele baiada captivorum uti eorum consanguinee Iuxta formam decreti Sue II^(me) Dominicalis et Sententie late in Curia Mult. R^{di} Dⁿⁱ Gubernatoris hujus terre et Insule gaudisij sub die iij Martij proxime preteriti...⁽⁷⁵⁾

Other instances of Gozitan procurators are:

Nobilis Malgarita mulier vidua...Albani Cassar gaulitana...consanguinea Dianore...de Manuele Beatricis et ysabelle...de Manuele captivarum.⁽⁷⁶⁾

Ioannes de Anastasio gaulitanus et Agnes mulier uxor Jacobi de Laurentio de Verona soror Antonelle mulieris Antonij Darmanno captive...⁽⁷⁷⁾

Antonius danfansino gaulitanus...tamquam consanguineus... possidet in comuni et pro indiviso cum angela mulier uxor Antonij Burg, Antonino Gentil et Salvo de Manuele... (captivis)...⁽⁷⁸⁾

Andreas Rogiles tamquam...curator et gubernator bonorum stabiliium Gismundi de Alagona et suorum filiorum captivorum...⁽⁷⁹⁾

Zaccharias Chappara gaulitanus...curator bonorum leonardi chappara captivi...⁽⁸⁰⁾

Guarinus Plathamone...consanguineus...Malgarite Rogiles captive...⁽⁸¹⁾

Calczerano Axac...(gaulitano)...tamqam consanguineo filiorum Antonij Cavalino captivorum...⁽⁸²⁾

Andreas Rogiles tamqam ut asserit curator Ioannis Rogiles eius nepotis ex fratre captivi penes hostes.⁽⁸³⁾

Among procurators who were Maltese and who could therefore have climbed the Gozitan band-wagon one can list Agnes Calleya⁽⁸⁴⁾ and Joannes Haius Galtir⁽⁸⁵⁾, who at any rate, was married to a Gozitan.⁽⁸⁶⁾

4.3 Inter-marriage

It is more likely that some may have engineered to walk into a fortune by marrying into a well-to-do Gozitan family in Gozo. Quite a few marriages are recorded at this time in which one party is Gozitan and the other is Maltese. Table X lists some representative cases. The clear dichotomy between pre-1570 and post-1570 matchings is of interest. One notes that up to around 1570 it was a Maltese girl that married a Gozitan man; the exact reverse obtained thereafter. This clearly indicates that in the early days after 1551, Gozitan society was predominantly male, the disparity in numbers evening out within a couple of decades. But it also appears that the relatively few marriageable women who did not marry other Gozitans went for foreigners and not for Maltese (*vide* Table XI). Some representative all-Gozitan matchings (taken

75. *Ibid.*(6.iv.1570)252^v.

76. R287/5(I)(22.x.1568)75.

77. *Ibid.*(4.xii.1568)117^v.

78. *Ibid.*(15.16.xi.1568)130,131.

79. *Ibid.*(27.v.1569)311.

80. R287/5(II)(Penult^o.xii.1569)146.

81. *Ibid.*(23.i.1570)185^v.

82. *Ibid.*(P^o.viii.1570)324,362.

83. R287/5(I)(12.viii.1569)406.

84. R287/6(I)(6.ii.1571)197^v.

85. R287/5(I)(Penult^o.x.1568)84,87^v,59^v *et passim*.

86. R.185/5(28.ix.1580)76^v.

TABLE X (Gozitan/Maltese Matchings: 1560-1576)

DATE	GOZITAN PARTY	SEX	MALTESE PARTY	SEX	ORIGIN IN MALTA	REFERENCES
10. v.1560	M Ferdinandus Amajjra Cirurgicus	M	Venera Besine	F	Probably Gharghur	AEG Lib.Bapt..I ff. 102,2 ^v ; R287/7 f.479
17. i.1564	Bartholomeo Garnich	M	Margarita Burg	F	Żebbuġ	R287/3(I) f.136.
17.iv.1566	Blascus Cavallino	M	Ioanna Bertelli	F	Lija	R287/3(III) f.175 ^v .
28. x.1567	M Ferdinandus de Amaira	M	Markisia Galata	F	Naxxar	R287/4(II) f.54; R287/8(II) f.137 ^v ; AEG Lib.Bapt.I. f.26
24. i.1576	Jacoba Danfansino	F	Ambrosio Gambino	M	Rabat	AEG Lib.Bapt.If.111
1. vii.1576	Joanna Saragosa	F	Francesco Bigeni	M	Żebbuġ	<i>idem.</i>
3.ix.1576	Inciona Parnisi	F	Domenico Galie	M	Mosta	<i>Idem.</i>
? .?.1576	Mattia Calleya	F	Iacobo Xiuereb	M	Rabat	<i>ibid.</i> f.111 ^v

TABLE XI (Gozitan/Foreign Matchings: 1562-1570)

2. i.1562	Imperia ?	F	Leonardo Dammars	M	di Terranova	AEG Lib.Matr.I f.103
2. v.1563	Clementia filia de Violantj peccatrici	F	Antonio de Pixi	M	de Montileone	AEG Lib.Matr.If.103; R287/2(I) f.5
15. i.1564	Vincenza Butigeg	F	Valerio Provenzano	M	de Saragosa	AEG Lib.Matr.I f.104 ^v
12.iv.1564	Marietta Aquilina	F	Antonj Czuppella	M	de Noto	AEG Lib.Matr.If.105.
6. iv.1567	Antonella Rogiles	F	Michel Salbires	M	?	AEG Lib.Matr.I f.106 ^v .
27.iv.1568	Agnes ?	F	Jacobus de Laurentio	M	de Verona	R287/4(II) f.172; 287/5(I) f.117 ^v .
3. xii.1568	Marietta Alemanno	F	Andreas Amor	M	Tudescus	R287/5(I) f.114.
22.viii.1569	Vennera ?	F	Petrus de Soltano	M	Siculus	R287/5(I) f.423 ^v ; AEG Lib.Bapt.I f.32 ^v
17. i.1570	Elena Stivala	F	Sanctorus Cantello	M	Siculus	AEG Lib.Bapt.I f.107 ^v R287/7 f.533 ^v

from the ecclesiastical records) are: Bacbac/de Federico, (2.v.1563), Calleja/Dolfín (18.iv.1565), Navarra/Suria (22.v.1566), and Gurabe/Merchic (15.i.1569).

That males by far outnumbered females in the early years of resettlement can also be deduced from the disproportionately high incidence of female prostitutes in Gozitan society. In a small community of around 1400 between the years 1561 and 1566 (see § 3.9 *supra*), no less than 7 so-called *peccatrici* are recorded in the baptismal records as giving birth; these were: Agnesa (26.vii.1561), Margarita Michallef (26.viii.1561), Nucza (24.vii.1562), Ventura (27.x.1562), Aluisa Grego (4.iv.1564), Imperia (13,14.x.1566), and (...) di Castillo (6.xi.1566). The daughter of another, Violanti, is recorded as contracting matrimony on 2.v.1563, and others yet may have gone completely undetected. It is relevant to note in this context that after 1551 the defence of the *Castello* was given increased attention by the authorities and that consequently the strength of the military personnel there was augmented.⁽⁸⁷⁾ At this time also, Gozo continued to be used as a place of temporary exile for recalcitrant knights.⁽⁸⁸⁾

4.4 Labour

One concludes that the attraction of an easy take-over of property in Gozo could not have been at the root of the bulk of Maltese migration. In fact, in contrast with the lack of evidence for this hypothesis, a mass of information exists showing that what they were really in pursuit of was nothing more remunerative than hard work, mostly agricultural. From Table VI it is patently clear that the localities of origin of the Maltese migrants were the rural areas of Malta, excepting the very few from Notabile, to the total exclusion of the Three Cities and later on of Valletta as well. That this farming community continued to live by the land in Gozo is evident from innumerable notarial deeds. At one end of the spectrum one encounters those who offered their manual services in the fields and on the property of well-to-do Gozitans, for a pre-determined stipend and for a fixed length of time, which contract was often renewed. A typical deed would be:

Hieronymus Zarb de Casali gadir il bordi Insule Melite habitator hujus terre et Insule Gaudisij...se obligavit personaliter servire Antonio Gentil gaulitano...in eius rure pro anno uno continuo et completo incipiendo a quinto decimo die mensis septembris proxime venture in antea...⁽⁸⁹⁾

Child labour was not excluded. By our standards an extreme case, but by no means an isolated instance, was:

Magister Gabriel Bondino faber melitensis habitator hujus terre et Insule Gaudisij...conduxit et conducit operas et servitias Salvi Bondino eius filij minoris etatis annorum duodecim... Petro Parnis... in omnibus servitijs rusticis et urbanis pro anno uno...et hoc pro mercede seu verius pro victu vestitu et el calzaro necessario...⁽⁹⁰⁾

87. BV AOM 89 (24.ii.1557) 102^v; *Ibid.* 90 (1.ii.1559) 49; *Ibid.*(10.iv.1559) 57.

88. Each of the following knights was condemned to be exiled to Gozo for a period of one year for various offences ranging from brawling to adultery: Fr. Johannes de Sancta Pau (BV AOM 89 (11.iii.1558)136^v), Fr. Franciscus Barrile (*ibid.* 90(21.iv.1559)58^v, Fr. Johannes de Hassemburgh (*ibid.* 91(23.i.1562)58^v), Fr. Benedictus Mezquita *ibid.*(5.x.1562)79), Fr. Baptista Maily (*ibid.*(22.i.1563)90), Fr. Petrus Vigier (*ibid.*(27.ix.1563)109^v).

89. R287/5(1)(31.viii.1569)439^v.

90. R287/9(1)(11.x.1577)40.

Other examples of Maltese labourers working for Gozitan employers are included in Table XII. In all cases, except where otherwise stated, the length of contract is one year.

4.5 Land Lease

Another attraction for Maltese farmers was availability of much land in Gozo for short leases (*ingabellatio/qbiela*), usually of four years' duration, again often renewable. The lessor in most cases, though not invariably, was a Gozitan living in Gozo. A typical case would be that of Blasio Chilia, a Maltese living in Gozo, who in September and October of 1577 obtained the 4-year lease of each of the following lands from Gozitan land-owners:

...terras cum quibusdam arboribus et fonte aque viventis ...appellatas ginen sipti in contrata gued bingemma...Item alias duas petias terre in contrata appellata tal damra...

*...lenciam unam terre...in contrata hasri appellata sinit. Item petiam terre in eadem contrata divisa ex dictis terris per vallonem necnon et lenciam terre positam in contracta zebug appellatam sinit...
petiam unam terre...in contrata zebug...⁽⁹²⁾*

Subcontracting was also common. Thus on 14th January 1569, the Secretus Magnus Matheus de Falsono leased for four years the lands "*la taffalia, la chamria, la ayra de la curti, tal barmili, dila barca, dilo medico, ta bordin, la ranchisia, la meimona, tal mohos, tal buc, tal mihayn, et dila mastranza*", forming part of the Grandmaster's Fief on Gozo, to Notary Carolo Cassia, who appears as "*principalis gabellotus*". Similar leases were obtained by Ioannes Refalo and Leonardus Gambino dictus Cardona (*Gaulitani*), Hieronymus Xicaluna (*Melitensis*), Blasius Chilia (*Melitensis*), Pasqualis Grima, Laurentius and Vincentius de Cachi, and Stephanus Bigeni and Dominicus Spiteri "*insolidum*".⁽⁹³⁾ Notary Carolo Cassia obviously did not work the lands himself, so he immediately subcontracted⁽⁹⁴⁾ the fields for the same 4-year duration to other tenants. Thus, for example:

Nobilis et Eregius Carolus Casha tamquam principalis gabellotus in infr(adict) o feudo Illmⁱ Rⁱ Dⁱ Magni Magistri existenti in hac insula gaudisij...concedit Salvo de Biscon et Georgio Haius... terras tal barmili et petiam dilo medico...pro annis quatuor...

Similarly,

Leonardus Meilac tamquam principalis conductor in vineale terre posito...in contrata gar ilme vocatum ta florio...sublocavit et subconcessit Ioanni Grima...⁽⁹⁵⁾

91. Ambrosius Gambin was in fact Maltese from Rabat but he was married to the Gozitan Jacoba Danfasino: AEG Lib. Matr. I (24.i.1576)111.

92. The lands belonged to *Paulus de Anastasio*, to *Magister Franciscus Theume, sutor*, and to *Magnificus Nicolaus Castilletta*, respectively: R287/9(1)(18.ix.1577)ff.11^v, 12, 12^v; (2.x.1577)f.27.

93. R287/5(1)(14.i.1569)163^v-169^v. On this occasion, the Secreto also gave the lease of the "*barca del passo (sive scaffa ut vulgo dicitur)*" (R297/9(1)(16.ix.1577)f.8) *cum el ridumi(?) abbonaturi et soi raxuni et emolumenti*" for one year to Antonio Gauchi, Laurentio Spiteri, Leonardo Buchaiar and Dominico Tumne: R287/5(1)(29.i.1569)f.180.

94. R287/5(1)(29.i.1569)f.181.

95. *Ibid.*(28.iii.1569) f.252.^v

TABLE XII (Maltese Labourers in the Employ of Gozitans: 1568-1580)

DATE	MALTESE LABOUR	ORIGIN	GOZITAN EMPLOYER	STIPEND	REFERENCE
15. xi.1568	Marcus Pisaile	Luca	Malgarita Cassar	Unc.2,esu, potu et el calzaro crudo necessario et una camisa et un paio di calzi de tila, un chippuni et calzetti di lana.	R287/5(I) f.104.
24. iii.1569	Petrus Galie	Lie	Raynelio Machnuc	Unc.5, esu, potu et el calzaro crudo et 2 canni de albaxo.	<i>Ibid.</i> f.250 ^v
	Filius Petri Galie annorum duodecim	Lie	Antonio Bonnich	Unc.1 tar.24, esu, potu et calzaro, et una porcella.	<i>ibid.</i> f.251.
18. ix.1577	Gregorius Zammit dictus Sileito	?	Ambrosio Gambin ⁽⁹¹⁾	Esu, potu et el calzaro, et 2 pensata lane.	R287/9(I) f.11
21. ix.1577	Jacobus Grima	Rabat	Raynelio Machnuc	Unc.4, esu, potu, calzaro (1 month)	<i>Ibid.</i> f.15.
26. ix.1580	Antoninus qdm. Ioannis Spiteri dictus Brondina	?	Ioannes de Anastasio	Unc.2, tar.20,esu, potu et calceamental (4 months)	R185/5 f.65 ^v

TABLE XIII (Short Leases of Property other than Land: 1568-1577)

DATE	GOZITAN LESSOR	MALTESE LESSEE	DURATION	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
2. x.1568	Guarinus Plathamone	Dominico Grego	?	locum domorum rusticum cum terris in contrata zebug	R287/5(I)40
30. xii.1568	Garsias Mampalao	Paulo Vella dicto Vizorr	4 years	locum rusticum cum mandris in contrata cortin herrin	<i>ibid.</i> 148
28. i.1569	Raynelius Machnuc	Laurentio Burg dicto Tingheir	2 years	locum rusticum in contrata xilendi	<i>ibid.</i> 193 ^v
31. i.1569	Michael de Luchia habitator terre Heraclie Regni Sicilie	Dominico Muscat	4 years	locum rusticum cum gructa et clausurectis in contrata Garbo	<i>ibid.</i> 196
17. iii.1569	Ioannes de Theobaldo	Andree Gatto Langro	4 years	clausura cum domo et cisterna	<i>ibid.</i> 241
23. ix.1577	Antonius Midlum	Ioannes Haius	1 year	locum rusticum cum lentijs in contrata Garbo	R287/9(I)15 ^v
15. x.1577	Antonius Plathamone	Dominico Micallef et Iusmudo Camilleri	1 year	51 pecudes fetantes et 72 capras fetantes	<i>ibid.</i> 45

The Maltese farmer leased not only the fields he tilled but also the house he inhabited, sometimes even the flocks of sheep and goats he reared and the stockyard (*mandra*) that housed them. The amount of documentation on this subject is forbiddingly plentiful so that only representative situations (see Table XIII *supra*) can be described here. There is scope however, for a full quantitative analysis of the situation.

4.6 Partnerships

The renting of flocks, as in the case of Antonius Plathamone just quoted, was not a very common occurrence. What happened usually was that the owner, on the one hand, and the farmer, on the other, entered into a partnership (in the documents called *soccida* or *societas*), whereby for a pre-determined number of years, the owner contributed stock and the farmer contributed the labour and management; returns were then divided according to agreement. A typical such contract was that signed by the Gozitan Ioannes Refalo and the Maltese Dominico Spiteri, nicknamed Brundina, who on 8th November 1568 agreed to form a 2-year partnership in respect of two oxen fit for ploughing, complete with harness and ploughshare. Spiteri bought a half-share off Refalo for 10 *uncie*; he also contributed half of the seeds required to sow land leased to Refalo. Profits were to be divided equally after first deducting the expenses of the lease. Other details can be seen from the document reproduced *in extenso* in Appendix VI. In fact this situation was already obtaining a century earlier, as described by Wettinger⁽⁹⁶⁾, with a difference, namely that the well-to-do partner "selling" the half-share was now almost invariably a Gozitan (not an Mdina nobleman), whereas the labourer "buying" the half-share was a Maltese migrant. The Maltese words *xriek* for partner and *xirka* for partnership were often employed in the documents. Thus,

Bertus Schembri de Casali Curmi habitator hujus terre et Insule Gaudisij se obligavit personaliter servire Hon' Raynelio Machnuc (Gaulitano)...in eius rure PRO XIRICO juxta usum et consuetudinem hujus Insule Gaudisij pro anno instanti et hoc pro quarta parte victualium et leguminum...⁽⁹⁷⁾

Antonius Gentil (Gaulitanus)...sponte vendidit Lemo Xerri Melitensi habitatori hujus terre et Insule Gaudisij...quartam partem pro indiviso quatuor bovum aratorum...raxuni del XIRICO secundum consuetudinem hujus Insule...⁽⁹⁸⁾

Perhaps the most a first-generation Maltese farmer in Gozo could aspire to was part-ownership in partnerships of this kind and eventual ownership of flocks and cattle, but not, as shown, land acquisition. This is exemplified by the case of Lemo Xerri, just quoted, whose will was drawn up by Notary Thomas Gauci in 1581.⁽⁹⁹⁾ He left his heirs substantial property in livestock but not a single span of land in Gozo.

96. G. Wettinger, "Agriculture in Malta in the Late Middle Ages", *Proceedings of History Week 1981* (M. Buhagiar, Ed.) (1982) p.37.

97. R287/3(III)(29.ix.1565)2^v.

98. R287/5(I)(11.ix.1568)10.

99. R287/11(II)(18.x.1581)60.

5. Conclusion

In summing up one concludes that an appreciable number of Gozitans, predominantly male and certainly more than hitherto claimed, managed to escape the tragic depopulation of Gozo of 1551. Others, in their majority the better off, arranged to get themselves redeemed and found their way back to these islands. Most of these Gozitans went back to their lands in Gozo, but a sizeable minority took refuge, even permanently, either in Sicily or in Malta, mostly in the Cities. The original Gozitan community emerges as a rather compact, closely-knit and closed group, very jealous of its possessions and averse to the intrusion by Maltese outsiders into their affairs. This is evidenced by the fact that procurators for the enslaved were almost exclusively Gozitan, and that the sale of lands by Gozitans who opted to leave for good was always an internal affair, even where go-betweens were concerned. Any penetration of the Gozitan phalanx by Maltese was only achieved via marriage. Yet, the small population could not cope with the management of land capable of supporting a far larger community, so that the attraction of Maltese and foreign immigrants to fill this void was inevitable. Again, the roles of Gozitan land-owners and Maltese labourers are seen to be quite distinct and well-defined. In spite of this immigration, the population increased in size only gradually, so that it took about a century to reach the level of 1551.

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APPENDIX I
Gozitans living in Gozo: 1557-1586 (Notarial records)

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
3. xi.1557	Thomas Chettut G(aulitanus)	R287/1(II)69
15. iii.1558	Ventura mulier relicta qdm. Jacobi. Hordob G.	143
5. iv.1558	Lazarus Mongebino G.	171
5. iv.1558	Aloysius Aragonesi habitator hujus terre et Insule Gaudisij	171
16. vii.1558	Antonius de Rigio G.	221
31. vii.1558	Antonius Chufai filius qdm. Leonardi G.	252 ^v
5. viii.1558	Federicus Meylac G.	263 ^v
3. i.1562	Angelo Gaduara G.	R287/2(I) 146 ^v
7. ii.1562	Baptista Cozullura filius qdm. Pasqualis Cozullura G.	176 ^v
9. xi.1562	Ramundus Bacbac	R287/2(II) 103
17. i.1564	Bartholomeus Gamich filius qdm. Andriotte et Decie Gamich	R287/3(I) 136
4. iii.1564	Silvester Chini G.	182
18. viii.1564	Joannes Refalo Dictus rueigel G.	361 ^v
20. x.1564	Mattheo Chappisa G.	R287/3(II)95 ^v
6. ii.1565	Antonius Kinzi gaulitanus dictus lo mercanti	214
9. x.1565	Ioannes Mannara G.	R287/3(III)10
4. xi.1565	Pinus Gauchi (deleted and Vella written over it) G.	44
9. xii.1565	Nobilis Andriottas Algaria G. filius qdm. Nob. Ponsij...et Margarita uxor	86 ^v
24. xii.1565	Ioannello Kettut G.	103
30. v.1566	Blascum Cavallino G.	175 ^v
28. x.1567	Magister Ferrandus de Mayra cirurgicus G.	R287/4(II) 54
16. i.1568	Salvus Bercax dictus cacui... egrotans in lecto eius proprie habitationis... in Rabbato hujus Castri Gaudisij	115
25. xi.1568	Petrus Xiricha G.	R287/5(I) 109
3. xii.1568	Antonella de Castilletta	112 ^v
29. i.1569	Francesco Fantino G.	191 ^v
30. iii.1569	Joannes de la Barba G.	258 ^v
31. viii.1569	Antonino Gentil G.	439 ^v
4. x.1569	Magister Franciscus Critelli G. sutor	R287/5(II) 51 ^v
15. vii.1570	Hieronymus Carmona G.	333 ^v
9. x.1570	Andreas Dighif G.	R287/6(I) 69 ^v
7. xi.1571	Magister Angelus Gaduara qdm. Silvestri G.	R287/6(II)184

Appendix I (Continuation I)

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
19. x.1572	Bartholomeus Chabarra qdm. Luce G.	R287/7 171 ^v
21. iii.1574	Joannellus Chettut qdm. Laurentij G.	R185/1 96
17. iv.1574	Joanni Bringheli G.	37 ^v
12. xi.1574	Jacobus Dallo qdm. Antonij G.	17
14. xii.1574	Matheus Chappisa qdm Angeli G.	22
11. i.1575	Salvo qdm. Pauli de Scotia G.	36 ^v
14. iv.1575	Joannes Bongebin qdm. Nicolai G.	144 ^v
16. iv.1575	Silvester Gurabe Laurentij G.	166 ^v
8. vii.1575	Andreas Amajjara qdm. Ferdinandi incola Gaudisij	210
18. vii.1575	Magister Antonius Sans et d. Agnes jugales G.	252
1. viii.1575	Nicolao Meilac G.	273
14. ix.1575	Andrea Chiappara G.	R185/2 2
17. ix.1575	Vincentius Laurentij de Cacis habitator hujus terre et Insule G.	11
17. ix.1575	Nicolaus de Manuele G...instituit Andream de Santoro G.	12
26. ix.1575	Angelus Antonij Dandalona habitator G.	22
26. ix.1575	Petro Sanson G.	26
23. x.1575	Joannes Guarrerij G.	46
2. xi.1575	Raynelius Machnuc G..	50 ^v
5. xi.1575	Andriottas Magro qdm. Simonis G.	52 ^v
8. xi.1575	Michael d'Anfasino G.	54
13. xi.1575	Magnificus Salvator Caxario G.	59
14. xi.1575	Antonius Hapap qdm. Salvi G.	63 ^v
14. xi.1575	Ioannes Theume qdm. Leonardi G.	63 ^v
14. xi.1575	Salvus Vella qdm. Francisci G.	63 ^v
28. xi.1575	Maurus qdm. Pauli de Bisco G.	74 ^v
28. xi.1575	Jacobus Sala G.	74 ^v
12. xii.1575	Joannes et Ascania de Nicolacio jugales G.	85 ^v
7. ix.1576	Antonius Bringheli qdm. Salvi G. concessit Magnifico Garxie Mompalao qdm. magnifici Calceranj G.	R185/3 18
27. x.1576	Magister Paulus Hordob qdm. Blasij G.	70
11. i.1577	Antonio Bonnichi qdm. Adriotte G.	158
14. i.1577	Laurentius de lo Episcopo qdm. Mathei G...dixit se recepisse a Magnifico Alvaro Caxaro G.	160
28. i.1577	Michael Mintuf qdm. Simonis G.	173 ^v
11. ii.1577	Ambrosius Vagnolo G.	202
16. ii.1577	Magister Nicolaus Balistrera qdm. Henrici G.	206 ^v

Appendix I (Continuation 2)

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
20. iii.1577	Palumbinus Mochitara qdm. Valentini G.	R185/3 275
14. iv.1577	Antonius Finara qdm. Joannis G.	293 ^v
10. iv.1577	Simon de Bisco filius Salvi incola hujus terre et Insule G.	300
15. iv.1577	Andriottas Algarda G.	310
19. iv.1577	Joannes Cini qdm. Nicolai G.	313
8. vii.1577	Antonius Modlum G.	433
16. viiii.1577	Blasius Madiona qdm. Andree G.	534 ^v
22. viiii.1577	Matheus Chappisa qdm. Angeli G.	558 ^v
16. ix.1577	Andreas Rogiles G.	R185/4 53 ^v
4. xi.1577	Antoni Ciumi G.	195 ^v
27. i.1578	Gulielmus Scavuni G.	R287/9 101
1. ix.1580	Ramandus Bacbac et Agatha jugales habitatores terre et Insula G.	R185/5 4
1. ix.1580	Andreas Chaber G.	6
1. ix.1580	Angelus Mannara quotidem Ioannis G. vendidit...Palumbino qdm. Valentinj Mochtara G.	8
1. ix.1580	Andriotta Bonnich qdm. Guglielmi dictus Induj G.	9 ^v
3. ix.1580	Magnificus Ugolinus Navarra G. habitor hujus terre et Insule G.	18
3. ix.1580	Magnificus Guarinus Plathamone G. habitor hujus terre et Insule G.	19
7. ix.1580	Andreas de Luchia G.	24 ^v
7. ix.1580	Antonius Hapap qdm. Mathei G.	25 ^v
10. ix.1580	Ioannes Gauchj qdm. Michaelis G.	33
10. ix.1580	Magnificus Nicolaus Pontremoli G.	35 ^v
12. ix.1580	Jacobus Sala G.	R185/5 42 ^v
12. ix.1580	Magistro Paulo Hurdub G.	44 ^v
14. ix.1580	Jacobus sive Jaches Refalo G.	47 ^v
15. ix.1580	Venerabili Fratri Paulo Bayada G. ordinis heremitarum S. Augustini Priori Conventus	52 ^v
16. ix.1580	Magistro Antonio Barberj G.	56
20. ix.1580	Cataldus Mochtara qdm. Francisci G. ...vendidit Perne Critelli mulieri vidue relicte qdm. Stephani G.	57 ^v
23. ix.1580	Joannes de Nicolachio G.	64
26. ix.1580	Ioanni de Anastasio G.	65 ^v
27. ix.1580	Magistro Paulo Parnis qdm. Ioannis G.	73
28. ix.1580	Domina Imperia de Rigio mulier vidua ultimo loco relicta qdm. Nobilis Antonij G.	74

Appendix I (Continuation 3)

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
28. ix.1580	Caterina...uxor Ioannis Haius galtir G.	R185/5 76 ^v
11. ix.1581	Leonardus Meilac qdm. Raimundi G.	R185/6 59 ^v
3. ii.1582	Andreas de Scotia qdm. pauli G. habitor hujus terre et Insule G.	483
2. viii.1584	Antonius Chivaj qdm. Leonardi G. habitor hujus terre et Insule G.	R185/8 810 ^v

APPENDIX II

Gozitan Surnames in Ecclesiastical Records: 1554-1628

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
25. iv.1555	Antonio Teobaldo	AEG Lib. Bapt.I,1
19. xi.1556	Don Jacobo Tavula	1 ^v
12. vi.1557	Francesco Muntagnes	2
25. vi.1558	Don Ieronimo Dalagona	2
27. vii.1558	Matheo Saliba	2 ^v
14. viii.1558	Nicolao de Federico	2 ^v
6. x.1558	Nardo Gambino	2 ^v
26. ii.1559	[...]ato Bornetto.	3
21. iii.1559	Joseph Rapa	3 ^w
16. iv.1559	Andrea Fontana	3 ^v
27. ii.1560	Nicolao de Marino	5
18. iv.1560	Tiberio Bianco	5 ^v
1. vi.1561	Ambrogio Cattcuti	6 ^v
7. viii.1561	Joanni et Paula Xebiras	7
5. x.1561	Antonio et Margarita Merchic	7 ^v
10. i.1563	Mastro Salvo et Imperia Farmusa	10
?. ix.1566	Marino et Joanna Lombardo	15 ^v
11. ix.1568	Ioanni Xeibe et Laurea jugali	18 ^v
26. v.1569	Jolormu Riera(?) et Margarita jugali	24
18. iv.1564	Isabella filia di Matheo Dolfin	105 ^v
22. v.1566	Antonina filia del qdm. Joanni Suria	106
14. iv.1572	Antonio Basili	109 ^v
15. v.1575	Joanni Tardo	110 ^v
18. iv.1570	Micheli et Anna Firriolo	28
5. v.1604	Pasquali Sagona et Margarita jugali	APMatrice Lib. Bapt.I, 11
7. iv.1622	Mastro Valentio Laurer et Catherina jugali	94
10. v.1626	Nardo Membro	APS.Georgii Lib. Bapt.II, 4 ^v

APPENDIX III (Gozitans in Sicily: 1558-1590)

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
19. iv.1558	Francesco Balistrera gaulitano incola Drepanensi.	Not. Placido Abela Ms 514/1
31. xii.1561	Paulus Saliba filius qdm. Petri gaulitanus habitator Leocate R.S.	R287/2(I) 143 ^v
6. ii.1562	Jacobus de li Boffi gaulitanus habitator Sacce R. S.	172 ^v
17. iii.1562	Francina Tellerixo uxor Orlandi gaulitana habitator civitatis Agrigenti R. S.	218
23. iii.1562	Petrus Rikic filius qdm. Laurentij gaulitanus habitator terre Leocate R.S. (But one should note the entry in the Index for 1559-60 of the same notary (f.394): "Testamentum Catherine Richic", which deed is apparently missing.)	223 ^v
23. ix.1563	Petrus Mintuf gaulitanus habitator civitatis Sacce Regni Sicilie.	R287/3(I) 43
25. iv.1564	Antonius Finara gaulitanus habitator civitatis Sacce Regni Sicilie.	269
23. viii.1563	Magnifica Malgarita Malatesta mulier uxor Magnifici Iosephi Malatesta absentis ab Insula...instrumento celebrato in civitate Nicoxie Regni Sicilie...die prima mensis Junij sexte Indictionis instantis.	R287/2(II) 314
10. iii.1565	Magnificus Salvator Caxaro exposuit quod cum his annis elapsis Magnificus qdm. Angelus eius pater et ipse Magnificus exponens reperijssent se in terra Heraclie Regni Sicilie et ibi...impignassent Zaccaria Saliba gaulitano tunc degens in dicta terra Heraclie.	R287/3(II) 242 ^v
14. xii.1568	Michael de Luchia filius qdm. Andriote gaulitanus habitator terre Heraclie.	R287/5(I) 127 ^v
29. x.1568	...curator bonorum Dominici et Salvatoris Chettut minorum filiorum et heredum qdm. Ioannis Chettut existentium in Regno Sicilie.	77 ^v
10. x.1569	Nobilis Petrus Bacbac filius qdm. Antonij gaulitanus habitator Magnifice civitatis Agrigenti tam eius proprio nomine quam uti procurator Iacobelle eius uxoris et Ioannis Balistrera eius cognati et generi gaulitani et cohabitaturi.	R287/5(II) 53

APPENDIX III (continued)

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
11. x.1569	Petrus Subtili gaulitanus habitator Dilectissime civitatis Leocate Regni Sicilie tam proprio nomine et pro parte Rose eius uxoris necnon et nomine et pro parte eius filiarum et filij minorum.	R287/5(II) 54 ^v
5. vii.1570	Paulus Hordob filius qdm. Blasij gaulitanus habitator Nobilis civitatis Messane.	320 ^v
7. xi.1571	Magister Angelus Gaudara filius qdm. Silvestri gaulitanus habitator Magnifice civitatis Agrigenti Regni Sicilie.	R287/6(II) 184
9. iv.1572	Georgius Chini de civitate Drepani	387
5. xii.1572	Andriottas Balistrera gaulitanus habitator terre Heraclie Regni Sicilie.	R287/7 264
7. x.1577	...procurator Leonardi et Jacobe Barnaba gaulitanorum habitatores Digne civitatis Sacce Regni Sicilie.	R287/9(I) 35 ^v
17. x.1590	Francesco Theuma de terra Xicli	Not.G.S. De Lucia R229/1 f.364

APPENDIX IV (Gozitans in Malta: 1553-1609)

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
20. vii.1553	Fangius de Manuele gaulitanus et habitator Rabbati civitatis Melite.	Not. A.Bartolo R48/2 f.11 ^v .
18. ix.1554	Antonius Cappelano de civitate	<i>Ibid.</i> R48/3 f.55.
23. ix.1555	Andreotta Cattut alias Fantin de Insula Gaudisij...existens in hoc portu Melite.	<i>Ibid.</i> R48/4 f.139 ^v
30. viii.1562	Leonardus Gaduara (casali birchircara).	Not. G. Muscat R376/43 f.761 ^v
13. x.1564	Geronima Cangura...povira (One of many surnamed Ciangura/Cianchura/ Ciancura/Chengure at Qormi; surname encountered earlier only at Gozo: Not.V.B. De Bonetijs R206/4(3.x.1538)100: "Angelina Xangura di gaudisio"; <i>ibid.</i> R206/8(4.vi.1544)141: "Petro Xangura gaulitano".)	AP Qormi Lib. I Bapt... f.271 ^v <i>et passim.</i>
12. viii.1565	Antonella mulier uxor Antonij de Amfasino habitatrix terre et Insule Gaudisij degens ad presens in hac nova civitate Melite.	Not. L. DeApapis R203 f.119

APPENDIX IV (Continuation I)

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
29. viii.1568	Nicolaus Petrus Balistrera gaulitanus habitator Insule Melite filius qdm. Petri.	R287/5(I) f.82
16. iv.1569	...dicatorum de Navarra existentibus in Insula Meliveti.	<i>Ibid.</i> f.274 ^v
3. x.1569	Vintura Hordob olim de Insula gaudisij	Not. G. DeGuevara R224/30 f.187.
20. viii.1570	Betta filia di manfre gozzitano dicto Dondlana	AP Qormi Lib.I Bapt... f.178 ^v
22. iii.1574	Ioannes qdm. Nicolai Mintuf gaulitanus et habitator Insule Senglee Insule Melite; Ioannes de Manueli alias Mintuf qdm. Nicolai habitator Insule Senglee	R185/1 f.8 ^v ; Not. G. S. De Lucia R229/1 (25.viii.1590)103.
6. ix.1576	Antonius Guarreri qdm. Andriotte gaulitanus et habitator burmule Insule Melite.	R185/3. 14 ^v
26. iii.1577	Paulo de li Buffi gaulitano et habitatori Insule Senglee	<i>Ibid.</i> f.290 ^v
17. iv.1578	Andria Amayra filio qdm. magistri Ferdinandi gaulitano et habitatori Insule Melite. (Probably Senglea: <i>Vide</i> AP Senglea Liber Status Animarum 1684 f.20 ^v).	R185/4 ff.461 ^v ,467
1. ix.1580	Ferdinando de Anastasio gaulitano et habitatori Insule Senglee	R185/5 f.7
14. ix.1580	Antonius Bonnich filius Magnifici Andreette gaulitanus et habitator Victoriouse civitatis Melite.	<i>Ibid.</i> f.50.
14. ix.1580	Andreas Sueyde qdm. Magistri Hieronymi gaulitanus et habitator Melite civitatis Vallette.	<i>Ibid.</i> f.53 ^v
24. xi.1590	Matheus Machnuc olim de Insula Gaudisij modo veru habitator rabbati Civitatis	Not.G.S. DeLucia R229/1 f.517.
11. xii.1590	Andreas Guerrer olim de Insula Gaudisi modo habitator Insule Senglee	<i>Ibid.</i> f.615.
13. i.1591	Lucas Saguna qdm. Nicolai olim de Insula Gaudisij modo vero habitator Casalis Chibir	<i>Ibid.</i> f.748
4. ix.1591	Ioannes Xeibe qdm. Jacobi Gaulitanus cecus habitator hujus Victoriouse Civitatis	<i>Ibid.</i> R229/2 f.36 ^v
9. xii.1609	M ^{ro} Thomas Hordob qdm. M ^{ri} Pauli gaulitano civi hujus Civitatis Victoriouse	Not. S. Ciantar R184/15(I) f.155.

APPENDIX V

On the Redemption of Fr. Paulus Baiada.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

d.c. Eodem

Testamur quod presens coram nobis Ven. Fr. Laurentius Bonavia prior Ven. Conventus Sancti Augustini existentis in Insula Gaudisij exposuit quod cum fuit et sit requisitus a Ven. Fr^e paulo baiada eiusdem ordinis Sancti Augustini commorantis in eodem conventu ut sibi concederet veniam et liberam licentiam ad hoc ut possit comparere In iudicio spirituali seu temporali et petere aliqua bona posita in eadem Insula que erant suorum parentum in presenti existentium apud hostes ut possit eis utifrui eius vita perdurante propterea dictus Ven. Fr. laurentius prior qui supra videns et considerans quod prefatus Ven. Fr. Paulus novus venerit a captivitate in qua per annos quatuordecim (14) et ultra permanserit, et tandem opera et pecunijs quorundam mercatorum extiterit redemptus Ita ut In presentiarum reperiatur debitor predicta eius redemptione erga prefatos mercatores quam summam dictus Ven. Fr. Paulus aliter non potest solvere nisi ex dictis bonis. Propterea dictus Ven. Fr. Laurentius prior ex eius libera voluntate sponte tribuit eidem Ven. Fr. Paulo veniam ac licentiam posse comparendi Inquocumque Iudicio unde ad Instantiam prefati Ven. Fr^{is} pauli presentis et petentis fuit facta presens nota suo loco et tempore valitura et sic (SIC) iuravit etc.

Unde etc.

Testes Mag^{cus} Alfonsus Cassar nos. salvus pontremulo et m^r bertus xeibe

(posita manu supra conscientiam more sacerdotali ⁽¹⁰¹⁾

APPENDIX VI

A Partnership Contract ⁽¹⁰²⁾Die viij mensis novembris xij^e Jnd^s 1568

pro Joanne Refalo
contra Dominico (sic)
Spiteri

Joannes refalo filius qdm georgij presens coram nobis non vi dolo malo etc. sed sponte vendidit dominico spiteri filio Joannis spiteri dicti brundina presenti et ementi ab eo medietatem pro indiviso duorum bovum aratorum unius pili albi et alterius pili idbisi medietatem unius

Jumi (?) duorum aratrum unius vomaris (sic) et m^{tem} pro Indiviso totius palee quam habet ipse Joannes quasquidem boves et stivilia dictus dominicus emptor dixit et confessus est habuisse et recepisse ac vidisse et revidisse et s (?) actalentasse pro bonis visis revisis et actalentatis Bns cum Jurat^o exceptioni rei non habite Ad habendum etc

100. R287/5(1)(20.xii.1568)142^v.

101. Marginal insertion.

102. R287/5(1)(8.xi.1568)91^v-92^v.

Pro pretio et pretij nomine unc. decem ponderis generalis pro medietate dictorum bovom cum stivilijs et palea quas un. 10 ponderis dictus dominicus emptor solvere promisit et se obligavit ut bancus prefato Joanni venditori presenti et stipulanti In duabus et equalibus solutionibus et catamenis(?) pro una In xv^a die mensis augusti proxime venture Instantis anni et pro altera ad complementum In xv^a die mensis augusti anni xiiij^e Ind p^o Inde venturo Sine aliqua exceptione vel(?) oppositione etc. Et Insuper dictus Joannes refalo ex una et dictus dominicus parte ex altera Infrascriptam societatem et compagniam ad arbitrium messis fecerunt et faciunt ut infra durat... pro annis duobus continuis et completis Inceptis iam ab xv^a die mensis Augusti elapsi in antea in qua societate prefati contrahentes posuerunt et ponunt predictos boves duos cum eorum stivilijs qui boves currant et currere debeant risico periculo et bona fortuna amicorum et inimicorum ambarum partium et cuiuslibet ipsarum et quilibet ipsorum contrahentium teneatur et sit obligatus prout sic promisit et se obligavit ponens medietatem seminis victualium et leguminum seminandorum in dictorum eorum arbitrio et medietatem pro indiviso expensarum necessariarum dicto arbitrio tanto del zappuliari metiri et pisar quantum expensarum necessariarum qui dominicus teneatur et sit obligatus prout sic promisit et se obligavit durante dicta eorum societate personaliter laborare et facere quacumque servitia dicto arbitrio necessaria et possibilia pro quibus quidem servitijs dictus Joannes teneatur et sit obligatus prout sic promisit et se obligavit solvere ipso dominico presenti unciam unam et tar. decem et octo iusti ponderis anno quolibet sine aliqua exceptione et fructus deodante perveniente ex dicto eorum arbitrio dividatur et dividi debeat inter eos pro equali parte et medietate deducto... prius ex comuni gabella territorij per eos seminandi ad rationem (?) pro ut dictus Joannes ad gabellam et ad campensiam habet et tenet declarando tamquam pro anno Instanti tam omnia victualia per eos seminando cum predictis bobus teneatur et sit obligatus ponere dictus Joannes alla(?) que fuerit opus ad seminandum et medietatem victualium competentem ipsi dominico dominicus ipse dare et restituere ipsi Joanni presenti In duabus vicibus et catamenis et in qualibet area unam medietatem sine aliqua exceptione etc. et insuper dictus Joannes teneatur et sit obligatus prout sic promisit et se obligavit accomodare ipsi dominico presenti salmam unam frumenti mixti quam promisit dictus dominicus restituere ipsi Joanni presenti in area proximo venturo sine aliqua exceptione etc. Hoc etiam pacto et conditione omnia animalia qua dictus Joannes habet ultra dicta boves duos possit ea tenere in pascuis et herbagijs que in communi et pro indiviso habent gratis sine ulla mercede Et casu que dictus Joannes personaliter fecerit aliqua servitia in dicta eorum societate teneatur et sit obligatus prout sic promisit et se obligavit illa facere et servire gratis hoc etiam pacto et conditione in ultimo anno dicte eorum societatis prefatus dominicus teneatur et sit obligatus prout sic promisit et se obligavit relinquere et facere tot novalia quot in anno Instanti in dicta eorum societate seminaverit et non aliter nec alio modo alias etc.

Promictentes etc.

Que omnia etc

Et sic juraverunt unde Testes Dominicus Spiteri Magister Bertus Xeibe et alij.