Trade and Connectivity in the Mediterranean: The Marquis Gio' Pio de Piro and his activities, c.1730-c.1750. A study of his correspondence.

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Trade and Connectivity in the Mediterranean: The Marquis Gio' Pio de Piro and his activities, c.1730-c.1750. A study of his correspondence.

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M.A. in Mediterranean Studies

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Preface

Imagine taking a picture with a camera on a slow shutter speed: the picture captures those movements and changes occurring within a fixed composition during a short period of time. In a similar way, this dissertation too, with its focus on the Mediterranean, tries to map the progression of life within a select timeframe. Written in fulfilment of the Faculty of Arts postgraduate course in Mediterranean Studies, this dissertation revolves around the Mediterranean of the first half of the eighteenth century, and in order to be able to analyse such a broad subject matter, the viewpoint of an individual involved in trade is taken. Trade is singled out as an activity as it is by default associated with connectivity, due to the reality of Malta being an island. Gio' Pio de Piro (1673-1752) is chosen as the protagonist of this study precisely because of his engagement in trade and his endeavours in commercial and societal affairs overseas. The methodology of microhistory enables such detailed scrutiny of the practices and customs of Gio' Pio and provides more intimate means to understand how the Mediterranean was engaged with in the past: it is the aim of this dissertation, ultimately, to discern how the Mediterranean was lived, experienced and perceived by an individual in history. In this way, an alternative – but complementary – form to the traditional historiography of the Mediterranean of the first half of the eighteenth century is conveyed.

This dissertation starts with an introductory chapter where the political and economic context of the first half of the eighteenth century is laid out, which is followed by a discussion of its historiography, as well as the methodology and the sources used. The second chapter analyzes the different types of networks Gio' Pio formed part of, in terms of legal frameworks and social connectivity. It also takes into consideration the effect of geography, nature and the weather on Gio' Pio's life and his engagements. The third chapter is dedicated to the types of trade that Gio' Pio partook in, divided into the categories of agriculture, slavery and luxury items. The final chapter considers Gio' Pio as a consumer and analyzes his economic transactions, including his material culture, in particular art, jewellery and clothing.

Acknowledgements

My greatest gratitude is directed to my supervisor Dr Emanuel Buttigieg for his invaluable guidance and advice. His abiding support has shaped this work and his encouragement has shaped my journey in the field of history. This work would also have not possible if not for Marquis Nicholas de Piro, who welcomed me at the Archivum de Piro with open arms and has supported my research with fervour. I would also like to thank Ms Claudia Garradas, who first introduced me to the collection at the de Piro Archive and inspired me to study Gio' Pio de Piro. Thanks also need to be extended to Dr Joan Abela, Mr Liam Gauci, Professor Keith Sciberras, Professor Horatio C.R. Vella, Professor Martin R. Zammit and Dr Dennis Mizzi, who have all contributed to this dissertation by sharing their knowledge on their field of study. A special appreciation is extended to Dr Christina Meli, who not only shared with me (multiple) encounters of Gio' Pio in notarial registers, but also helped me in the evaluation of art historical sources. I would also like to express my gratitude to the staff at the Notarial Archives in Valletta for their support and assistance, particularly Mr Paul Camilleri, who helped me navigate the profusion of notarial registers.

Last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to my parents Frank and Margret Buhagiar, and to my boyfriend Reuben Bertuello for their incessant support, love and encouragement, and for kindly hearing about Gio' Pio over a lot of dinners.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Maps

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

AdeP – Archivum de Piro.

AOM – Archives of the Order of Malta.

CM – Consolato del Mare

Ex. Coll. Casa Rocca Piccola – Casa Rocca Piccola Art Collection.

NAM – National Archives of Malta.

NAV – Notarial Archives Valletta.

NLM – National Library of Malta.

transl. – translated by.

Note on Transcriptions

All transcriptions of primary sources in this dissertation were made using the following symbols with their corresponding definition:

( )	abbreviation expanded by the translator.
[ ]	letters lost through damage, added by the translator.
(…)	unclear text, not restored by the translator.
[?]	uncertain word.

Note on Currency

The main currency in use in eighteenth-century Malta was the system of *scudi*, *tareni*, and *grani*. The monetary system was very similar to the Sicilian one, which was a result of the political and economic connectivity between the two islands.[1] The value of the currency may be understood as follows:

1 oncia – 2 ½ scudi

1 scudo – 12 tareni

1 tari – 20 grani[2]

[1] Anthony M.Vassallo, 'Prices of Commodities in Malta and Gozo 1530-1630', unpublished B.A. dissertation, Department of History, The Royal University of Malta, 1976, 13-14.
[2] Vassallo (1976), 12.

Note on Images

Unless stated otherwise, all images have been taken by the present author of this dissertation.

General Introduction

On 5 November 1749, Gio' Pio de Piro paid thirty *scudi* to Giovanni Battista Cilio to accompany his grandson Vincenzo de Piro (1736-1799) to Rome, upon the latter's entrance into one of the colleges of that city. Gio' Pio was liable to pay all the expenses incurred during the journey towards Italy and he was also obliged to pay ten *scudi* to Cilio's wife Catarina in Malta as a form of maintenance during the time of her husband's absence. Only after having seen Vincenzo enter the doors of the college was Cilio absolved from his duties; thereafter he could either remain in the city or return to Malta, not, however, at the expense of Gio' Pio.[1]

By studying overseas, Vincenzo was following in the footsteps of his grandfather's own educational journey in the Mediterranean, who had studied in France and received his doctorate in Rome.[2] This is highly reminiscent of the concept of the 'Grand Tour', which is the cultural and educational pilgrimage European nobles embarked on to complete an essential part of their studies.[3] In the same way that Vincenzo, and Gio' Pio before him, ventured overseas to study in leading cities in the Mediterranean, so too would young European students, scholars and explorers journey to places around the Mediterranean that were of historical and cultural importance to further their education.[4]

The underlying dimension in these scenarios is connectivity: without the available means of travel and the established connections with a port, city or a particular society, much of early modern European travel would not have been possible. Connectivity was integral for many groups of people, but it was especially crucial for the island-state of Malta, which was unable to sustain its own population and thus relied on frequent shipments of food and other supplies

[1] NAV, R15/18, Not. Alfano, 1749, ff.102v-104r.
[2] Sarah Iachini, 'Gio Pio de Piro: Un Nobile Mercante Maltese', unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2000, 10.
[3] See Sarah Goldsmith, 'Nostalgia, homesickness and emotional formation on the eighteenth-century Grand Tour', *Cultural and Social History*, 15:3 (2018), 333-334; and Thomas Freller, *Malta and the Grand Tour* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2009), 9.
[4] Freller (2009), 9-10.

for its survival.[5] Indeed, islands throughout history were at a constant struggle between 'insularity' and 'connectivity' and this reality will accompany much of the following discussions of this dissertation.

Although connectivity is a main theme, the subject matter of this dissertation is the Mediterranean of the first half of the eighteenth century, which is explored by following the footsteps of an individual involved in trade. This is achieved by making use of microhistory as the methodology, which concentrates on the small scale and is able to point out abrupt changes, to interpret beliefs and to analyse small-scale events.[6] In this way, a new relationship between the subject and the greater context is formed, in this case in the analogy between a study centred on an individual and the vast concept of the Mediterranean.[7]

Gio' Pio de Piro, the first Marquis and the first Baron of Budach, is the protagonist of this study. Although he endowed the de Piro name with a noble status by obtaining his Barony in 1716,[8] he had been involved in trade prior and continued to partake in commercial activities thereafter; his income was diversified. Indeed, his multiple contacts and profound ambitions in the region, predominantly based on trade and social activities, convey how networks and commerce functioned in the Mediterranean. Moreover, in addition to trade, he was appointed to prominent administrative positions by the Order of St John and drew considerable revenue from his family's property and agricultural activities.[9]

Gio' Pio had ambitions in Sicily, as he continually pursued honours and tried to establish his family on that island through marriages.[10] His connection to Sicily materialised through his placement there by the Order of St John for work. In turn, established maritime networks, mirroring favourable political conditions,

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[5] Charles Dalli, *Malta's Medieval Millennium: Malta's Living Heritage* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2006b), 215-234.
[6] Edward Muir, 'Introduction: Observing Trifles', *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero eds. (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), vii.
[7] Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity, 2008), 47.
[8] John Montalto, *The Nobles of Malta 1530-1800* (Malta: Midsea Books, 1979), 279.
[9] Anton Caruana Galizia, 'Maltese Nobility during the Hospitaller Period: Towards a Reappraisal', *Symposia Melitensia*, 7 (2011a), 6.
[10] Anton Caruana Galizia, 'Family Strategies and Transregional Mobility: The de Piro in Eighteenth-Century Malta and Sicily', *European History Quarterly*, 44:3 (2014), 426.

and the geographical and cultural proximity of the Maltese Islands, facilitated this connection.[11] However, Gio' Pio did not limit his trade and societal endeavours to Sicily, and this will be shown in his involvement on the Italian peninsula, southern France and the eastern Mediterranean region, amongst other locations.

Although on occasions he worked for the Order of St John, Gio' Pio did not operate within the institution's direct framework, thus marking him as a distinct entrepreneur. Yet, from his interactions with clients, agents, friends and family, a more representative depiction of contemporary Maltese society can be obtained, as he interacted with individuals coming from different strata of society and from different backgrounds, namely slaves, craftsmen, captains, Hospitallers and nobles.

Gio' Pio's activities also afford insights into what characterised the eighteenth-century Maltese economy, more precisely in terms of trade. For islands, trade was dependent on connectivity, which meant that Malta needed to employ an outward outlook for its survival, forcing its agents and merchants to leave the island to find new sources and commodities for local wants and needs.[12] This meant that the Mediterranean Sea needed to be crossed to access different markets. Gio' Pio himself traded in different economic sectors and this involved frequent contact and exchange with the outside world, as was the case in the trade of slaves[13] and luxury items.[14] Other economic branches analysed cast light on to what extent Malta was able to support itself through local produce and manufacture.[15] By scrutinising Gio' Pio's activities in differing sectors of the economy, one is able to discern to which markets the Maltese Islands were connected to, and how these shaped local culture and society. This will lead to a better understanding on the dynamics of trade and connectivity in the Mediterranean itself.

[11] Caruana Galizia (2014), 425.
[12] Abulafia (2011), 644-645.
[13] See Chapter 3, 65-73.
[14] See Chapter 3, 73-78.
[15] See Chapter 3, 59-65.

Establishing a network based on reliable sources and agents was advantageous for an individual like Gio' Pio, as monopolies and benefits could easily ensue if the trade gained from such network was received positively by the local market. Indeed, without Gio' Pio's system of networks and social connections, his grandson Vincenzo might have found it more difficult to enrol with a Roman college. In this dissertation, Gio' Pio's networks will be traced and explored, and his communication with his agents analysed, such as in the case of Hospitaller Commander Alfonso Candida.[16] In fact, it is important to note that, although Gio' Pio did embark on the occasional journey away from Malta, most of his trade and economic activities were carried out through letter writing, making him a sedentary agent.

Letters constituted one of the main primary sources consulted for the study on Gio' Pio and the Mediterranean. Although the collection of letters at the Archivum de Piro is extensive, for the purposes of this dissertation one specific bundle of letters was selected for in-depth analysis, and this pertained to Alfonso Candida. The letters discussed trade, social ties, political circumstances and matters relating to the Order of St John. Additionally, ledgers, inventories and dowries from the same archive were consulted for more diverse insights into trade and connectivity. This was done in conjunction with a wide array of notarial deeds from the Notarial Archives in Valletta, wherein documents of Gio' Pio's numerous transactions and commissions relating to trade are recorded. The use of historical documentation was complemented by a focus on material culture, as this too is testimony to Gio' Pio's involvement in economic activities – albeit as a consumer, rather than a negotiator.

The diverse nature of the primary sources consulted reflects the attempt to cover as comprehensively as possible different aspects of trade in the Mediterranean. Ultimately, this dissertation seeks to find a balance between the 'micro' and the 'macro': whilst it is concerned with the daily rituals and practices of Gio' Pio, it is at the same time interested in discovering what 'Mediterranean' emerges through his activities.

[16] See Chapter 2, 46-52.

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The following is thus an account of Gio' Pio's engagement with trade, society and materiality within a timespan of some twenty years of his life. Yet, this dissertation is by no means a biography of Gio' Pio de Piro. Rather, by studying how he interacted with the Mediterranean and what presence it had in his life, we will learn about how his experience can contribute to the study of the eighteenth-century Mediterranean.

Chapter 1: Malta and the Mediterranean in the Age of Gio' Pio de Piro

1.1 Introduction

This chapter serves to situate this dissertation in its historical context and to explicate its framework and methodology. Starting with a brief outline of the history of Malta and the Mediterranean during the first half of the eighteenth century, the political, social and cultural forces occurring in the background and at the forefront of this research will be explored. Gio' Pio de Piro will also be introduced, together with his family history, career and achievements. This chapter will also present a historiography of the Mediterranean, followed by an analysis of the terms of 'trade' and 'connectivity', as applied in this study. This will be complemented by an account of microhistory and the field of cultural history, as well as an overview of the sources consulted on Gio' Pio.

1.2 The first half of the Eighteenth Century

The political circumstances of the first half of the eighteenth century trace their roots in long-term developments occurring during the century before. The conflict between Christianity and Islam, which had peaked with the medieval crusading spirit and the frenzied hostilities of the sixteenth century, witnessed a relative quieting down during the course of the seventeenth century.[1] Instead, states like France and Venice established amicable ties with the Ottoman Empire that were conducive to trade.[2] This rearrangement of trade and politics occurred simultaneous to the emergence of new competitors in the market; without a dominant power in the region, the Mediterranean witnessed a number of

[1] Dominic Fenech, 'East-West to North-South in the Mediterranean', *GeoJournal*, 31:2 (1993), 129-130.
[2] Philip McCluskey, 'Commerce before Crusade? France, the Ottoman Empire and the Barbary Pirates (1661-1669)', *French History*, 23:1 (2008), 3-5.

contestants engaged in its commerce, namely the Dutch and the English.[3] The latter entered the Mediterranean without having had territorial ambitions from the outset, and solely aimed at trading and pursuing economic exchange.[4] Through cheaper prices, they were able to flood the market and compete with the regional merchants.[5] The opening and flourishing of the Atlantic trade enabled this, as it introduced new American products and sources of commodities to European markets.[6]

This situation eventually translated into an increased political domination of the Mediterranean by the same northern powers. Most notably during the Spanish War of Succession (1701-1714), the non-Mediterranean powers such as Britain, the Dutch Republic, the Austrian Habsburgs and – to a certain extent – France, were the ones waging war for a vacant throne in Spain.[7] The subsequent Treaty of Utrecht (1713-1715) confirmed Philip of Anjou as King Philip V of Spain. This war shook the balance of power in the Mediterranean: it deprived Spain of some territories; introduced Britain to the political field; and placed the Austrian Habsburgs on the Italian peninsula.[8] Through these new conquests, the Habsburg monarch Charles VI (r.1711-1740) ruled an empire nearly as extensive as that of Charles V's (r.1519-1556).[9] Similarly, by the Treaty of Utrecht, Britain

[3] See Molly Greene, 'Beyond the Northern Invasion: the Mediterranean in the Seventeenth Century', *Past and Present*, 174:1 (2002), 58, and Colin Heywood, 'The English in the Mediterranean, 1600-1630: A Post-Braudelian Perspective on the 'Northern Invasion'', *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, Fusaro, M., Heywood, C. and Omri, M.S. eds. (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010), 23-44, and Maria Fusaro, *Political Economies of the Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England, 1450-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 84.

[4] David Abulafia, *The Great Sea* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), 453-454.

[5] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean: and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Volume 1 [transl. Siân Reynolds] (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1966), 627.

[6] Jeremy Black, 'The Mediterranean as a battleground of the European powers: 1700-1900', *The Mediterranean in History*, David Abulafia ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 269.

[7] John Julius Norwich, *The Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean* (London: Vintage Books, 2006), 363-372.

[8] M.S. Anderson, *Europe in the Eighteenth Century 1713-1783* (London and New York: Longman, 1987), 307.

[9] Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 121.

received Gibraltar and the island of Minorca, which enabled it to expand its commercial interests in the region.[10]

As a result, Spain became a lesser power under the influence of northern Europe and the 'Spanish Netherlands' became subsumed under Austrian Habsburg rule.[11] This was accompanied by growing political weakness in the course of the eighteenth century. Spain remained at loggerheads with Britain, whose feud rested on the newly acquired British possessions of Gibraltar and Minorca, resulting in wars between 1727-1728 and 1739-1740. Their relationship only improved by the end of the Austrian War of Succession (1740-1748).[12]

The political authority of much of the traditional powers in the Mediterranean grew smaller: the Italian states lost a substantial part of their commercial power,[13] as the Habsburgs and Bourbons consolidated themselves in Sardinia, Sicily and Savoy, in spite of their unpopularity.[14] For these two foreign powers, their arbitrary rule over Italy translated into a dominant position in the Mediterranean.[15] However, the Italian peninsula's economy suffered during this period, as a result of the loss of competitiveness in the markets in the course of the seventeenth century, and the inability to adapt to constraints accordingly.[16] The only sources for economic development were its ports and, to a certain extent, its textile industry.[17] In this regard, the first fifty years of the eighteenth century witness a weakened patchwork of Italian states, with decreased economic power and suppressed political independence.

For the Ottoman Empire, the eighteenth century was heralded by a major loss to European powers by the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), which concluded a

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[10] Anderson (1987), 308.
[11] Anderson (1987), 309.
[12] Norwich (2006), 383-387.
[13] Molly Greene, 'Resurgent Islam: 1500-1700', *The Mediterranean in History*, David Abulafia ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 235-236.
[14] Norwich (2006), 385-386.
[15] Stuart Woolf, *A History of Italy, 1700-1860: The Social Constraints of Political Change* (London and New York: Methuen, 1979), 29.
[16] Carlo M. Cipolla, 'The Decline of Italy: The Case of a Fully Matured Economy', *The Economic History Review*, 5:2 (1952), 182.
[17] Woolf (1979), 58-60.

war between itself and Austria, Poland, Russia and Venice, whereby territories, such as the port of Azov, were ceded to the victors.[18] As a result, the Ottoman government prioritised the upkeep of the status quo in the subsequent years, which was complicated by the burden of covering the costly expenses of war.[19] Historiography on the Ottoman Empire during this period is divided: some have indicated its maintenance of naval power vis-à-vis Venice; its continued production of military technology;[20] a blossoming of Balkan trade in the early years of the century;[21] and the institutionalisation of Ottoman scholarly studies in Europe.[22] On the other side of the historiographical spectrum, the 'status quo' policy is perceived as reflective of a general loss in power, especially in the context of the growing economic strength of the northern European powers in the western half of the Mediterranean.[23] Scholars hold a similar negative stance on the Muslims of North Africa, who, after centuries of constituting a severe threat to Christian shipping in the region, were a 'minor nuisance' to European vessels during this period.[24]

Despite the apparent retraction of the Ottoman Empire from the Mediterranean Sea, and in spite of the reconfiguration of the Christian relationship with the Ottoman Empire, an enterprise that remained present in the waters of the Mediterranean was corsairing.[25] This can be defined as a 'region-specific commerce-raiding'[26] and refers to legalised piracy that is sanctioned by governments adhering to both faiths. It aimed at plundering mercantile ships

[18] Norwich (2006), 360-362.
[19] Yavuz Cezar, 'From Financial Crisis to the Structural Change: the Case of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century', *Oriente Moderno*, 18:1 (1999), 50.
[20] Jonathan Grant, 'Rethinking the Ottoman "Decline": Military Technology Diffusion in the Ottoman Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of World History*, 10:1 (1999), 183-200.
[21] Molly Greene, 'The Early Modern Mediterranean', *A Companion to Mediterranean History*, Peregrine Horden and Sharon Kinoshita eds. (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 96.
[22] David de Paço, 'The Ottoman Empire in Early Modern Austrian History: Assessment and Perspectives', *EUI Working Papers*, 7 (2014), 3.
[23] Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East: 2000 Years of History from the Rise of Christianity to the Present Day* (London: Phoenix Press, 1995), 121-123.
[24] Anderson (1987), 311.
[25] Maria Fusaro, 'After Braudel: A Reassessment of Mediterranean History between the Northern Invasion and the Caravane Maritime', *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, Maria Fusaro, Colin Heywood and Mohamed-Salah Omri eds. (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010), 17.
[26] Liam Gauci, *In the Name of the Prince: Maltese Corsairs 1760-1798* (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2016), 13.

richly laden with merchandise, thus constituting a significant source of revenue.[27] During the course of the seventeenth century, actors such as France and Venice continually applied pressure to reduce corsairing activity in the Mediterranean, in order to stop the disruptions to their trade endeavours with the Ottoman Empire and the Middle Eastern world, but the results produced by such pressure tended to be fleeting.[28]

Apart from corsairing, regular trade between Mediterranean states too took place during the first half of the eighteenth century. Indeed, it is precisely this period that witnessed the flourishing of the Catalan cotton industry, which depended upon the importation of cotton from production areas sourced from around the Mediterranean, such as the Levant, Sicily, Sardinia and Malta, in order to keep up with demand.[29] The vitality of this cotton industry is witnessed in the extensive cultivation of cotton in Malta, which in the course of the 1720s and 1730s was sought after by the Catalan cotton industry.[30]

It is also during the 1720s that the plague broke out in Marseille, which is testimony to the great level of economic exchange and shipping occurring in the region. The port of Marseille was able to recapture its monopoly swiftly and contribute to the economic boom of the French mercantilist state.[31] France had become the leading Christian trader to the Levant, which was made possible by the decline of Dutch shipping and British interest in the eastern Mediterranean.[32] France itself also provided a competitive market in the cloth industry through its production centres focussed on wool in Languedoc.[33] Although historiography tends to perceive the French-Levantine trade as inferior to the Atlantic business

[27] Carmel Cassar, 'The Order of St John and corsairing activities in the Mediterranean in the 16th and 17th centuries', *Sacra Militia*, 3 (2004), 29-30.
[28] Victor Mallia-Milanes, *Venice and Hospitaller Malta, 1530-1798: Aspects of a Relationship* (Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group, 1992), 31 and 162.
[29] J.K.J. Thomson, 'Explaining the 'take-off' of the Catalan cotton industry', *The Economic History Review*, 58:4 (2005), 703-705.
[30] Carmel Vassallo, *Corsairing to Commerce: Maltese Merchants in XVIII Century Spain* (Malta: Malta University Publishers, 1997), 2-3.
[31] Jeff Horn, *Economic Development in Early Modern France: The Privilege of Liberty, 1650-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 138.
[32] Edhem Eldem, 'French Trade and Commercial Policy in the Levant in the Eighteenth-Century', *Oriente Moderno*, 79:1 (1999), 27-28.
[33] Eldem (1999), 28.

conducted by the English and the Dutch, it has been corroborated that France significantly contributed to the emergence of a world economy in this manner.[34]

The high level of intra-Mediterranean trade is also witnessed by Greek mercantile activity, which was highly operative during the course of the eighteenth century and extended its sphere of influence into the weakened Ottoman Empire.[35] Indeed, this century marked the flourishing of Greek merchants, as a result of the international demand for agricultural produce from the East and the favourable economic circumstances of this region.[36] This community emerged as a result of the dwindling economic prowess of Venice, *La Serenissima*, which had lost its position of privilege in international shipping.[37] One of the most frequented destinations of these Greek merchants happened to be Malta, for which the eighteenth century too transpired to be one of the most prosperous periods in the early modern age.[38]

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One can say that Malta's early modern period began in 1530, when the islands were granted to the Order of St John by Emperor Charles V.[39] Not only was this event significant for the history of Malta but it was also momentous when seen in the light of the previously-discussed context of the Mediterranean. The Order of St John, brought under the protection of the papacy by the bull of Pope Paschal II (r.1099-1118) in 1113, developed from a religious-nursing institution in the early twelfth century into a militant Order, fighting in the name of Christianity against

[34] Horn (2015), 132-133.
[35] Gelina Harlaftis, 'The 'Eastern Invasion': Greeks in Mediterranean Trade and Shipping in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, Maria Fusaro, Colin Heywood and Mohamed-Salah Omri eds. (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010), 224-225.
[36] Gerassimos D. Pagratis, 'Shipping enterprise in the eighteenth century: the case of the Greek subjects of Venice', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 25:1 (2010), 67.
[37] Pagratis (2010), 68.
[38] Anthony Luttrell, 'Eighteenth-Century Malta: Prosperity and Problems', *Hyphen*, 3:2 (1982), 50-51.
[39] Victor Mallia-Milanes, 'Introduction to Hospitaller Malta', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Victor Mallia-Milanes ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 2-3.

the professed enemy of Islam.[40] The military element developed during the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries as a result of the crusading spirit, whereby the Order acquired its raison d'être of fighting 'the infidel'.[41] Indeed, the Order started to embark on biannual 'caravans', whereby its ships purposely cruised the Mediterranean to attack and exploit Muslim ships:[42] corsairing became an encouraged activity when the Order arrived in Malta.[43]

Without underestimating corsairing during medieval Malta,[44] it is undoubtedly the case that corsairing was at its height during the early modern period, as Malta became 'the official base for Christ's militia'.[45] Malta's role as the headquarters of corsairing in the central Mediterranean was prolonged well into the eighteenth century and only came to an end in 1798 with the ousting of the Order by the French revolutionary forces.[46] However, up until the end, corsairing remained a profitable and highly practised activity.[47] The implications of the Mediterranean *corso* were manifold, starting from the capturing of an enemy's ship's cargo, to legal disputes on the legitimacy of the act of corsairing, to the enslavement of the defeated crew;[48] such were the realities of this lucrative, yet risky business.

Connected to corsairing was the trade of slaves, which, during this period, was primarily based on religious affiliation, rather than skin colour,

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[40] Mallia-Milanes (1993), 1-2.
[41] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John In Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310: The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus* (London: Macmillan, 1967), 236-239.
[42] Thomas Freller, ''Adversus infidelis': some notes on the Cavalier's tour, the fleet of the Order and St John, and Maltese corsairs', *Corsairs and the Maltese Islands: Proceedings of a Seminar held at the Malta Maritime Museum* (Malta: N.A., 1999), 28.
[43] Cassar (2004), 30-31.
[44] See Charles Dalli, 'Satellite, Sentinel, Stepping Stone: Medieval Malta in Sicily's Orbit', *Malta in Hybleans, the Hybleans in Malta: Malta negli Iblei, gli Iblei a Malta, Proceedings of the International Conference*, Anthony Bonanno and Pietro Militello eds. (N.A.: Palermo, 2006a), 254; and Mark Aloisio, 'The Maltese corso in the fifteenth century', *Medieval Encounters*, 9:2 (2003), 193-203.
[45] Joan Abela, *Hospitaller Malta and the Mediterranean Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (Woodbridge and Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2018), 153.
[46] Gauci (2016), 22.
[47] Gauci (2016), 206.
[48] Salvatore Bono, 'Naval Exploits and Privateering', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Victor Mallia-Milanes ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 351-397.

reflecting the conflict between Christianity and Islam.[49] The Mediterranean type of slave trade was protracted and generated a forced migration of individuals from different places, under different circumstances, conditions of living and succeeding destinies.[50] Although in Malta the slave trade was presented as an accompaniment to the continued war against Islam, the reality was that the trade was extremely profitable to Hospitallers and traders alike,[51] as is evinced by the documentation consulted for this dissertation.[52]

Nevertheless, although in theory the Order was a sworn enemy of Islam, in practice, Maltese merchants did carry out trade with their Muslim counterparts.[53] This shows that corsairing, apart from being another type of commercial activity practised in early modern Malta, was not the only defining feature in the relationship between Christians and Muslims.

The early modern Mediterranean provided considerable attractions (as well as risks) to the merchant due to its profusion of commodities, ranging from staples like wheat, to luxury items like furs and spices.[54] As a result of this, various foreign currencies were gradually introduced to the Maltese Islands: the *oncie*, *piastre*, *lisbonine*, *doppie* and *zecchini* encountered during this research are just a few examples.[55] This contributed to the rise of a Maltese mercantile class and various studies attest to this development: in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries local mercantile interest was extended towards the Iberian Peninsula;[56] and during the same period, foreign merchants invested in the commerce of Malta.[57] This is testimony to the advantageous opportunities

[49] Fusaro (2010), 19.
[50] Salvatore Bono, 'Casi di Mobilità di Schiavi nel Mediterraneo dell'Età Moderna', *Mediterranea - ricerche storiche*, 42:1 (2018), 152.
[51] Godfrey Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo, c.1000-1812* (Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group, 2002), 25.
[52] See Chapter 3, 65-73, and Appendix 1, 108-109.
[53] Abela (2018), 190.
[54] Jean Mathiex, 'The Mediterranean', *The New Cambridge Modern History Vol. 6: The Rise of Great Britain and Russia*, J.S. Bromley ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 548.
[55] Carmel Vassallo, 'Commercial Relations between Hospitaller Malta and Sicily and Southern Italy in the mid-eighteenth century', *Convegno Internazionale di Studi su Rapporti Diplomatici e Scambi Commerciali nel Mediterraneo Moderno*, Mirella Mafrici ed. (Fisciano: Rubbettino, 2002), 449.
[56] Vassallo (1997), 2-3.
[57] Simon Mercieca, 'Commerce in Eighteenth-Century Malta: the Story of the Prepaud Family', *Consolati di Mare and Chambers of Commerce: Proceedings of a Conference held at the*

offered by the strong economy, which allowed the Hospitaller state to keep its population fed and employed, albeit with some periods of uncertainty.[58]

Perhaps the most unchanging characteristic of trade in Malta was the island's ties to Sicily and the Italian peninsula. During Malta's medieval period, the connection to Sicily was profound for the Maltese archipelago, not only in terms of security and for the provision of grain and other fundamental foodstuff,[59] but also for artistic links.[60] This remained true for the early modern period, during which the Order of St John secured the continued duty-free importation of grain from Sicily, which became the responsibility of the institution of the Università.[61] Apart from basic necessities, Italy and Sicily also constituted a source from which luxurious commodities, culture and art were imported from.[62] The most frequented ports in southern Sicily of this period were Scoglitti, Agrigento and Licata.[63]

The nobility of Malta became increasingly involved in such commercial activities in the course of the eighteenth century,[64] although it has been suggested that they did not statistically compose a large part of Maltese society.[65] This reflects a European tendency where the nobility gradually came to pursue more diversified economic activities, such as trade, alongside landownership.[66] Although society did not yet deem commerce as an appropriate endeavour to be pursued by the nobility during this period, research has shown that it was a

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Foundation for International Studies, Carmel Vassallo ed. (Valletta: Malta University Press, 2000), 189-191.

[58] Luttrell (1982), 40-43.

[59] Charles Dalli, *Malta's Medieval Millennium: Malta's Living Heritage* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2006b), 215-234.

[60] Charlene Vella, *The Mediterranean Artistic Context of Late Medieval Malta, 1091-1530* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2013), 206-210.

[61] Carmel Cassar, 'Popular Perceptions and Values in Hospitaller Malta', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Victor Mallia-Milanes ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 448.

[62] Keith Sciberras, *Roman Baroque Sculpture for the Knights of Malta* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2012), 1.

[63] Vassallo (2002), 455.

[64] Anton Caruana Galizia, 'Family Strategies and Transregional Mobility: The de Piro in Eighteenth-Century Malta and Sicily', *European History Quarterly*, 44:3 (2014), 421.

[65] Anton Caruana Galizia, 'Maltese Nobility during the Hospitaller Period: Towards a Reappraisal', *Symposia Melitensia*, 7 (2011a), 2.

[66] Simon Mercieca, 'The Possession of Titles and Forms of Address in Early Modern Malta', *Humanitas: Journal of the Faculty of Arts*, 2 (2003), 45.

reality nonetheless, with nobles often being engaged in commerce and banking.[67] Indeed, as will be shown in this dissertation, the de Piro family was involved in trade – whilst remaining a landowning family – and established connections in Italy, mirroring the activities of other noble houses in Malta.[68]

Hospitaller Malta had seemingly developed into an 'epitome of Europe' during the eighteenth century,[69] but periods of turmoil were still experienced. The Maltese Islands were a fiefdom of the kingdom of Sicily and concurrently enjoyed the protection of the papacy.[70] However, through the establishment of the Consolato del Mare in 1697 by Grand Master Ramon Perellos (r.1697-1720), the Prince of Malta became independent from Rome, as he was the sole authoritative figure to preside over this lay court.[71] The need to reduce the control of Rome was recurrent in the eighteenth century, during which the Grand Masters, such as Manuel Pinto da Fonseca (r.1741-1773), used the pretext of the political connection with Naples to execute political goals, such as in the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768.[72] Grand Master Pinto placed significant emphasis on the political position of the Maltese Islands, so much so that he referred to the latter as 'the sovereign principality of Malta' in a letter to his ambassador in Rome in 1746.[73]

Due to an increased prosperity, a steady growth of the population and an improvement in the standard of living, an expansion of the nobility occurred, which was corresponded by an increase in ennoblement.[74] As the new entrepreneurial mercantile class grew and became ever more beneficial to the Order of St John, the latter started to grant titles to those families, as was in the case of Gio' Pio de Piro.[75]

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[67] John Montalto, *The Nobles of Malta 1530-1800* (Malta: Midsea Books, 1979), 279.
[68] Caruana Galizia (2014), 425.
[69] Mallia-Milanes (1993), 38.
[70] Frans Ciappara, *Church-State Relations in late-eighteenth-century Malta: Gio. Nicolò Muscat (1735-1803)* (Malta: Malta University Press, 2018), 23-25.
[71] Ciappara (2018), 24.
[72] Ciappara (2018), 28-29.
[73] Frans Ciappara, 'Malta, Napoli e La Santa Fede nella Seconda Metà del '700', *Mediterranea: Ricerche Storiche*, 12 (2008a), 175.
[74] Caruana Galizia (2011a), 4.
[75] Caruana Galizia (2014), 421.

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Figure 1 Painting of Gio' Pio de Piro with Sicily in the background, reproduced with permission from Ex.Coll. Casa Rocca Piccola.

Gio' Pio, formidably depicted in Figure 1, was born in 1673 to Lorenzo Ubaldesco, and Cornelia de Piro.[76] The family traces its origins in Malta to the time when the Order of St John had migrated from the island of Rhodes.[77] The de Piro family already owned a significant amount of land at the time when Gio' Pio was born; through marriages, dowries and transactions, assets were continuously added to the wealth of the family.[78] This reality is reflected in Gio' Pio's own marriage to Anna Antonia Gorgion, through which the latter family's administration was handed over to him.[79] Gio' Pio's children and grandchildren too contributed to the de Piro wealth through their own eventual marriages.

[76] Iachini (2000), 1.
[77] Iachini (2000), 1.
[78] Caruana Galizia (2014), 423.
[79] NAV, R227/27, Not. Dello Re, 1693, ff.29v-44v.

Throughout his life and career, Gio' Pio travelled the Mediterranean; he received his education in France and obtained his doctorate in Rome, which was a path his son Antonio Felicissimo (d.1739) followed, just as the latter's own son Vincenzo after him.[80] In 1703 Gio' Pio became the Procurator of Wheat under Grand Master Perellos, whereby, together with his wife, he moved to Licata to administer this position.[81] The same Grand Master bestowed upon him the title of Baron of Budach in 1716.[82] In the early 1720s Gio' Pio was awarded the post of *secreto* to Grand Master Marc'Antonio Zondadari (r.1720-1722), where he became responsible of administering the same Grand Master's property, which reflects his familiarity with handling money and land.[83] In the course of the later 1720s Gio' Pio was also awarded the position of *secreto* of Syracuse.[84] Such appointments in high positions were not accidental or by luck, as Gio' Pio's own father had held offices in the Inquisition and the Magistracy.[85] Perhaps the zenith of his career was reached in 1742, when he was granted the title of Marquis within the Kingdom of Castile. Sovereigns in the eighteenth century often conferred such titles against a substantial fee to raise capital: Gio' Pio paid a total of 572,000 *maravedís de Vellon*.[86]

However, apart from property and service, the de Piro family also accrued its wealth from trading activities, which this dissertation will focus on. Trade can naturally be defined in various ways and can generally be understood as 'the buying or selling of goods and commodities', sometimes involving 'a voyage or expedition', and signifying broadly a 'commercial activity'.[87] On the grounds of this definition, this dissertation will refrain from calling Gio' Pio a 'merchant', as the term is associated with a person whose primary or sole occupation is to purchase and sell goods for a living.[88] Although Montalto and Iachini both choose to classify Gio' Pio as a merchant, Caruana Galizia posits

[80] See Iachini (2000), 10; and General Introduction, 1.
[81] Iachini (2000), 11.
[82] AdeP, MS 86, 1716, unnumbered folios.
[83] Montalto (1979), 101-103.
[84] Iachini (2000), 63.
[85] Caruana Galizia (2014), 422,
[86] Montalto (1979), 41.
[87] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com [24 October 2018].
[88] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com [24 October 2018].

that such classification is too restrictive, given that the economic interests of Gio' Pio and his family were so diverse.[89] In this regard, more generic terminology such as 'agent' will be preferred instead.

1.3 The Mediterranean and its Historiography

The Mediterranean is a construct that has been subject to transformation from time to time: its earliest conception can be traced to classical times, its etymology being 'the sea in-between land', although even this has been subject to discussion.[90] Many other epochs, generations and individuals have generated or tried to attribute meaning and boundaries to it, which is what this section aims to explore. The focus will be on the academic development witnessed in the field of 'Mediterranean Studies', starting with the tidal wave caused by the publication of Fernand Braudel's two-volume work *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, published in French in 1949. This resulted in other works on the same subject to be published and from different standpoints, such as anthropology and geography, and with the perusal of different methodologies.

Braudel's chief contribution to studies on the Mediterranean arguably lies in his geographically-determinist standpoint. In the preface to his first edition, Braudel argues that his approach is based on 'man in his relationship to the environment', where 'change is slow' and history is repetitive and cyclical.[91] Although he does examine the *histoire événementielle*, in which the political history of the sixteenth-century Mediterranean is discussed, he feels as though one 'must learn to distrust this history'[92] and instead focus on geography to discover history's 'imperceptible movement'. [93] Braudel writes that the boundaries set by the geographer are the most apt for an understanding of the

[89] Caruana Galizia (2011a), 6.
[90] Nicholas Purcell, 'The Boundless Sea of Unlikeness? On Defining the Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 18:2 (2003),14.
[91] Braudel (1966), 21.
[92] Braudel (1966), 21.
[93] Braudel (1966), 23.

Mediterranean, suggesting further that the olive and palm tree are fitting markers of the border of the Mediterranean.[94]

David Abulafia differs from Braudel in his conceptualisation of the Mediterranean and the boundaries that it encompasses. In his preface to *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*, published in 2011, Abulafia clearly outlines that his Mediterranean is confined to the sea and does not extend onto land, so that the maritime world becomes a medium for cultural exchange and unity.[95] In another publication, Abulafia argues that the Mediterranean Sea has a fluid nature in a cultural sense, as it allows different cultures to interact with each other, due to the relative proximity of the shorelines of the enclosed sea, whilst also allowing the same cultures to develop distinctly from one another, due to the relative distance between these opposing shores.[96] Moreover, he points out that by including landmass in a definition of the Mediterranean, so too would individuals, whom he terms 'landlubbers', be incorporated: he prefers to examine those who 'dipped their toes into the sea' instead.[97]

Abulafia elaborates further on those actors that comprise his Mediterranean. He makes a profound distinction between merchants and fishermen: he considers fishermen to be less interested in establishing contacts with different societies or ports, instead being more inclined to leave their domain to fish and return to the same port of departure.[98] On the other hand, the objectives of the merchant are more diverse and most of the time include travelling to distant places for commodities. In such a way, merchants are able to come into contact with different cultures, languages and terrains, enabling them to diversify their sources and markets.[99] Although this dissertation is reluctant in applying the term 'merchant' to Gio' Pio de Piro, as has already been outlined, his reality does parallel that of merchants, as he conducted trade with places

[94] Braudel (1966), 168.
[95] Abulafia (2011), xvii.
[96] David Abulafia, 'What is the Mediterranean?', *The Mediterranean in History*, David Abulafia ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 20-26.
[97] Abulafia (2011), xviii.
[98] Abulafia (2011), 641.
[99] Abulafia (2011), 644-645.

overseas, albeit through letter-correspondence rather than travels, and came into contact with different cultures and societies in the course of his ventures.

That being said, Abulafia and Braudel differ mostly in their interpretation of the individual and his role in history. Abulafia purposefully based his book on the experiences of the individual in history, whereas Braudel's concept of the individual is more nuanced. In his concluding remarks, Braudel suggests that man is 'imprisoned within a destiny in which he himself has little hand' and in which the *longue durée* is the principal determining force.[100] Although he did allocate a degree of agency to the individual, he believed that the latter lived within an environment, part of which was ungovernable.[101] By contrast, Abulafia drifts away from Braudel's geographic determinacy and focuses on the human side of history; Braudel's thesis and disregard of political history are a point of divergence amongst many other historians,[102] and Abulafia most notably shares the contempt of Braudel's treatment of political history 'almost as afterthoughts'.[103] Ultimately, Abulafia and Braudel differ on what constitutes the Mediterranean: whereas the former notes diversity, the latter suggests that unity is its main attribute.[104]

Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* can be viewed as a middle ground between Braudel and Abulafia, although published in 2000.[105] Their definition of the Mediterranean rests on their underlying concept of 'microecology', which combines Braudel's geographical determinacy with human agency, resulting thus in a more broadly defined Mediterranean with softer boundaries and identities.[106] In a paper published on *The Corrupting Sea*, Purcell states that the Mediterranean has no core or a singular feature that is 'quintessentially Mediterranean', subsequently

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[100] Braudel (1966), 1244.
[101] John A. Marino, 'The Exile and His Kingdom: The Reception of Braudel's Mediterranean', *The Journal of Modern History*, 76:3 (2004), 651-652.
[102] See Irad Malkin, *Myth and territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 10; and Marino (2004), 642-643.
[103] John F. Guilmartin, 'The Great Sea', *The American Interest*, 7:4 (2012), 115.
[104] Abulafia (2011), 641.
[105] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Malden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2000).
[106] Horden and Purcell (2000), 80.

conferring that its boundaries cannot be located indefinitely.[107] Instead, the boundaries are subject to variation and change, just as much as the nature of the Mediterranean is unstable and alters over time and space.[108] This work has been considered a catalyst for the rapid expansion of contemporary Mediterranean studies, which followed after its publication.[109]

One of Horden and Purcell's most important contributions to Mediterranean studies is their distinction between history 'of' and history 'in' the Mediterranean. When explaining the difference between these terms, the scholars state that a 'history of' the Mediterranean entails the microecological approach, consequently suggesting a history of the Mediterranean within the Braudelian paradigm. On the other hand, 'histories in' the Mediterranean disregard the latter approach and instead focus on topics or political events occurring within the microecological spaces of the Mediterranean, without necessarily discussing the nature of the Mediterranean itself.[110] This distinction between 'history in/of the Mediterranean' reflects general aims of research conducted in the field of Mediterranean studies, thus differentiating 'Mediterraneanist' literature from topical analyses in a Mediterranean microecology.[111] However, Maria Fusaro has outlined that maritime history is both 'history in' and 'history of' the Mediterranean, as it discusses trade and conflict occurring in the Mediterranean Sea and demonstrates how the maritime dimension created links between the societies and cultures living along its littoral.[112]

In a similar way, this dissertation can be considered as being simultaneously 'history in and of' the Mediterranean. Gio' Pio and his activities reflect a strong maritime dimension, since much of his trading and socio-cultural activities were dependent on the connectivity between the Maltese Islands and

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[107] Purcell (2003), 16-17.
[108] Purcell (2003), 21.
[109] Brian A. Catlos and Sharon Kinoshita, 'Preface', *Can We Talk Mediterranean? Conversations on an Emerging Field in Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Brian A. Catlos and Sharon Kinoshita eds. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), viii.
[110] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, 'Four Years of Corruption: A Response to Critics', *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, William V. Harris ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 357.
[111] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, 'The Mediterranean and "the New Thalassology"', *The American Historical Review*, 111:3 (2006), 729-730.
[112] Fusaro (2010), 5.

places overseas. Although the discussion of Gio' Pio's activities, purchases and sales is very much a case of 'history in the Mediterranean', it is simultaneously the aim of this present work to discover what these activities infer about the Mediterranean itself, hence a case of 'history of'. The micro and the macro approaches to history are balanced in this manner.

That being said, this dissertation neither presupposes any assumption of unity or fragmentation in the Mediterranean within this timeframe, nor does it propose any geographical, socio-political or cultural boundary at the outset. Indeed, in the introductory chapter to their edited work *The Routledge Handbook of Mediterranean Politics*, published in 2017, Gillespie and Volpi state that they did not delineate geographical boundaries onto their definition of the Mediterranean due to the 'messy and inconclusive business' such a proclamation would invite.[113] Although the focus on the maritime environment invites the interpretation of a 'liquid boundary', the nature of the Mediterranean will be organically identified through the research on Gio' Pio and his activities, which will be uncovered through his letters, ledgers, notarial manuscripts and commissioned artworks.

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The Mediterranean of the eighteenth century has been traditionally thought of as completely dominated by northern European powers,[114] as well as being peripheral in the world's economy.[115] Being essentially reduced to a backwater of the busier Atlantic and Indian Oceans, this theory holds that the Mediterranean and its regional actors in the course of this century became onlookers in the international political and economic milieu. Braudel was one of the main

[113] Richard Gillespie and Frédéric Volpi, 'Introduction: The growing international relevance of Mediterranean politics', *Routledge Handbook of Mediterranean Politics*, Frédéric Volpi and Richard Gillespie eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 2.
[114] Braudel (1966), 615-642.
[115] Michel Fontenay, 'The Mediterranean, 1500-1800: Social and Economic Perspectives', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Victor Mallia-Milanes ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 97.

proponents of this theory, as he had systematically looked at the trade routes of the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century and described how the Northerners, namely the English, the French and the Dutch, 'swarmed into the Mediterranean like so many heavy insects crashing against the window panes', suggesting that their taking-over of trade and trade routes in the region was abrupt and definitive.[116]

Whilst the notion of a northern European supremacy in Mediterranean trade in this period is not negated as a historical fact,[117] the ways in which the narrative of such account is engaged with varies. Some have devised Braudel's 'northern invasion' theory as being a 'sustainable concept', whilst others have called for its revision, particularly in favour of microhistorical analyses of 'mundane and piecemeal' commercial activities.[118] Although the premise of the northern supremacy over the Mediterranean is not the research question this dissertation seeks to answer, the findings on the activities of Gio' Pio certainly contribute towards an understanding of how trade functioned in the eighteenth-century Mediterranean, and to what extent the 'traditional' powers of the Mediterranean were involved. Microhistory in particular is advantageous for such investigation, as it allows the historian to inspect the connection between the individual and the regional, national or the global context.[119]

The crux of the matter of Braudel's northern supremacy theory is the flooding of Mediterranean markets and the take-over of Mediterranean trade by those European powers. Maria Fusaro has argued that it is such historiographical tendency that has rendered the Mediterranean a 'spent force, lacking energy and vitality'.[120] In her research, she has analysed how early modern commercial networks functioned and how traditional Mediterranean powers, such as Venice, the Greeks and the Ottoman Empire, traded with northern forces and established alliances with the latter in the course of the seventeenth century. She has

[116] Braudel (1966), 634.
[117] Abulafia (2011), 488-503.
[118] Heywood (2010), 44.
[119] Filippo de Vivo, 'Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale', *Cultural and Social History*, 7:3 (2010), 392.
[120] Maria Fusaro, 'Cooperating mercantile networks in the early modern Mediterranean', *The Economic History Review*, 65:2 (2012), 701.

explained that the northern arrival in the Mediterranean did challenge the commercial status quo of the local hegemons, but that these traditional actors were actively involved in new trade networks and employed different financial mechanisms.[121]

Similarly, Molly Greene has shown how not all Mediterranean commerce during the seventeenth century fell under direct northern control.[122] For instance, she explored how the Order of St John constituted a significant burden to the trade of French merchants throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as Maltese corsairing habits caused disruption to French trade endeavours in the eastern Mediterranean.[123] Although France exerted pressure on Malta to curb its corsairing activities, Maltese corsairs and Hospitaller 'caravans' continued to leave Maltese harbours in the eighteenth century, which is corroborated by this dissertation's findings.[124]

Trade and commerce of Mediterranean states during the eighteenth century did not come to a halt as a result of the northern influx and instead, the region remained conducive to exchange and migration. This is shown by the research on eighteenth-century Basque ports: various Catalan, French and Italian merchants settled in Basque harbours and towns to supply these areas with products from their countries of origin, as well as with commodities sourced from around the Mediterranean.[125] The same century also witnessed the flourishing of the Greek mercantile community, which collaborated with British, French and Dutch merchants to establish itself in the commercially struggling Ottoman Empire to partake in eastern trade.[126] Indeed, trade in the Ottoman Empire during this period was characterised by having a diversity of foreign

[121] Fusaro (2012), 713.
[122] Greene (2002), 47.
[123] Greene (2002), 66.
[124] See Victor Mallia-Milanes, 'Foreword', *In the Name of the Prince: Maltese Corsairs, 1760-1798*, Liam Gauci (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2016), 6-7; and Chapter 2, 35-46.
[125] Álvaro Aragón Ruano, 'The Mediterranean Connections of Basque Ports (1700-1841): Trade, Trust and Networks', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 44:3 (2015), 52.
[126] Despina Vlami and Ikaros Mandouvalos, 'Entrepreneurial forms and processes inside a multiethnic pre-capitalist environment: Greek and British enterprises in the Levant (1740s-1820s)', *Business History*, 55:1 (2013), 98-99.

trading partners, as opposed to one nation, as was the case in the seventeenth century with France.[127]

In this respect, trade during the eighteenth century can be perceived as a mixture of new hegemons trading side-by-side with regional actors, albeit the former enjoying a larger profit-making margin and greater dominance over markets. Over time, this situation gave rise to networking in the region. In early modern times, merchants established networks to further their trade, and these were not necessarily characterised by physical or political borders.[128] Networks in the Mediterranean were traditional, despite the growing trend of 'depersonalisation' in economic relationships.[129] Instead of organised trade, merchants in the Mediterranean favoured personal connections with their agents and family-based networks. Gio' Pio' himself continually sought out personal contact with his agents, his numerous letters being a testimony to this.

Although he established himself in, and directed his trade activities from Malta, Gio' Pio did embark on occasional travels to conduct business and make transactions. Shipping routes and networks traversing the Mediterranean Sea, which Malta was well integrated to by the eighteenth century, facilitated this.[130] This circumstance reflects what Braudel argues about Mediterranean islands: their relative isolation depended on their integration into these shipping routes, which, upon successful incorporation, made the islands become actively involved in the commercial dimensions of the region, more so than some areas on land.[131] This brings to the fore the notion that insularity is a relative concept, dependent on various factors, such as political determinism and human agency, as opposed to natural constraints.

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[127] Rhoads Murphey, 'Conditions of Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: An Appraisal of Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Documents from Aleppo', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 33:1 (1990), 38.
[128] Robert S. DuPlessis, *The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonisation in the Atlantic World, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 16-17.
[129] Fusaro (2012), 701-703.
[130] Joan Abela, 'Sailors' Legal Rights in a Mediterranean Hub: The Case of Malta', *Law, Labour and Empire: Comparative Perspectives on Seafarers, c.1500-1800*, Maria Fusaro, Bernard Allaire, Richard J. Blakemore and Tijl Vanneste eds. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 62.
[131] Braudel (1966), 150.

Despite its imposed geographical limitations, Braudel believed that the Mediterranean stimulated connectivity between different cultures and societies, thus connecting regions that were more isolated from other lands.[132] Speaking of the Mediterranean in a collective sense, he argued that, on the basis of its inducement to connectivity, it should be considered as a whole and should not be broken down into sub-divisions or regions.[133] Through his dismissal of political boundaries, his Mediterranean becomes a multicultural space where the margin of the Mediterranean is equivalent in value to its centre.[134] Hence, Braudel conceives of the Mediterranean as one of global dimension and relevance, with the ability to influence other regions in the world: his Mediterranean becomes the centre of the planet.[135]

David Abufalia shares this vision of a united Mediterranean and like Braudel, points out its potential in connecting the people living on its littoral through commerce and trade.[136] He argues that the richness of the Mediterranean Sea has urged individuals to exploit the region, resulting in interactions between different cultures and societies, and transforming the shores of the Mediterranean Sea into meeting-points.[137] In his work, port cities become the locations *par excellence* in which connectivity and cultural interaction are practised.[138]

In a somewhat similar manner, Horden and Purcell believe that the Mediterranean Sea provides a point of unification for Mediterranean microecologies, since it is a geographical feature shared by the land that it separates, in turn becoming a medium through which connectivity can be

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[132] Braudel (1966), 161.
[133] Monique O'Connell and Eric R. Dursteler, 'Introduction: The Idea of the Mediterranean', *The Mediterranean World: From the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Napoleon*, Monique O'Connell and Eric R. Dursteler eds. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), 5.
[134] Adam J. Goldwyn and Renée M. Silverman, 'Introduction: Fernand Braudel and the Invention of a Modernist's Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Modernism: Intercultural Exchange and Aesthetic Development*, Adam J. Goldwyn and Renée M. Silverman eds. (N.A.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 6-10.
[135] Goldwyn and Silverman (2016), 10.
[136] Dominic Fenech and Michelle Pace, 'The Historical Construction of the Mediterranean', *Routledge Handbook of Mediterranean Politics*, Frederic Volpi and Richard Gillespie eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 16.
[137] Abulafia (2011), 641.
[138] Abulafia (2011), 643.

achieved.[139] Thus the Mediterranean of *The Corrupting Sea* is defined by fragmentation, instability and unpredictably, which finds unity in the sea.[140]

Connectivity will be at the heart of this dissertation. By tracing the footsteps of Gio' Pio in his trade activities, an understanding on connectivity in the Mediterranean of the first half of eighteenth century will be gained. The sea will be the main actor in this regard, as the 'liquid highways' of the Mediterranean allowed the Maltese Islands to link up with other cultures and societies. This facilitated Gio' Pio in pursuing his interests overseas. Consequently, sea transportation will feature in this dissertation as the vehicle and enabler of connectivity in the Mediterranean, in conjunction with the value humans consciously assign to such connections. It is thus the aim of this dissertation to determine how connectivity materialised in the life of Gio' Pio, how it was continually reinforced and maintained, and what the results and effects of this relationship were.

1.4 Methodology and Sources

In this dissertation, culture will be defined as a set of 'distinctive ideas, customs, social behaviour, products, or way of life of a particular nation, society, people, or period'.[141] The use of the term 'culture' to signify complex sets of behaviour, beliefs and attitudes is a late twentieth-century phenomenon and finds origin in cultural anthropology.[142] Cultural history is interested in examining such notions and in studying a specific society or community within a certain timeframe. Although it has been suggested that there is no general agreement over what comprises cultural history,[143] it can generally be understood as an 'analysis of the

[139] Horden and Purcell (2000), 133.
[140] Alain Bresson, 'Ecology and Beyond: The Mediterranean Paradigm', *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, William V. Harris ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 94-95.
[141] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com [23 October 2018].
[142] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms* [transl. John and Anne C. Tedeschi] (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), xxi-xxii.
[143] Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 1.

process of representation', implying the study of those classifications and choices endorsed and lived by groups of people or societies.[144]

Culture is defined by its flexibility and changeability over time and space; especially in cases where a culture frequently encounters trade, but also in situations when a society experiences lesser connectivity, culture is bound to be in motion.[145] This can be attributed mostly to encounters with social groups existing outside of its own, with which cultural goods are exchanged. The migration of such goods results in adopted vocabularies, literature, dress and more. Although terms describing these kinds of encounters exist, namely 'acculturation', 'syncretism' and 'hybridity', these terms can presuppose a power hierarchy or deny agency to a group over another.[146] Thus, it is the intention of this dissertation to utilise expressions such as 'cultural exchange' or 'cultural interaction' to describe cross-cultural influences or interactions. In turn, exchange will be defined as 'the action, or an act, of reciprocal giving and receiving', thus signifying an equal and democratic dialogue.[147]

Microhistory, the methodology applied to this dissertation, falls under the umbrella of cultural history,[148] and views history from the bottom-level to understand its relation to the large-scale.[149] Peter Burke writes that microhistory is primarily a reaction against traditional accounts of history, which employ quantitative methods and tend to generalise, risking understating the variability of culture.[150] Edward Muir, who suggests that microhistory is a response to the *longue durée* approach in history, shares this view.[151] In fact, it has often been remarked that this long-term approach to history proposes 'grand narratives' that

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[144] Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* [transl. Lydia G. Cochrane] (Cambridge: Cornell University Press, 1988), 13.
[145] Stephen Greenblatt, 'Cultural mobility: an introduction', *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, Stephen Greenblatt ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 5.
[146] Burke (1997), 206-212.
[147] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com [23 October 2018].
[148] Burke (2008), 43-46.
[149] Fusaro (2010), 9.
[150] Burke (2008), 44-45.
[151] Edward Muir, 'Introduction: Observing Trifles', *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero eds. (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), vii.

may distort the true meaning of daily life in the course of composition.[152] However, the relevancy of microhistory to the *longue durée* has been subject to discussion amongst scholars, as, whilst some have pointed out the 'heterogeneity of history', others perceive history as a continuous experience.[153]

Nevertheless, the microhistorical approach does not outright define history as discontinuous or static; it should rather be perceived as a tool to understand the relationship between the small-scale and the *longue durée*. Microhistory has the ability to address historical narratives and debates on the large-scale, mapping, for instance, changing concepts in cultures and societies.[154] In fact, microhistory allows the historian to draw conclusions on the nature of the long-term and to study the movement and fluctuation of culture and cultural interactions of individuals, in a similar way to how this dissertation is looking at the exchange and interaction occurring in the Mediterranean through the case study of Gio' Pio de Piro.

A key element to any microhistorical account is the delineation of a timeframe for the study, in order to explore it in greater detail. The period studied by this present research extends roughly from 1730 to the 1750s, thus covering the later entrepreneurial years of Gio' Pio. Although references to episodes of Gio' Pio's earlier life are made throughout the dissertation, the concentration on this narrow timeframe reflects an attempt to analyse with a greater focus his activities and those of his associates.

Ultimately, the purpose of microhistory is to look at the small-scale through a magnifying glass, in order to make accessible individuals and groups that would be left out of other historical methods.[155] Whilst Gio' Pio is by no means overlooked in the historical record, studying his activities provides access to persons or areas that may not have enjoyed as great an exposure such as himself. This highlights that microhistory can be particularly useful in analysing phenomena that, for instance, go beyond the reach of governmental and political

[152] Burke (2008), 44-45.
[153] Florine Egmond and Peter Mason, *The Mammoth and the Mouse: Microhistory and Morphology* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 3.
[154] De Vivo (2010), 387.
[155] Muir (1991), xxi.

institutions that preside over any given society at a specific period.[156] Microhistory distinguishes itself from histories examining institutions and movements, as, conversely, it analyses the individual and his experiences under the jurisdiction or influence of these latter institutions. A comparative analysis of jurisdiction vis-à-vis the lived reality of persons will be helpful in this manner.

Although it seems paradoxical to apply a microhistorical analysis to a study wishing to understand the nature of the Mediterranean, it does reflect a movement in the discipline of cultural history: it has been proven by studies, such as those of Carlo Ginzburg, that microhistory can uncover the thoughts and beliefs of a particular group within society, which, in turn, can be representative of a culture at large.[157] The ultimate aim, thus, is to be able to discover through a study on Gio' Pio de Piro and his trading activities, the Maltese context of trade in the eighteenth century environment; how cultural interactions affected local culture; and how these reflected on the conception of the Mediterranean itself.

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The main sources consulted on the activities of Gio' Pio were primarily those manuscripts kept at the Archivum de Piro in Valletta, which were accessed with the permission of Marquis Nicholas de Piro. This private family archive provided ample well-preserved historical data that records the de Piro family's enterprise. Yet, research in these archives was mainly conducted through an online portal, the Virtual Hill Museum Manuscript Library (vHMML), which was complemented by on-site visits.[158] A whole range of documents was consulted: manuscripts recording transactions and inventories, as well as letters documenting interactions with other agents and individuals abroad. The manuscripts included salaries, payments and lists: amongst this collection,

[156] Fusaro (2010), 9.
[157] Ginzburg (1976), xxviii.
[158] *Virtual Hill Museum Manuscript Library*, https://www.vhmml.org/ [24 October 2018].

documents relating to Gio' Pio's position as procurator of wheat in the early eighteenth century can also be found.[159]

On the other hand, the letters analysed contained direct correspondence between Gio' Pio and his agents overseas, most notably Commander Alfonso Candida, who was Gio' Pio's agent in the areas around Naples.[160] Their friendship generated intriguing letters in which mundane, as well as extraordinary commodities were mentioned and social events were discussed. Alfonso Candida hailed from Lucera and joined the Order of St John on 23 May 1700.[161] The Order handed over the commandery of Castellazzo in Piedmont to him in 1738.[162] However, he spent most of his time in the areas around Naples, taking care of his nephews and business alike.[163]

Alfonso Candida is a great example of Gio' Pio's ties with the Italian peninsula. Naturally, apart from Alfonso Candida, Gio' Pio had more agents and contacts in this region, such as Giuseppe Prado in Palermo,[164] Marquis delli Magnisi in Syracuse[165] and the Hospitaller Carlo Albani in Rome.[166] In particular, Candida's letters are a fine example of friendships that extended across the Mediterranean Sea.[167] Holding discussions with Alfonso Candida on the social milieu in the south of Italy, it becomes clear that the ambitions of Gio' Pio extended well beyond the Maltese Islands. Although his family interests were concentrated on Sicily and the southern Italian peninsula, the exchange with Alfonso Candida also shows involvement in trade in places such as Venice, Constantinople and Portugal. Thus, the letters have allowed a more personal insight into Gio' Pio's life, his relationships that traversed the Mediterranean, as well as on his understanding of the Mediterranean.

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[159] AdeP, MS 8.
[160] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2.
[161] NLM, AOM 2166, ff.272-273.
[162] NLM, AOM 2171, f.53v.
[163] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 36.
[164] Anton Caruana Galizia, 'The Rise of the de Piro: Family Strategies, Social Networks and Noble Status in Eighteenth-Century Malta', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Oxford, 2011b, 184.
[165] Anton Caruana Galizia, 'Royal office and private ventures: the fortunes of a Maltese nobleman in Sicily, 1725-50', *Historical Research*, 90:250 (2017), 8.
[166] Caruana Galizia (2011b), 191-193.
[167] Caruana Galizia (2011b), 194-196.

Other individuals that feature prominently in this dissertation are Eugenia de Piro and Anna Maria Ribera, respectively daughter and granddaughter of Gio' Pio. Eugenia married Ferdinando de Ribera from Scicli in 1729 and gave birth to her daughter Anna Maria in 1731.[168] However, shortly after, Eugenia died, which was followed by the death of Ferdinando in 1734. Thereafter, Gio' Pio became the tutor of their young girl, who received the dowry originally belonging to her mother as part of her greater inheritance.[169] The transfer of this dowry was consulted by this dissertation in the light of the rich material culture it documents.[170] The dowry provides insights into what garments and styles were worn by the local elite, and reflect, to a certain extent, the greater connectivity existing between the Maltese Islands and the centres of fashion and fabrics of the eighteenth century.

The private family archives were complemented by sources from the Notarial Archives in Valletta, which extended the microhistorical research on Gio' Pio and his involvement across the Mediterranean even further. Gio' Pio made extensive use of the services offered by Notary Francesco Alfano (worked 1725-1770) to draw up contracts. The nature of such deeds was manifold, the most frequent being *apoca* (receipt), *cambio* (exchange), *venditio* (sale) and *obligatio* (obligation). Commodities such as cotton and wheat were frequently traded, alongside miscellaneous and expensive items, such as medicine and artwork. The material culture of Gio' Pio, brought to the fore by the manuscripts at the Notarial Archives and the documents from the Archivum de Piro, has been central for understanding how trade operated in the Mediterranean.

Research challenges relating to the Archivum de Piro and the Notarial Archives in Valletta included the establishment of a relationship between the data amassed from both archival repositories. Due to the differing nature of the types of documents consulted (notarial deeds versus personal record-keeping) a difficulty was faced in piecing together the puzzle of the many activities of Gio' Pio de Piro. However, both archives provided compelling information about him

[168] Caruana Galizia (2014), 427-428.
[169] Caruana Galizia (2014), 428-430.
[170] See Appendix 2, 110-114.

in a complementary fashion: a concrete example of this is Alfonso Candida mentions of whom, in relation to Gio' Pio, have been found in both archives. The same can be said of Giorgio and Giuseppe Bestros two Maronites hailing from the city of Damascus, whom Gio' Pio helped in legal matters, and who were encountered in the records of both archives. Another case of cross-referencing was accomplished with artwork commissioned by Gio' Pio, where documentary research was complemented by site visits to physically inspect works of art. By cross-referencing data in such a way, a more thorough investigation and interlaced fabrication of Gio' Pio's past activities was made.

With the focus of this dissertation centred primarily on the maritime as a means to facilitate trade and cultural exchange, the Legal Documentation section in Mdina of the National Archives of Malta was also consulted. However, few traces of Gio' Pio de Piro have been found in the archive's Magistrato degli Armamenti and the Consolato del Mare records. These tribunals were set up in 1605 and 1697 respectively, in an attempt to provide a basic legal framework for the economy in Malta.[171] In this respect, it is surprising not to find mention of an enterprising person such as Gio' Pio. However, a lack of presence could also highlight that he was not involved in the same kind of trade or commercial shipping which these tribunals were associated with.[172] The Archive of the Order of Malta at the National Library of Malta was only consulted in relation to matters relating to the Order, such as in retrieving information on Alfonso Candida, a member of the Order of St John.

1.5 Conclusion

This introductory chapter has set out the framework against which the discussion of Gio' Pio de Piro's trading activities in the eighteenth century will unfold. The context has shown a dichotomy between the 'northern invasion' discourse and the prosperous economy of Malta in the early eighteenth century. This contextual consideration has been extended towards a historiographical account of the

[171] Abela (2015), 78.
[172] See Chapter 2, 35-46.

concept of the 'Mediterranean' itself, out of which the parameters for the latter notion have been derived. Subsequently the methodology applied to this research was examined, together with a general overview of the sources consulted. In this respect, what follows is an attempt to formulate the trading activities of an entrepreneurial person based in Malta with overseas ambitions, with the ultimate aim of discovering what kind of Mediterranean emerges in this eighteenth-century context.

Chapter 2: Aspects of Connectivity: Maritime-legal Networks and Environmental Considerations

2.1 Introduction

In *The Corrupting Sea,* Horden and Purcell posit that the Mediterranean Sea unites the region conceptually and topographically. They suggest that the sea has been the medium facilitating the interconnectivity of humans living along its shores, thus giving rise to networks and systems of communication.[1] This chapter seeks to expand upon this notion in order to see to what extent it is applicable to the experiences of Gio' Pio de Piro. The microhistorical analysis will commence with a discussion of the early modern Maltese legal framework regarding trade and shipping, in the context of and in comparison with other legal institutions in the Mediterranean. This will be followed by an analysis of the social network of Gio' Pio, discussing, for instance, how he communicated with his agents and how this was physically realised. Ultimately, geographical and natural considerations will be studied in order to discern the effect of the physical environment on Gio' Pio's and his companions' lives. In this manner, it is hoped that a more concrete understanding of connectivity in the Mediterranean will emerge.

2.2 Maritime-legal frameworks in Malta and the Mediterranean

Trade and connectivity seem straightforward at face value in a Maltese context: an individual exports commodities to a foreign port by shipping it across the sea, coming into contact with different merchants and cashing in profits to return to his place of origin. However, maritime connectivity in the early modern age, as evinced through trade, is far more nuanced than this, as aspects such as the ownership of the vessel, its rental, the nature of the merchandise, the crew or

[1] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Malden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), 133.

captaincy, determined how it functioned.[2] During the early modern period, bodies of maritime law, which were established under political and economic motivations to regulate the nature of transactions and cultural interactions, governed most of these aspects. Although maritime customs varied according to region, their implications on the regulation of regional shipping and trade were far-reaching, such as the influence exerted by the institutions of Barcelona, Messina and Valencia.[3]

These latter maritime tribunals are said to have shared a common source, the Rhodian Sea Law, which was a Byzantine code of law adopted by leading Italian city-states during the high medieval period.[4] From this latter code, tribunals such as the Curiae Maris of Pisa, the Consolat del Mar of Valencia, Majorca and Barcelona, started to develop and continually reinforced the legal dimension regulating trade in the Mediterranean.[5] This resulted in commonly-sourced legal bodies across the Mediterranean, which can be evinced, amongst many other examples, in Cleirac's *Les Us et Coustumes de la Mer* of the seventeenth century, which combined medieval maritime law, Barcelona's *Llibre del Consolat de Mar*, and other French statutes.[6]

Prior to the seventeenth century, the jurisdiction of the Consolato del Mare of Messina had presided over the Maltese Islands, as these were considered part of the Sicilian administration.[7] However, during the seventeenth century, states in Europe and around the Mediterranean started to establish their own tribunals of maritime law, in an attempt to regulate mercantile life and trade.[8] In

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[2] Maria Fusaro, 'After Braudel: A Reassessment of Mediterranean History between the Northern Invasion and the Caravane Maritime', *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, Maria Fusaro, Colin Heywood and Mohamed-Salah Omri eds. (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010), 20-21.

[3] Maria Fusaro, 'The Invasion of Northern Litigants: English and Dutch Seamen in Mediterranean Courts of Law', *Law, Labour and Empire: Comparative Perspectives on Seafarers, c.1500-1800*, Maria Fusaro, Bernard Allaire, Richard J. Blakemore and Tijl Vanneste eds. (N.A.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 33-34.

[4] Sebastian Vella, 'The Consolato del Mare of Malta: A Study of an Institution (1697-1725)', unpublished B.A. Hons. dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 1998, 1.

[5] Vella (1998), 2-3.

[6] Francesca Trivellato, 'Amphibious Power: The Law of Wreck, Maritime Customs and Sovereignty in Richelieu's France', *Law and History Review*, 33:4 (2015), 924-925.

[7] Vella (1998), 3-4.

[8] Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010a), 175.

fact, the Order of St John established the Magistrato degli Armamenti in 1605 to regulate corsairing.[9] This institution was set up to counter the impact corsairing was having on the provisioning of the islands, and to consequently regulate such lucrative trade.[10] Although there existed previous arrangements between the Order of St John and corsairs, such as the licences granted by Grand Master Pietro del Monte (r.1568-1572) with an impost of 9% on booty captured,[11] this new tribunal institutionalised corsairing. Indeed, from then onwards, corsairs were obliged to not only obtain a licence from the Grand Master to operate but also to pay 10% of the booty to the Common Treasury and to register the quantity and quality of the cargo with the Magistrato degli Armamenti.[12]

Apart from the legal parameters, corsairs were also in need of finances to be able to make their expeditions. The financial needs were usually covered by creditors, who invested their money in activities to make profit. Such transactions were typically made through loans, which were the most common contracts found, not just in the maritime sector, but also generally in the early modern economy.[13] The profit made through loans was at a dividend, rather than an interest rate, which distinguished such an activity from the religiously condemned act of usury.[14] Indeed, Gio' Pio distinguished himself as a creditor within different types of economic sectors in the Maltese eighteenth-century economy from early on in the research. This may be seen through the following two occasions where he loans money to captain Christophanus di Giovanni of Bormla: 500 *scudi* on 18 March 1743, which di Giovanni promised to return within a period of two months,[15] and 100 *scudi* on 11 April 1743, which were to

[9] Liam Gauci, *In the Name of the Prince: Maltese Corsairs 1760-1798* (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2016), 16-17.
[10] Molly Greene, '"Victims of Piracy?" Ottoman Lawsuits in Malta (1602-1687) and the Changing Course of Mediterranean Maritime History', *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, Maria Fusaro, Colin Heywood and Mohamed-Salah Omri eds. (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010b), 180-181.
[11] Paul Cassar, 'The Maltese Corsairs and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 46:2 (1960), 141.
[12] Greene (2010b), 181.
[13] Joan Abela, 'Some Early Forms of Financial Instruments found in Mid-Sixteenth Century Malta', *Storja: 30th Anniversary Edition* (2008), 32.
[14] Vella (1998), 46-48.
[15] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1743, f.329r.

be returned within fifteen days.[16] The purpose of these loans was not noted down in the notarial deeds, yet the transactions show how individuals with capital, such as Gio' Pio and others, as seen through examples from early modern Maltese history,[17] were pivotal to the local economy.

A common procedure surrounding such monetary exchanges was having these transactions noted down at a notary. However, in the maritime context, it is important to note that notaries were expressly forbidden, under the laws enacted by Grand Master Jean Paul de Lascaris Castellar (r.1636-1657) in 1640, to stipulate maritime contracts if not authorised by the Grand Master himself.[18] This was imposed as contracts were to be stipulated in the Castellany instead.[19] Indeed, on 8 July 1750 Notary Francesco Alfano drew up a declaration that stipulated that a sum of 100 *scudi* had belonged to Gio' Pio, as per the *cambia marittima*[20] in favour of Joseph Zicavi in the records of the Magistrato degli Armamenti of 25 April of the same year.[21] The 100 *scudi* were originally handed out to sponsor the arming of a *filucie* (felucca) in a corsairing venture. In this instance, the Notary was not stipulating a maritime contract, but merely noting down a proclamation in favour of Gio' Pio regarding the maritime exchange.

Although it has been attempted to trace this reference in the archives of the latter tribunal, no corresponding entry to this notarial deed was found. However, further research at the Notarial Archives has shown that merely five days later, on 13 July 1750, another declaration was noted down at the same notary, this time from Giovanni Muscat, a co-creditor of Zicavi, from which it transpired that actually a sum of 500 *scudi* had belonged to Gio' Pio, in addition to the previous 100 *scudi*.[22] Through this deed, Gio' Pio's position as a creditor in the maritime sector is affirmed. Through his role in making corsairing

[16] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1743, f.359v.
[17] See Abela (2008), 32-37.
[18] Tonio Spiteri, 'The functions and responsibilities of notaries public', unpublished LL.D dissertation, Faculty of Laws, Royal University of Malta, 1973, 20-21.
[19] Charlene Vella, 'The Notary Public in Malta from the Vilhena Code of 1723 to Ordinance V of 1855', unpublished LL.D. dissertation, Faculty of Laws, University of Malta, 2006, 26.
[20] Vella (1998), 50, a 'cambia marittima' referred to the maritime exchange with the instrument of investing money and receiving a portion in return.
[21] NAV, R15/18, Not. Alfano, 1750, ff.414v-415r.
[22] NAV, R15/18, Not. Alfano, 1750, ff.348v-349v.

financially feasible for captains and crew, Gio' Pio, like many other intermediaries, contributed to the process which continually reinforced this maritime business.

In 1697 a new development occurred in maritime law in Malta, as Grand Master Perellos established the Consolato del Mare di Malta. The legislation of this Consolato was drawn up by Frà Gaspere Carneiro, who studied the laws of Messina, Barcelona and Valencia for guidance.[23] The Consolato was based on the law of Messina, and oftentimes, even after the foundation of the court, the advice of Messinese merchants was sought on maritime-legal matters.[24] In fact, in the case where lacunae in the provision of local law were encountered, the law of Messina would apply, which was a factor reinforced in the promulgation of new laws in 1723 by Grand Master Antonio Manoel de Vilhena (r.1722-1736).[25] The law of Messina itself, briefly consulted by this dissertation, referred to other maritime jurisdictions in the Mediterranean, such as the law of Barcelona, to formulate its code.[26] This is an indication of how different maritime courts in the Mediterranean came to share a model of maritime law that effectively governed the same sea:[27] although the Consolati of Messina, Barcelona, Valencia and later Malta regulated their local environment, their legislation was in line with regional maritime customs.[28]

[23] Kristina Mizzi, 'Aspects on the Evolution of Maritime Law in Malta from the Consolato del Mare di Malta (1697) to the Commercial Code (1857)', unpublished LL.D. dissertation, Faculty of Laws, University of Malta, 2016, 7.
[24] Riniero Zeno, *Il Consolato di Mare di Malta* (Naples: Associazione di Diritto Marittimo, 1936), 9.
[25] Mizzi (2016), 7-8.
[26] NAM, CM – Regolamenti del Consolato di Messina, f.46v., 'Se alcun Patrone di nave ò navilio haverà alcuna differenza, contratto ò lite con alcun mercante, sopracarico, nolegiatore ò qualsivoglia altra persona, in tal caso essendo nel viagio li marinari della mede(si)ma nave non possono far testimonianza ne à favore, ne contra una e l'altra parte, ma se la nave haverà fatta il viagio e i marinari sono liberi, e che le differenze fra il Patrone, e mercante siano tali, che alli marinari non li spettasse ne ben, ne male, all'ora possano esser testimoni, e tale testimonianza debba avere ogni valore si avverte che se tali differenza saranno per fatto di gettito ò per cattivo tempo, ò che la nave doverci andar traversa à terra, in tal caso li marinari possono esser testimoni come il cap(itol)o di Barcellona 220 viene certificato'.
[27] Jennifer L. Green, 'The Development of Maritime Law in Medieval Spain: The Case of Castile and the Siete Partidas', *Historian*, 58:3 (1996), 577.
[28] Abela (2015), 78.

Grand Master Perellos set up the Consolato del Mare with the purpose of organising trade activities in Malta,[29] for instance by providing settlements of litigation on issues such as cargo, wages and debts.[30] The responsibilities of this court were distinct from the role assigned to the Magistrato degli Armamenti: whereas the latter presided over corsairs flying the flag of the Order, the Consolato del Mare governed those vessels (and corsairs) flying the flag of the Grand Master. The key difference was that the former flag was answerable to the Pope, whereas the latter was subject to the Grand Master as the Prince of Malta;[31] the issue of flags was a critical matter in the politics of the early modern Mediterranean. Nevertheless, by granting licences for corsairing and establishing tribunals to hear cases relating to maritime exchanges, the Grand Master was in-line with a contemporary practice in Europe and the Mediterranean of creating legal institutions that regulated maritime activities.[32]

The issue of the flags and the establishment of the Consolato del Mare di Malta was tied with the Pope's reluctance in declaring Greek vessels a targetable prize:[33] Maltese corsairs were attacking Greek ships, as these were, most of the time, carrying Ottoman cargo. However, the Order of Saint John legitimised the Maltese corsairs' actions as it considered the Greeks to be conspiring with the Ottoman Turks, the enemy of Christianity.[34] Through the establishment of the Consolato del Mare di Malta, Greeks who filed a case against Maltese corsairs flying the Grand Master's flag had to do so at this new commercial and maritime court, and could not appeal to Rome.[35] Such court cases were expensive and little reward could be gained, which is why not many Greeks made use of this legal feature. Moreover, the Papacy considered this controversial and the handing out of licences was eventually discontinued following the protests of Popes Benedict

[29] Vella (1998), 82-83.
[30] Mizzi (2016), 8.
[31] Gauci (2016), 16-17.
[32] Greene (2010a), 175.
[33] Greene (2010a), 217-219.
[34] Joan Abela, ''*Per omnes partes barbarie orientis*': Maltese corsairing in the Levant during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Corsairs and Pirates in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Gelina Harlaftis, Dimitris Dimitropoulos and David Starkey eds. (Athens: AdVenture SA, 2016), 116.
[35] Abela (2016), n.30.

XIII (r.1724-1730) and Clement XII (r.1730-1740).[36] However, Grand Master Pinto revived the practice in 1743 with the same reasoning which had led to the tribunal's creation: it was only just that a Grand Master issued licences, just as other heads of state did.[37]

The importance of flags in corsairing in the Mediterranean can be identified in a notarial deed dated 23 June 1748, in which Gio' Pio invested 800 *scudi* in the corsairing venture of Martino Pulis, who hailed from Valletta and was arming a *galeotta* (vessel).[38] In this contract, Gio' Pio is specifically described as the *creditore* (creditor) of Pulis and the latter was bound to repay his debt within a year.[39] Moreover, it was specified that the vessel would fly the Order's flag and was to return to Malta with its spoils.[40] In this case, the implication of flying the Order's flag was that the crew could only attack adversary vessels of the Catholic faith, and not other denominations of Christianity, such as Greek vessels. Delineations such as these ultimately served to safeguard the interest of the creditors and other parties involved.

The widespread authority of legal and maritime customs in the Mediterranean region can be more clearly observed in Gio' Pio's assistance to individuals in legal cases in Malta and overseas. On 1 December 1738 Notary Bernardo Maria Callus drew up a contract of obligation in favour of Gio' Pio, who had provided 1,890 *scudi*, 11 *tareni* and 2 *grani* to Giorgio Bestros and his father Giuseppe, two Maronites from the city of Beirut.[41] These were part of the Maronite Christian denomination hailing from modern-day Lebanon and who had lived under the domination of the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century.[42] Their ties to Malta are complex and revolved around corsairing and maritime tribunals, involving even Gio' Pio's father Lorenzo Ubaldesco before

[36] Frans Ciappara, *Church-State Relations in late-eighteenth-century Malta: Gio. Nicolò Muscat (1735-1803)* (Malta: Malta University Press, 2018), 24-25.
[37] Ciappara (2018), 25.
[38] NAV, R124/2, Not. Callus, 1748, ff.391r-392r.
[39] NAV, R124/2, Not. Callus, 1748, f.391v.
[40] NAV, R124/2, Not. Callus, 1748, f.391r., 'armata a corso con Bandiera di questa Sac(ra) R(eligio)ne capitanegiata da Gio(vann)i la Croce sarà ritornata in questa Isola con alcuna preda'.
[41] NAV, R124/1, Not. Callus, 1738, f.234r.
[42] John-Paul A. Ghobrial, 'Migration from Within and Without: In the Footsteps of Eastern Christians in the Early Modern World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 27 (2017), 170.

his son took over. Gio' Pio represented the Bestros family locally and in international courts, and he financed their endeavours, showing that their relationship was rather intricate.[43]

One of the cases which Gio' Pio and Giuseppe and Giorgio Bestros were involved in pertained to a certain Maronite widow named Chetbi Bestros,[44] who had nominated Giuseppe Bestros and his son as her legal representatives. Iachini writes that Chetbi's husband Rais David was attacked by two corsair vessels flying the Order's flag, despite having had a passport, issued by Grand Master Perellos, in his possession.[45] Rais David had distinctly rendered this episode into a drawing, as seen in Figure 2. In a similar circumstance, Maltese corsairs had once attacked Rais Habib Bestros, Giuseppe's father, despite Grand Master Perellos's passport, which the latter had given to him in 1708, and Bestros's Christian faith.[46] This case had been heard at the 'Tribunale degli Armamenti' in Malta and later in Rome.[47] Gio' Pio came to legally represent the Bestros family in both cases, even loaning the two relatives money, clothing and food.[48]

In the course of time Gio' Pio started to regret his involvement with the Bestros men, as their debt to him accumulated and they were revealed to be tricksters.[49] In fact, during their time in Malta, Giuseppe Bestros was imprisoned and his son took refuge in the Church of Santa Lucia (location unspecified) on 4 October 1735 and stayed there for twenty-one months.[50] The massive debt of Giuseppe and Giorgio was outlined in a deed at Notary Alfano in 1741;[51] by 1747 their debt still stood at a massive sum of 16,885 *scudi*, 2 *tareni* and 11

[43] See Sara Iachini, 'Gio Pio de Piro: Un Nobile Mercante Maltese', unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2000, 117-119.
[44] NAV, R124/1, Not. Callus, 1738, f.235v. This is the only instance where her surname is mentioned in the notarial record. No indication was made on the nature of the relationship with Giuseppe and Giorgio Bestros.
[45] Iachini (2000), 118.
[46] Iachini (2000), 118.
[47] NAV, R15/13, Not. Alfano, 1741, f.382v, 'sud(ett)o Bestros ha havuto et ha tanto nei Tribunali di quest'Isola di Malta, come nella Curia Romana'.
[48] NAV, R124/1, Not. Callus, 1738, ff.235v-236v.
[49] Iachini (2000), 119.
[50] Iachini (2000), 119.
[51] NAV, R15/13, Not. Alfano, 1741, ff.382r-384v.

Figure 2 Rais David's rendition of the corsair attack by two vessels flying the flag of the Order of St John. In the background one can see the Middle Eastern coastline, with ports such as Caesarea and Jaffa noted down. Reproduced with permission from AdeP, Box A17, Bundle 1.

grani.[52] Gio' Pio eventually transferred the rights and responsibilities of representation in the Chetbi and Bestros cases to Carolo Portughes through a deed dated 25 September 1747.[53]

Despite Gio' Pio's eventual detachment from the Bestros men, their legal disputes, including that of Chetbi, shed light on a wider Mediterranean reality of the misunderstandings and misconceptions involving cultures and religions. The ambiguity of certain identities and origins was a reality commonly faced in this multicultural region, and is attested to in the documentary record of notarial deeds and the institution of the Inquisition.[54] Since Giuseppe, Giorgio, and Chetbi Bestros hailed from the 'Levant', their eastern origin was probably understood as Islamic: the ambiguity of the position of Ottoman-ruled Christians in the eyes of Catholic corsairs is apparent. This same political position possibly also explains Rais Habib's corsair attack: being from the Middle East, Maltese corsairs possibly attacked his vessel on the notion of him carrying Ottoman cargo.[55] These cases bring to the fore how culture and religion became intertwined in the maritime-legal dimension and demonstrate how events far out at sea were still able to fall under the jurisdiction of geographically distant institutions.

In a similar way, the activities of Gio' Pio knew no geographical boundaries. In fact, his interests seemed to protrude beyond the Strait of Gibraltar: a series of notarial deeds shine light on Gio' Pio's involvement in a court case between two parties in the city of Lisbon. Gio' Pio acted as procurator for Maria Maddalena Dinelli wife of the late captain Biagio Dinelli in a lawsuit on-going for many years against a certain Pietro Bettamio. Through a deed drawn up on 6 November 1744, she tasked Gio' Pio with applying all possible measures to prevent the termination of the case against Bettamio, which, after

[52] NAV, R15/17, Not. Alfano, 1747, f.58v.
[53] NAV, R15/17, Not. Alfano, 1747, f.57v, 'interessato sop(r)a bast(iment)i corsali, e predatori di bast(iment)i nemici, et amici, ne quali si trovano interessati i Raies Giuseppe Bestros e la ved(ov)a Chetbi tam n(omin)e prop(r)io quam uti deserdentes di altri interepati, et in seguito delle quali ingioste depredaz(io)ni essi Sig(no)ri cedenti n(e)q(ue) s(opr)a si ritrovano quovis tit(ol)o avere azzioni contro la d(ett)a Ered(it)a parte di gia tentante'.
[54] See Dionisius A. Agius ed., *Georgio Scala and the Moorish Slaves: The Inquisition Malta 1598* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2013).
[55] Abela (2016), 110.

having gone on for many years, was nearing its end, promising to reimburse the sums spent by Gio' Pio on her behalf,[56] which she did approximately two years later, on 18 October 1746.[57]

The case was extended further, as through a power of attorney deed, drawn up on 11 January 1749, Gio' Pio named Galli and Niccolini as his procurators in the city of Lisbon.[58] Indeed, in a letter dated 15 April of the same year sent by Galli and Niccolini,[59] they confirmed that they had received the *procura* of 11 January and notified Gio' Pio that over the last week, Pietro Bettamio had finally accounted for his actions in front of the Tribunal of Lisbon.[60] In the same letter they also announced that the judges had finally passed a sentence against Bettamio and executed *la buona giustizzia* (true justice). The case was closed and on 17 October 1750 Gio' Pio sought an unnamed procurator to represent him at the judiciary tribunal of the city of Lisbon regarding the hereditary goods of Pietro Bettamio.[61]

The extensive coverage of the court case in Lisbon reveals various facets of the mid-eighteenth century. Not only were prolonged cases at court a common procedure, but the quarrel between Dinelli and Bettamio also showed that geographical distance was an issue that could be overcome. Through power of attorney deeds and by maintaining communication with his procurators through letters, Gio' Pio was able to be of service to the widow Maria Maddalena and saw the case concluded in favour of her and her late husband. Above all, however, this case demonstrated that the Maltese Islands and the city of Lisbon in the Atlantic Sea were connected. Relations between the latter two places predated the eighteenth century, which was surely intensified by the coming of

[56] NAV, R15/16, Not. Alfano, 1744, ff.111r-111v.
[57] NAV, R15/17, Not. Alfano, 1746, f.101r, 'con tutto che avesse fatto molto spese di somma considerabile e regalato diversi ministri di quella corte in virtù della facoltà concessagli da d(ett)a Sig(no)ra Maria Madalena'.
[58] NAV, R15/18, Not. Alfano, 1749, ff.175r-176v.
[59] Niccolini's own writing of his surname was different from that of Notary Francesco Alfano.
[60] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 3, Letter 11, 1749.
[61] NAV, R15/19, Not. Alfano, 1750, ff.85v-86v. The notary left the space for the elected procurator's name blank.

the Order of St John and its Langue of Castile, Leon and Portugal in 1530.[62] However, this case shows that a civilian and maritime dimension existed concurrent to the Hospitaller one. In fact, as the following section will show, Gio' Pio's connections with Portugal extended beyond his involvement in this court case and involved trade.

Insofar as the nature of the Mediterranean is concerned, what emerges from a maritime-legal perspective is a culture of maritime activities regulated by laws and customs. From an institutional point of view, such bodies of law were mostly present in cities situated on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and, although they were geographically dispersed, they shared certain legal stipulations in their maritime tribunals and bodies of law. Corsairing, its nature, lawfulness and concern with flags, contributed to and shaped the institutionalisation of the maritime world. Gio' Pio, as an intermediary, contributed to the upkeep of the corsairing tradition and maritime profession through his capacity as creditor to individuals. Ultimately, the connectivity of legal bodies between Malta, the Mediterranean Sea and beyond presents an image of a society that shared customs and concerns on the legitimisation of affairs conducted at sea.

2.3 Social Networking and Connectivity

Without underestimating land routes, the most effective way through which connectivity was realised across the Mediterranean in early modern times was through maritime transport.[63] In Malta's case, its nature as an island made this its daily reality, whose general survival depended on its connectivity with the people and lands overseas:[64] although it was the cause of Malta's isolation, the

[62] Ann Williams, 'Constitutional Development of the Order of St John, 1530-1798', *Hospitaller Malta, 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Victor Mallia-Milanes ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 286 and n.3.
[63] Horden and Purcell (2000), 133.
[64] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean: and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Volume 1 [transl. Siân Reynolds] (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1966), 149-151.

sea also constituted the island's medium of connectivity.[65] In this regard, for an agent such as Gio' Pio de Piro, involved in different forms of trade, establishing a network of reliable sources and agents was a priority.

Prior to delving into the world of Gio' Pio, a brief overview of the Order's communication network, used by the protagonist himself, will be made. The Hospitaller Order was continually reliant on information from Europe, the 'Levant' and the north African littoral to break out of its isolation and prepare itself for differing forms of financial, military and political eventualities:[66] for the Order, 'communication was politics',[67] without which it was not able to survive. In this respect, the Order established a coherent network of communication and a postal service, which utilised a combination of land and sea routes.[68] In Europe, postal services were common prior to the sixteenth century and the first national postage system was attributed to King Louis XI of France (r.1461-1483), but this is highly disputed.[69] Such services typically made use of a combination of land and sea routes, employing the latter to their utmost efficiency.[70]

For the Order of St John, the Italian peninsula was the place from which most information was passed on from, in particular through the southern Sicilian town of Scicli, from which most mail was delivered.[71] Naples was the main distribution point for the Order, from where letters were forwarded to their respective destinations in Europe.[72] As part of this network, the Hospitallers had various agents and ambassadors stationed in the major cities of Christian Europe,

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[65] Emanuel Buttigieg, 'The Maltese Islands and the Religious Culture of the Hospitallers', *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798*, Emanuel Buttigieg and Simon Phillips eds. (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013), 41.
[66] Ivan Grech, 'Struggling Against Isolation: Communication Lines and the Circulation of News in the Mediterranean, the case of seventeenth-century Malta', *Second Mediterranean Maritime History Network Conference: Making Waves in the Mediterranean*, 16:1-2 (2006), 3.
[67] Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 16.
[68] Ivan Grech, 'Hospitaller Malta's Communication System with the Mediterranean World in the Early Seventeenth Century', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Malta, Department of History, 2016, 69-70.
[69] John B. Allen, *Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), 1-3.
[70] Allen (1972), 60-62.
[71] Grech (2016), 63-64.
[72] Alfred Bonnici, 'The Postal System of the Order of St. John 1530-1798', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2011, 18.

such as Rome, Paris and Venice, who forwarded their information to Malta, mostly via the Italian peninsula.[73] The Orders' consuls also represented and helped Maltese merchants overseas, with consulates being established according to Maltese merchants' petitions.[74] The consulates are a good indication of where trade to the Maltese Islands was established, as their responsibilities included forwarding information on shipping, custom duties and political developments.[75]

The networks of Gio' Pio operated within this communication system established by the Order of St John, with his axes being Sicily and the Italian peninsula. His networks were simple and based on direct communication, which was a characteristic of early modern trade networks, which were distinguished by kinship, cultural closeness or cross-cultural relations.[76] In fact, one of his key agents was Alfonso Candida of Naples,[77] who was a Hospitaller of the Order of St John and his personal friend. Apart from being an agent to Gio' Pio, he was also a constituent in the Order's system of ambassadors, agents and contacts on the Italian peninsula. He was mostly stationed in the areas around Naples, specifically the town of Lucera, which is corroborated by the letters he sent to Gio' Pio.[78] For Gio' Pio, Candida was a vital connection in Italy, as he took care of orders and arranged shipments, such as the 100 bottles of clear oil that were shipped from the city of Monopoli in the Adriatic, with the help of the intermediary Vincenzo Farrugia.[79]

Alfonso Candida communicated with Gio' Pio approximately once every month or two, but this was dependant on various factors. Being a Hospitaller himself, he was in contact with other members of the institution and passed on

[73] Grech (2006), 3.
[74] Victor Mallia-Milanes, 'The Maltese Consulate in Venice During the XVIII Century: A Study in the Manner of Appointment of Maltese Consuls Overseas', *Melita Historica*, 5:4 (1971), 326-327.
[75] Klemens Kaps, 'Small but powerful: networking strategies and the trade business of Habsburg-Italian merchants in Cadiz in the second half of the eighteenth century', *European Review of History*, 23:3 (2016), 434.
[76] Kaps (2016), 427.
[77] See Chapter 1, 31.
[78] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 30, 1749, 'Per adesso non potrò andare in Napoli; ma per l'affare di Cardona comandatervi pure, che io da questa Città di Lucera vi possa servire, come fosse in Napoli.'
[79] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 41, 1750, 'di voler caricare nella Città di Monopoli nel Mare Adriatico Botti cento in circa d'oglio chiaro consegnandolo a misura di vela al Lido del Mare'.

information on the commanderies and the general affairs of the Order on the Italian peninsula to Gio' Pio. In a letter dated 7 December 1748, Candida informed him that he sent 180 *zecchini* in his name with a certain captain, which was to cover the three *annate* (yearly payments)[80] paid by the Ambassador of France on the commandery of Monopoli, which fell under the Priory of Barletta,[81] and pertained to Frà Ridolfo de Puppis, to cover the responsions[82] and taxes incurred by the ship.[83] Candida explained that he had given the money to Bailiff Marulli in Naples, who, in turn, consigned it to the captain. In the same letter, Candida also informed Gio' Pio that he was sending him money via Commander Castelli from his own commandery, which he did not name but can be identified as the commandery of Castellazzo.[84] This in-depth description of the orchestration involved in sending money to Malta reveals the complexity of the networking system and how indispensable it was to an island order state like Malta, whose key characteristic was its dependency on outside sources for survival.[85]

Not only was the system reliant on individuals, but it was also heavily dependant on maritime transportation. Indeed, Candida elaborated further on the issue of sending the same 180 *zecchini* to Malta in a letter dated 22 March 1749, where he wrote that by the time the money had arrived in Naples, their ship had already left the harbour and no other secure amenity was available to deliver it to the Maltese Islands.[86] This truly attests to the idea that the maritime environment was a determining factor for the Maltese Islands from many different aspects, as

[80] See Simon Mercieca, 'Aspects of the Hospitaller Commandery 1631-1798', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 1993. The Order of St. John derived incomes from its commanderies through the imposition of annual taxes or pensions on its property.
[81] Marica Camilleri, 'The Historical Development of the Hospitaller Commandery of San Giovanni di Monopoli', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2007, 28.
[82] Williams (1993), 286, responsions were levies that were collected from commanderies, forming the basis of the Order's revenue.
[83] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 23, 1748.
[84] NLM, AOM 2171, f.53v. See Chapter 1, 31.
[85] Joan Abela and Emanuel Buttigieg, 'The Island Order State on Malta and its Harbour, c.1530-c.1624', *The Port of Malta*, Carmel Vassallo and Simon Mercieca eds. (Malta: The Authors, 2018), 49.
[86] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 27, 1749, 'Quando si mandò in Napoli i zecchini 180 per pagare il debito in Tesoro del Sig(no)r Comm(andato)re Frà Ridolfo de Puppis era già partito il nostro vascello da Napoli, e non si è trovata altra comodità sicura'.

without a stable, secure and regularly working networking system, Malta and its inhabitants would have been isolated from the general affairs of the region. This example also explains why communication between Alfonso Candida and Gio' Pio was a monthly or bi-monthly affair.

In his letters, Candida oftentimes updated his friend on social happenings, such as when he saw a certain 'Bestros' (presumably Giorgio, who settled down in Naples)[87] and extended the latter's regards to Gio' Pio through the letter.[88] Similarly, in a letter dated 7 March 1750 and written from Naples, Alfonso Candida commented on the marriage between Gio Pio's granddaughter Anna Maria Ribera and Francesco Maria Montalto from Syracuse.[89] Apart from congratulating Gio' Pio on the marriage, he also expressed his approval that Anna's spouse came from a well-known family in Sicily and Italy; Alfonso Candida thought that the union was advantageous.[90] Through this marriage, Gio' Pio was able to extend his kin into the noble families of Sicily, marking his ambitions that stretched well beyond the island of Malta. Francesco Maria Montalto's Syracusan origin was also valuable, as the port had a strong connectivity with Malta.[91]

In a letter dated 5 April 1751, Candida informed Gio' Pio on another marriage, this time between a certain Marquis Mesagne and his bride Consaga, for whom he was organising a gift for the occasion.[92] Seen in this light, Candida's letters become a medium whereby the social worlds of Italy and Sicily were connected with that of Malta, consequently eliminating the social distance imposed by geography.

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[87] Iachini (2000), 119.
[88] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 36, 1750, 'Dopo quattro anni appunto questa mattina ho veduto Bestros, il quale si raccomanda alle vostre grazie.'
[89] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 36, 1750. See Chapter 4, 96-97.
[90] 'La degnissima vostra Sig(no)ra Nipote Ribera non potea sortire Sposo più degno del Sig(no)r D. Francesco Maria Montalto di Siracusa, la cui Famiglia è ben nota non solo in Sicilia, ma in tutta Italia. Vi assicuro, caro amico, che con tal maritaggio mi ha empiuto d'indicibile piacere, mentre io entro a parte di tutto ciò, che'è di vostro interesse, perchè sono troppo a voi obbligato Serv(ito)re ed Amico.'
[91] Anton Caruana Galizia, 'Family Strategies and Transregional Mobility: The de Piro in Eighteenth-Century Malta and Sicily', *European History Quarterly*, 44:3 (2014), 425-426.
[92] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 48, 1751. See Chapter 3, 77-78.

Although social networking was a recurrent subject matter in the writings of Alfonso Candida and Gio' Pio, the main concern of the letters was trade. With every letter, Candida briefed his friend on the state of orders and shipments. In a series of letters from the year 1750, Candida shared with Gio' Pio the progress of an order of two crates of oranges from Portugal. In the letter dated 7 March 1750, he informed him that they were expected to arrive within a few days.[93] In a subsequent letter, dated 4 April 1750, Candida announced that the oranges had arrived during Holy Week and that he had paid their price from his own accounts.[94] Nearly two months later, in a letter dated 30 May 1750 Candida confirmed the receipt of Gio' Pio's letter and the price of the oranges, which amounted to 14 *scudi* and 3 *tareni* of Maltese currency.[95] Such detailed updates on the import of the crate of oranges permits insight into the eighteenth-century world of trade, as well as an understanding of the duration of shipments and the pricing of the commodities. This example is also testament to the importance of maintaining communication for more advantageous trading.

The letters between Candida and Gio' Pio are also demonstrative of another side to connectivity: multilingualism. This is defined as 'the ability to speak many languages' or 'the use of many languages'.[96] Scholars have argued that the early modern Mediterranean region was conducive to multilingualism due to the interconnectivity it stimulated through the existence of trade routes.[97] It has also been suggested that the close resemblance of certain languages spoken amongst the societies living on the coast of the Mediterranean has allowed people to navigate other 'foreign' languages in the region more easily, stimulating a 'lingua franca'.[98] Although early modern multilingualism is impossible to discern in an oral way, letters do provide a point of access into the linguistic world of the eighteenth century. Indeed, elements of multilingualism in Gio' Pio's life were identified through his correspondence with people across the

[93] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 36, 1750.
[94] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 40, 1750.
[95] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 43, 1750.
[96] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com [26 November 2018].
[97] Eric R. Dursteler, 'Speaking in Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Past & Present*, 217:1 (2012), 50-51.
[98] Dursteler (2012), 75-76.

Mediterranean. Whilst Gio' Pio utilised Italian in his writing to Candida, in other bundles of letters from the same archive he used French.[99]

In this respect, Gio' Pio's establishment of connections with leading French towns, some of which, such as Marseille,[100] were of utmost importance in the trade with the eastern Mediterranean, was complemented and enhanced by his understanding of French. His comprehension of two important languages native to the Mediterranean region and their application to conduct trade highlights the ability of language to manifest connectivity between two different cultures. Although, ultimately, Gio' Pio, Alfonso Candida and the French merchants shared a common aim of making profit, their ability to communicate in the same language certainly made establishing a trade relationship overseas less challenging. In the case of Gio' Pio and Alfonso Candida, sharing a common language also helped transform their relationship from one that was basic and related to trade, into one that was more distinctive and amicable.

The vehicles towards connectivity in the first half of the eighteenth century were letters and the navigation of different languages. Both elements contributed to a connected Mediterranean and made it a mutually accessible cultural region. Although the topic was trade, the letters highlighted a second purpose: the sharing of information on society and societal happenings overseas. Such correspondence was facilitated through the network designed and operated by the Order of St John, whose dependency on connectivity to continental Europe allowed merchants, agents and civilians to utilise the same connections to the European mainland to their advantage.

2.4 Geographical and Natural Considerations

As opposed to the previous two sections, this segment will explore the effect of nature and geography on human life and connectivity. Scholarly opinion on this

[99] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 4, Letter 49, 1716, 'Factures generalles de tous les Envoy fait a Monsieur de Pio del Pire de Malte de son ordre et a les risques pour payer comptant, et de plusieurs debourcè pour doanne voiture et autre foais fait par Jean Roche de Lyon ainsy qu'il est espliqué et après leavoir'.
[100] Jean Mathiex, 'The Mediterranean', *The New Cambridge Modern History Vol. 6: The Rise of Great Britain and Russia*, J.S. Bromley ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 543.

has been divided: Horden and Purcell have posited that connectivity between different societies in different geographical areas has typically been of a social, rather than physical, hindrance.[101] However, for Fernand Braudel, the character of the Mediterranean was primarily determined by its geography and nature, suggesting, for instance, that the sea's climate regulated the social life of the region into two distinct phases, summer and winter.[102] In this respect, this section will try to understand the extent to which nature and geography has shaped and affected human lives, with a specific focus on the first half of the eighteenth century.

Perhaps the most nature-exposed human activity within the context of an island is transportation by boat. This has been subject to risks since time immemorial, ranging from storms and shipwrecks to human-caused threats like piracy.[103] The development of insurance contracts at notaries in the late Middle Ages is a testimony to such threats at sea.[104] The need to secure a ship or cargo against risks not only highlights the importance shipping had acquired, but also that the danger of nature (and other human factors) had remained the same.

Gio' Pio and Alfonso Candida talked about the risk involved in travelling in their communications. In his letters, Candida often enquired about the health of his friend, his whereabouts or activities: in a letter dated 1 August 1751, Candida referred to Gio' Pio's travelling from Italy to Malta and extended his hopes that the latter passed *il canale* (the channel) safely.[105] Although no further reference was made to the channel, it is highly probable that Candida was referring to the Channel of Sicily, or the Strait of Messina. Both areas are en-route to Malta and have historically proven to be dangerous zones, the former due to piratical activities,[106] and the latter due to maritime peril, as is evinced, for

[101] Horden and Purcell (2000), 132.
[102] Braudel (1966), 246.
[103] Timmy Gambin, 'Ship graffiti on Maltese churches: A photographic essay of sacred maritime iconography', *The Maltese Islands and the Sea*, Timmy Gambin ed. (Malta: Midsea Books, 2015), 129.
[104] Christopher Ebert, 'Early Modern Atlantic Trade and the Development of Maritime Insurance to 1630', *Past & Present*, 213:1 (2011), 100-101.
[105] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 51, 1751, 'Io mi crederò già, che voi fosse in Malta, e se non erro da Napoli indirizzai le mie lettere per colà. Badate bene a passar con sicurtà il canale'.
[106] Gauci (2016), 137.

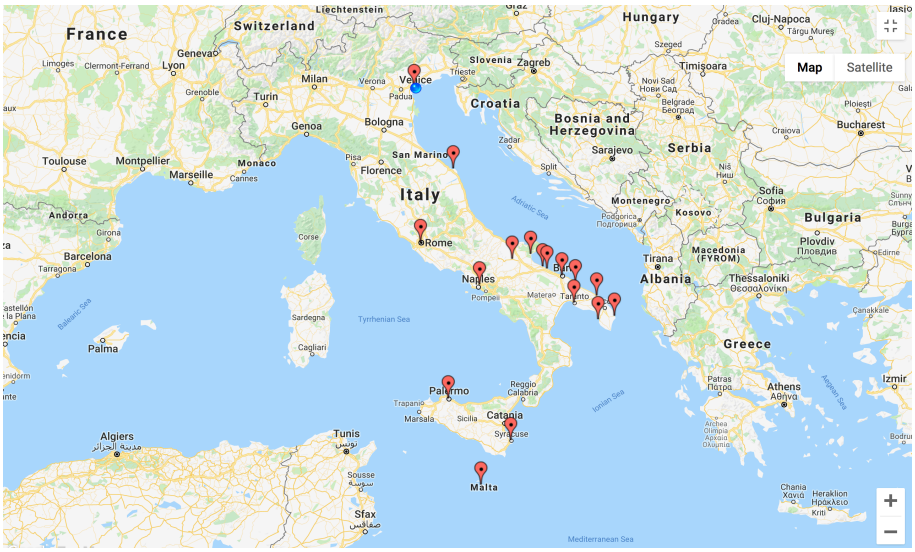
instance, in its mythological adaptation into Scylla and Charybdis in Homer's *The Odyssey*.[107] Although the geographical placement of *il canale* remains unidentified, what can safely be deduced from Candida's reference is the underlying reality that travelling at sea, regardless of the season, was not something to be taken lightly, since the individual remained continually exposed to risk. In fact, in a letter dated 16 October of the same year, Candida explained that Gio' Pio had suffered *vertigine* (vertigo or dizziness) during that same trip towards Malta, and feared this to be a sign of his old age.[108] Vertigo, which can be defined as 'the sensation of self-motion when no self-motion is occurring', was historically linked with seasickness, even as early as the classical period.[109]

The climate of the Mediterranean, which many scholars have found to be conditioned by its instability and unpredictability,[110] too had an impact on life. At sea, the lives of sailors, corsairs and travellers were at the mercy of nature and the climate, which sometimes was unfavourable, materialising in the form of winds and storms, and precipitating diseases, deprivations and death.[111] On land, it could manifest itself in terms of flooding or drought.[112] This is what occurred in the late 1740s. On 19 April 1749 Alfonso Candida wrote regretfully of the scarcity of wheat that befell the Maltese Islands and advised Gio' Pio of its exacerbation due to southern Italy's own *mancanza d'acqua* (lack of rain) and the *ricolta imminente malissima* (imminent bad harvest).[113] Wheat shortages were not an unusual occurrence for the Maltese Islands, as the land did not yield

[107] Sergio G. Longhitano, 'Between Scylla and Charybdis (part 2): The sedimentary dynamics of the ancient, Early Pleistocene Messina Strait (central Mediterranean) based on its modern analogue', *Earth-Science Reviews*, 179:1 (2018), 253.
[108] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 53, 1751, 'In data de 20 del passato (septe)mbre ho ricevuto una vostra favoritissima carta della quale ho rilevato di esser voi giunto in Malta, e con sommo mio rammerico ho inteso d'aver sofferto dall'agitazione del viaggio qualche vertigine, che (per) cagione della vostra avvanzata età vivo con somma sollecitudine'.
[109] Doreen Huppert and Thomas Brandt, 'Dizziness and vertigo syndromes viewed with a historical eye', *Journal of Neurology*, 265:1 (2018), 128.
[110] Alain Bresson, 'Ecology and Beyond: The Mediterranean Paradigm', *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, William V. Harris ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 112.
[111] Carmen Depasquale, 'La course maltaise dans une 'littérature français' de Malte du XVIII[e] siècle', *Mediterraneo in armi (secc.XV-XVIII)*, Rossella Cancilia ed. (Palermo: Associazione Mediterranea, 2007), 684, 'Pour tout marin, caravaniste, chevalier de Malte, voyageur, la Méditerranée est pleine de pièges, de dangers: écueils, tempêtes, maladies, privations, mort … et la course'.
[112] Braudel (1966), 238-239.
[113] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 30, 1749.

enough wheat crops to sustain its own population, making it reliant on the importation of wheat, mainly from nearby Sicily.[114] But when Sicily suffered a shortage of grain, so too did Malta.[115]

In such cases, connectivity with other areas proved useful and through Gio' Pio's communication with Alfonso Candida, it becomes possible to delineate what places could have been targeted by Maltese agents.[116] The most frequented locations of Alfonso Candida in the Italian peninsula were Lucera, Naples, Gallipoli, Taranto and Monopoli. The mentions of these places in his letters show how there was a concentration of trading efforts in the southern Italian peninsula, more specifically in the region of Apulia.[117] Additionally, the trade route was also extended further north, up to Venice and passing through Ancona, Manfredonia, Portolano, Barletta, Trani, Brindisi, Otranto, Gallipoli and Taranto.[118] Rome and Naples were other frequent destinations, as were Palermo and Syracuse in Sicily.[119] These can be seen in Map 1 and tabulated in Table 1.



Map 1 The central Mediterranean and the shipping destinations across the Italian peninsula of Gio' Pio de Piro reproduced onto a satellite map. Taken from www.zeemaps.com [28 November 2018] and adapted for the purposes of this dissertation.

[114] Carmel Cassar, 'State Intervention in the Grain Trade of Malta (16th-20th Century)', *Mediterranean Review*, 6:2 (2013), 66.
[115] Cassar (2013), 67.
[116] See Chapter 3, 61-62, for Alfonso Candida's interest in wheat importation.
[117] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 43, 1750.
[118] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 44, 1750.
[119] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 25, 1749.

Places mentioned by Alfonso Candida
Venice
Ancona
Manfredonia
Lucera
Portolano
Barletta
Trani
Bari
Monopoli
Brindisi
Otranto
Gallipoli
Taranto
Syracuse
Palermo
Naples
Rome

Table 1 The places mentioned by Alfonso Candida and reproduced in Map 1, listed in tabular form and in a clockwise order.

Although Gio' Pio's activities were mostly carried out in the Italian peninsula, other significant links with other ports around the Mediterranean Sea, such as in southern France, should not be excluded. As will be outlined in the course of this dissertation, Alfonso Candida's letters also give evidence to connections with more distant locations, as was seen in the case of Portugal,[120] but also in the Canary Islands,[121] and Hannover.[122] Their location in the Atlantic Ocean and in northern Europe manifests the geographical distance covered by such trade routes, which were accessible to Gio' Pio and his agents. However, it is vital to point out that these locations were fleeting mentions in the letters of Alfonso Candida suggesting that trade with these locations was not of a frequent kind. Instead, it was in the central Mediterranean that most navigation and trade

[120] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 36, 1750.
[121] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 41, 1750, 'mentre dice di volerlo portare alle Canarie, dove ve n'è scarsezza grandissima.'
[122] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 19, 1748. See Chapter 3, 74-76.

activities of Gio' Pio and Candida took place, specifically targeting southern Italian ports, without, however, excluding wider forays.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has been an exploration of the different degrees of networks Gio' Pio formed part of in the course of the first half of the eighteenth century. A consistent theme discernible throughout this discussion was that letters were the main conduits through which connectivity was physically sustained across the Mediterranean, in conjunction with maritime transportation. By keeping up frequent correspondence with Alfonso Candida who was based in southern and central Italy, Gio' Pio was able to conduct his trade in that region from Malta. The use of established Hospitaller networks of communications facilitated this connectivity, yet the harsh realities of the climate of the Mediterranean and complexity of the network, presented challenges: whether he was troubled by episodes of vertigo or had to face *il canale* in southern Italy, the Mediterranean Sea provided hurdles to the maritime connectivity of the Maltese Islands.

Yet, at the same time, the Mediterranean Sea allowed Gio' Pio to maintain his friendship and partnership with Alfonso Candida and to represent individuals in distant courts and tribunals, such as in the case of Lisbon. Notarial documentation provided the legal backbone for social and commercial networks, and the sea was the physical medium through which people and places were linked. The Mediterranean also showed itself to be a zone of common and shared maritime-legal institutions, which, although not identical, were similar enough. Such legal frameworks permitted Gio' Pio's involvement in the corsairing sector, in particular his role as an intermediary in providing credit to individuals involved in maritime trade. Although the legal disputes that Gio' Pio was involved in are representative of political and religious divisions, they simultaneously reflect a sense of institutional commonality that spanned across the Mediterranean Sea.

Chapter 3: Mediterranean Trade in Grain, Slavery and Luxury Items

3.1 Introduction

In Latin, the word *insula* means 'island'. However, in English, 'insular', derived from the same Latin word, has cultivated a different meaning altogether, namely that of being 'cut off from intercourse with other nations, isolated'.[1] The linguistic connotation thus points towards the state of being isolated as being the sum and substance of islands. However, to believe that islands are by nature cut off from communication and civilisation is to err, as many historical and archaeological studies have shown, just as it is wrongful to believe that there exists no place on the mainland that is detached from society.[2] Trade has historically been one of the primary motivations for connecting such areas, as has been shown, for instance, by Robert Lopez in his study on the medieval 'commercial revolution'. He has explained how trade, in conjunction with the Crusades, stimulated connectivity within the Mediterranean and connected the region with distant lands and cultures.[3]

In the case of Malta, trade has also been a factor that has motivated its islanders to break out from its natural isolation:

> The geography of the Maltese Islands is a combination of insulation and smallness; their history is a combination of isolation and connectivity. Isolation is almost always a matter of degree: the sea isolated Malta but was also its medium of constant connectivity.[4]

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[1] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com [27 December 2018].
[2] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Malden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), 76-77.
[3] Robert Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 97-102.
[4] Emanuel Buttigieg, 'The Maltese Islands and the Religious Culture of the Hospitallers: Isolation and Connectivity, c.1540s-c.1690s', *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798*, Emanuel Buttigieg and Simon Philips eds. (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 41.

This chapter seeks to determine to what extent the Maltese Islands of the first half of the eighteenth century were insular or connected. This will be done by analysing three different categories of commodities, namely grain, slaves and luxury items.

3.2 Trade in Grain and other Crops

In *The Mediterranean*, Fernand Braudel speaks of the 'same eternal trinity: wheat, olives and vines' as being innate to the Mediterranean, attaching to the trio a deistic quality.[5] He is correct in ascribing an essential nature to these, most specifically to wheat, as it constituted a significant portion of the food cultures of those societies living on the Mediterranean littoral. Horden and Purcell calculate that during the period that they have studied, wheat and barley together satisfied 65 to 70% of nutritional needs in the food systems of the Mediterranean.[6] Similarly, through a report for the years 1795-1796, the Order of St John assessed that an average of 158,195 *rotoli* of bread were produced every month in Malta,[7] showing just how vital products gained from wheat were to a population of around 75,000.[8] The problem with grain, however, is that historically there has existed an imbalance between its production and consumption, as most areas were unable to produce enough of it to cater for their population, whereas others have generated a surplus.[9] This explains why the early modern Mediterranean became dependent on the importation of grain from northern Europe, the eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea regions, whose grain production exceeded necessity.[10]

The difficulty of self-sustainability was a problem that the Maltese Islands had faced over centuries: the tax-free grain importation agreement with

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[5] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean: and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Volume 1 [transl. Siân Reynolds] (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1966), 236.
[6] Horden and Purcell (2000), 201.
[7] Noel Buttigieg, 'The administration of the Order's bakery: some preliminary observations', *Sacra Militia*, 10 (2011), 9.
[8] Stanley Fiorini, 'STATUS ANIMARUM I: A Unique Source for 17th and 18th Century Maltese Demography', *Melita Historica*, 8 (1983), 325-343. See 'Table 3'.
[9] Braudel (1966), 570.
[10] David Abulafia, *The Great Sea* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), xxix.

Sicily, known as *tratte*, had been the lifeline of the inhabitants of Malta since medieval times.[11] This situation had parallels with other towns in the Mediterranean, such as when in 1156 the Genoese established a treaty with King William I of Sicily (r.1154-1166) to import to their city Sicilian grain alongside other produce, due to the plentiful harvest of the island.[12] The Order of St John, upon its arrival in Malta, sought to expand the tax exemption of grain imports from Sicily and managed to obtain a quota of 9,500 *salme* of wheat, together with 700 *salme* of barley and 300 *salme* of vegetables.[13] This alleviated the pressure on local agriculture to meet these basic nutritional needs, which was valuable in the case of a siege, as witnessed in 1565, for which grain reserves were replenished with utmost priority.[14]

Gio' Pio's involvement in grain production and importation to the Maltese Islands were manifold. Between 1703 and 1706 he became the ambassador of the Università dei Grani of Malta in Licata for the procurement of wheat.[15] The Università was split into three bodies, those of Mdina, Gozo and Birgu-Valletta respectively, which all sought to regulate the grain trade.[16] The procurator of wheat in Licata enjoyed significant benefits, namely a commission of ten *grani* for every *salma* of wheat purchased.[17] Ledgers held at the Archivum de Piro attest to this period of Gio' Pio's history: some manuscripts detail the accounts he kept during his tenure at Licata, denoting, for instance, the credit paid to various grain merchants for a total value of 2,000 *scudi* of merchandise.[18] In another manuscript, Gio' Pio logged the sale of 250 *salme* of wheat purchased by Ottavio Montaparto in Licata on 30 July 1703, recording the price at which

[11] Charles Dalli, 'Satellite, Sentinel, Stepping Stone: Medieval Malta in Sicily's Orbit', *Malta in Hybleans, the Hybleans in Malta: Malta negli Iblei, gli Iblei a Malta, Proceedings of the International Conference*, Anthony Bonanno and Pietro Militello eds. (N.A.: Palermo, 2006a), 256.
[12] Stanley Fiorini, 'Malta and Genoa, 1150-1375', *Dies Amalphitana*, 41:1 (2016), 29.
[13] Joan Abela, *Hospitaller Malta and the Mediterranean Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (Woodbridge and Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2018), 62.
[14] Noel Buttigieg, 'Feeding the Besieged', *Besieged: Malta 1565, Volume 2*, Maroma Camilleri ed. (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2015), 119.
[15] Sarah Iachini, 'Gio Pio de Piro: Un Nobile Mercante Maltese', unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2000, 11.
[16] Abela (2018), 86.
[17] John Montalto, *The Nobles of Malta 1530-1800* (Malta: Midsea Books, 1979), 123.
[18] AdeP, MS 8, 1703, f.4v, 'pagati à diversi Granatarii (per) le ragioni di (scudi) 2000 di merce à (tareni) 22.6.5'.

they were bought and highlighting, amongst other things, the exchange of wheat between the cities of *Girgenti* (Agrigento) and Licata.[19]

From early on in his career Gio' Pio was immersed in the arguably largest and most significant trade of the Maltese Islands.[20] Having to physically relocate to Sicily, Gio' Pio's involvement in the grain trade shows not only the paramount responsibility entrusted to the procurator, but it also demonstrates that the connectivity between Licata - and Sicily in general - was indispensable to the Maltese Islands and its population's survival. The sheer proximity between Malta and Sicily, as well as the political connection between the two, led to the establishment of a functioning grain trade, so much so that the trade developed into an ever-growing dependency, becoming greater with the expanding demographics of the eighteenth century.[21]

Earlier on in this dissertation, it was observed that grain constituted a subject of discussion between Gio' Pio and his friend Alfonso Candida highlighting how susceptible agriculture was to the varying climate of the Mediterranean.[22] The sheer importance of grain to Malta interested Alfonso Candida, as in his letter dated 26 September 1750, he shared with Gio' Pio his interest in venturing into the grain trade himself. He asked his friend about the price that grain was selling for in Malta and on the exchange rate between one *salma* in Malta to that of Naples.[23] He stated that, should Gio' Pio be able to find him an opportunity, he would send a shipment.[24] With grain forming the foundations of the food culture of the Maltese population, it was understandable that enterprising individuals like Alfonso Candida would develop a hunger for the business.

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[19] AdeP, MS 75, 1703.
[20] See Anton Caruana Galizia, 'Family Strategies and Transregional Mobility: The de Piro in Eighteenth-Century Malta and Sicily', *European History Quarterly*, 44:3 (2014), 422; and Anton Caruana Galizia, 'Royal office and private ventures: the fortunes of a Maltese noblemen in Sicily, 1725-50', *Historical Research*, 90:250 (2017), 4.
[21] Stanley Fiorini, 'Demographic Growth and the Urbanisation of the Maltese Countryside to 1798', *Hospitaller Malta, 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Victor Mallia-Milanes ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1991), 308-310.
[22] See Chapter 3, 53-54.
[23] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 45, 1750, 'Avvisatemi a quanto in Malta vale il grano e dirmi quante sommo la Napolitane viene ad essere una salma'.
[24] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 45, 1750, 'perchè se vi trovasse il mio negozio ne manderei un caricamento'.

However, Candida, just like many other merchants and traders, soon came to the realisation that the Università dei Grani was too powerful on the market to permit any third party to constitute competition. Indeed, Candida noted in the following letter dated 9 January 1751 that he would not follow his intentions to sell grain in Malta, as only the Università had the faculty of doing so; pursuing such a course would risk his business entirely.[25] Alfonso Candida's realisation shows the extent of the monopoly the Università held, as its power forced independent parties to give up any aspirations prior to any concrete inception of trade. Backed by the correct legal status permitting its monopoly, the Università made the grain trade a risky affair for outsiders, not only through its copious and secure sources and fixed pricing, but also through the protection of the merchandise by the galleys of the Order of St John.[26]

Although local grain production did not yield sufficient *salme* to support the local population, its cultivation was nevertheless encouraged;[27] the prices, however, were most of the time fixed by the local Università nearing harvest time, namely the end of June and early July.[28] Gio' Pio too was involved in this sector of the agricultural economy, as various notarial contracts were drawn up in which he appeared selling grain, such as on 25 November 1742, when he sold to Andreas Micallef of Mdina 7 *scudi* and 6 *tareni* worth of 10 *tumoli* of *frumenti* (wheat).[29] Some of these types of notarial deeds also recorded the concurrent trading of animals of labour. In the case of the deed involving Andreas Micallef, Gio' Pio also sold two *vituli* (calves) and one *vitulus pili rubri* (red-fur calf).[30] On another occasion, Gio' Pio sold to Gasparus Galea three *boves* (bulls) alongside seven *salmas* of *frumenti mixti* (mixed grains).[31] This type of sale suggests that the grain may have been bought as fodder for the animals. Although it was not stated where he obtained the grain or the animals from, the relative recurrence of

[25] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 46, 1751, 'Non è da discorrere più di vendere in Malta grano, giacchè la sola Università ha la facoltà di comprare ed in questo caso sarebbe arrischiare il negotie'.
[26] Abela (2018), 87.
[27] Carmel Cassar, 'Nutrition in a central Mediterranean island community: Malta in Medieval and early modern times', *Rivista di Antropologia*, 76:1 (1998), 156.
[28] Abela (2018), 81-82.
[29] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1742, ff.124v-125v.
[30] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1742, f.124v.
[31] NAV, R308/2, Not. Grillet Sciberras, 1741, ff.79v-81r.

such entries suggests that Gio' Pio operated a small, albeit profitable business in the agricultural sector.

This was surely facilitated by the de Piro family estate: by the time he started his career, the property owned by the de Piro family was already substantial.[32] Various ledgers kept at the Archivum de Piro show the family's intensive recordkeeping throughout the eighteenth century, in which they listed all of the transactions, rents and other information pertaining to their properties across Malta and Gozo.[33] The records at the Notarial Archives corroborate this, as notarial deeds record Gio' Pio renting his land and fields to individuals, and sometimes even employing men to take care of them. One example of the latter case was Ioannes Attard, who was obliged to Gio' Pio as of 13 May 1742 to work on (an unnamed) field and to extract crops from it, for a total of 20 *scudi* and 10 *tareni*.[34] Another example was Giovanni Maria Abela, who, by a contract dated 15 April 1742, was employed to assist and to work for Gio' Pio on a daily basis *nelli affari di campagna e ne beni* (in the affairs of estate and property), for a wage of six *scudi* a month.[35] The 1740s seemed to have been particularly productive years for the fields of Gio' Pio, especially the years 1746 and 1747, as he appeared in multiple contracts at Notary Francesco Alfano to sell wheat and *frumenti mixti* to various individuals.[36]

Upon closer observation of such types of contracts, it becomes possible to discern a pattern whereby local grain was typically sold alongside other crops, such as *ordeum* (barley),[37] *erbae* (herbs)[38] or *sulla* (French honeysuckle).[39] In a series of contracts dated 29 January 1741, *mundi d'alca* (seaweed, commonly used as manure),[40] *resche terra dell'aere di carbone* (possibly meaning coal or a

[32] Anton Caruana Galizia, 'Maltese Nobility during the Hospitaller Period: Towards a Reappraisal', *Symposia Melitensia*, 7 (2011a), 6.
[33] See AdeP, MS 2A; MS 31; MS 36; MS 39 as examples of such ledgers.
[34] NAV, R15/13, Not. Alfano, 1742, ff.478v-479r.
[35] NAV R15/13, Not. Alfano, 1742, ff.419r-419v.
[36] See NAV, R15/17, Not. Alfano, 1746-1747, ff.158v-159r; ff.163v-165v; ff.174r-174v; ff.267v-268r.
[37] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1742, ff.124v-125v.
[38] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1744, ff.442v-443r.
[39] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1744, ff.459r-459v.
[40] James S. Craigie, 'Seaweed stimuli in plant science and agriculture', *Journal of Applied Phycology*, 23:3 (2011), 371.

derivative of it) and *fangaccio* (a term for mud)[41] were being exchanged and consigned to Gio' Pio from fields *in contrata della corsa de Cavalli* (no indication as to the location of this place),[42] *terra tal baiada* (various possible localities exist),[43] and *ta' scamardi* (an area in Żebbuġ).[44] Different versions of this deed were made, with the number of goods Gio' Pio honoured, fluctuating. Such contracts not only demonstrate the diversity of the local produce, but also show that, despite the dependency on Sicily for sustainability, Maltese agriculture cultivated a variety of crops for the consumption or use of the local population, generating a profitable income along the way.

Apart from these mentioned agricultural products, local fields also yielded harvests of other crops, some of which were even exported.[45] Cotton and ashes, namely alkalis, were widely cultivated in the Maltese Islands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and these were grown for export.[46] Much of the economy of medieval Malta had depended on the cultivation and the export of cotton: there is mention of Maltese cotton in fourteenth-century documents from Syracuse, Tripoli, Venice and Barcelona.[47] Indeed, most of the land in Malta and Gozo in the eighteenth century was set aside for the growth of the cotton plant, as the local economy was highly dependent on the revenue earned through its export.[48] In notarial deeds, Gio' Pio too sold this profitable crop of *gossipium* (cotton),[49] namely to Petrus Tanti on 17 September 1741 for twenty-eight *scudi* from the field of *del Ridume della Madalena*, possibly situated near

[41] *Treccani*, http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/fango/ [14 January 2019].
[42] NAV, R15/13, Not. Alfano, 1741, ff.241v-242r. See Godfrey Wettinger, *Place-names of the Maltese Islands: ca. 1300-1800* (Malta: PEG, 2000), 264, where a field in the district of 'Ħabel iż-Żiemel' is mentioned; and Wettinger (2000), 633, as the author mentions a fieldstrip at Bir Għattar called 'taż-Żiemel'. These latter places could be the location alluded by the Latin place-name in the notarial deed.
[43] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1744, ff.270v-271r. See Wettinger (2000), 14-17.
[44] NAV, R15/13, Not. Alfano, 1741, ff.346r-346v. See Frans Ciappara, 'Non gode l'immunità ecclesiastica', *Melita Historica*, 9:2 (1985),126.
[45] Godfrey Wettinger, 'Agriculture in Malta in the Late Middle Ages', *Proceedings of History Week*, Mario Buhagiar ed. (Malta: The Historical Society, 1981), 3.
[46] Victor Mallia-Milanes, 'Society and the Economy on the Hospitaller Island of Malta: An Overview', *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798*, Emanuel Buttigieg and Simon Phillips eds. (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013), 247.
[47] Wettinger (1981), 16.
[48] Carmel Cassar, *Society, Culture and Identity in Early Modern Malta* (Malta: Mireva Publications, 2000), 31.
[49] Also found written as *cottone*.

Għargħur or Ħad-Dingli.[50] On another occasion, Gio' Pio had instructed the aforementioned Ioannes Attard to sow and water 150 cotton seeds in his field, the job having cost a total of five *scudi*.[51] With the cultivation of cotton playing such a significant role in the economy of early modern Malta, it does not come as a surprise that Gio' Pio was invested in this business as well.[52]

In fact, Braudel observed that islands in the Mediterranean typically restricted their land to monoculture because they had access to markets and secure sources for the importation of essential crops, this being facilitated by maritime connectivity.[53] Indeed, since much of the grain needed to support the population of Malta was imported, and since the Università dominated such trade, local farmers and landowners had to diversify what they grew on their fields, thus cultivating profitable crops, such as cotton, which, together with the sale of farm animals, constituted a notable source of income. The close proximity to Sicily and the well-established political and economic connection between the two islands alleviated pressure on local farmers to farm for subsistence, and instead provided the opportunity to cultivate for profit. Gio' Pio's investment in the agriculture of the Maltese Islands shows that despite the arid landscape of Malta and the limited terrain suitable for cultivation, his property was exploited to the best and financial gains were made.

3.3 Slavery

The concept of slavery, broadly understood as 'the condition or fact of being entirely subject to, or under the domination of, some power or influence',[54] can be traced back in the Mediterranean region to as early as classical times: slaves in Ancient Greece and Rome were used for hard labour and were at the total mercy of their owner.[55] Slavery, however, has existed in differing forms during

[50] NAV, R15/13, Not. Alfano, 1741, ff.37v-38r. See Wettinger (2000), 355 and 465.
[51] NAV, R15/13, Not. Alfano, 1742, ff.478v-479r.
[52] Mallia-Milanes (2013), 248.
[53] Braudel (1966), 578.
[54] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com [7 January 2019].
[55] Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern 1492-1800* (London and New York: Verso, 1997), 34.

different periods of time and in different regions of the world, whilst also differing in relation to qualities such as the sex, religious affiliation and physical appearance of the slave.[56]

In the case of the Mediterranean, slavery in medieval and early modern times did not revolve around the rationale of skin colour – but that is not to say that it was not a contributing factor: rather it was considered in conjunction with the individual's gender, age, origin and, above all, religion.[57] The issue of skin colour, and later race,[58] developed during the eighteenth century within the context of the Atlantic slave trade and the colonial labour system.[59] Yet, the Mediterranean and Atlantic slave trades, eventually contemporaneous to each other, were distinct, as, in the Atlantic, Africans were enslaved en masse to serve in the American colonies, whereas in the Mediterranean, Christians and Muslims reciprocally enslaved one-another.[60] Indeed, in the Mediterranean, the type of slaves one encountered depended on the region one was in, as along the entire coast of the Mediterranean slaves were found;[61] the Venetians even supplied Muslim traders with slaves from Europe from as early as the eighth century.[62] In Malta, slaves were typically sourced from amongst the Moors in North Africa.[63]

Mediterranean slavery was a complex phenomenon that involved the interplay of politics, religion, culture and economic considerations, and thus requires to be seen within a greater, broader context. The early modern period

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[56] Bruno Mondadori, *Schiavitù mediterranee: Corsari, rinnegati e santi di età moderna* (Milan: Pearson Paravia Bruno Mondadori, 2009), 1.
[57] Sally McKee, 'Domestic Slavery in Renaissance Italy', *Slavery and Abolition*, 29:3 (2008), 311.
[58] N.A., 'Before race mattered: what archives tell us about early encounters in the French colonies', *University of Cambridge*, 16 November 2016, https://www.cam.ac.uk/research/features/before-race-mattered-what-archives-tell-us-about-early-encounters-in-the-french-colonies [14 June 2019].
[59] Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* [third edition] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 71-75.
[60] See Michel Fontenay, 'Routes et modalités du commerce des esclaves dans la Méditerranée des Temps modernes (XVI, XVII et XVIII siècles)', *Revue Historique*, 308:4 (2006), 814; and Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
[61] Salvatore Bono, *Schiavi: Una Storia Mediterranea (XVI-XIX secolo)* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2016), 41.
[62] McKee (2008), 308.
[63] Godfrey Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo, ca. 1000-1812* (Malta: Publishers Enterprises Groups, 2002), 17.

marked a change in the history of Mediterranean slavery, writes Salvatore Bono, due to the long conflict between Christians and Muslims, as well as the antagonism against Jews, and the arrival of black slaves.[64] Religiously endorsed systems developed, whereby the status of being the enemy of one's faith alone could justify one's subsequent enslavement.[65] This was translated into the crusading and jihadi spirit of the late medieval and the early modern period. It was also the same spirit that had motivated corsairing, which was a form of legalised piracy, and was led by religious zeal and the intention of earning a living.[66]

Slavery in Malta was characterised by this Mediterranean context. It was a highly profitable business that operated closely with corsair activity: the 800 years of slavery in Malta came about as a result of the highly efficient corsair trade.[67] The intensification of corsairing resulted in the ever-growing number of slaves present on the Maltese Islands. Apart from being a lucrative trading commodity, slaves were a necessary part of early modern Malta's economy, as paid labour was a luxury the Order of St John could not afford.[68] Slaves were employed as rowers on the Order's galleys, labourers in fields and as skilled workers in different areas of manufacture.[69] Although the number of slaves stationed in Malta fluctuated over time, a general slow decrease in number occurred during the eighteenth century.[70] However, this did not mean that slavery was brought to a halt; on the contrary, it remained a financially rewarding business. In fact, Wettinger notes that during the first years of the eighteenth century, a rough estimate of three to four thousand slaves were present in Malta.[71] However, it is interesting to note that, in contrast, the number of Jewish slaves in Malta diminished drastically over the seventeenth and eighteenth

[64] Bono (2016), 15.
[65] David Turley, *Slavery* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 2-3.
[66] See Liam Gauci, *In the Name of the Prince: Maltese Corsairs 1760-1798* (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2016), 12-13; and Chapter 2, 36-41.
[67] See Wettinger (2002).
[68] Mallia-Milanes (2013), 388.
[69] Paul Cassar, 'A Medical Service for Slaves in Malta during the Rule of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem', *Medical History*, 12:3 (1968), 271.
[70] Cassar (1968), 271.
[71] Wettinger (2002), 555-557.

centuries.[72] This suggests that the total number of slaves on Malta was predominantly made up of followers of the Islamic faith.

The term 'slave' has been the subject of much debate in recent scholarship, due to the ambivalent nature of its meaning. On the one hand, a master may purchase a slave purely for labour purposes, suggesting that there is bondage between the enslaved and the enslaver.[73] On the other hand, an individual may befall slavery provisionally, as Bruno Mondadori writes, due to the possibility of redemption, which was characterised by his exchange value.[74] The profitability of these latter captives-slaves was substantial, as their ransom or auctioning brought the corsair a satisfactory income, whereas in the case of the slave utilised as a labour force, the rewards were not necessarily financial.[75]

The slaves that were brought back to Malta by local corsairs were mostly sold through public auction and this resulted in a more regular presence of Muslim ships in Maltese harbours, fostering trade between these vessels and local merchants.[76] This reality corresponds to Horden and Purcell's suggestion that slavery in the Mediterranean was predominantly characterised by connectivity.[77] They argue that the relative short distance between one micro region and another stimulated the slave trade and transformed it into a 'structural feature' of the societies living around the Mediterranean, making it a significant constituent of the economies in the region.[78] Indeed, Salvatore Bono agrees that Mediterranean slavery is primarily characterised by the forced and protracted migrations that have forced individuals to be relocated in different places.[79] Fontenay has argued that the *cousins ennemis* (inimical cousins) of Christianity and Islam have for centuries practised capturing booty, slaves and the ransoming

[72] Sarah Azzopardi-Ljubibratic, 'The Notarial Archives and Jews in Early Modern Malta: Preliminary Considerations', *Parallel Existences: The Notarial Archives - A Photographer's Inspiration*, Joan Abela and Emanuel Buttigieg eds. (Malta: Kite Publishers, 2018), 214.
[73] Daniel Herschenzon, 'Towards a connected history of bondage in the Mediterranean: Recent trends in the field', *History Compass*, 15:8 (2017), 2.
[74] Mondadori (2009), 14.
[75] Herschenzon (2017), 2.
[76] Joan Abela and Emanuel Buttigieg, 'The Island Order State on Malta and its Harbour, c.1530-c.1624', *The Port of Malta*, Carmel Vassallo and Simon Mercieca eds. (Malta: N.A., 2018), 69.
[77] Horden and Purcell (2000), 388.
[78] Horden and Purcell (2000), 388.
[79] Salvatore Bono, 'Casi di Mobilità di Schiavi nel Mediterraneo dell'Età Moderna', *Mediterranea - ricerche storiche*, 42:1 (2018), 152.

of the latter, so much so that they have rendered slavery in the Mediterranean *un visage plus familier* (a familiar face).[80]

The slaves encountered in the course of this research hailed from the eastern Mediterranean region and from the North African coastline, which is indicative of a Muslim background. In a ledger dated 1700, which records the importation of commodities such as coffee and fabric, a list of slaves can be found.[81] No explanation was given as to why this list was noted down; it merely states the origins of the individuals, ranging from Fes to Constantinople, together with a mention of their fathers and sometimes their age.[82] The list shows that the slaves mostly originated from locations placed on the littoral of the Mediterranean and that they hailed from Muslim lands, some of which can be seen in Map 2 and Table 2. The lengthy intra-Mediterranean distances covered by the slaves, traders or corsairs themselves, evince the value of such business and confirm that a Mediterranean characteristic is attributable to this type of slavery.

Map 2 Some of the identified origins of the slaves that came under the possession of Gio' Pio, plotted onto a satellite map. All locations have a relative proximity to the Mediterranean Sea. Taken from www.zeemaps.com [23 April 2019] and adapted for the purposes of this dissertation.

[80] Fontenay (2006), 822.
[81] AdeP, MS 43, 1700, f.1r. See Appendix 1, 108-109.
[82] AdeP, MS 43, 1700, ff.26v-28v.

Places of Origin of the Slaves
Fes
Tunis
Djerba
Tripoli
Derna
Alexandria
Cairo
Damietta
Damascus
Cyprus
Konya
Antalya
Mytilene/Mitilini
Constantinople

Table 2 The places charted in Map 2, listed in a left-to-right order.

The overall Muslim background of slaves in eighteenth-century Malta is corroborated by other historical documentation involving Gio' Pio. In a notarial deed dated 1 February 1744, Gio' Pio sold two slaves to Valerio Zamit from Mqabba.[83] The slaves were Rares Ahmet from *Metelini* (possibly the city of Mytilene/Mitilini in the Aegean Sea) and Ahmet from Damascus, respectively sixty-five and sixty years of age. They were received by Valerio Zamit in order to be transferred *ex hac Ins(ul)a ad patriam* (out of this island and towards the fatherland), without stipulating where that place may be.[84] The notarial deed also involved complications regarding the monetary value of these slaves and the payment itself. Yet, Gio' Pio's role as a middleman is evident: he sourced slaves and sold or exchanged them to interested parties in a similar way to how he was an intermediary in the legal cases.[85] Although the notarial contracts and the

[83] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1744, ff.241v-242r.
[84] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1744, f.241v, 'et hoc ad eff(ect)um eos transmittendi ex hac Ins(ul)a ad patriam ad quem eff(ect)um d(ict)o D(omino) Marchio de Piro praestitit et praestat suum con(ces)sum pariter et assensum non obst(ant)e quod non fuit solutum eor(um) pretium et non al(ite)r'.
[85] See Chapter 2, 41-46.

manuscripts from the Archivum de Piro have not revealed Gio' Pio's source, the historical record shows that his involvement in this trade was substantial.

In contrast to these previous examples, a more concrete idea of what could have happened to slaves in Malta is found in this following notarial deed, once again involving Gio' Pio as a middleman. In a contract dated 16 January 1700, coincidentally the same year as the previous list from the Archivum de Piro, Gio' Pio sold one *servum maurum infidelem* (an infidel Moorish slave) called Ibrahim, to Ioannes Petrus Bianco, a priest from Senglea, for the price of 122 *scudi* and six *tareni*.[86] Ibrahim hailed from Tripoli and was sixteen years old, and we are told that his father was called Huali. The contract notes that Bianco was satisfied with his purchase, describing Ibrahim as good, docile and endowed with talents, and stated that his purpose would be to serve on board a corsairing vessel.[87] In this manner, Ibrahim suffered the fate of many other Muslim slaves,[88] who ended up as rowers on vessels, facing years of hard labour to facilitate the Christian side of the *corso*. By leasing Ibrahim to a corsairing venture, Bianco earned money and Gio' Pio made profit through his position as a middleman. The profitability of slavery shows that religious motivations were not the sole governing principle enticing individuals to participate in this Mediterranean-wide endeavour.

The Catholic Church itself was rather ambiguous on the subject of slavery, as it considered all mankind equal but also believed that it was a natural consequence of sin when one man had dominion over another.[89] In Islam, the enslavement of Christians and Jews, who were considered 'people of the Book', was also a complex matter: those living in Muslim territories were given the status of *dhimmah*, making them subject to the religious *jizya* tax.[90] This meant

[86] NAV, R227/30, Not. Dello Re, 1700, ff.143v-144v.
[87] NAV, R227/30, Not. Dello Re, 1700, f.144r., 'stip(ula)nte pro bono, placito, viso reviso, et attalentato cum o(mn)ibus, et singulis suis morbis, latentibus et apprentibus pro uno savolo ossibus pleno pro tali qualis est, et utor ad uso di corsaro R(enuncians)'. Translation was kindly provided by Professor Horatio C.R. Vella.
[88] Bono (2018), 155.
[89] Mondadori (2009), 18.
[90] Ibrahim Kalin, 'Sources of Tolerance and Intolerance in Islam: the case of the people of the Book', *Religions*, (2009), 36-37.

that Christian slaves were allowed to practise their religion freely.[91] Yet, despite this, Christians and Jews were still subjected to slavery, in the same way that Muslims were taken as slaves by Christians and Jews alike.[92] The right to practise religion freely was not always conferred to Muslim slaves on Christian terrain; yet in Malta, the Order permitted Muslim prisoners to have a *papasso* (priest) to see to their religious and social needs.[93]

Although slavery could be for life, there were various means by which the slave could become emancipated, namely through ransom by cash or kind.[94] Other means constituted the granting of freedom to the slave by the owner or by converting to the adversary religion. Yet, although it was prohibited to keep believers of one's own faith as slaves, both Islam and Christianity were more lax if the slaves had been recent converts.[95] In early modern times, the process of religious conversion was a pragmatic one, where individuals converted to adapt to the cultural environment, rather than on religious grounds.[96] Inquisitorial records have shed light on the reasons apostates put forward to justify their conversions, the most popular being fear and the harsh treatment as an infidel in the enemy's hands.[97] Such could have been the case of Abdalla Soliman Achmet, who, in the ledger of 1700, was noted down as having changed his name into Ambrogio after his conversion to Christianity.[98] However, in spite of his alleged

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[91] Frans Ciappara, 'Christendom and Islam: A Fluid Frontier', *Mediterranean Studies*, 13:1 (2004), 169.
[92] See Turley (2000), 23; and Salvatore Bono, 'La Sicilia nel Mediterraneo dei corsari', *Le Torri nei Paesaggi Costieri Siciliani (sec. XIII-XIX),* Ferdinando Maurici, Adriana Fresina and Fabio Militello eds. (Palermo: Regione Sicilia, Assessorato dei beni culturali, ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, Dipartimento dei beni culturali, ambientali e dell'educazione permanente, 2008), 31-50.
[93] Emanuel Buttigieg, 'Corpi e Anime in Schiavitù: Schiavi Musulmani nella Malta dei Cavalieri di San Giovanni (1530-1798)', *Schiavitù del Corpo e Schiavitù dell'Anima: Chiesa, potere politico e schiavitù tra Atlantico e Mediterraneano (sec. XVI-XVIII)*, Emanuele Colombo, Marina Massimi, Alberto Rocca and Carlos Zeron eds. (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2018), 293-294.
[94] Ciappara (2004), 173-174.
[95] Turley (2000), 23.
[96] Claire Norton, 'Introduction', *Conversion and Islam in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Lure of the Other*, Claire Norton ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 1.
[97] See Eric R. Dursteler, 'Fearing the "Turk" and Feeling the Spirit: Emotion and Conversion in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Journal of Religious History*, 39:4 (2015), 488-489; and Umberto Grassi, 'Ambiguous Boundaries: Sex Crimes and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Early Modern Mediterranean World', *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, 84:2 (2018), 513-528.
[98] AdeP, MS 43, 1700, f.27v, 'Abdalla Soliman Achmet et hoggi facto Christiano di nome Ambrogio'.

Christian belief, he was included in the list of slaves, suggesting that Abdalla, or Ambrogio, probably still suffered the fate of a slave. This was normal procedure in eighteenth-century Malta,[99] as conversion to Christianity did not result in freedom from slavery, not immediately anyway, because suspicions of the convert's sincerity were not easily overcome.[100]

The lure of profit was what ultimately motivated engagement in this trade, which is confirmed by Gio' Pio's involvement through his role as a middleman. Although religious conversion was noted - and perhaps appreciated - it was not deemed enough to save the individual from his fate. Continually reinforced by the activity of corsairs, hundreds of captives from around the Mediterranean littoral and beyond were thus subjugated into slavery to be sold or employed. The accumulation of slaves from North Africa and the Middle East on a central Mediterranean island, and vice-versa, turns the Mediterranean into a shared socio-cultural-religious space, corroborating Horden and Purcell's suggestion of connectivity shaping slavery in the region.

3.4 Luxury Items and other Valuables

The word 'luxury' connotes something that is sumptuous, rich, exclusive and that is suggestive of excess, its attraction being in the cultural merit associated with its ownership.[101] Historians have also pointed towards synonymic words such as 'comfort', 'decency' and 'convenience' to define luxury.[102] Its allure is a universally human concern, as was verified by archaeology in the discovery of a substantial long-distance trade in the exotic commodity of obsidian in prehistoric times.[103] During the eighteenth century, the idea of luxury was linked to a general

[99] Wettinger (2002), 345.
[100] Dursteler (2015), 500.
[101] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com [11 January 2019].
[102] Marie Oldie-Bernez, 'Comfort, the Acceptable Face of Luxury: An Eighteenth-Century Cultural Etymology', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 14:2 (2014), 4.
[103] Maxine Berg, 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century', *Past & Present*, 182:1 (2004), 93-94.

change in economic thinking, where luxury items became positively regarded.[104] Although the Enlightenment developed two opposing camps on the merit of luxury to one's life, the desire for things was generally viewed as being socially beneficial to the identity of the eighteenth-century individual.[105] For the purposes of this dissertation, luxury items will be defined as objects that generated a high profit and were distinguished from objects of a mundane quality. Included with this selection are also items that do not qualify as luxurious per se, but that can be considered as objects of value, such as medicines. The items will not be examined in terms of their material culture, as their trade is of current interest.[106]

The market for luxury items involved various individuals, at the most basic level being the manufacturer (who himself depended on other individuals, such as in the provision of raw materials), the middleman and at the end of the chain, the consumer.[107] Gio' Pio as a middleman interacted with both ends of the spectrum and the archival record documents his purchases, his procurement of items from manufacturers and his exchange with buyers. Although some items were manufactured and acquired locally, most of the luxurious objects that he traded were imported from around the Mediterranean region, or further beyond. His clientele consisted of affluent men and women, Hospitallers of the Order of St John and even the Grand Master himself.

The Grand Master in question was Pinto da Fonseca, who, according to Alfonso Candida in a letter dated 26 October 1748, suffered from frequent episodes of fainting.[108] To remedy this, Candida obtained various *polvere d'Annover* (powders from Hannover) that were supposed to have a miraculous quality, as everyone who used it in Naples had been healed.[109] In an attached

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[104] Cecilia Carnino, 'Luxury and Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Italy: Intellectual History, Methodological Ideas and Interdisciplinary Research Practice', *History of European Ideas*, 40:4 (2014), 502.
[105] Frank Trentmann, *Empire of Things: How We Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-first* (London: Penguin Random House, 2016), 100-102.
[106] For material culture, see Chapter 4.
[107] For insight on manufacturing and selling process in eighteenth-century Switzerland, see Roger Smith, 'The Swiss Connection: International Networks in Some Eighteenth-Century Luxury Trades', *Journal of Design History*, 17:2 (2004), 123-139.
[108] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 19, 1748.
[109] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 19, 1748, 'Amico, mi vieni accertato de cotesto nostro Gran Maestro stia incomodato con essere di tanto in tanto assalita da svenimenti pervenienti dalla testa.

note, Candida noted down the list of items the medicine was composed of: *cinnabrio nativo* (cinnabar, an ore of oxidised mercury),[110] *cinnabrio d'antimonio* (cinnabar of antimony),[111] *olio distill(at)o di cannello* (oil distilled with a pipe), *foglie d'oro finissimo* (the finest gold leaves) and *zuccaro fino* (fine sugar). Candida elaborated that the medicine would ideally be taken during springtime but that the Grand Master would be able to take it forthwith, as long as he stayed inside a warm room for forty days.[112] Candida had tried out the medicine himself and found it to be working pleasantly, as he let Gio' Pio know in a letter dated 7 February 1749.[113] The powdery mixture could be mixed with chocolate, tea or water, after which it was recommended that the person lay in bed for a few hours.[114]

The use of such mercurial mixtures was quite common during the early modern period. Research from Portugal has shown that a similar concoction of mercury and cinnabar was used to treat human illnesses, including fainting.[115] Such medicine was popular in the Iberian Peninsula and had been introduced by the Portuguese, who had imported it from south Asia.[116] In this respect, the acquisition of this sought-after mercurial medicine was only made possible through established trade networks: not only was it imported to Malta from Hannover by Candida via Naples, but the medicine itself was known to European and Mediterranean societies due to the connection with Asia. This demonstrates

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Sappiate che per simili mali io feci venire da Germania l'acchiusa ricette, che molto mi povò, et in Napoli che non vi era notizia di simile polvere, ha fatto miracoli e tutti sono guariti'.

[110] Ellen Spindler, 'The Story of Cinnabar and Vermilion (HgS) at The Met', *The Met,* 28 February 2018, https://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/collection-insights/2018/cinnabar-vermilion [11 January 2019].

[111] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 20 July 1998, https://www.britannica.com/science/antimony [11 January 2019].

[112] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 19, 1748, 'Si dovrebbe prendere nella Primavera, ma se S(ua) A(ltezza) Em(inen)za la prenderà senza uscire con starsi in una stanza calda prima di 40 giorni guarirà sicuramente'.

[113] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 25, 1749, 'Voi vi ricorderete l'attacco gradissimo, chi io costì soffrii in testa, e non altra cosa mi ha tanto giovata, quanto quella, di cui ve n'ho mandata, la ricetta per il Gran Maestro, de tutti coloro, che anno usato in tal antidoto, che sono restati liberi'.

[114] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 19, 1748, 'Si prenderanno 10.0.11 granelle o nella Cioccolata, o nel Thé, o nell'acqua, e starsi a letto per qualche ora'.

[115] Timothy Walker, 'Medicinal Mercury in Early Modern Portuguese Records: Recipes and Methods from Eighteenth-Century Medical Guidebooks', *Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Asienkunde, Asiatische Studien*, 69:4 (2015), 1020-1021.

[116] Walker (2015), 1018.

how well integrated the globe was by the mid-eighteenth century and how long-distance trade was able to affect customs and practices in different areas of life.[117]

The letters of Candida provide an outstanding source for understanding trade networks in the eighteenth-century Mediterranean. On 7 December 1748, he wrote to Gio' Pio about the *porcellana della China* (China porcelain) that he had ordered from Portugal for a certain Commander Lapparelli.[118] Chinese porcelain started to be imported into Europe during the twelfth century and this quickly developed into a profitable market. However, as the centuries wore on, Europeans became accustomed to porcelain and learned how it was made, so much so that during the eighteenth century the fervour for Chinese porcelain had stabilised.[119] Whereas in 1700 the Chinese were still exercising monopoly over chinaware, by 1800 the Europeans led the market themselves.[120]

It so happened that Commander Lapparelli did not take well to the porcelain, as Candida informed Gio' Pio, because the set had not come with *fiamenghini* (candle-snuffers).[121] The case of the Chinese porcelain took a turn for the worse as, on 9 January 1751, Candida wrote that he had been clueless over what to do with the porcelain for months, since he himself had no use for it.[122] Instead, he was in need of a dinnerware set, which he ordered from France and termed *Creta di Munstier*.[123] This set made out of clay from 'Munstier', was probably referring to pottery from the city of Moustiers-Sainte-Marie in Provence, a centre for ceramics in eighteenth-century France.[124] The *creta*

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[117] Carla Rahn Phillips, 'The growth and composition of trade in the Iberian empires, 1450-1750', *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-distance trade in the early modern world, 1350-1750*, James D. Tracy ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 100-101.
[118] AdeP, Box A1 Bundle 2, Letter 23, 1748.
[119] Anne Gerritsen and Stephen McDowall, 'Material Culture and the Other: European Encounters with Chinese Porcelain, ca. 1650-1800', *Journal of World History*, 23:1 (2012), 87-113.
[120] Trentmann (2016), 88-89.
[121] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 27, 1749.
[122] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 46, 1751, 'Per la porcellana della Cina, che vi pregai, secondo la mia lettera, che mi avete rimessa, scritta da me in Bitonto ne i cinque d'Ottobre 1748 già suoni quali commissione, perchè il Sig(no)r Commend(ator)e Lapparelli non se ne volte incaricare. Mesi sono non pensando più a porcellana della cina che non mi fa di bisogno'.
[123] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 46, 1751, 'perchè già ne ho scritto in Francia (per) un altro servizio di Creta di Munstier, che ho aspettando'.
[124] *Moustiers-Sainte-Marie*, https://www.moustiers.fr/en/history-ceramics [23 June 2019].

reappeared in his *dispropriamento*,[125] as he sold it with other items for a total of 500 *scudi*, saying that it served him his entire life.[126] The Chinese porcelain, however, was not mentioned in this document, suggesting that he managed to find it a different home.

The case of the porcelain can be used as an analogy to understand how connectivity is able to popularise a commodity and be the cause of its decreasing appeal: the more porcelain became accessible and frequently encountered in European homes, the more did its exotic nature diminish over time, causing its fad to simmer down. This indicates the influence taste, amongst other factors, has on the economy.[127]

In contrast, Candida's intriguing purchase of a parrot may not have been so much motivated by trade. His dear friend, a certain Marquis Mesagne had married and he wished to give to the bride, the *Signora* Consaga from Mantua, a gift. Consequently, Candida asked Gio' Pio if he could help him acquire some items to his *buon gusto* (good taste).[128] In a letter dated 12 June 1751, Candida wrote that, in addition to a parrot, he needed six pairs of gloves, six pairs of socks, jackets and a female dog (although he did admit that it was difficult to find a good one).[129] In a later letter, dated 1 August of the same year, he wrote that Gio' Pio should deliver the items to Don Agnello Vespoli, a Neapolitan

[125] The *dispropriamento* was a list of a Hospitaller's movable and immovable goods, as well as his debts and credits, that was drawn up after his death. See Simon Mercieca, 'Aspects of the Office of the Receiver of the Hospitaller Order of St John', unpublished B.A. (Honours) dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 1991, 36- 37.
[126] NLM, AOM 927, f.269r.
[127] Trentmann (2016), 91.
[128] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 48, 1751, 'Già è conchiuso il matrimonio della Sig(nor)a Consaga col Sig(no)r Marchese Mesagne mio carissimo Amico, a cui io debbo delle infinite obbligaz(io)ni, come vi dissi onde me conviene di corrispondete al dovere di regalare alla Sig(no)ra sposa la quale da Mantua sarà fra pochi giorni in Napoli, dove io me porterò (per) li venti di Maggio, e per adora mi farete il favore di farmi colà capitare in testa del Sig(no)r Bali Marulli quelle calzette, guanti, e [cagnolina?], e se no stimiate d(et)te soler e (…) farse vi vossà tempo mi rimette al vostro buon gusto di un altra cosa cara che ascendesce la spesa ad una trentina d'oncie in circa sappiate ancora, che la Sig(no)ra sposa sarà fornita delle più alte galaferie del mondo, perché il Sig(no)r Marchese di lei marito è ricco ricchissimo; onde il mio regale deve essere di cosa, che eglino ha pensato a fare. Mi raccomando interam(en)te a voi'.
[129] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 50, 1751, 'Vorrei non quattro, ma sei paia di guanti, e sei paia di calzette l'une e l'altri per dama, e giacche, è difficoltà di avere un'ottima cagna, sarà sempre meglio di comprare il consaputa pappagallo, tantopiù che'è singolare nelle sue azzioni'.

gentleman. He confirmed that he wished to have the parrot sent as well.[130] Correspondingly, in a ledger of accounts held by Gio' Pio dated 1751, it was noted that he paid 13 *scudi*, 3 *tareni* and 1 *grano* to a *falegname* (carpenter) for the construction of a cage for a parrot, together with other items, to be sent to Syracuse:[131] the parrot was being readied for transportation. This case brings to the fore the types of gifts that were deemed appropriate to give to a newly married and affluent bride. It also shows that the transportation of animals from or to Malta was customary and conventional, and that it was handled with relative ease.

In the course of research other curious and luxurious items traded by Gio' Pio were encountered, such as Candida's coffee from the *Levante* (Levant),[132] and the three bejewelled crosses commissioned from Malta by Hospitaller Siegfried the Count of Herberstein from Vienna.[133] What these examples point to is that not too many boundaries existed that prevented Gio' Pio from conducting his trade. His established system of networks allowed him to liaise with customers, agents and manufacturers, and to import and export curious items beyond traditional market needs. The Hanoverian powders and the Chinese porcelain also show how Gio' Pio had access to long-distance trade routes, indicating just how comprehensive international trade networks already were during the eighteenth century.

3.5 Conclusion

Having looked at three different types of commodities that Gio' Pio was involved in, a multifaceted picture of the Maltese Islands and the Mediterranean starts to develop. The three subsections of this chapter present different aspects

[130] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 51, 1751, 'Secondo della nota mandatemi, mi pare picciolo il presento delli guanti, calze e cagnolina; onde vi aggiungerei ancora qualche altra galanteria, come a dire o quel pappagallo che mi scrivesse'.
[131] AdeP, MS 96, 1751, f.15.
[132] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 2, Letter 55, 1752.
[133] AdeP, Box A1, Bundle 3, Letter 17, 1748, 'Onde si possa soddisfare il tutto con compiacersi inoltre V(enerand)a S(ua) Ill(ustrissi)ma farmi fare prontam(en)te tre croci una à modo di medaglia, l'altra del valore di dodici, tredici e quantordeci doppie con di soprala corona, ed Aquile Imperiali, e l'ultima finalm(en)te che fosse più grande, mà senza alcun'ornamento, per poterla far qui guarnire con dei Diamanti'.

of trade and connectivity, indicating, for instance, an intra-Mediterranean dependency in the case of wheat acquisition to Malta and in the trade of slaves. These commodities were directly extracted from the Mediterranean environment and were brought back to Malta. Seen in this way, the Mediterranean constituted an important source for the Maltese Islands' maintenance and economy, as these commodities were being bought or captured for subsistence purposes and financial gain. This was enabled by the opportune employment and access to networks and trade routes.

This chapter has also highlighted how some of the trade routes Gio' Pio made use of extended well beyond the confines of the Mediterranean and were international in nature. Gio' Pio was able to acquire rare and luxurious commodities through his well-placed and informed networks, thriving in his position as middleman. On the other hand, this also meant that he had a wide range of sources of revenue at his disposal, which he continually reaped the benefits of. Malta was by no means an insulated or cut-off island: on the contrary, it depended on its connection to trade routes for its survival and it made use of these networks to its advantage: individuals like Gio' Pio and Alfonso Candida were the ones who made such a reality possible, and who benefited greatly in return.

Chapter 4: Material Culture

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, Gio' Pio will be examined in the light of his contribution to the other end of the spectrum of trade: consumption. In this case, the economic exchange taking place was for Gio' Pio's personal use. By looking at archival sources such as notarial deeds, the inventory of his house,[1] the dowry of his granddaughter Anna Maria Ribera and by engaging with some of the corresponding physical artefacts, this chapter will attempt to understand objects' cultural significance. Rather than just being reflective of culture, objects are 'autonomous and active', since their form and function can be telling of the relationship built by the humans who owned them.[2] Most of the time, goods were acquired for reasons that went beyond simple usage. Instead, objects' cultural values and symbols were taken into consideration during the purchasing stage, due to their ability of changing an individual's self-image.[3] This form of conspicuous consumption can be said to give material culture, whether noted down on paper or in its physical form, a voice.[4] In this respect, this chapter will attempt to explore the material culture of Gio' Pio in relation to art, clothing and jewellery.

4.2 Art

[1] AdeP, Box A19, Bundle 1, Item 1.
[2] Karen Harvey, 'Introduction: Practical Matters', *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, Karen Harvey ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 4-5.
[3] Peter Burke, '*Res et verba*: conspicuous consumption in the early modern world', *Consumption and the World of Goods*, John Brewer and Roy Porter eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 149.
[4] Sara Pennell, 'Mundane materiality, or, should small things still be forgotten? Material culture, micro-histories and the problem of scale', *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, Karen Harvey ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 183.

Art, very broadly (and perhaps insufficiently) defined as 'the expression or application of creative skill and imagination [in] a visual form', has been produced by humans since time immemorial. Art helps individuals to come to terms with their existence and can be regarded as the output of 'the cognitive and affective dimensions of human experience'.[5] However, in addition to the different layers of meanings and expressions it comprises of, art is also a physical object, which is composed of materials and is made with different tools. When viewed in terms of material culture, artistic artefacts, namely anything ranging from paintings, sculpture, jewellery, clothing, furniture, architecture and musical instruments, become expressive of the cultural belief that conditions their form and usage.[6] In this section, there will be a focus on altars, sculptures and paintings in the context of Gio' Pio's specific art patronage, whilst also discussing the individuals involved in the making of the commissioned works and the origins of their materials.

Art patronage and the commissioning of artwork was a privilege that in early modern times was mostly enjoyed by the nobility and the more affluent members of society.[7] In his work *The Courtier*, Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529) asserts that the perfect man should have a good knowledge of art and should be able to engage in a discussion of an artwork's merits.[8] During this period, patrons would most of the time commission a work of art, determine its subject and lay down some specifications, but leave the artist freedom of expression.[9] Such commissions would usually be governed by a contract binding the two parties together, wherein these specifications would be outlined and the financial arrangements would be settled.[10] Such was the case in eighteenth-century Malta, where notarial documents are testimony to such artistic commissions, oftentimes outliving the physical objects themselves.

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[5] Howard Morphy, 'Art as Action, Art as Evidence', *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 289.
[6] Jules David Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 71-72.
[7] Mary Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Renaissance Italy: From 1400 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1994), 2.
[8] Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier* (Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press, 1995), 27.
[9] Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), 8.
[10] Haskell (1980), 13.

During this period the Order of St John was the largest patron of art in Malta. Most of its commissions emanated from workshops in Rome, the centre for Baroque art.[11] The commissions of the Order were set in the Counter-Reformation spirit, which the Baroque style specifically embodied. This not only embellished the churches and auberges of the institution, but it also augmented the powerful and religious image the institution portrayed of itself.[12] Certainly, religion was the greatest source of inspiration and the most requested theme in art in early modern Malta, fitting in the islands' Hospitaller context.[13] The same applies to Maltese parishioners, whose basic worldview was determined by the locality they inhabited,[14] as they became highly invested in the upkeep and embellishment of their local church.[15]

Such was the case for Gio' Pio. The de Piro family was connected to the Greek rite of Catholicism, as it traced its history as far back as sixteenth-century Rhodes. When the Order of St John was ousted from that island, the family accompanied the institution on its meandering voyage through the Mediterranean and joined it in its settlement on Malta in 1530.[16] It is well known that some three to four thousand Rhodiots had followed the Order in its forced migration and eventually settled in the town of Birgu.[17] In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this Greek Christian minority developed an ambiguous identity, since society had difficulty in understanding that Christian rites contrary to the Catholic one existed.[18] However, by the eighteenth century, families like the de Piro had integrated well into Maltese culture, so much so that for Gio' Pio,

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[11] Keith Sciberras, *Roman Baroque Sculpture For the Knights of Malta* (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2004), 1.
[12] Mario Buhagiar, *Essays on the Knights and Art and Architecture in Malta (1500-1798)* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2009), 89.
[13] Theresa M. Vella, 'The Painting of the Order of St John in Malta: Hospitaller Art Collections and Patronage from the late Fifteenth Century to the Eighteenth Century', unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of History of Art, University of Bristol, 2012, 9-10.
[14] Carmel Cassar, *Society, Culture and Identity in Early Modern Malta* (Malta: Mireva Publications, 2000), 140.
[15] Frans Ciappara, 'The Parish Community in Eighteenth-Century Malta', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 94:4 (2008b), 694.
[16] John Montalto, *The Nobles of Malta 1530-1800* (Malta: Midsea Books, 1979), 279.
[17] Stanley Fiorini, 'The Rhodiots of Malta', *Rhodos 2400 Chronia: e poli tes Rhodou apo ten idrise tes mechri ten katalepse apo tous tourkous (1523)*, 1:1 (1993), 503.
[18] Charles Dalli, 'Conniving connectivities', *Georgio Scala and the Moorish Slaves: The Inquisition Malta 1598*, Dionisius A. Agius ed. (Malta: Midsea Books, 2013), 241.

his Eastern origins were only a matter of ancestry. Although in the course of his life he donated and contributed to the embellishment of various Greek-rite churches in Malta, he was a believer of the Catholic faith at all times.

Greek-rite Christianity forms part of the Catholic Church and is to be distinguished from the Eastern Orthodox Church, as it is canonically recognised as a Catholic denomination, with the difference that it practises distinct ceremonies.[19] Perhaps one of the oldest Greek-rite churches in Malta is the Chapel of Our Lady of Damascus in Birgu. The earliest mention of this chapel is found in the report of the Apostolic Visitor Monsignor Pietro Dusina in 1575, in which it is made known that the parish priest of the Saint Lawrence Church had ceded it to the local Papas.[20] The chapel became dedicated to the Virgin of Damascus and played a significant role during the siege of Malta of 1565.[21] On 27 February 1743 Gio' Pio employed Francesco Fabri from Birgu to construct an altar out of marble in this church and to carve an inscription on the pedestal, together with the de Piro coat-of-arms, for the price of thirty three *scudi*.[22] It was specified that Fabri had to provide all the materials needed for the altar's construction. A few months later, on 10 July 1743, Gio' Pio commissioned Giacomo Fabri to decorate in oil-paints some parts of the chapel and to carve the inscription of *Madre di Dio*, for a total of twenty *scudi*.[23] The Fabri artists of this deed were members of one of the most important and most frequently commissioned local *scalpellini* families of the eighteenth century, and their employment by Gio' Pio reflects the flourishing artistic trade prevalent in Malta

[19] Stefan Galea, 'The Eastern Catholic Churches: A Historical and Local Perspective', unpublished dissertation for the Degree of Licentiate in Sacred Theology, Faculty of Theology, University of Malta, 2011, 156.
[20] George Aquilina and Stanley Fiorini, *Documentary Sources of Maltese History Part IV: Documents at the Vatican* (Malta: The University of Malta Press, 2001), 154-155.
[21] Vito Borgia, *Our Lady of Damascus: The story of an Icon*, (London: The Incorporated Catholic Truth Society, 1992), 5.
[22] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1743, ff.283r-283v.
[23] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1743, ff.483v-484v, 'e stip(ulant)e di dipingere la Cappella di N(ost)ra Sig(no)a eretta nella Ven(erenda) Chiesa Par(rocia)le di rito greco di d(et)ta Città Vitt(orios)a, cioè nel fondo del muro marmorato venato ad oglio, tutti l'intagli profilati con mistura, le purrini colorati colle ale di mistura, come anche il panniggramento, profilare la cornice, et imbarnire il resto di d(ett)a Cappella, fare la cartella coll'iscrizione Madre di Dio, e secondo la nota che darà il Sig(no)r Paroco di d(ett)a Chiesa, dipingere la sfera colla mistura profilare colla d(et)ta mistura, lo scanello, quale i gia dipinto, fare nella med(esi)ma forma li due piccoli scannelli, colorire l'armi ad oglio, e le stelle con mistura, secondo richiede l'arte'.

during this period.[24] The chapel and reredos can be seen in Figures 3 and 4: modifications were made to the altar over time, as the coat-of-arms of the de Piro family and the mentioned inscriptions cannot be seen.

Figure 3 Detail of the reredos commissioned by Gio' Pio in 1743 and executed by Francesco and Giacomo Fabri.

[24] Christina Meli, 'From the Eternal City to Malta: The Roman Baroque Imprint on the Regional Late Baroque Sculpture of Pietro Paolo Zahra', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of Art and Art History, University of Malta, 2017, 64.

Figure 4 The Chapel of Our Lady of Damascus in Birgu, now forming part of the Oratory of Saint Joseph.

In spite of that, the altar and reredos are visibly rendered in the Baroque style, or in the vernacular expression thereof, which is most prominently evinced by the *angeli adoranti*, an artistic trait characteristic of the Baroque,[25] which can be seen embracing the artwork of the Holy Mother of Damascus. In the context of the Greek-rite chapel, this Roman Catholic addition commissioned by Gio' Pio adds different layers of religious significance to the chapel itself. Indeed, the marriage of these two Christian rites is epitomised by this reredos and is reflective, to a greater extent, of Gio' Pio himself. Just like the angels on the reredos, he is revering the Greek-rite icon, but visibly clad in Baroque and Catholic attire. In this regard, Gio' Pio is making use of the medium of art to

[25] Adam R. Heinrich, 'Cherubs or Putti? Gravemarkers Demonstrating Conspicuous Consumption and the Rococo Fashion in the Eighteenth Century', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*. 18:1 (2014), 41-45.

appreciate his Eastern origins, yet in such a way as to respect, accentuate and demonstrate his present cultural and religious affiliations.

Figure 5 The interior of the Church of All Souls in Valletta, dedicated to Saint Nicholas.

The same procedure can be perceived in his commission in the Church of All Souls, dedicated to Saint Nicholas, in Valletta, and seen in Figure 5. The church was built in 1569 and was the first of the Greek-rite to be erected in the new city.[26] However, in 1639 it was ceded to the Sodality of All Souls and in 1652 the latter commissioned Francesco Buonamici to rebuild it as dedicated to the Souls in Purgatory.[27] One of the ensuing greater alterations that were made to the church was commissioned by Gio' Pio. Through a deed drawn up in the city of Messina by Notary Marc'Antonio Ladolcetta on 27 November 1742, as was affirmed in the acts of Maltese Notary Giovanni Francesco Dos on 15 April

[26] Galea (2011), 124.
[27] Mariestelle Spiteri, 'The Church of All Souls (Tal-Erwieħ), Valletta: history, architecture and works of art', unpublished B.A. (Honours) dissertation, Department of History of Art, University of Malta, 2010, 3.

1747,[28] Gio' Pio obliged the Messinese Antonio and his sons Domenico, Francesco, Giuseppe and Giovanni Damato[29] to construct an altar out of marble, together with parts of the floor of the Church of Saint Nicholas.[30]

Figure 6 The altar comissioned by Gio' Pio de Piro in the 1740s from Messina.

This Sicilian family might be related to the family of artisans Amato from Messina, who had been active during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in stone carving and architecture.[31] The commission itself had turned out to be rather complicated, as in the same deed it was stated that during the elapsed time only Giovanni had remained alive out of the five family members,

[28] Notary Giovanni Francesco Dos mistakenly writes the year 1746 instead of 1747, the latter being the correct one. The year 1747 will be referred to here.
[29] Notary Francesco Alfano conversely writes the surname as 'Amato'. 'Damato' was chosen in order not to omit the extra letter.
[30] NAV, R238/13, Not. Dos, 1747, f.437v.
[31] See Maria Accascina, *Profilo dell'architettura a Messina dal 1600 a 1800* (Roma: Edizione del Ateneo, 1964), 74-79. She mentions Antonio as being the father of the artistic family and mentions some of his sons.

due to the outbreak of the plague in Messina in 1743.[32] Yet, Giovanni managed to finish the work on the altar by 1747 and transported it to Malta. Luckily it did not sustain damage over time and thus can be seen in greater detail in Figure 6. The work on the floor was to continue and be finished according to the design agreed upon in Messina and in the timeframe of four months.[33]

Figure 7 Detail of the coat-of-arms of Gio' Pio de Piro on the altar of the Church of All Souls, dedicated to Saint Nicholas.

In the same deed it was also agreed that Giovanni would make the following additions: a *lapide marmorea sepulcrale* (sepulchral marble plaque) using coloured marble for the pavilion; an urn was to be sculpted and placed on the pedestal; the coat-of-arms of the de Piro family, set within a shield and surmounted by a crown, were to be added; and lastly an unspecified inscription.[34]

[32] NAV, R238/13, Not. Dos, 1747, ff.437v-438r, 'passati intanto à miglior vita li sud(et)ti Antonio, Domenico, Francesco e Giuseppe restato in vita il solo Giovanni'. See Stephen C. Spiteri, 'Guarding Against Contagion: Vigilance and the Role of Fortifications in Malta during the Outbreak of Plague in Messina in 1743', *Journal of Baroque Studies*, 2:1 (2017), 177-200.
[33] NAV, R238/13, Not. Dos, 1747, ff.438r-439r.
[34] NAV, R238/13, Not. Dos, 1747, ff.438r-440r, 'di dover fare d(et)ta lapide marmorea sepulcrale nel termine di sei mesi d'oggi (per) inanzi da contarsi à tenore e giusta il disegno che s'esibisce al pred(et)to Damato e che manualmente riceve soscritto da d(et)to Sig(no)r Marchese Depiro con dover augumentare ed accrescere di marmi coloriti tanto il padiglione che l'urna col piedestallo, e

The coat-of-arms of the de Piro family can be clearly seen, as described in the deed, in Figure 7. The inscription, however, was not visible in the present-day church and the mentioned pavilion had been removed as well. The sepulchral element indicates that Gio' Pio wished to commemorate the death of a person, which could possibly have been his son Antonio Felicissimo, who predeceased him in 1738.[35]

In 1747 Gio' Pio elected the Maltese sculptor Saverio Camilleri from Senglea to continue where Giovanni had left off.[36] In fact, only four days later, in a deed drawn up by Notary Francesco Alfano on 19 April 1747, the work was handed over to Saverio, as Giovanni was leaving Malta to return to Sicily.[37] The ability of Saverio to execute the work of the Sicilian artist in his stead and in the same Baroque expression, brings to the fore the idea of regionalism. The artistic connection between Malta and Sicily was well established by the eighteenth century and the similarities of the two islands' traditions, as well as their divergences and uniqueness, have been pointed out.[38] This connection was most of the time dependent on the political circumstances between the two islands.[39]

Gio' Pio's decision to have the work of art worked in and imported from Messina is also significant, as by the eighteenth century there was enough skill for such commission to be carved locally:[40] Saverio's eventual employment affirms this. His preference of the Messina artists over local ones might have stemmed from the artistic qualities of the Damato family. However, his employment of the Sicilian artists reflects above all his awareness of the Sicilian artistic scene, suggesting that his connections in Sicily extended to the cultural and artistic dimension.

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lo scudo degl'arme, ad effetto di coprire il compo di marmo bianco più di quel che si vede in d(et)to disegno à proporzione e farne il cimiero con suoi fornimenti in vece della corona, e scolpire l'inscrizione'.

[35] Anton Caruana Galizia, 'Family Strategies and Transregional Mobility: The de Piro in Eighteenth-Century Malta and Sicily', *European History Quarterly*, 44:3 (2014), 425.

[36] NAV, R238/13, Not. Dos, 1747, ff.439v-440v.

[37] NAV, R15/17, Not. Alfano, 1747, ff424v-425r, 'il sud(et)to Amato oggi partirsi da questa Isola e ripatriarsi'.

[38] Meli (2017), 145.

[39] Dominic Cutajar, 'L'Influenza Siciliana sull'Arte a Malta', *Journal of Maltese Studies*, 17-18 (1988), 197.

[40] Meli (2017), 64.

Commissioning such a large artwork from Sicily also meant that it had to be transported by boat to Malta. In the first part of the deed, Notary Dos mentioned that Giovanni had arrived in Malta together with the altar, which had been put in its designated space in the church.[41] No details were given with regards to the type of boat, its captain or the timeframe involved in the transportation. Towards the end of the same deed, Gio' Pio paid the Sicilian artist forty *scudi* in satisfaction of his work and to cover the expenses incurred for the voyage from Messina to Malta: his return journey was also covered, as Giovanni had no money for this.[42] The element of transportation must have been one of the main obstacles this commission had faced, as, in order to transport a sculpture by sea, its weight and dimensions had to be taken into consideration. However, transportation by sea was much easier than by land, as ships offered a faster and more efficient service, despite involving risk.[43] In this respect, the reality of being an island did not hamper this commission or, in a broader sense, the artistic development of the Maltese Islands. Instead, it facilitated and enabled commissions to be made from overseas and for artistic styles, such as the Baroque, to be imported from leading artistic centres.

Despite the influences of the Greek-rite, Gio' Pio and his family were adherents to the local tradition and were practising Roman Catholics, as attested by his father Lorenzo Ubaldesco's late entry into clerical offices: he held the positions of conventual chaplain for the Order of St John and of Canon of the Mdina Cathedral.[44] Gio' Pio himself was buried in Gourgion family vault at the Church of Saint Francis in Valletta, as per his wish noted down in his last will.[45] He also gave charitable donations to various Catholic churches in Malta and

[41] NAV, R238/13, Not. Dos, 1747, f.438v.
[42] NAV, R238/13, Not. Dos, 1747, ff.441r-441v, 'ed interessi ch'avera partito (per) il viaggio fatto da Messina (per) Malta e per la partenza da verò fare ò altro; avendo anche d(et)to Sig(no)r Marchese Depiro rilasciato à d(et)to Giovanni Damato l'interesse ch'aveva potuto pretendere (per) causa d'aver mancato in qualche cosa fuor del modello; di modo che d(et)to pagamento di (scudi) 40 s'intende fatto per atto gratuito, ad effetto di fare d(et)to viaggio non avendo d(et)to Damato ha maniera di farlo'.
[43] Sciberras (2004), 47-49. See Chapter 2, 52-57.
[44] Caruana Galizia (2014), 422.
[45] NAV, R314/4, Not. Grixti, 1752, f.318r, 'Seguita la mia morte, voglio, che il mio cadavere senza pompa alcuna si sepellisca nella Veneranda Chiesa de Minori Conventuali di S(an) Franc(es)co di questa Città Vall(ett)a nella Sepoltura della Famiglia delli Sig(no)ri Gorgion, ove anche è sepellita la fù Sig(no)ra Anna mia Consorte'.

Gozo, such as the 200 *scudi* he donated to the chapel of the Holy Eucharist at the Church of Saint Paul's Shipwreck in Valletta on 31 January 1749, shown in Figure 8.[46] Instances such as these emphasize his Catholic devotion and show the extent of his benevolence towards churches in Malta.

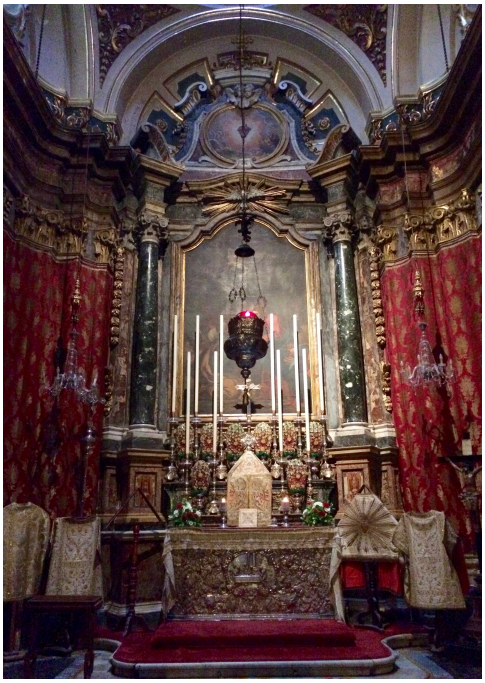

Figure 8 The Chapel of the Holy Eucharist at the Church of Saint Paul's shipwreck in Valletta.

His devotion to Catholicism can best be seen in his veneration of Catholic icons, particularly that of the Holy Mother of Light. The worship of the latter emerged out of Sicily during the 1720s, when a certain Jesuit Father wished to acquire a painting of the Holy Mother to aid his teachings. The story goes that he asked a devout woman for help, who experienced a visitation from the Virgin Mary granting this request. The Virgin instructed them to paint her in a certain manner, as can be seen in Figure 9.[47] In 1736 Pope Clement XII gave permission for the icon of the Holy Mother of Light to be venerated,[48] by the time of which the devotion had already spread rapidly amongst the Jesuits in Italy and Spain.

[46] NAV, R15/18, Not. Alfano, 1749, f.211v.
[47] 'Our Lady of Light', *University of Dayton*, https://udayton.edu/imri/mary/o/our-lady-of-light.php [4 February 2019].
[48] University of Dayton [4 February 2019].

Later it was extended to the American continent through Jesuit activity.[49] Malta's proximity to Sicily and the connectivity maintained between the two islands led to the introduction of the veneration of the icon of the Holy Mother of Light to the Maltese Islands, inspiring Gio' Pio to commission an artwork in 1742. The inventory drawn up after his death in 1752 took note of two paintings of this same icon, one with a *cornice rossa rabicata in oro* (red frame decorated [?] in gold),[50] but the other painting was listed without any adornment.[51] The manifestation of the cult of the Holy Mother of Light can also be seen in the numerous chapels around Malta and Gozo that are dedicated to the *Madonna tad-Dawl*, such as those found in Marsaskala,[52] Ħaż-Żebbuġ,[53] and Mdina.[54]

Figure 9 Painting representing the Holy Mother of Light, in the Church of Saint Stanislao Koska in Palermo, taken from https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Santa_Maria_del_Lume#/media/File:Madonna_del_lume._palermo.jpg [23 February 2019].

[49] Enrique Giménez López, 'La Devoción a la Madre Santísima de la Luz: Un Aspecto de la Represión del Jesuitismo en la España de Carlos III', *Revista de Historia Moderna*, 15:1 (1996), 213.
[50] AdeP, Box A19, Bundle 1, Item 1.
[51] AdeP, Box A19, Bundle 1, Item 1.
[52] 'Madonna tad-Dawl', *Quddies*, https://www.quddies.com.mt/churches/167/Madonna-tad-Dawl/Marsaskala [15 February 2019].
[53] 'Madonna tad-Dawl', *Quddies*, https://www.quddies.com.mt/churches/405/Madonna-tad-Dawl/Zebbug [15 February 2019].
[54] 'Santu Rokku (m.b. Madonna tad-Dawl)', *Quddies*, https://www.quddies.com.mt/churches/174/Santu-Rokku-m-b-Madonna-tad-Dawl/Mdina [15 February 2019].

Gio' Pio also owned a sculpture of the Holy Mother of Light. For this he had engaged the local artists Erasmo Peres and his two sons Giuseppe and Antonio from Valletta to make a painted statue of *la Nostra Signora del Lume*. In the deed of 14 February 1742, Gio' Pio and the Peres artists elected the local painter Gio' Nicola Buhagiar and the gilder Alessandro Gelfo to estimate the statue's painting and gilding.[55] At this point in time, the Baroque-learned painter Gio' Nicola, who studied in Rome, was at the zenith of his career.[56] His employment to estimate the painting shows him as an artist well instructed in his trade. In this respect, a local panel of artists were commissioned to contribute in some way or another to the process involved in the making of a statue of the Holy Mother of Light. For this commission to be executed, the icon must have been familiar to these artists, suggesting that its veneration had spread and manifested itself in the Maltese Islands within a relatively short period of time. The placement of such an object in the house of Gio' Pio reflects that the object itself, spiritual by nature, was an expression of his devotion and a source for religious stimulation.[57]

Apart from religious-themed objects of art, the inventory of Gio' Pio gives insights into another category of artwork he enjoyed.[58] Although the vast majority of the paintings listed were of a religious nature, Gio' Pio held in his collection four *ritratti* (portraits) of the King and Queen of Spain, divided into two sets.[59] It was not specified who the two monarchs were, but the contemporary sovereigns of Spain were King Ferdinand VI (r.1746-1759) and his wife Maria Luisa of Savoy.[60] However, his attachment to the crown of Spain was probably relating to the fact that he had obtained his second title of Marquis from the Kingdom of Castile in 1742, for which he had paid 572,000 *maravedis*

[55] NAV, R15/14, Not. Alfano, 1742, ff.331v-332r.
[56] Keith Sciberras, *Baroque Painting in Malta* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2009), 264.
[57] Mary Laven, 'Devotional objects', *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, Susan Broomhall ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 156.
[58] AdeP, Box A19, Bundle 1, Item 1.
[59] AdeP, Box A19, Bundle 1, Item 1.
[60] Gene Gurney, *Kingdoms of Europe: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Ruling Monarchs from Ancient Times to the Present* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1982), 351.

de Vellon.[61] The monarch who had conferred the marquisate to Gio' Pio was King Philip V (r.1724-1746).[62]

Gio' Pio's collection of artwork also included paintings of periods or episodes from the classical period, such as two large paintings of the victories of Constantine,[63] a small picture depicting the war of Constantine,[64] and six prints representing the victories of Alexander the Great.[65] Interest in the classical age was considerable during Gio' Pio's lifetime, with the European nobility following the trend of the 'Grand Tour'. Young nobles embarked on prolonged journeys to Italy, Greece and other places with historical resonance in the Mediterranean as a means of completing and polishing their education.[66] The classical age was the main historical interest and Malta's classical archaeology had been its main source of attraction to Grand Tourists.[67] In this regard, Gio' Pio's possession of artworks depicting the classical period links him to this group of European elite, who appreciated the culture of the classical Mediterranean.

Seen in this way, Gio' Pio made use of art to express his cultural interests and religious devotions. While the paintings of the episodes of classical history and the Spanish monarchs showcase his broad cultural repertoire, his involvement in the embellishment of the Greek-rite churches reflects his reverence of his family's Rhodiot and Eastern origin. On the other hand, the latter artworks' execution in the Baroque shows how Gio' Pio succeeded in marrying the past with the present, as his devotion to the Catholic faith was highlighted at all times. This is further outlined by his veneration of the icon of the *Madonna del Lume*. The link with Sicily is strongly discerned in the veneration of this cult, but it is equally noted by the employment of the Sicilian family of artists Damato. Although the Sicilian connection was certainly complemented by the socio-political environment between Malta and Sicily,

[61] See, Caruana Galizia (2014), 422; and Montalto (1979), 41.
[62] Gurney (1982), 351.
[63] AdeP, Box A19, Bundle 1, Item 1.
[64] AdeP, Box A19, Bundle 1, Item 1.
[65] AdeP, Box A19, Bundle 1, Item 1.
[66] Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2.
[67] Thomas Freller, *Malta and the Grand Tour* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2009), 635-649.

Gio' Pio's own personal link to the island was the underlying reason for the importation of Sicilian cults and for the employment of Sicilian artists.[68] The application of the Baroque style to his commissioned artworks favours a broader central Mediterranean artistic dimension, one that is less focussed on Sicily and instead reflects a wider Catholic milieu.

4.3 Jewellery and Items of Clothing

In this section, most information will be retrieved from a dowry and an inventory. Inventories are lists of personal possessions and household items; the culture of compiling inventories was common in early modern Europe and reflected the need to administer property after one's death.[69] Such written accounts allow the reconstruction of past material worlds and lead to a better understanding of the purpose and meaning objects had in an individual's life.[70] Naturally, there are limitations to inventories as much as there are benefits to studying them, as one needs to consider that inventories, especially those drawn up after a person's death, are a snapshot in time and do not necessarily cover all the objects that accompanied - or did not accompany - a person throughout his/her life.[71]

There is a similar limitation to the study of dowries. A dowry was a list of the items a bride brought into a marriage for the newly formed household, the items ranging from jewels and clothes, to furniture and domestic objects. The quality and quantity of the objects depended on the financial circumstances of her family.[72] By the eighteenth century, the dowry in Italy had developed into a

[68] See Caruana Galizia (2014), 419-438.
[69] Giorgio Riello, ''Things Seen and Unseen': The material culture of early modern inventories and their representation of domestic interiors', *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800*, Paula Findlen ed. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013), 127-130.
[70] Paula Findlen, 'Early Modern Things: Objects in motion, 1500-1800', *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800*, Paula Findlen ed. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013), 5.
[71] Riello (2013), 136.
[72] Tehmina Goskar, 'Material Worlds: The Shared Cultures of Southern Italy and its Mediterranean Neighbours in the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries', *Al-Masaq*, 23:3 (2011), 192.

two-partite composition: a sum of money and goods.[73] The husband used the dowry during the marriage but the wife ultimately retained ownership over it.[74] The dowry system had been in place in European and Mediterranean societies since the Middle Ages, when patrilineal forms of inheritance systems were introduced, whereby property and goods were passed on to the male heir.[75] The daughter received a dowry, which was a means of renouncing the rights she had on her family's inheritance.[76] Yet, as evinced in seventeenth-century Malta, dowries became a mechanism whereby a woman was able to exercise control over her own belongings, thus providing her with a degree of independence and agency, as well as a source of maintenance for the period after the death of her husband.[77]

The dowry studied for this section had originally belonged to Eugenia de Piro daughter of Gio' Pio, who married Ferdinando de Ribera from the town of Scicli in Sicily in 1729.[78] Although the marriage was successful and produced a daughter, Anna Maria Ribera, Eugenia died shortly after giving birth to her in 1731, which was followed by the death of Ferdinando in 1734.[79] In this peculiar situation, the dowry of Eugenia, as well as the goods and assets of her husband Ferdinando, were transferred to Anna Maria. Gio' Pio became the guardian and tutor of his granddaughter.[80] The source consulted for this dissertation documents the transfer of the dowry, property and rights, pertaining to her parents, to Anna Maria herself.[81] The dowry notes down items of clothing and jewellery, which became the young heiress' property, and which are of interest to this study on material culture.

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[73] Beatrice Zucca Micheletto, 'Reconsidering the southern Europe model: Dowry, women's work and marriage patterns in pre-industrial urban Italy (Turin, second half of the 18th century), *The History of the Family*, 16:4 (2011), 358.
[74] Diane Owen Hughes, 'Representing the Family: Portraits and Purposes in Early Modern Italy', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17:1 (1986), 10.
[75] Zucca Micheletto (2011), 358.
[76] Zucca Micheletto (2011), 358.
[77] Carmel Cassar, 'Iż-Żwieġ, id-Dota, u l-Knisja Kattolika f'Malta tas-Seklu Sbatax', *L-Imnara*, 9:2 (2009), 56.
[78] AdeP, MS 72, ff.1-18.
[79] Caruana Galizia (2014), 427-428.
[80] Caruana Galizia (2014), 428-430.
[81] See Appendix 2, 110-114.

As per the acts of Sicilian Notary Biagio Monaco of 8 December 1731, Ferdinando returned to Gio' Pio 858 *scudi* and 26 tareni worth of gold and silver jewels, clothes and household items. Amongst these was a *croce d'oro con sette diamanti col suo bottone* (golden cross with six diamonds with its button), as well as a pair of golden pendants with four big diamonds and fourteen smaller ones.[82] These examples, as well as the *anello con 7 diamanti* (ring with seven diamonds), reveal a rich material culture and provide an insight into the attire and possessions of an eighteenth century bride-to-be. The jewellery items are in line with the general trend in eighteenth-century Malta favouring gems and diamonds.[83] Every item that was noted down was accompanied by its estimated monetary value. This is to be expected, since a dowry identified the financial and property-related benefits a wife would bring into a marriage.

The dowry of Eugenia de Piro reflects the affluence of her father and the size of his estate, especially when considering that her brother's (and consequently the heir's) portion of inheritance was larger. Through the items listed in this dowry, one can gauge the connectivity Malta enjoyed to markets overseas, as evinced through the dowry's descriptive quality. A case-in-point is the *manto e faldetta di tuffetà di Francia à color di cerasa con merletto d'argento*, a cherry-coloured coat or *għonella* made out of French taffeta with silver lace.[84] During the eighteenth century, France and England were the leading forces of the fashion world and it has been noted that the taffeta fabric, originally made out of silk,[85] was highly popular.[86] French influence on Maltese fashion and jewellery was at its peak during the late seventeenth and eighteenth century.[87]

[82] AdeP, MS 72, f.14, 'pendagli d'oro con 4 diamanti grossi, e di fondo, e 14 altri diamanti piccoli tutti à faccietta legati in argento'.
[83] Francesca Balzan, *Jewellery in Malta: Treasures from the Island of the Knights (1530-1798)* (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2009), 21.
[84] AdeP, MS 72, f.16.
[85] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com [16 February 2019].
[86] Kendra Van Cleave and Brooke Welborn, ''Very Much the Taste and Various are the Makes': Reconsidering the Late-Eighteenth-Century Robe à la Polonaise', *Dress*, 39:1 (2013), 14.
[87] Balzan (2009), vii.

This coincided with growing French influence on the politics of the Order of St John in the course of the eighteenth century.[88]

French influence can be detected even further in Eugenia's dowry, namely in the form of a *manto broccato di seta torchino di Francia con diversi colori*, that is a brocade coat of blue silk of France, with various colours.[89] The third item that was connected to this country was the *busto di Francia color di rosa con gallone* (a pink French corset with chevron).[90] Although the corset has been discussed in terms of its associations to femininity vis-à-vis its fetishized nature in the historiographical record,[91] during the early eighteenth century it served a decorative function.[92] The connection to France in this manner continues to highlight its pivotal power in the world of clothing: the exportation of such styles and designs to Malta demonstrates the multifaceted nature of connectivity during this period.

Apart from France, another area that featured prominently in the dowry was the Italian peninsula. Part of her dowry consisted of a dress of *broccato di seta di Genova à color di porpora* (brocade of purple Genoese silk).[93] The dowry also included a *manto di broccato d'oro turchino di Venezia* (brocade coat in blue and gold from Venice).[94] Moreover, although it did not necessarily qualify as clothing, but certainly pertained to fabrics and textiles, the mattress *con doppia fodera di rasato fiorito di Napoli* (with double lining of flowered shaven wool)[95] indicates a Neapolitan origin. Beds in early modern Malta were typically filled with wool and were considered furniture of comfort for the more wealthy

[88] See Alain Blondy, 'Malta and France 1789-1798', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem*, Victor Mallia-Milanes ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 660; and Carmen Depasquale, 'French knights and Maltese inhabitants in the XVIII century', *Storja*, 2003-2004 (2004), 45.
[89] AdeP, MS 72, f.17.
[90] AdeP, MS 72, f.17.
[91] See Valerie Steele, *The Cultural History of the Corset*, (New York: Yale University Press, 2001).
[92] Melis Mulazimoglu Erkal, 'The Cultural History of the Corset and Gendered Body in Social and Literary Landscapes', *European Journal of Language and Literature Studies*, 3:3 (2017), 111.
[93] AdeP, MS 72, f.17.
[94] AdeP, MS 72, f.17.
[95] AdeP, MS 72, f.16.

in society:[96] that the wool was imported from Naples adds another layer of significance and value to the object. Whilst the French presence in Maltese wardrobes was explained by the country's position as a leading cultural centre, the Italian connection reflected the Maltese Islands' geographical proximity and local merchants' easy access to Italian markets.

The link to Italy in terms of clothing and jewellery was also seen in Gio' Pio's personal engagements. The notarial deed between Gio' Pio and Angelus Diacono on 28 November 1740 recorded the latter's assignment of delivering a golden box weighing 5 *oncie* and 6 *ottavi*, sealed with a ribbon and Gio' Pio's seal in black ciphers, wrapped in a leather pouch, to Marquis delli Magnisi in Syracuse.[97] The latter Marquis held a commanding position for the Crown in Sicily and oversaw the work of Gio' Pio's agents there; as a result, the two marquises were in frequent communication through letters.[98] No clue was given on what was inside the box, but the elaborate and rich composition of the object accentuated the high value of its receiver, whilst the seal with Gio' Pio's cipher indicated that the contents were meant for the eyes of Marquis delli Magnisi only. The two marquises traded regularly with each other, as is seen through the notarial deed of 19 December 1748, whereby Rafele Debono from Valletta, appearing for the Syracusan Marquis, received a payment of 84 *scudi*, 10 *tareni* and 10 *grani* in exchange for two *capotti di panno* (coats of cloth) with *fornimenti* (accessories).[99] Examples like these continually reflect the ease with which items were traded between the two islands.

However, Gio' Pio did not need to necessarily look far to purchase items of luxury such as jewellery. On 4 August 1743 he paid the *gemmarius* (jeweller) Domenicus Pauniti from Messina, living in Valletta, 260 *scudi* to complete a 400 *scudi* order of *binae inaures auri* (two golden earrings) and *argenti ornatorum*

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[96] Iona Caruana, 'Aspects of Marriage in the Maltese Islands in the second half of the sixteenth century (c.1560-1580)', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2014, 91.
[97] NAV, R15/13, Not. Alfano, 1740, ff.132v-133r, 'scatola d'oro di peso d'oncie cinque e setti ottavi sigillata con sua fettuccia di carta con sigillo di d(ett)o S(igno)r B(aro)ne in cero nero con la sua borsa di pelle'.
[98] Anton Caruana Galizia, 'Royal office and private ventures: the fortunes of a Maltese nobleman in Sicily, 1725-50', *Historical Research*, 90:250 (2017), 8.
[99] NAV, R15/18, Not. Alfano, 1748, ff.151r-151v.

adamantibus (ornate silverware with adamantine gems).[100] On another occasion, on 14 April 1746, Gio' Pio commissioned Aloysius Stieni from Valletta to create one *ottagane aurea adamantibus ornata* (golden necklace, ornate with adamantine gems) for the price of seventy-one *scudi*.[101] This type of adamant material probably referred to a diamond, which was popular amongst the royals and nobles of the early modern period:[102] the price paid by Gio' Pio for both of these commissions supports this. The fact that the items of jewellery were locally manufactured suggests that not all objects of quality had to be imported from overseas; although the first *gemmarius* hailed from Messina, his workshop was in Valletta, demonstrating that Malta attracted foreign talent.

Despite not having analysed mundane or household objects, and thus not having been able to look at the daily material culture of Gio' Pio, the examination of the more expensive and luxurious items has indicated various considerations. Primarily, the objects' cultural value was not only derived from the quality of its materials (namely silk or gold), but also from its place of origin. This is mostly visible in the dowry of Eugenia de Piro, wherein items of importance were specifically defined by their place of origin, the most recurring ones being France and Italy. Not only were these culturally leading centres in clothing or jewellery manufacture and design during this period, but, by deduction, they must have also been the two most accessible places for Maltese traders to buy and import items from.

Secondly, the items further identify Gio' Pio's status as a Maltese nobleman interested in the trends and culture of his European counterparts. Apart from owning clothing imported from the leading centres of fashion, the garments themselves indicate a sensibility for what was in vogue overseas, through their material and design. By wearing these foreign fashions, Gio' Pio emulated the nobility of Europe. In this manner, their cultural significance was imported to Malta alongside the physical objects. The sharing of the cultural codes of certain

[100] NAV, R15/15, Not. Alfano, 1743, ff.514v-515r.
[101] NAV, R15/16, Not. Alfano, 1746, ff.376v-377r.
[102] Diana Scarisbrick, 'Forever Adamant: a Renaissance Diamond Ring', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 40:1 (1982), 57.

trends in jewellery and garments, dictated by the leading centres of fashion, translated Malta into a geographically distant but culturally close place.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the material culture of Gio' Pio and his family and has noted a general central Mediterranean sphere of activity and influence. The objects listed in the historical record analysed were also indicative of an interconnected Mediterranean world, where cultural objects, as well as their cultural attributes and values, were shared and exchanged. Such objects were collected, used and placed around the Maltese Islands by Gio' Pio, which is reflective of his overseas networks and acquaintance with foreign trends. Some items even gained added value through their place of origin, as the inventory of Eugenia de Piro has shown. Sicily in particular had a significant presence, in terms of the artists and craftsmen employed by Gio' Pio, as well as in the form of the cult of the Holy Mother of Light. This connection to Sicily came about and was reinforced by Gio' Pio's socio-political ties to the island, which, as this study has indicated, permeated the cultural and artistic milieu.

Religion was one of the key inspirations behind Gio' Pio's collections and possessions. He commissioned foreign and local workers alike to execute artworks in the Baroque. Its Counter-Reformation origin was complementary to Gio' Pio's religious devotion and his veneration of Catholic icons. His choice in embellishing Greek-rite chapels was motivated by his family's Eastern origin, but even these commissions were rendered in the Baroque.

On the whole, the material culture was also found to be reflective of the cosmopolitan and noble status of Gio' Pio de Piro. From the dowry of his daughter Eugenia, as well as notarial deeds drawn up involving himself, Gio' Pio reveals himself adorned in those fabrics, designs and garments popular in the courts of Europe. These garments and pieces of jewellery obtained added value through their place of origin. His artwork too discloses his noble status and interests, particularly in his appreciation of classical-themed paintings. The Spanish monarchs hung on his walls reflect the consolidation of his noble status, surely one of the major milestones of his life.

General Conclusion

This dissertation has pursued Gio' Pio for a rough timespan of twenty years and has followed his diverse activities, exchanges, contracts and purchases. Different aspects of his active life were taken into consideration, ranging from his dynamic career, to his personal friendships and his familial affairs. Alongside Gio' Pio's activities, notes on the wider, regional and contemporary context were made, which helped situate his engagements in the Mediterranean of the first half of the eighteenth century. Out of this, the Mediterranean has emerged as a multifaceted environment.

Trade offered an intriguing point of view from which Gio' Pio and the Mediterranean were studied. Indeed, one of the earliest points raised at the start of this dissertation concerned the ability of this work to contribute to the 'northern invasion' discourse, precisely because of its focus on trade and the timeframe's pertinence to the theory. The 'northern invasion' principle postulates that during the early years of the eighteenth century, the Mediterranean was already dominated by the northern powers, which allowed few trade opportunities for regional actors in the Mediterranean. In analysing Gio' Pio's life, however, it was observed that trade was a regular activity and involved various agents and individuals, residing or hailing from different parts of the Mediterranean. Naturally, the 'northern invasion' theory operates on a grand, macro scale, whereas a study of Gio' Pio has to focus on the micro level. However, in the interstice between these, there emerged an enterprising individual who pursued his trading interests in the region with great success in the face of foreign competition.

In fact, in his economic pursuits, Gio' Pio cut across official, cultural and linguistic boundaries, and through his contacts he was able to range far into different regions of the Mediterranean and the wider world. This is reflected in Gio' Pio's diverse sources of income, as he was able to retrieve commodities from long-distance trade networks and involve himself in activities overseas, which enabled him to establish himself in this business. Through his widespread networks, Gio' Pio was able to procure precious and peculiar items and to

acquire them from geographically and culturally distant places, such as Hannover, Portugal and China, reflecting the diversity of markets the Maltese Islands were connected to. His role as a middleman was brought to the fore in the various instances involving trade, cash provision and legal representation, all activities ultimately yielding a significant income. His command of Italian and French enabled him to unlock and gain access to rich markets, which, in turn, continually reinforced his distinction in such endeavours.

As expected, connectivity, alongside trade, has been another key term in this dissertation. The reality of the Maltese Islands being a very small and densely populated archipelago rendered them dependent on overseas networks and connections for the acquisition of basic items such as food. However, as was shown, these connections went beyond the acquisition of staple produce and were employed to import more 'auxiliary' items, understood as not being fundamental for human survival but necessary for socio-cultural development and fulfilment. In this instance one may recall the artistic commissions of Gio' Pio, as well as the cosmopolitan closet exhibited in the dowry given to his daughter Eugenia, and later transferred to the granddaughter Anna Maria.[1] From the study of material culture, it was shown that the items were consciously sourced from overseas and gained added cultural significance through their place of origin. Seen in this light, artworks and clothes become a physical representation of the connectivity of the Maltese Islands, showing that geographical constraints did not necessarily represent insurmountable barriers to socio-cultural aspirations.

In studying Gio' Pio's activities it was also shown how, in some cases, Malta was able to cater for its own local needs. Such was the case in the cultivation of the cash crop of cotton. The de Piro family estate, which provided Gio' Pio with a significant income, contributed to the Maltese agricultural economy by yielding produce to be sold on the market and by providing employment to the locals. Similarly, works of art and jewellery were created and manufactured by local skilled craftsmen, mirroring trends and styles popular in

[1] See Appendix 2, 110-114.

Europe. However, such developments were a direct result of the connectivity of the Maltese Islands, without which the artworks, clothing and jewellery may not have circulated in Malta to such a degree. Likewise, the crops cultivated and sold by Gio' Pio were overshadowed by the substantial business of wheat imports of the Università, which enabled Maltese farmers to diversify their agriculture in the first place, and to move away from the cultivation of grains.

Connectivity was actively maintained through strong maritime links. In this instance, Gio' Pio very much profited from his close relations with the Order of St John, most notably through his ties to the Hospitaller Commander Alfonso Candida. By making use of sea routes formulated by the same institution along the Italian peninsula, connectivity in that region was allowed to permeate different areas, from finance, administration and trade, to the social milieu. Gio' Pio came to establish his own networks of agents and merchants, mostly operating along the Adriatic coast of the Italian peninsula: the harbours, where some of these agents operated from or visited, can be seen in Map 1.[2] The networks that Gio' Pio set up were personal and of a direct kind, consisting, at the most basic level, of regular communication with his agents in order to serve his immediate interests in trade. This contrasts with the institutional and highly organised networks that 'northern invasion' theorists have deemed as conventional for this period.

Although Gio' Pio did travel away from Malta for trade and business, he mainly upheld his connections through letters. This allowed him to liaise with his agents on any plans, orders and deliveries with efficiency. Although the letters were above all dependent on maritime transportation, they also allowed him to stay socially connected to the cultures and societies of Sicily and the Italian peninsula. This shows that, by the eighteenth century, geographically distant places were able to stay connected in many different aspects.

This form of communication facilitated culture to travel with ease, resulting in different influences and artefacts intersecting at Malta. Gio' Pio's eastern Mediterranean Christian ancestry, and his personal ties and endeavours in

[2] See Map 1, 55.

the Italian peninsula introduced to Malta traditions that reflected these wider influences. In addition to this, Gio' Pio's trade networks allowed him to source specialised items from afar, as, by this period, long-distance trade and commercial networks made it possible for foreign items and conventions to be more accessible, aiding the convergence of cultures.[3] Such was the case with Alfonso Candida's porcelain from China,[4] which was a common household item by this period, and the mercurial medicine from Hannover,[5] which became popularised in Europe.

Yet again, the maritime dimension was a decisive factor in this, as it offered a fast and efficient service to connect places and markets. This became conducive to the development of shared traditions, norms and institutions in relation to the Mediterranean maritime environment, brought about by the proximity of seaborne cultures in the region. In examining the legal frameworks of the region, a Mediterranean society emerged that was regulated by laws and customs, which, in turn, were shared by legal-maritime institutions established on its shores. Corsairing was found to be instrumental in shaping this maritime and legal tradition in the Mediterranean, most distinctly through the concern on the legitimacy of its trade and the flags that were flown.[6] Gio' Pio's involvement in these legal and corsairing activities showed that there were no physical borders that prevented him from following his pursuits.

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The maritime dimension was at the heart of this dissertation, which was inevitable, given the focus on the Maltese Islands and other societies in the Mediterranean. When deliberating the significance of the sea to a definition of the Mediterranean, Horden and Purcell found that this watery expanse 'unites the

[3] Robert S. DuPlessis, *The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonisation in the Atlantic World, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 17-18.
[4] See Chapter 3, 76-77.
[5] See Chapter 3, 74-76.
[6] Liam Gauci, *In the Name of the Prince: Maltese Corsairs 1760-1798* (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2016), 16.

Mediterranean conceptually as well as topographically', as it is not a barrier to communication, but a medium for human exchange.[7] In this regard, the Mediterranean Sea's ability to connect different societies, cultures and commodities would question the concept of a Mediterranean with borders. As a matter of fact, this dissertation has inferred that the borders of the Mediterranean of the first half of the eighteenth century were fluid and complex. This stance contrasts heavily with other interpretations of a more structured and delineated idea of the Mediterranean, such as the one proposed by Fernand Braudel, who suggested that the Mediterranean could be traced along the perimeters of the olive tree and the palm.[8]

Mediterranean studies have been divided on what defines the Mediterranean; some have attributed significance to land and sea, whilst others have insisted on the primacy of humans. In the case of this microhistorical enquiry, a profound presence of the sea in the life of Gio' Pio de Piro and his contemporaries was certainly noted. Yet, it has also indicated how humans have adapted to environmental circumstances, showing that there existed an interaction between sea, nature, and humans. In this respect, by suggesting that the sea alone defines this Mediterranean, one would be negating human agency and the value cultures have attached to this body of water.

Rather, it is the belief of this dissertation that a universal definition of the Mediterranean cannot be deduced, nor should it be, as its significance lies particularly in its fluidity, changeability and individualism; it is never the same at any given time, to any given person. This echoes, to a certain extent, David Abulafia's own conclusion, as reached in *The Great Sea*, where diversity overpowers unity.[9] The Mediterranean discovered in this microhistorical enquiry is a personal experience, which echoes its kaleidoscopic nature: rather than being a constant, the Mediterranean is a variable.

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[7] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Malden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), 133.
[8] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean: and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II,* Volume 1 [transl. Siân Reynolds] (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1966), 168.
[9] David Abulafia, *The Great Sea* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), 641-648.

Undoubtedly, the space the eighteenth-century nobleman interacted in for the most part was the central Mediterranean. There, most of his activities unfolded and gained meaning. Yet, Gio' Pio's Mediterranean did not just encompass the Maltese Islands, Sicily and the southern Italian peninsula, as he continually moved past such perimeters in his dealings and undertakings. Nor did an overarching concept of the 'Mediterranean' exist for Gio' Pio; he neither was aware of its existence, nor did he contemplate its significance to his personal life. Instead, he made use of its resources to explore the possibilities life offered him, and this he did within a loosely defined geographical space, wherein he shared a socio-cultural understanding. It is precisely this then, the notion of being able to traverse the sea and sense cultural familiarity, rather than a delineation of borders, that defines the Mediterranean of Gio' Pio de Piro.

Appendix 1: List of Slaves from the Archivum de Piro

AdeP, MS 43, ff.26v-28v.

[f.26v]

Schiavi

1. Sleiman bin deliman di Girba
2. Alibaba Jusuf di Cipri
3. Alsan bin Haq Ahmet d'Alesandria
4. Abdalla bin Sacem di derna
5. Merheim bin Musa di derna in Galera
6. Manfur bin bulef di ff. d'anni 30
7. Reyeb bin Sleiman di derna
8. Osman bin Ammet di derna
9. Kassem bin Michamet di Fez
10. Ahmet bin Hag: di derna
11. Ramadan bin homor di Tripoli
12. Michamet bin ahmet di Constantinopoli
13. Soliman bin hag Mustafa di Muschia

[f.27v]

14. Casem bin Ali Etiopo di Vadrum
15. Abdalla Soliman Achmet et hoggi facto Christiano di nome Ambrogio

16. Abdalla figlio di Alii d'Adaglia

17. Xaim bin Ag Ahmet di farascur vicino damiata

18. Sibie bin Apt deyen di Deyen

19. Hasan figlio di Haghassan di Zurum

20. Ihaati figlio di Soliman di Binam

21. Jusuf figlio di Mehmet

22. Alii bin Jusuf di Damiata

23. Jusuf bin hasciur di Tunisi

[f.28v]

24. Osman figlio di Agisian di Natolia

25. Veli figlio di Bechir d'Aguman

26. Mustafà figlio di Mansur di Xiamo

27. Iman figlio di Amsan del Payas

28. Chalipli bin mamet di Cogna

29. Ali Etiopo di Affum

30. Mihamet bin diep di Damiata

31. Schelemin bin Khisesi del G[ran] Cairo

32. Schein bin Michamet d'Alessandria

33. Abdalla Etiopo

34. Mehmet fig(li)o d'Usain di Candia d'anni 15

Appendix 2: The Dowry of Anna Maria Ribera

AdeP, MS 72, ff.14-18.

[f.14]

In atti d(e)l m(aestr)o Not(ar)o Biagio Monaco sotto li 8 d(e)l mese di (Dicem)bre 1731. si fece una ricevuta dal S(ignor) D(on) Ferdinando sposo à fav(or)e del S(igno)r Bar(on)e de Piro di (onze) 2147 e (tareni) due ò vero di (onze) 858.26 consistenti nel prezzo dell'infr(ascitt)i giocali d'oro, e d'argento, stigli, arnesi di casa, ed abiti valutati, e stimati, cioè (onze) 275. l'infr(ascritt)i giocali, d'oro con gemme, e pietre preziose, e sono

Una croce d'oro con sette diamanti col suo bottone ci faccietta legati in argento valutandosi ogni diamante per 714; il di cui prezzo in tutto importa senza manifattura (onze) 98.-.-.

Un paro di pendagli d'oro con 4 diamanti grossi, e di fondo, e 14. altri diamanti piccoli tutti à faccietta legati in argento, il di cui valore senza manifatt(u)ra importa (onze) 45.-.-.

Un anello con 7. diamanti à faccietta legato in oro, il di cui valore senza manifatt(ur)a importa (onze) 30.-.-.

Un boccola d'oro (per) il cintorino con 12 diamanti à faccietta legati in argento valutata senza manifattura (per) (onze)16.-.-.

Uno scudetto che sostenta il cintorino sotto il busto con dodeci diamanti, ed uno smeraldo valutato senza maestria (per) (onze) 14.-.-.

Tre anelli e due circhetti valutati come sopra (per) (onze) 12.-.-.

Due fila di perle con una gioetta in oro, nella quale vi sono ingastate undeci diamanti valutati senza manifatt(u)ra (per) (onze) 24.-.-.

[Total] (onze) 239.-.-.

[f.15]

Riporto (onze) 239.-.-.

E finalm(ent)e quattro oncie di peso, di perle orientali (per) ornamento delle braccia valutate ad onze 9. l'oncia, che importano la valuta d' (onze) 36.-.-.

In tutto (onze) 275.-.-.

Più (onze) 163.26. l'infr(ascritt)i giocali d'argento e sono

Tondi numero dodeci, Bocale num(er)o uno, sfratta tavola num(er)o uno, sottocoppe di cafè con suoi sostegni num(er)o quattro, una sottocoppa, una zuccariera, otto posate consistenti in otto coltelli con manichi d'argento, otto cocchiare, ed otto forchette, e cucchiarini di cafè num(er)o otto; quali sud(et)te cose sono di peso libre trentasette, ed oncie cinque, e ragionato l'argento (per) essere d(e)l bollo di Malta à (tareni) dieci l'oncia, importa il suo valore (onze) 149.20.-.

Per manifattura delle soprascritte cose d'argento stante essere state fatte à posta nuove, ed alta moda onze quattordeci, e (tareni) sei; cioè (per) li tondi (onze) 3.18.-., (per) il bocale (onze) 2.12.-., per lo sfratta tavola (onze) 2.-.-., per le sottocoppine del cafè (onze) 1.18.-., per la sottocoppa (onze) - (onze) 14.6.-.

.24.-., per la Zuccariera (onze) -.18.-,, per le posate (onze) 2.12.-., per li cucchiarini d(e)l cafè (onze) -.-24.-., che in tutto sommano le sud(et)te

In tutto (onze) 163.26.-.

[f.16]

Più (onze) 196.-.-. l'infr(ascritt)i stigli ed ornamenti di casa, cioè un letto, all'ultima moda di damasco Cremisi gallonato d'argento col suo cielo, testiera, e coverta di furia di seta alla chinese, con due matarazzi, uno d'essi con doppia fodera di rasato fiorito di Napoli, q(ua)le di giusto valore è stato stimato per onze ottanta, sive (onze) 80.-.-.

Dodeci sedie coperte di Damasco Cremisi gallonato d'argento ragionate (per) (onze) 24.-.-.

Due Guardarobbe fatte nuove di straforo tutte lavorate con archetto valut(a)te (per) (onze) 40.-.-.

Due Tavole fatte nuove dell'istesso lavoro valutate (per) (onze) 14.-.-.

Tre Specchi, uno à pero, e due Ovati con Cornici dorate, e straforate venuti nuovi da Venezia con pittura dentro rag(iona)ti (per) (onze) 30.-.-.

Otto braccia dorati con intagli, e straforo di cristalli rag(iona)ti (per) (onze) 8.-.-.

In tutto (onze) 196.-.-.

Più (onze) 144.-.-. l'infr(scritt)i abiti, cioè

Un Manto, e Faldetta di drappo alla Persiana ricco d'argento (per) onze sessanta d(ett)o (onze) 60.-.-.

Manto, e Faldetta di Taffetà di Francia à color di cerasa con Merletto d'argento (per) guarnim(en)to rag(iona)to (per) (onze) 16.-.-.

Manto, e Faldetta di Moier ò vero Molla à color di perla, col suo faldaro, frangia di seta rag(iona)ti (per) (onze) 8.-.-.

[Total] (onze) 84.-.-.

[f.17]

Riporto (onze) 84.-.-.

Due Faldari, uno riccamato con argento, e suo merletto, e l'altro con un Merletto d'argento d'alto basso rag(iona)ti (per) (onze) 9.-.-.

Un Manto di broccato di seta Torchino di Francia con diversi colori rag(iona)to (per) (onze) 11.-.-.

Busto di Francia color di rosa con gallone rag(iona)to (per) (onze) 2.-.-.

Abito senza Manto di broccato d'oro turchino di Venezia rag(iona)to (per) (onze) 7.-.-.

Altro simile d(e)l broccato di seta di Genova à color di porpora rag(iona)to (per) (onze) 8.-.-.

Due altri simili, uno à color di Cerasa ondiato con Merletto, e gippone e l'altro riccamato d'oro, e d'argento (per) (onze) 11.-.-.

Due Gipponi, uno di velluto à color di rosa, e l'altro broccato rag(iona)ti (per) (onze) 8.-.-.

Un Andrè fiammetta di Persia rag(iona)to (per) (onze) 4.-.-.

In tutto (onze) 144.-.-.

E finalm(en)te (onze) 80. la Biancheria, ed altre robbe usuali d(ett)o (onze) 80.-.-.

Tutta la sud(et)ta stima ascende alla somma d'onze ottocento cinquanta otto, e (tareni) venti sei, c(io)e in q(ue)sto al f(ogli)o 14.- cioè (onze) 2147.2., e sono in q(ua)nto à (onze) 730. à conto d'altritanti promessi dal S(igno)r Bar(on)e de Piro alla S(igno)ra D(onna) Eugenia sua figlia in tanti giocali d'oro, e d'argento, e pietre preziose ed in q(ua)nto ad altri (onze) 750. à conto di simile somma promessa come sopra da d(ett)o S(igno)r Bar(on)e

[f.18]

in tanti abiti, mobili e supelletti di Casa, come si vede in q(ues)to al f(oli)o 3.

E perche nella dicontro stima vi sono non solo li sud(et)ti (onze) 1500. promessi come s(opr)a, ma anche altri (onze) 647.2. di più oltre la d(et)ta somma dovuta c(io)e in q(ue)sto al f(oli)o 3. perciò d(et)to S(gino)r Bar(on)e de Piro diede e consegnò al S(igno)r D(on) Ferdinando de Ribera à n(omin)e della S(ignor)a D(onna) Eugenia sua sposa d(et)ta somma di (onze) 647.2. in augumento delle doti promesse c(io)e s(opr)a sotto la legge, patto, e condizione, che d(et)ti (onze) 647.2 (…) intendano donati sotto li med(esi)mi patti reversivi, fideicommissi, vincoli, vocazioni, obligazioni, Ipoteche, ed altri contenuti nel contratto matrimoniale, dimodo tale, che dandosi il caso della restituzione delle doti sud(et)te, d(et)to D(on) Ferdinando de Ribera sposo sarà tenuto anche à restituire d(et)ta somma datali di più, come si scorse dal contratto stipolato dal M(aestr)o Not(a)ro Biagio Monaco li 8. (dicem)bre 1731 calendato in q(ues)to al f(oli)o 14.

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NAV, R238, Notary Dos, Volume 13.

NAV, R308, Notary Grillet Sciberras, Volume 2.

NAV, R314, Notary Grixti, Volume 4.

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Aquilina, George and Fiorini, Stanley, *Documentary Sources of Maltese History Part IV: Documents at the Vatican* (Malta: The University of Malta Press, 2001).

[This book was useful for consulting documents on sixteenth-century Maltese place-names and churches that are not locally available.]

Secondary Sources

Abela, Joan, 'Some Early Forms of Financial Instruments found in Mid-Sixteenth Century Malta', *Storja: 30th Anniversary Edition* (2008), 30-46.

[This paper was particularly insightful due to the detailed explanations of key legal terminology, such as the *polise*, which were encountered in the notarial during research.]

Abela, Joan, 'Sailors' Legal Rights in a Mediterranean Hub: The Case of Malta', *Law, Labour and Empire: Comparative Perspectives on Seafarers, c.1500-1800*, Fusaro,

M., Allaire, B., Blakemore, R.J. and Vanneste, T. eds. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 61-78.

[In this paper, Abela provides an overview of the legal context of maritime trade and corsairing in early modern Malta. It was pertinent to this dissertation due to its discussion of the Maltese maritime-legal institutions, such as the Consolato del Mare, and its comparison to other Mediterranean institutions and traditions.]

Abela, Joan, ''*Per omnes partes barbarie orientis'*: Maltese corsairing in the Levant during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Corsairs and Pirates in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Harlaftis, G., Dimitropoulos, D. and Starkey, D. eds. (Athens: AdVenture SA, 2016), 109-127.

Abela, Joan, *Hospitaller Malta and the Mediterranean Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (Woodbridge and Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2018).

[In order to gain a better understanding of the general context of Hospitaller Malta during the sixteenth century, this book was consulted. The discussion of the trade of grain and the Università dei Grani was particularly of interest due to this dissertation's brief commentary on Gio' Pio's own involvement in the business.]

Abela, Joan and Buttigieg, Emanuel, 'The Island Order State on Malta and its Harbour, c.1530-c.1624', *The Port of Malta*, Vassallo, C. and Mercieca, S. eds. (Malta: The Authors, 2018), 49-74.

[Abela and Buttigieg's paper was consulted by virtue of their discussion of corsairing within a Hospitaller context. The timeframe of the paper was also able to provide context to eighteenth-century corsairing.]

Abulafia, David, 'What is the Mediterranean?', *The Mediterranean in History*, Abulafia, D. ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 11-31.

[In his introductory chapter to his edited volume, Abulafia explains his understanding of the Mediterranean and places his thesis in relation to other key works on the

concept. Abulafia's chapter was also constructive in historiographical terms, as it helped formulate this dissertation's own historiography of the Mediterranean.]

Abulafia, David, ed., *The Mediterranean in History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003).

[Abulafia's edited volume puts forward a study where human agency is emphasised over geography in relation to the question of what the Mediterranean is defined by. This volume was a helpful read due to its human-centric approach, which differed from other key treatises on the Mediterranean, and helped this dissertation methodologically in its study of Gio' Pio.]

Abulafia, David, *The Great Sea* (London: Penguin Books, 2011).

[This book constituted one of the main readings for this dissertation. Abulafia explores the history of the civilisations living around the Mediterranean, covering the period from prehistory up to the twenty-first century. Not only was the book useful in understanding the political context of the eighteenth century, but his approach and conclusion, respectively highlighted at the start and end of his book, were also crucial for the understanding of different points of view to the Mediterranean.]

Accascina, Maria, *Profilo dell'architettura a Messina dal 1600 a 1800* (Roma: Edizione del Ateneo, 1964).

[This book was consulted for context on specific artists and artistic traditions of the city of Messina during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.]

Agius, Dionisius A., ed., *Georgio Scala and the Moorish Slaves: The Inquisition Malta 1598* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2013).

[Although not a microhistorical study per se, this multidisciplinary book was referred to in order to examine the methodology and approach in the investigation of the case of Georgio Scala.]

Ago, Renata, *Gusto for Things: A History of Objects in Seventeenth-Century Rome* [transl. Bouley, B., Tazzara, C. and Findlen, P.] (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

[This book was referred to owing to its distinguished contributions to the field of material culture, as well as for its insightful comments on how objects can be interpreted within the tradition of cultural history.]

Allen, John B., *Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972).

[Although dated, this book was useful on account of its discussion of early modern postal services, which placed in a wider context the Order of St John's communication system.]

Aloisio, Mark, 'The Maltese corso in the fifteenth century', *Medieval Encounters*, 9:2 (2003), 193-203.

[This paper investigates corsairing in fifteenth-century Malta. Although the timeframe did not coincide with this dissertation's, the paper constituted a point of reference for understanding how corsairing had transformed by the eighteenth century.]

Anderson, Matthew S., *Europe in the Eighteenth Century 1713-1783* (London and New York: Longman, 1987).

[Anderson's book was consulted for this dissertation in order to explore the broader European context of this dissertation.]

Aragón Ruano, Álvaro, 'The Mediterranean Connections of Basque Ports (1700-1841): Trade, Trust and Networks', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 44:3 (2015), 51-90.

[In his work, Aragón Ruano presents his research on the connectivity and trade between Basque harbours and the Mediterranean: the research question of this paper

was on par with this dissertation's, as it also presented an analysis of networks and networking strategies in the Mediterranean.]

Azzopardi-Ljubibratic, Sarah, 'The Notarial Archives and Jews in Early Modern Malta: Preliminary Considerations', *Parallel Existences: The Notarial Archives - A Photographer's Inspiration*, Abela, J. and Buttigieg, E. eds. (Malta: Kite Publishers, 2018), 213-221.

[This chapter was briefly consulted for its information on the culture and treatment of Jews as a minority group in early modern Malta.]

Balzan, Francesca, *Jewellery in Malta: Treasures from the Island of the Knights (1530-1798)* (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2009).

[Balzan's study of the jewellery culture of Hospitaller Malta provided this dissertation with an indication of the styles and trends popular during the lifetime of Gio' Pio, consequently facilitating the analysis of the corresponding primary sources.]

Bateman, Victoria N., 'The evolution of markets in early modern Europe, 1350-1800: a study of wheat prices', *The Economic History Review*, 64:2 (2011), 447-471.

[This paper was referred to for an understanding of the market of wheat in early modern Europe and the fluctuation of its prices.]

Berg, Maxine, 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century', *Past & Present*, 182:1 (2004), 85-142.

[Berg's views on consumption and the market of luxury items in Britain was complementary to other readings on the trade of luxurious goods on a broader, global scale.]

Berry, Helen, 'Regional identity and material culture', *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, Harvey, K. ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 139-157.

[Although written from an archaeological standpoint, Berry's essay on material culture and the formation of regional identities was instrumental for the analysis of the role played and meanings conveyed by the items in Gio' Pio de Piro's possession.]

Black, Jeremy, 'The Mediterranean as a battleground of the European powers: 1700-1900', *The Mediterranean in History*, Abulafia, D. ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 251-279.

[In his essay, Black discusses the economy of the Mediterranean and touches upon the eighteenth century. He contributes to the 'northern invasion' discourse by explaining how the region became evermore susceptible to foreign trade and exchange over time. Black's views were pertinent to this study from a historiographical perspective.]

Blackburn, Robin, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern 1492-1800* (London and New York: Verso, 1997).

[This book was referred to for a general overview of the history of slavery.]

Blondy, Alain, 'Malta and France 1789-1798', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem*, Mallia-Milanes, V. ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 659-685.

[This chapter was consulted for its brief explanation of the growing French influence in the institution of the Order of St John.]

Bono, Salvatore, 'Naval Exploits and Privateering', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Mallia-Milanes, V. ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 351-397.

[Whilst Bono's works are typically centred on corsairing in the Mediterranean, this essay focuses on the Maltese corsairing scene and was an essential reading for this

dissertation. His views were valuable in formulating an impression on how corsairing was practised and perceived locally.]

Bono, Salvatore, 'La Sicilia nel Mediterraneo dei corsari', *Le Torri nei Paesaggi Costieri Siciliani (sec. XIII-XIX),* Maurici, F., Fresina, A. and Militello, F. eds. (Palermo: Regione Sicilia, Assessorato dei beni culturali, ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, Dipartimento dei beni culturali, ambientali e dell'educazione permanente, 2008), 31-50.

[In this paper, Bono discusses corsairing and slavery by turning his attention to Sicily. He describes the fate of Christian and Muslim slaves alike during the period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This paper was useful to gain insight into the corsairing practices in neighbouring Sicily.]

Bono, Salvatore, 'Slave Histories and Memoirs in the Mediterranean World: a Study of the Sources (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)', *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, Fusaro, M., Heywood, C. and Omri, M.S. eds. (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010), 97-115.

[In this chapter Bono recounts stories of the fates of individuals fallen into slavery in the Mediterranean. He makes insightful comments on slavery in a Mediterranean context.]

Bono, Salvatore, *Schiavi: Una Storia Mediterranea (XVI-XIX secolo)* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2016).

[Bono's seminal work on slavery in the Mediterranean was consulted to learn more about how slavery developed and transformed throughout the early modern period.]

Bono, Salvatore, 'Casi di Mobilità di Schiavi nel Mediterraneo dell'Età Moderna', *Mediterranea - ricerche storiche*, 42:1 (2018), 151-166.

[In this paper, Bono analyses the phenomenon of slavery in the Mediterranean and makes perceptive remarks on aspects such as the abstract quality of falling into

slavery and of being redeemed. Bono provided insightful comments that influenced the way the primary sources were interpreted in this dissertation.]

Borgia, Vito, *Our Lady of Damascus: The story of an Icon*, (London: The Incorporated Catholic Truth Society, 1992).

[Borgia's book was briefly consulted for its information on the Church of the Virgin of Damascus in Birgu, and its role during the siege of Malta of 1565.]

Braudel, Fernand, *The Mediterranean: and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Volumes 1 and 2 [transl. Reynolds, S.] (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1966).

[The catalyst for contemporary Mediterranean studies, Braudel's two-volume work was one of the main sources that inspired the concept of this microhistorical enquiry. His writing established and influenced the historiography of the Mediterranean, thus making his thesis one of the principal secondary sources discussed in this dissertation's historiography. References to Braudel were also made throughout in order to compare and contrast his work with the lived experience of Gio' Pio in the eighteenth century.]

Bresson, Alain, 'Ecology and Beyond: The Mediterranean Paradigm', *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, Harris, W.V. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 94-114.

[Bresson assesses the concept of the Mediterranean by surveying its historiography and comparing the Mediterranean to other regions around the world. His views complemented other readings for this dissertation's historiography of the Mediterranean.]

Buhagiar, Mario, *Essays on the Knights and Art and Architecture in Malta (1500-1798)* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2009).

[Buhagiar's work was consulted for an overview of the artistic movements and styles popular during the early modern age in Malta, with specific interest in the artistic culture of the eighteenth century.]

Burke, Peter, '*Res et verba*: conspicuous consumption in the early modern world', *Consumption and the World of Goods*, Brewer, J. and Porter, R. eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 148-161.

[This paper considers the question of why early modern consumers bought items and how these objects were attributed meanings to over time. Burke's paper was particularly useful for this dissertation from a methodological standpoint.]

Burke, Peter, *The Fortunes of the Courtier* (Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press, 1995).

[Burke's notable work on Baldassare Castilgione's *The Courtier* was consulted by this dissertation to understand early modern cultures' perspective on the centrality of the visual arts to the individual.]

Burke, Peter, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1997).

[This book was an instrumental read on the field of cultural history and the approaches that a historian may take to examine the culture of a given society.]

Burke, Peter, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity, 2008).

[In this book, Burke discusses the field of cultural history and makes reference to microhistory, which he classifies as a sub-genre. His comments were particularly influential to the methodology applied to this dissertation.]

Buttigieg, Emanuel, *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity: The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c.1580-c.1700* (London and New York: Continuum, 2011).

[Although stopping short of the eighteenth century, this book was consulted on the basis of its insightful comments on the culture of the Hospitallers Knights. Buttigieg's work was particularly helpful in interpreting the material culture of Gio' Pio de Piro.]

Buttigieg, Emanuel, 'The Maltese Islands and the Religious Culture of the Hospitallers: Isolation and Connectivity, c.1540s-c.1690s', *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798*, Buttigieg, E. and Phillips, S. eds. (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013), 39-49.

[The concepts of isolation and connectivity, which are key terms in this dissertation, are explored and examined in this chapter within a Hospitaller context. Although the subject matter was different from this dissertation's, this chapter provided an insightful perspective to the way connectivity affected the Maltese Islands.]

Buttigieg, Emanuel, 'Corpi e Anime in Schiavitù: Schiavi Musulmani nella Malta dei Cavalieri di San Giovanni (1530-1798)', *Schiavitù del Corpo e Schiavitù dell'Anima: Chiesa, potere politico e schiavitù tra Atlantico e Mediterraneano (sec. XVI-XVIII)*, Colombo, E., Massimi, M., Rocca, A. and Zeron, C. eds. (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2018), 287-309.

[This chapter provided this dissertation with insight on how Muslim slaves were perceived in Malta in terms of culture and religion, and how they performed in society.]

Buttigieg, Emanuel and Phillips, Simon, eds., *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013).

[This edited volume was referred to because of its focus on islands. Although not all chapters had a Maltese context or related to the timeframe of this dissertation, the volume was helpful in learning about islands, their connectivity and role in history.]

Buttigieg, Noel, 'The administration of the Order's bakery: some preliminary observations', *Sacra Militia*, 10 (2011), 3-12.

[Buttigieg's paper on the bakery of the Order of St John helped in the understanding of the sheer importance of wheat and bread to early modern Maltese society.]

Buttigieg, Noel, 'Feeding the Besieged', *Besieged: Malta 1565, Volume 2*, Camilleri, M. ed. (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2015), 117-125.

[This paper provided insight on the importance of wheat in keeping the Maltese community fed during the siege of Malta of 1565.]

Carnino, Cecilia, 'Luxury and Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Italy: Intellectual History, Methodological Ideas and Interdisciplinary Research Practice', *History of European Ideas*, 40:4 (2014), 495-515.

[Carnino's paper was constructive in its explanation of how eighteenth century societies engaged with luxury items and how this was reflected in the market.]

Caruana Galizia, Anton, 'Maltese Nobility during the Hospitaller Period: Towards a Reappraisal', *Symposia Melitensia*, 7 (2011a), 89-102.

[Caruana Galizia uses the case-study of Gio' Pio de Piro to discuss the state and social standing of the Maltese nobility during the eighteenth century. It was helpful in understanding the transformations the nobility underwent during this period, and to discern the ways in which Gio' Pio can be engaged with as a historical figure.]

Caruana Galizia, Anton, 'Family Strategies and Transregional Mobility: The de Piro in Eighteenth-Century Malta and Sicily', *European History Quarterly*, 44:3 (2014), 419-438.

[This paper examines the nobility of Malta during the eighteenth century and their ambitions in extending their families overseas. In this paper, Caruana Galizia uses Gio' Pio de Piro as a case study and explains his connections to Sicily, which was a factor encountered throughout the present research.]

Caruana Galizia, Anton, 'Royal office and private ventures: the fortunes of a Maltese nobleman in Sicily, 1725-50', *Historical Research*, 90:250 (2017), 1-22.

[In this paper Caruana Galizia examines Gio' Pio in the light of his employments and positions in the service of the Order of St John and the Crown of Sicily. This work provided this dissertation with insight into the multifarious nature of his career, especially at the time of his engagements in Sicily.]

Cassar, Carmel, 'Popular Perceptions and Values in Hospitaller Malta', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Mallia-Milanes, V. ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 429-473.

[This chapter discusses the societal changes Maltese society underwent during its Hospitaller period. This essay was mainly consulted for its information on grain and wheat.]

Cassar, Carmel, 'Nutrition in a central Mediterranean island community: Malta in Medieval and early modern times', *Rivista di Antropologia*, 76:1 (1998), 153-162.

[Cassar's paper introduced this dissertation to the foodways of Maltese society during the medieval and early modern periods and was helpful in the understanding of the importance attributed to wheat and grain from nutritional and cultural standpoints.]

Cassar, Carmel, *Society, Culture and Identity in Early Modern Malta* (Malta: Mireva Publications, 2000).

[Cassar's book was referred to in the light of its discussion of the Università and on agriculture and the agricultural economy of early modern Malta.]

Cassar, Carmel, 'The Order of St John and corsairing activities in the Mediterranean in the 16th and 17th centuries', *Sacra Militia*, 3 (2004), 28-34.

[Cassar's examination of corsairing in the Mediterranean and the role played by the Order of St John in this activity helped this dissertation in understanding the

relationship between the local traditions of corsairing with the Mediterranean context.]

Cassar, Carmel, 'Iż-Żwieġ, id-Dota, u l-Knisja Kattolika f'Malta tas-Seklu Sbatax', *L-Imnara*, 9:2 (2009), 54-56.

[The analysis of dowries and marriages in seventeenth-century Malta helped put into context the dowry of Gio' Pio's daughter Eugenia and granddaughter Anna Maria.]

Cassar, Carmel, 'State Intervention in the Grain Trade of Malta (16th-20th Century)', *Mediterranean Review*, 6:2 (2013), 59-89.

[In this paper Cassar recounts the issue of grain importation vis-à-vis the importance of wheat to Maltese society. The paper also clarified the position of the Order of St John in the provision of grain of Malta and explained the workings of the institution of the Università.]

Cassar, Paul, 'The Maltese Corsairs and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 46:2 (1960), 137-156.

[This paper was consulted for its information on corsairing activities in sixteenth-century Malta.]

Cassar, Paul, 'A Medical Service for Slaves in Malta during the Rule of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem', *Medical History*, 12:3 (1968), 270-277.

[Cassar's paper was consulted for its information on slavery in Malta, as well as for its statistical analysis on the number of slaves present during the early modern age.]

Catlos, Brian A., 'Why the Mediterranean?', *Can We Talk Mediterranean? Conversations on an Emerging Field in Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Catlos, B.A. and Kinoshita, S. eds. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 1-17.

[In this chapter, Catlos delineates the historiography of the Mediterranean and presents his own views as to why the construct merits scholarly attention. He also suggests that through the sea one may find unity in the Mediterranean. Such views were key to the historiography of this present dissertation.]

Catlos, Brian A. and Kinoshita, Sharon, 'Preface', *Can We Talk Mediterranean? Conversations on an Emerging Field in Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Catlos, B.A. and Kinoshita, S. eds. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), vii-xii.

[In the preface to their work, Catlos and Kinoshita outline the reasons why the Mediterranean has generated such a great volume of scholarly work and they discuss how their publication can contribute to this academia. Their ideas diversified the historiographical account of this dissertation.]

Catlos, B.A. and Kinoshita, S. eds., *Can We Talk Mediterranean? Conversations on an Emerging Field in Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

[This recent publication is an interdisciplinary collaboration between scholars from medieval and early modern fields, who are examining the Mediterranean from various standpoints and frameworks. The book proposes that the Mediterranean is an interdependent and interactive space, which contributed to how the Mediterranean was interpreted by this dissertation.]

Cavaliero, Roderick, *The Last of the Crusaders* (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 1960).

[Although dated, Cavaliero's book was referred to for a general context of eighteenth-century Malta.]

Cecchini, Isabella and Pezzolo, Luciano, 'Merchants and Institutions in early-modern Venice', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 41:2 (2012), 89-114.

[Cecchini's and Pezzolo's paper analysed those mercantile institutions that helped Venice further its overseas trade. Although the paper was mainly concerned with the sixteenth century, it helped this dissertation learn more about the role of and different types of maritime institutions in the Mediterranean.]

Cezar, Yavuz, 'From Financial Crisis to the Structural Change: the Case of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century', *Oriente Moderno*, 18:1 (1999), 49-54.

[This paper presented a thorough analysis on the Ottoman Empire, which contrasted with the traditional image of the Empire being a dwindling force. In this way, Cezar's work broadened the range of historical analyses consulted on the Ottoman Empire.]

Chartier, Roger, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* [transl. Cochrane, L.G.] (Cambridge: Cornell University Press, 1988).

[Chartier's work was a key reading for this dissertation from a methodological standpoint, as he explains the frameworks of cultural history and how historians can attempt to interpret cultures and societies of the past in a faithful manner.]

Chetta-Schirò, Francesco, *Memorie su le Chiese e il Rito Greco in Malta* [second edition] (Valletta: The Author, 1930).

[Cetta-Schirò's dated book is one of the few compendia on the Greek-rite Church in Malta and was used as a point of reference in this manner. The findings in this book were substantiated with more recent publications.]

Ciappara, Frans, 'Non gode l'immunità ecclesiastica', *Melita Historica*, 9:2 (1985), 117-132.

[This paper was referred to for its appendix listing names of churches in Malta and Gozo.]

Ciappara, Frans, 'Christendom and Islam: A Fluid Frontier', *Mediterranean Studies*, 13:1 (2004), 165-187.

[In this paper, Ciappara recounts the experiences of Muslim and Christian slaves in the eighteenth-century Mediterranean. Ciappara's paper was very helpful in understanding how Muslim slaves were sold and treated in Malta.]

Ciappara, Frans, 'Malta, Napoli e la Santa Sede nella Seconda metà del'700', *Mediterranea: Ricerche Storiche*, 12 (2008a), 173-188.

[Although this paper was for the most part outside of the period of interest of this dissertation, it did analyse the political circumstances of the 1740s, which helped put into context the activities of Gio' Pio de Piro.]

Ciappara, Frans, 'The Parish Community in Eighteenth-Century Malta', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 94:4 (2008b), 671-694.

[Ciappara's paper was referred to in order to learn about the involvement of the eighteenth-century Maltese community in its parish, allowing this dissertation to put into context the specific art commissions of Gio' Pio de Piro.]

Ciappara, Frans, *Church-State Relations in late-eighteenth-century Malta: Gio. Nicolò Muscat (1735-1803)* (Malta: Malta University Press, 2018).

[Similar to other works by Ciappara, this book focuses on the late eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the author does explain the context of his studies and thus analyses the trends in politics and the economy developing in the first half of the eighteenth century.]

Cipolla, Carlo M., 'The Decline of Italy: The Case of a Fully Matured Economy', *The Economic History Review*, 5:2 (1952), 178-187.

[A difficulty was experienced in the course of research in finding focused studies on the Italian peninsula in the eighteenth century. Thus, although this paper was dated, it

was able to impart a general idea of the economic and political situation of the Italian states during this period.]

Craigie, James S., 'Seaweed stimuli in plant science and agriculture', *Journal of Applied Phycology*, 23:3 (2011), 371-393.

[This scientific study on the use of seaweed in agriculture was referred to in order to substantiate the same usage of the plant in eighteenth-century Maltese fields, as explicated in the primary sources.]

Cutajar, Dominic, 'L'Influenza Siciliana sull'Arte a Malta', *Journal of Maltese Studies*, 17-18 (1988), 197-210.

[The Sicilian influence on Maltese art is an area of study that has not received ample research. Through this paper, a general idea of the artistic trends, shared by the two islands in the early modern period, was obtained.]

Dalli, Charles, 'Satellite, Sentinel, Stepping Stone: Medieval Malta in Sicily's Orbit', *Malta in Hybleans, the Hybleans in Malta: Malta negli Iblei, gli Iblei a Malta, Proceedings of the International Conference*, Bonanno, A. and Militello, P. eds. (N.A.: Palermo, 2006a), 245-258.

[This key paper takes into consideration the dependency of medieval Malta on the neighbouring island of Sicily. The paper's observations on wheat importation were particularly useful in putting into context the trade of wheat and grain of the eighteenth century.]

Dalli, Charles, *Malta's Medieval Millennium: Malta's Living Heritage* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2006b).

[Dalli's pivotal work on medieval Malta was generally consulted in order to trace activities of the eighteenth century to their earlier historical mention, for instance in the context of Maltese corsairing.]

Dalli, Charles, 'Conniving connectivities', *Georgio Scala and the Moorish Slaves: The Inquisition Malta 1598*, Agius, D.A. ed. (Malta: Midsea Books, 2013), 235-251.

[This paper was helpful in understanding the position of minority groups in Maltese history. Although the discussion centred on late sixteenth-century Malta, the chapter was informative on the Greek-rite Church and culture, and how its adherents were received by local society.]

Davis, Robert C., *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[In his book, Davis explores how Christians became enslaved by Muslims during the early modern period. His insightful comments helped this dissertation understand an alternative side to the type of slavery discussed in this present work.]

De Paço, David, 'The Ottoman Empire in Early Modern Austrian History: Assessment and Perspectives', *EUI Working Papers*, 7 (2014), 1-10.

[De Paço writes about the exportation of Ottoman culture and language in Europe at academic levels after the Peace of Westphalia. It was an interesting read as it showed a different side to the Ottoman Empire, which is traditionally perceived as the enemy of Christianity. Such views helped put together a more cohesive image of the Empire and its stance to Europe and the Mediterranean in early modern times.]

De Vivo, Filippo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[In this book, de Vivo analyses the processes of interaction in early modern Venice and looks at how communication was realised. His comments were helpful towards the understanding of the communication system of the Order of St John.]

De Vivo, Filippo, 'Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale', *Cultural and Social History*, 7:3 (2010), 387-397.

[De Vivo's paper explained the rationale of microhistory and outlined the methodology's relevance to the history of the *longue durée*, which was helpful to this dissertation's approach to the primary sources.]

De Vivo, Filippo, 'Public Sphere or Communication Triangle? Information and Politics in Early Modern Europe', *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe*, Rospocher, M. ed. (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2012), 115-136.

[This chapter was consulted for the author's historiography on communication and information networks.]

Depasquale, Carmen, 'French knights and Maltese inhabitants in the XVIII century', *Storja*, 2003-2004 (2004), 45-61.

[Depasquale's article was briefly referred to with regards to the growing influence of French Hospitallers in Malta during the eighteenth century.]

Depasquale, Carmen, 'La course maltaise dans une 'littérature français' de Malte du XVIII^{e} siècle', *Mediterraneo in armi (secc.XV-XVIII)*, Cancilia, R. ed. (Palermo: Associazione Mediterranea, 2007), 665-684.

[Similar to other works by Depasquale, this paper outlines the different ways French influence manifested itself in Malta in the course of the eighteenth century.]

Depasquale, Carmen, 'Le rôle de la mer dans la vie maltaise d'après quelques ouvrages en français du XVIII^{e} siècle', *Making waves in the Mediterranean: Sulle onde del Mediterraneo*, D'Angelo, M., Harlaftis, G. and Vassallo, C. eds. (Messina: Istituto di Studi Storici Gaetano Salvemini, 2010), 859-868.

[This paper was briefly referred to in the context of Maltese seafaring and mercantile traditions in the eighteenth century.]

DuPlessis, Robert S., *The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonisation in the Atlantic World, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[Although this work did not discuss Mediterranean history or history of the Mediterranean, the author makes well-founded points on long-distance trade and trade networks, which were comparable to the Mediterranean milieu.]

Dursteler, Eric R., 'Speaking in Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Past & Present*, 217:1 (2012), 47-77.

[Dursteler throws light on the history of communication in the early modern Mediterranean, explaining how the latter's fluid boundaries encouraged multilingualism and consequently unity. His paper inspired this dissertation's own comments on Gio' Pio's ability to speak different languages.]

Dursteler, Eric R., 'Fearing the "Turk" and Feeling the Spirit: Emotion and Conversion in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Journal of Religious History*, 39:4 (2015), 484-505.

[In his paper, Dursteler explores the reasons why Muslims and Christians apostatised when falling into captivity, and how their apostasy was perceived by society. Dursteler offered insightful comments that were pertinent to this dissertation's own account of slavery and case of conversion.]

Ebert, Cristopher, 'Early Modern Atlantic Trade and the Development of Maritime Insurance to 1630', *Past & Present*, 213:1 (2011), 87-114.

[Ebert's paper was consulted in order to trace the history of maritime insurances. Although his subject matter was the Atlantic, his discussion also touched upon the Mediterranean, as he located the origin of maritime insurances to this region.]

Egmond, Florine and Mason, Peter, *The Mammoth and the Mouse: Microhistory and Morphology* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1997).

[Egmond and Mason explore the field of microhistory in relation to history on the large scale and raise intriguing points on how microhistory is able to contribute to historical research. Their historiography of microhistory was especially useful in understanding how the field itself developed.]

Eldem, Edhem, 'French Trade and Commercial Policy in the Levant in the Eighteenth-Century', *Oriente Moderno*, 79:1 (1999), 27-47.

[This paper traced the relationship between France and the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century and explored how intra-Mediterranean trade was conducted. This helped understand the significance of Gio' Pio's trade vis-à-vis the discourse of the marginalisation of the Mediterranean to world trade.]

Fenech, Dominic, 'East-West to North-South in the Mediterranean', *GeoJournal*, 31:2 (1993), 129-140.

[Fenech's paper traces the history of the Mediterranean from early modern to contemporary times and brings to the fore the centrality of the Mediterranean region to world affairs. Fenech's paper was also referred to because of its contribution to the 'northern invasion' theory.]

Fenech, Dominic and Pace, Michelle, 'The Historical Construction of the Mediterranean', *Routledge Handbook of Mediterranean Politics*, Volpi, F. and Gillespie, R. eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 13-23.

[Fenech and Pace discuss the Mediterranean and comment on past works, which was formative on this dissertation's own historiography of the construct.]

Findlen, Paula, 'Early Modern Things: Objects in motion, 1500-1800', *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800*, Findlen, P. ed. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013), 3-27.

[In the introductory chapter to her edited work, Findlen outlines how early modern objects were circulated between cultures, and how these items obtained meaning. Her chapter proved to be a useful guide to early modern material culture.]

Findlen, Paula ed., *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013).

[Findlen's edited volume on early modern material culture included a wide array of papers covering different topics about material culture. Although these may not have been thematic to this present dissertation, the volume shared fundamental points on methodology and on how to approach material culture.]

Fiorini, Stanley, 'STATUS ANIMARUM I: A Unique Source for 17th and 18th Century Maltese Demography', *Melita Historica*, 8 (1983), 325-343.

[This paper was briefly consulted for its information on and tabulation of the demography of eighteenth-century Malta.]

Fiorini, Stanley, 'Demographic Growth and the Urbanisation of the Maltese Countryside to 1798', *Hospitaller Malta, 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Mallia-Milanes, V. ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1991), 297-310.

[Fiorini's chapter discusses in detail the changes in the demography of the Maltese Islands during Hospitaller rule. Its explanation on why the eighteenth century saw a boom in population growth from economic, social and political standpoints was highly beneficial to this present study.]

Fiorini, Stanley, 'The Rhodiots of Malta', *Rhodos 2400 Chronia: e poli tes Rhodou apo ten idrise tes mechri ten katalepse apo tous tourkous (1523)*, 1 (1993), 503-511.

[Fiorini recounts the migration of people from Rhodes to Malta in 1530 with the Order of St John, and accounts for their first years settling in Birgu. The paper was helpful in understanding the establishment of the Greek-rite church in Malta.]

Fiorini, Stanley, 'Malta and Genoa, 1150-1375', *Dies Amalphitana*, 41:1 (2016), 29-40.

[This paper was referred to for its information on the importation of wheat to Malta from Sicily.]

Fontenay, Michel, 'The Mediterranean, 1500-1800: Social and Economic Perspectives', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Mallia-Milanes, V. ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 43-110.

[In this chapter, Fontenay is concerned with the theory of the invasion of northern powers into the Mediterranean and the latter's subsequent marginalisation in world trade by the eighteenth century. He traces these developments through economic and social analyses: the inclusion of these views in this dissertation's historiography was vital.]

Fontenay, Michel, 'Routes et modalités du commerce des esclaves dans la Méditerranée des Temps modernes (XVI, XVII et XVIII siècles)', *Revue Historique*, 308:4 (2006), 813-830.

[Fontenay's paper on slavery and corsairing was consulted for his analysis of the topics from an economic perspective and for his views on the Mediterranean.]

Freller, Thomas, ''Adversus infidelis': some notes on the Cavalier's tour, the fleet of the Order and St John, and Maltese corsairs', *Corsairs and the Maltese Islands: Proceedings of a Seminar held at the Malta Maritime Museum* (Malta: N.A., 1999), 25-40.

[Freller's paper was briefly consulted to examine how the Order of St John adopted corsairing within its own institution through the annual 'caravans', thus offering an institutional perspective on corsairing in the Mediterranean.]

Freller, Thomas, *Malta and the Grand Tour* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2009).

[Freller's book was referred to for its general information on the Grand Tour and its arrival in Malta.]

Fusaro, Maria, 'After Braudel: A Reassessment of Mediterranean History between the Northern Invasion and the Caravane Maritime', *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, Fusaro, M., Heywood, C. and Omri, M.S. eds. (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010), 1-22.

[In the introductory chapter to this edited volume, Fusaro outlines the historiographical tradition of the Mediterranean and analyses the 'northern invasion' theory. The chapter was pertinent to the discussions of this dissertation.]

Fusaro, Maria, 'Cooperating mercantile networks in the early modern Mediterranean', *The Economic History Review*, 65:2 (2012), 701-718.

[Fusaro's study of mercantile networks was pertinent to this study as it explained how networks were formed and how they operated in the early modern Mediterranean, whilst also analysing these in relation to the 'northern invasion' theory.]

Fusaro, Maria, 'The Invasion of Northern Litigants: English and Dutch Seamen in Mediterranean Courts of Law', *Law, Labour and Empire: Comparative Perspectives on Seafarers, c.1500-1800*, Fusaro, M., Allaire, B., Blakemore, R.J. and Vanneste, T. eds. (N.A.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 21-42.

[In this chapter, Fusaro reproduces instances of legal cases involving northern seafarers in Mediterranean courts. Her explanation of the maritime-legal systems in the Mediterranean region was relevant to this dissertation, as it allowed to place the Maltese examples in their wider context.]

Fusaro, Maria, *Political Economies of the Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England, 1450-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[This book was briefly consulted for added information on the author's perception of the political and economic circumstances in the Mediterranean during early modern times.]

Fusaro, Maria, Heywood, Colin and Omri, Mohamed-Salah eds., *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010).

[The majority of the chapters in this edited volume were of direct thematic interest to this dissertation. This book also analyses the Mediterranean from a standpoint of culture and trade; its approach, and - to a certain extent - methodology had an impact on how the primary sources were interpreted and how Gio' Pio's Mediterranean was understood.]

Gambin, Timmy, 'Ship graffiti on Maltese churches: A photographic essay of sacred maritime iconography', *The Maltese Islands and the Sea*, Gambin, T. ed. (Malta: Midsea Books, 2015), 129-157.

[Gambin's chapter was briefly consulted for its comments on the nature of seafaring and the conditions faced by Maltese sailors and captains.]

Gauci, Liam, *In the Name of the Prince: Maltese Corsairs 1760-1798* (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2016).

[Gauci's book was a key work consulted for this dissertation, mostly referred to with regards to the Maltese maritime-legal institutions regulating corsairing. Gauci's research was also helpful in understanding how corsairing was organised structurally. It helped this dissertation understand more clearly Gio' Pio's part in corsairing.]

Gerritsen, Anne, 'Domesticating Goods from Overseas: Global Material Culture in the Early Modern Netherlands', *Journal of Design History*, 29:3 (2016), 228-244.

[In her essay, Gerritsen explores material culture from the early modern Netherlands to trace global forms of connectivity and networking. Her views were beneficial in

understanding the effect of the geographically-widespread networks, such as Gio' Pio had access to.]

Gerritsen, Anne and McDowall, Stephen, 'Material Culture and the Other: European Encounters with Chinese Porcelain, ca. 1650-1800', *Journal of World History*, 23:1 (2012), 87-113.

[Gerritsen and McDowall's paper traced how Chinese porcelain made its way to European homes in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and how its value fluctuated over time. Their discussion was thematic to this dissertation's own encounter with Chinese porcelain and provided useful pointers on how to engage with this material culture.]

Gerritsen, Anne and Riello, Giorgio, 'Spaces of Global Interactions: The Material Landscapes of Global History', *Writing Material Culture History*, Gerritsen, A. and Riello, G. eds. (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 111-133.

[In this paper, Gerritsen and Riello discuss the 'proto-globalisation' occurring during the early modern age and suggest reasons why goods were able to travel and circulate during this period. Their views on the 'global imaginary' corroborated this dissertation's own findings on an increasingly interconnected globe.]

Gervais, Pierre, 'A Merchant or a French Atlantic? Eighteenth-century account books as narratives of a transnational merchant political economy', *French History*, 25:1 (2011), 28-47.

[Gervais' paper was referred to in order to gain access to a French mercantile perspective on trade within an eighteenth century context. His paper demonstrated how ledgers, similar to those consulted for this dissertation, are able to convey the institutionalisation of trade in this era.]

Ghobrial, Jean-Paul A., 'Migration from Within and Without: In the Footsteps of Eastern Christians in the Early Modern World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 27 (2017), 153-173.

[Ghobrial's paper highlights how, as a result of the Reformation, the early modern Catholic world became interested in Eastern Christianity. He explains how outsiders often misunderstood Eastern Christianity, as was encountered by this research.]

Gillespie, Richard and Volpi, Frédéric, 'Introduction: The growing international relevance of Mediterranean politics', *Routledge Handbook of Mediterranean Politics*, Volpi, F. and Gillespie, R. eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 1-10.

[In the introduction to their edited volume, Gillespie and Volpi briefly discuss the historiography of the Mediterranean and its relevance to their contemporary Mediterranean politics. Their views on the concept of the Mediterranean were useful to compare and contrast with that of other scholars in the field.]

Giménez López, Enrique, 'La Devoción a la Madre Santísima de la Luz: Un Aspecto de la Represión del Jesuitismo en la España de Carlos III', *Revista de Historia Moderna*, 15:1 (1996), 213-231.

[In his paper, Giménez López briefly explains the origin of the cult of the Holy Mother of Light and delineates how the devotion spread through Jesuit influence. His paper helped understand the regional background to the spread of the cult to Malta.]

Ginzburg, Carlo, *The Cheese and the Worms* [transl. Tedeschi, J. and A.C.] (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976).

[Ginzburg's study on the peculiar views of sixteenth-century Italian miller Menocchio was a catalyst for the microhistorical movement in academia. In the preface to his work, Ginzburg explains how the historical analysis of an individual is a valid area of research as, although limited, it is still representative of a wider social stratum in history. This belief is reflected in the rationale of this dissertation.]

Giuffrè, Maria, *The Baroque Architecture of Sicily* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007).

[This work was briefly consulted to understand the Sicilian artistic context of the eighteenth century.]

Goldsmith, Sarah, 'Nostalgia, homesickness and emotional formation on the eighteenth-century Grand Tour', *Cultural and Social History*, 15:3 (2018), 333-360.

[This paper was briefly consulted for its discussion of the Grand Tour within an eighteenth-century timeframe.]

Goldwyn, Adam J. and Silverman, Renée M., 'Introduction: Fernand Braudel and the Invention of a Modernist's Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Modernism: Intercultural Exchange and Aesthetic Development*, Goldwyn, A.J. and Silverman, R.M. eds. (N.A.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 1-26.

[In their introductory chapter, Goldwyn and Silverman deconstruct Braudel's rationale and approach to understanding the Mediterranean. Their analysis and criticism of Braudel's Mediterranean were helpful in understanding ways in which his work is being interpreted and analysed in contemporary academia.]

Goskar, Tehmina, 'Material Worlds: The Shared Cultures of Southern Italy and its Mediterranean Neighbours in the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries', *Al-Masaq*, 23:3 (2011), 189-204.

[Goskar's comparative study was helpful in viewing the dowry in a regional light.]

Gounaris, Basil C., 'Unwanted Heroes? British Privateering, Commerce, and Diplomacy in the Mid-Eighteenth Century Eastern Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Studies*, 22:2 (2014), 135-165.

[In his paper, Gounaris explains how British privateering in the eastern Mediterranean was regulated by procedures and diplomacy. This helped this dissertation compare and contrast with Maltese practises.]

Grant, Jonathan, 'Rethinking the Ottoman "Decline": Military Technology Diffusion in the Ottoman Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of World History*, 10:1 (1999), 179-201.

[In his paper, Grant questions the unit by which 'decline' is traditionally measured with regards to the Ottoman Empire. Grant's suggestions prompted this dissertation to approach primary sources involving the Ottoman Empire with greater attention.]

Grassi, Umberto, 'Ambiguous Boundaries: Sex Crimes and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Early Modern Mediterranean World', *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, 84:2 (2018), 513-528.

[In this paper, Grassi explores Inquisition cases in Italy concerning apostasy and sex offences from Christians and Muslims alike. It was a useful source for understanding the diversity of cross-cultural relations in the early modern period.]

Grech, Ivan, 'Struggling Against Isolation: Communication Lines and the Circulation of News in the Mediterranean, the case of seventeenth-century Malta', *Second Mediterranean Maritime History Network Conference: Making Waves in the Mediterranean*, 16:1-2 (2006), 1-8.

[Grech's paper explains how the communication network of the Order of St John functioned, which helped this dissertation understand how Gio' Pio made use of it.]

Green, Jennifer L., 'The Development of Maritime Law in Medieval Spain: The Case of Castile and the Siete Partidas', *Historian*, 58:3 (1996), 575-587.

[Green's work was briefly consulted with regards to its explanation of the key maritime-legal institutions established in the medieval Iberian peninsula.]

Greenblatt, Stephen, 'Cultural mobility: an introduction', *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, Greenblatt, S. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1-23.

[Greenblatt's introductory chapter comments on how one can approach culture historically, which was pertinent to this dissertation.]

Greene, Molly, 'Beyond the Northern Invasion: the Mediterranean in the Seventeenth Century', *Past and Present*, 174:1 (2002), 42-71.

[Greene's paper examines the 'northern invasion' theory. She looks at how trade was actually conducted between actors in the Mediterranean, which is similar in scope to this present dissertation.]

Greene, Molly, 'Resurgent Islam: 1500-1700', *The Mediterranean in History*, Abulafia, D. ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 219-247.

[In her essay, Greene analyses two centuries of Mediterranean history and provides an overview of the socio-political and economic transformations taking place in the region. Her essay was also consulted for context on the eighteenth century.]

Greene, Molly, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010a).

[In her book, Greene examines the emergence of the Greek mercantile community and explains their connection to the ports and maritime-legal institutions of Malta. Greene brings out the regional dimension of these local tribunals, which was an element also reflected by this present dissertation.]

Greene, Molly, '"Victims of Piracy?" Ottoman Lawsuits in Malta (1602-1687) and the Changing Course of Mediterranean Maritime History', *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, Fusaro, M., Heywood, C. and Omri, M.S. eds. (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010b), 177-202.

[Greene analyses seventeenth-century legal cases in Malta that saw the involvement of Muslim individuals. Her chapter was primarily consulted on account of her explanation of how local maritime-legal institutions functioned in such context.]

Greene, Molly, 'The Early Modern Mediterranean', *A Companion to Mediterranean History*, Horden, P. and Kinoshita, S. eds. (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 91-106.

[Greene's paper was referred to for its political analysis of the early modern Mediterranean.]

Guilmartin, John F., 'The Great Sea', *The American Interest*, 7:4 (2012), 114-119.

[Guilmartin's book review was referred to due to its insightful comments and critique of Abulafia's work.]

Gurney, Gene, *Kingdoms of Europe: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Ruling Monarchs from Ancient Times to the Present* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1982).

[This encyclopaedia was useful for checking the dates of the reigns of some monarchs that were encountered in the course of this dissertation.]

Harlaftis, Gelina, 'The 'Eastern Invasion': Greeks in Mediterranean Trade and Shipping in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, Fusaro, M., Heywood, C. and Omri, M.S. eds. (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010), 223-252.

[Harlaftis's essay was referred to due to its discussion of the emergence of the Greek mercantile community in the Mediterranean in the course of the eighteenth century.]

Harris, William V. ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[Harris's edited work features various scholarly contributions on the Mediterranean. The chapters revisit key texts on the concept of the Mediterranean and forward new

standpoints to such theories. It was useful for this dissertation's historiographical discussion.]

Harvey, Karen, 'Introduction: Practical Matters', *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, Harvey, K. ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 1-23.

[In her introduction, Harvey outlines the aims and approaches of the field of material culture studies and suggests ways through which objects can be useful to historical accounts. Her comments and suggestions were formative to how this dissertation engaged with the material culture of Gio' Pio de Piro.]

Harvey, Karen ed., *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).

[Harvey's edited volume contributed to the overall improved understanding of the concept of material culture and prompted a more educated engagement with primary sources.]

Haskell, Francis, *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980).

[Haskell's work was consulted in order to refine the understanding of how artistic patronage was conducted and organised in an early modern setting.]

Heinrich, Adam R., 'Cherubs or Putti? Gravemarkers Demonstrating Conspicuous Consumption and the Rococo Fashion in the Eighteenth Century', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*. 18:1 (2014), 37-64.

[This paper was consulted for its account on the significance of cherubs and *putti* in eighteenth century art.]

Herschenzon, Daniel, 'Towards a connected history of bondage in the Mediterranean: Recent trends in the field', *History Compass*, 15:8 (2017), 1-13.

[This paper was referred to for its historiographical account on slavery in the Mediterranean.]

Herzfeld, Michael, 'Practical Mediterraneanism: Excuses for Everything, from Epistemology to Eating', *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, Harris, W.V. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 45-63.

[Herzfeld's commentary on the Mediterranean construct and its studies, as well as his evaluation of its historiography, was an important critical read for this dissertation.]

Heywood, Colin, 'The English in the Mediterranean, 1600-1630: A Post-Braudelian Perspective on the 'Northern Invasion'', *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, Fusaro, M., Heywood, C. and Omri, M.S. eds. (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010), 23-44.

[This chapter was consulted on account of Heywood's discussion of the 'northern invasion' theory.]

Hollingsworth, Mary, *Patronage in Renaissance Italy: From 1400 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1994).

[Hollingsworth's book informed this dissertation on the motives, scope and realisation of art patronage in the early modern age.]

Horden, Peregrine, 'The Maritime, the Ecological, the Cultural – and the Fig Leaf: Prospects for Medieval Mediterranean Studies', *Can We Talk Mediterranean? Conversations on an Emerging Field in Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Catlos, B.A. and Kinoshita, S. eds. (N.A.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 65-79.

[In this chapter, Horden considers recent developments in the field of Mediterranean studies and critiques several of these new approaches. His comments helped this dissertation analyse other scholarly works on the Mediterranean.]

Horden, Peregrine and Purcell, Nicholas, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Malden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2000).

[Horden and Purcell's work formed part of the key works consulted for this dissertation. Although methodologically and periodically dissimilar from this present work, their interpretation of the Mediterranean was influential on this dissertation's own understanding of the concept.]

Horden, Peregrine and Purcell, Nicholas, 'Four Years of Corruption: A Response to Critics', *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, Harris, W.V. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 348-375.

[In this paper, Horden and Purcell revisit their seminal work and explain why their concept remains relevant. This article was helpful in understanding to a greater degree their rationale.]

Horden, Peregrine and Purcell, Nicholas, 'The Mediterranean and "the New Thalassology"', *The American Historical Review*, 111:3 (2006), 722-740.

[Horden and Purcell write about their approach to the construct of the Mediterranean and explain the nuances of their concept in a more concise manner.]

Horn, Jeff, *Economic Development in Early Modern France: The Privilege of Liberty, 1650-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[Horn's book was consulted for his comments on trade and mercantile activity in southern France, which helped this dissertation understand the position of France in the early modern Mediterranean.]

Huppert, Doreen and Brandt, Thomas, 'Dizziness and vertigo syndromes viewed with a historical eye', *Journal of Neurology*, 265:1 (2018), 127-135.

[This scientific study was referred to for its comments on the history of vertigo.]

Ingrao, Charles W., *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[This book was consulted for its delineation of the circumstances of the Habsburg realm in the first half of the eighteenth century.]

Kalin, Ibrahim, 'Sources of Tolerance and Intolerance in Islam: the case of the people of the Book', *Religions*, (2009), 36-37.

[Kalin's paper clarified the position of Islam to Christians and Jews in the course of the early modern period.]

Kaps, Klemens, 'Small but powerful: networking strategies and the trade business of Habsburg-Italian merchants in Cadiz in the second half of the eighteenth century', *European Review of History*, 23:3 (2016), 427-455.

[In this paper, Kaps explains the type of networks inherent to the Mediterranean region in the later eighteenth century, through which it became possible to compare and contrast the networks of Gio' Pio himself to.]

Laven, Mary, 'Devotional objects', *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, Broomhall, S. ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 156-161.

[Laven's chapter was briefly consulted to understand how and why early modern individuals attached emotions to their religious material culture.]

Lewis, Bernard, *The Middle East: 2000 Years of History from the Rise of Christianity to the Present Day* (London: Phoenix Press, 1995).

[Lewis's book was referred to for its information on the socio-political and economic history of Islamic states in the early modern age.]

Longhitano, Sergio G., 'Between Scylla and Charybdis (part 2): The sedimentary dynamics of the ancient, Early Pleistocene Messina Strait (central Mediterranean) based on its modern analogue', *Earth-Science Reviews*, 179:1 (2018), 248-286.

[Longhitano's explains the physics of the strait of Messina and was consulted for its relation to its ancient mythological adaptation in the form of Scylla and Charbydis.]

Lopez, Robert, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

[In his book, Lopez discusses the commercial revolution of the medieval period and its Mediterranean context, which was helpful in understanding regional commerce.]

Luttrell, Anthony, 'Eighteenth-Century Malta: Prosperity and Problems', *Hyphen*, 3:2 (1982), 37-51.

[Luttrell's paper on eighteenth-century Malta covers socio-political and economic considerations and constituted a contextual source for this dissertation.]

Malkin, Irad, *Myth and territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[Although this book analyses the ancient Mediterranean, Malkin's work was referred to for its discussion of the concept of the Mediterranean.]

Mallia-Milanes, Victor, 'The Maltese Consulate in Venice During the XVIII Century: A Study in the Manner of Appointment of Maltese Consuls Overseas', *Melita Historica*, 5:4 (1971), 321-343.

[Through this paper the role of the Order of St John's consuls was clarified in terms of their roles and the networks they formed part of.]

Mallia-Milanes, Victor, *Venice and Hospitaller Malta, 1530-1798: Aspects of a Relationship* (Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group, 1992).

[In this book, Mallia-Milanes outlines the relationship between the Order of St John and the Republic of Venice and it was consulted for its discussion of the political and economic interests of early modern Venice.]

Mallia-Milanes, Victor, 'Introduction to Hospitaller Malta', *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Mallia-Milanes, V. ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 1-42.

[In this chapter, Mallia-Milanes recounts the history of the Order of St John in Malta and analyses some of its critical phases, his examination of the eighteenth century being of greatest interest.]

Mallia-Milanes, Victor ed., *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem* (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993).

[The scholarly contributions to this edited volume were consulted on several occasions due to their thematic and contextual relevance to this dissertation.]

Mallia-Milanes, Victor, 'Society and the Economy on the Hospitaller Island of Malta: An Overview', *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798*, Buttigieg, E. and Phillips, S. eds. (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013), 239-256.

[In this paper Mallia-Milanes indicates the different ways through which the Order of St John exploited the Maltese Islands' limited resources to their advantage; the account on the export of cotton was of greatest concern to this dissertation.]

Mallia-Milanes, Victor, 'Foreword', *In the Name of the Prince: Maltese Corsairs, 1760-1798*, Gauci, L. (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2016), 6-7.

[In this foreword, Mallia-Milanes explains the historical context of Hospitaller Malta in the eighteenth century from a corsairing standpoint. His views were beneficial to understanding the role of France in the Maltese corsairing tradition.]

Mandler, Peter, 'The Problem with Cultural History', *Cultural and Social History*, 1:1 (2004), 94-117.

[In this paper, Mandler critiques approaches to cultural history and proposes ways through which a more accurate and educated study of past cultures can be formulated. His suggestions were beneficial methodologically.]

Marino, John A., 'The Exile and His Kingdom: The Reception of Braudel's Mediterranean', *The Journal of Modern History*, 76:3 (2004), 622-652.

[Marino's paper was consulted for its analytical account of how Braudel's conceptualisation of the Mediterranean was understood and has developed in academia, following the publication of his seminal work.]

Matar, Nabil, 'The Maghariba and the Sea: Maritime Decline in North Africa in the Early Modern Period', *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, Fusaro, M., Heywood C. and Omri, M.S. eds. (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010), 117-137.

[Matar's chapter constituted an important secondary source on the socio-political and economical standing of the North African provinces in the early modern Mediterranean, as few sources discussing this region could be retrieved.]

Matar, Nabil, 'Christians in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Mashriq', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 47:2 (2014), 177-194.

[In this paper, Matar outlines the development of Christian minorities in Ottoman-held territories in the eighteenth century, which was helpful in understanding how Eastern Christians were received in Malta and by Gio' Pio de Piro himself.]

Mathiex, Jean, 'The Mediterranean', *The New Cambridge Modern History Vol. 6: The Rise of Great Britain and Russia*, Bromley, J.S. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 540-571.

[In his chapter, Mathiex outlines the general history of the early modern Mediterranean. It was primarily referred to for its discussion of trade in the region.]

Matvejević, Predrag, *Mediterranean: A Cultural Landscape* [transl. Heim, M.H.] (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1999).

[In this book, Matvejević expresses his personal experience and understanding of the Mediterranean alongside striking photography. Although not a work of history, it was relevant to this dissertation due to his distinctive idea of what the Mediterranean is.]

McCluskey, Philip, 'Commerce before Crusade? France, the Ottoman Empire and the Barbary Pirates (1661-1669)', *French History*, 23:1 (2008), 1-21.

[McCluskey's paper was referred to as it discusses the relationship between France and the Ottoman Empire from a politico-economic standpoint.]

McKee, Sally, 'Domestic Slavery in Renaissance Italy', *Slavery and Abolition*, 29:3 (2008), 305-326.

[Although McKee's paper discusses the Renaissance period, she makes insightful comments on the historiography of slavery and explains why Mediterranean slavery was distinct from that of the Atlantic.]

Mercieca, Simon, 'Commerce in Eighteenth-Century Malta: the Story of the Prepaud Family', *Consolati di Mare and Chambers of Commerce: Proceedings of a Conference held at the Foundation for International Studies*, Vassallo, C. ed. (Valletta: Malta University Press, 2000), 185-197.

[Mercieca's conference proceedings were consulted due to the thematic similarity with this dissertation. The subject matter provided this research with an alternative, foreign outlook on trade in eighteenth-century Malta.]

Mercieca, Simon, 'The Possession of Titles and Forms of Address in Early Modern Malta', *Humanitas: Journal of the Faculty of Arts*, 2 (2003), 41-59.

[In this paper Mercieca accounts for the development and expansion of the nobility during Malta's early modern age. The comments were helpful in placing Gio' Pio de Piro in a local context.]

Mondadori, Bruno, *Schiavitù mediterranee: Corsari, rinnegati e santi di età moderna* (Milan: Pearson Paravia Bruno Mondadori, 2009).

[Mondadori's book was a key secondary source on slavery in the Mediterranean. It was referred to particularly because of its exclusive focus on Mediterranean slavery and the analysis on the peculiarity of the latter.]

Montalto, John, *The Nobles of Malta 1530-1800* (Malta: Midsea Books, 1979).

[Montalto traces the growth and establishment of the nobility in Malta in this book. It was chiefly consulted for its information on the career and life of Gio' Pio de Piro.]

Morphy, Howard, 'Art as Action, Art as Evidence', *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M.C. eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 265-290.

[In this philosophical account on art, Morphy explores the ways in which art can induce or become an experience for human beings. It was a crucial source for understanding the ways in which art generates meanings amongst individuals.]

Muir, Edward, 'Introduction: Observing Trifles', *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, Muir, E. and Ruggiero, G. eds. (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), vii-xxvii.

[In this chapter, Muir explores the field of microhistory and explains how it operates and relates to historical practice. This essay's discussion of the position of microhistory vis-à-vis *longue durée* history was of great interest to this dissertation.]

Mulazimoglu Erkal, Melis, 'The Cultural History of the Corset and Gendered Body in Social and Literary Landscapes', *European Journal of Language and Literature Studies*, 3:3 (2017), 109-118.

[This essay was briefly consulted for a historical account on how the corset has been interpreted and how engagement with the garment has changed over time.]

Murphey, Rhoads, 'Conditions of Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: An Appraisal of Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Documents from Aleppo', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 33:1 (1990), 35-50.

[Murphy's paper was useful to this dissertation due to its study on trade and the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire.]

Norton, Claire, 'Introduction', *Conversion and Islam in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Lure of the Other*, Norton, C. ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 1-6.

[In this introductory chapter, Norton explains the rationale behind early modern religious conversions and throws light on how such crossings of religious divides were received by society.]

Norwich, John Julius, *The Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean* (London: Vintage Books, 2006).

[Norwich's seminal work was referred to by this dissertation for its political history of the Mediterranean region.]

O'Connell, Monique and Dursteler, Eric R., 'Introduction: The Idea of the Mediterranean', *The Mediterranean World: From the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Napoleon*, O'Connell, M. and Dursteler, E.R. eds. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), 1-11.

[This introductory chapter was consulted for the historiography of the Mediterranean and for its critical evaluation of the chief contributions to Mediterranean studies.]

Oldie-Bernez, Marie, 'Comfort, the Acceptable Face of Luxury: An Eighteenth-Century Cultural Etymology', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 14:2 (2014), 3-21.

[This paper was referred to for its insightful comments on the cultural aspect of trade in luxury items.]

Outram, Dorinda, *The Enlightenment* [third edition] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[Outram discusses Atlantic slavery and makes perceptive comments on the issue of race and how it developed in a colonial context. This was helpful in distinguishing the Atlantic from Mediterranean slavery.]

Owen Hughes, Diane, 'Representing the Family: Portraits and Purposes in Early Modern Italy', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17:1 (1986), 7-38.

[Owen Hughes's paper was consulted for its analysis of the custom of dowries in the early modern societies in the Italian peninsula.]

Pagratis, Gerassimos D., 'Shipping enterprise in the eighteenth century: the case of the Greek subjects of Venice', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 25:1 (2010), 67-81.

[In this paper, Pagratis explores the rise of Greek mercantile shipping in the eighteenth century and discusses this phenomenon within a wider regional context. This was thematic to this dissertation.]

Panzac, Daniel, 'International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire During the 18th Century', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 24:1 (1992), 189-206.

[In this paper, Panzac explores the Ottoman Empire in terms of regional and international levels of trade, which was helpful in understanding the position of the Ottoman Empire in the Mediterranean.]

Pennell, Sara, 'Mundane materiality, or, should small things still be forgotten? Material culture, micro-histories and the problem of scale', *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, Harvey, K. ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 173-191.

[In this chapter Pennell explores the problems arising when studying the relationship between consumption and material culture. Her comments on using objects as sources for historical study were formative on this dissertation's approach to material culture.]

Phillips, Simon, 'The Hospitallers and Concepts of Island Existence', *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798*, Buttigieg, E. and Philips, S. eds. (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 11-18.

[In this brief essay Phillips comments on islands vis-à-vis connectivity, as experienced in history, which is thematic to this dissertation's own research question.]

Prown, Jules David, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

[In this book Prown introduces the notion of art studied as material culture and explains how meanings became attached to artwork over time. This was helpful in analysing the artwork of Gio' Pio.]

Purcell, Nicholas, 'The Boundless Sea of Unlikeness? On Defining the Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 18:2 (2003), 9-29.

[In this paper, Purcell identifies ways through which one may define the Mediterranean. His comment that the Mediterranean has no core identity was influential to this dissertation.]

Rahn Phillips, Carla, 'The growth and composition of trade in the Iberian empires, 1450-1750', *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-distance trade in the early modern world, 1350-1750*, Tracy, J.D. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 34-101.

[In this chapter the author explains how a global system linked by trade emerged in the course of the early modern period. This notion was reflected in the findings of this dissertation.]

Riello, Giorgio, ''Things Seen and Unseen': The material culture of early modern inventories and their representation of domestic interiors', *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800*, Findlen, P. ed. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013), 125-150.

[Riello discusses the ability to extract information on material culture through the use of inventories. In this chapter, he also outlines the difficulties and hurdles one may face when studying such inventories. These latter points guided this dissertation in the examination of the dowry and inventory of Gio' Pio de Piro and his family.]

Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The Knights of St John In Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310: The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus* (London: Macmillan, 1967).

[Riley-Smith's work was briefly consulted for matters concerning the Order of St John.]

Roche, Daniel, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[Roche's seminal work on the cultural aspects of clothing was referred to in order to research the styles and garments in fashion in the courts of the eighteenth century.]

Roche, Daniel, 'Popular Dress', *Fashion: Critical and Primary Sources, Volume 2: The Eighteenth Century*, McNeil, P. ed. (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2009), 68-97.

[In this paper, Roche outlines the shortcomings that crop up when examining the material culture of dress through inventories. His comments were applied to this dissertation's analysis of items of clothing listed in the analysed dowry.]

Scarisbrick, Diana, 'Forever Adamant: a Renaissance Diamond Ring', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 40:1 (1982), 57-64.

[This paper was briefly referred to for information on the styles popular in early modern jewellery.]

Sciberras, Keith, *Baroque Painting in Malta* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2009).

[Sciberras's work introduced this dissertation to the painting traditions of seventeenth and eighteenth century Malta and was a point of reference for Maltese painters encountered in the course of research.]

Sciberras, Keith, *Roman Baroque Sculpture for the Knights of Malta* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2012).

[Sciberras's book was consulted for its overview of the artistic movements of early modern Malta. Sciberras also explains how art was transported to the islands, which was helpful in understanding the procedure Gio' Pio's commission underwent.]

Smith, Roger, 'The Swiss Connection: International Networks in Some Eighteenth-Century Luxury Trades', *Journal of Design History*, 17:2 (2004), 123-139.

[In this paper Smith outlines how Swiss craftsmen were able to export luxury items to international markets in the eighteenth century. It was consulted for an indication of how networks functioned in mainland Europe during this period.]

Steele, Valerie, *The Cultural History of the Corset* (New York: Yale University Press, 2001).

[Steele's work was briefly consulted for its discussion of the changing cultural perceptions of the corset during certain historical periods.]

Sweet, Rosemary, *Cities and the Grand Tour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[Sweet's book was referred to for an understanding of how the Grand Tour was organised, which cities were visited and under what purpose.]

Thomson, James K.J., 'Explaining the 'take-off' of the Catalan cotton industry', *The Economic History Review*, 58:4 (2005), 701-735.

[In this paper Thomson explains the reasons why the Catalan industry operated with such success during the eighteenth century. This essay provides an alternative view to the nature of trade conducted in the eighteenth-century Mediterranean.]

Toledano, Ehud R., *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1998).

[From this book, this dissertation understood how Islam viewed and engaged with slavery during the early modern age.]

Tracy, James D., 'Introduction', *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-distance trade in the early modern world, 1350-1750*, Tracy, J.D. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1-13.

[Tracy's introductory chapter was consulted for its discussion of trade networks and on long-distance trade of the early modern age.]

Trentmann, Frank, *Empire of Things: How We Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-first* (London: Penguin Random House, 2016).

[Trentmann explains the origin of consumerism and traces its development from the early modern age down to contemporary times. The author's analysis of the case

study of Chinese porcelain was helpful in understanding how connectivity and trade can transform an exotic commodity into a mundane object.]

Trivellato, Francesca, 'Amphibious Power: The Law of Wreck, Maritime Customs and Sovereignty in Richelieu's France', *Law and History Review*, 33:4 (2015), 915-944.

[Trivellato discusses the maritime-legal framework of seventeenth-century France in this paper. It was consulted in order to compare these legal bodies to local examples.]

Turley, David, *Slavery* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

[Turley's book studies different forms of slavery at different historical periods. It was consulted for its account on Mediterranean slavery.]

Van Cleave, Kendra and Welborn, Brooke, ''Very Much the Taste and Various are the Makes': Reconsidering the Late-Eighteenth-Century Robe à la Polonaise', *Dress*, 39:1 (2013), 1-24.

[This paper was referred to for its description of fabrics in style during the early modern period.]

Vassallo, Carmel, 'The Consular Network of XVIII Century Malta', *Proceedings of History Week*, 1994, 52-61.

[Vassallo outlines the forces behind the expansion of the consular network established by the Order of St John and places this within a context of the broader Mediterranean, which was helpful in understanding how this network functioned.]

Vassallo, Carmel, *Corsairing to Commerce: Maltese Merchants in XVIII Century Spain* (Malta: Malta University Publishers, 1997).

[In this study, Vassallo traces the networks Maltese merchants established in Spain in the eighteenth-century. It was thematic to this dissertation's discussion of trade and

connectivity, and it was also informative on what commodities were exchanged between these two places.]

Vassallo, Carmel, 'Commercial Relations between Hospitaller Malta and Sicily and Southern Italy in the mid-eighteenth century', *Convegno Internazionale di Studi su Rapporti Diplomatici e Scambi Commerciali nel Mediterraneo Moderno*, Mafrici, N. ed. (Fisciano: Rubbettino, 2002), 445-459.

[The subject matter of Vassallo's paper shares this dissertation's timeframe and area of investigation. Much of the findings of this paper were corroborated by the research carried out by this dissertation.]

Vella, Charlene, *The Mediterranean Artistic Context of Late Medieval Malta, 1091-1530* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2013).

[Vella's work on the late medieval art of Malta was consulted in order to perceive the connection between Malta and Sicily from an art historical standpoint.]

Vlami, Despina and Mandouvalos, Ikaros, 'Entrepreneurial forms and processes inside a multiethnic pre-capitalist environment: Greek and British enterprises in the Levant (1740s-1820s)', *Business History*, 55:1 (2013), 98-118.

[This paper presents a thorough account on the increasing involvement of Greek and British merchants in the Ottoman markets in the course of the eighteenth century.]

Walker, Timothy, 'Medicinal Mercury in Early Modern Portuguese Records: Recipes and Methods from Eighteenth-Century Medical Guidebooks', *Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Asienkunde, Asiatische Studien*, 69:4 (2015), 1017-1042.

[In this paper, Walker traces the usage of mercury in early modern Portuguese medicine. The recipes published in this paper corroborate the medicine encountered in this dissertation.]

Weatherill, Lorna, 'Consumer Behaviour, Textiles and Dress in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Fashion: Critical and Primary Sources, Volume 2: The Eighteenth Century*, McNeil, P. ed. (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2009), 159-175.

[In this paper, Weatherill explores the material culture of clothing and its ability to impart knowledge on culture. Her comments were helpful when the dowry consulted for this dissertation was analysed.]

Wettinger, Godfrey, 'Agriculture in Malta in the Late Middle Ages', *Proceedings of History Week*, Buhagiar, M. ed. (Malta: The Historical Society, 1981), 1-48.

[Wettinger's study on late medieval agriculture in Malta was referred to for an overview of how the cultivation of farmland in Malta developed historically.]

Wettinger, Godfrey, *Place-names of the Maltese Islands: ca. 1300-1800* (Malta: PEG, 2000).

[This work was consulted for information on place-names encountered in the course of this research.]

Wettinger, Godfrey, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo, c.1000-1812* (Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group, 2002).

[Wettinger traces the history of slavery in Malta and writes about the circumstances of slavery during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which was of utmost interest to this dissertation.]

Williams, Ann, 'Constitutional Development of the Order of St John, 1530-1798', *Hospitaller Malta, 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, Mallia-Milanes, V. ed. (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 285-296.

[Williams's chapter was briefly consulted for its writing on the langues of the Order of St John.]

Woolf, Stuart, *A History of Italy, 1700-1860: The Social Constraints of Political Change* (London and New York: Methuen, 1979).

[This political history of the Italian peninsula was referred to for context on the Italian peninsula during the first half of the eighteenth century.]

Yonan, Michael, 'Toward a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies', *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture*, 18:2 (2011), 232-248.

[This article contributed to this dissertation's understanding of how art can be studied from a standpoint of material culture.]

Zeno, Riniero, *Il Consolato di Mare di Malta* (Naples: Associazione di Diritto Marittimo, 1936).

[Zeno's work was consulted for information on the legislative composition of the Consolato del Mare di Malta.]

Zucca Micheletto, Beatrice, 'Reconsidering the southern Europe model: Dowry, women's work and marriage patterns in pre-industrial urban Italy (Turin, second half of the 18th century)', *The History of the Family*, 16:4 (2011), 354-370.

[This paper was one of the key readings consulted on dowries and the position of women in Europe during the eighteenth century.]

Zwierlein, Cornel, 'Gegenwartshorizonte im Mittelalter: Der Nachrichtenbrief vom Pergament- zum Papierzeitalter', *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, 12:1 (2010), 3-60.

[In this paper, Zwierlein outlines the development of news communication service during the medieval period. It offers intriguing insights into how connectivity was maintained in Europe through letters.]

Dissertations

Bonnici, Alfred, 'The Postal System of the Order of St. John 1530-1798', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2011.

[In this dissertation, Bonnici explores the postal system of the Order of St John and its organisation. It was a useful source for understanding how mail was sent from and reached Malta, and which elements affected the network the most.]

Camilleri, Marica, 'The Historical Development of the Hospitaller Commandery of San Giovanni di Monopoli', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2007.

[Camilleri's dissertation was briefly consulted for background knowledge on the commandery of Monopoli, which was encountered in the course of research.]

Caruana, Iona, 'Aspects of Marriage in the Maltese Islands in the second half of the sixteenth century (c.1560-1580)', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2014.

[This dissertation was referred to for its study on marriages and dowries in the Maltese sixteenth-century context.]

Caruana Galizia, Anton, 'The Rise of the de Piro: Family Strategies, Social Networks and Noble Status in Eighteenth-Century Malta', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Oxford, 2011b.

[Caruana Galizia's doctoral dissertation explores the varied nature of Gio' Pio's career and his resolve to establish his family in Sicily. It was one of the first secondary sources consulted on Gio' Pio and was a guiding source for this research.]

Galea, Stefan, 'The Eastern Catholic Churches: A Historical and Local Perspective', unpublished dissertation for the Degree of Licentiate in Sacred Theology, Faculty of Theology, University of Malta, 2011.

[This dissertation was a useful source for understanding the Eastern rite of Christianity from a theological perspective and for its introduction and evolution in Malta.]

Grech, Ivan, 'Hospitaller Malta's Communication System with the Mediterranean World in the Early Seventeenth Century', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Malta, Department of History, 2016.

[This dissertation explores the communication system set up by the Order of St John and provides insight on how the different outposts were interlinked. This is the same system Gio' Pio made use of.]

Iachini, Sara, 'Gio Pio de Piro: Un Nobile Mercante Maltese', unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 2000.

[Iachini's dissertation constituted another key source on Gio' Pio. Her work was consulted for general information about Gio' Pio, his family and life, and it was used as a guide to the Archivum de Piro.]

Meli, Christina, 'From the Eternal City to Malta: The Roman Baroque Imprint on the Regional Late Baroque Sculpture of Pietro Paolo Zahra', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of Art and Art History, University of Malta, 2017.

[Meli's dissertation constituted an important source for the understanding of the general artistic context within which Gio' Pio lived and commissioned works of art in. Her discussion of the link with Sicily was of particular interest.]

Mercieca, Simon, 'Aspects of the Office of the Receiver of the Hospitaller Order of St John', unpublished B.A. (Honours) dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 1991.

[This dissertation was briefly consulted for definitions of terms relating to Hospitaller wills.]

Mercieca, Simon, 'Aspects of the Hospitaller Commandery 1631-1798', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 1993.

[Mercieca's dissertation was referred to for definitions on key terms relating to the Order of St John and its commanderies.]

Mizzi, Kristina 'Aspects on the Evolution of Maritime Law in Malta from the Consolato del Mare di Malta (1697) to the Commercial Code (1857)', unpublished LL.D. dissertation, Faculty of Laws, University of Malta, 2016.

[Mizzi's dissertation proved useful in understanding the laws of the Consolato del Mare di Malta.]

Spiteri, Mariestelle, 'The Church of All Souls (Tal-Erwieħ), Valletta: history, architecture and works of art', unpublished B.A. (Honours) dissertation, Department of History of Art, University of Malta, 2010.

[This art historical evaluation of the Greek-rite Church of All Souls provided useful information on the church Gio' Pio was involved with.]

Spiteri, Tonio, 'The functions and responsibilities of notaries public', unpublished LL.D dissertation, Faculty of Laws, Royal University of Malta, 1973.

[This dissertation was briefly consulted for its information on notaries and their restrictions regarding maritime contracts.]

Vassallo, Anthony M., 'Prices of Commodities in Malta and Gozo 1530-1630', unpublished B.A. (Honours) dissertation, Department of History, The Royal University of Malta, 1976.

[Vassallo's dissertation was consulted for its information on the currency in use in early modern Malta.]

Vella, Charlene, 'The Notary Public in Malta from the Vilhena Code of 1723 to Ordinance V of 1855', unpublished LL.D. dissertation, Faculty of Laws, University of Malta, 2006.

[This dissertation was briefly consulted for its information on notarial practice during the early modern period.]

Vella, Sebastian, 'The Consolato del Mare of Malta: A Study of an Institution (1697-1725)', unpublished B.A. (Honours) dissertation, Department of History, University of Malta, 1998.

[In his dissertation, Vella studies the framework of the Consolato del Mare. His work was referred to due to his description of its structure and his definitions of key terms associated with the maritime-legal environment.]

Vella, Theresa M., 'The Painting of the Order of St John in Malta: Hospitaller Art Collections and Patronage from the late Fifteenth Century to the Eighteenth Century', unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of History of Art, University of Bristol, 2012.

[Vella's dissertation was referred to for its art historical considerations on the artistic patronage of the Order of St John. It was used as a contextual source within which the art commissions of Gio' Pio were analysed.]

Electronically-retrieved information

Cactus 2000, https://latin.cactus2000.de/index.en.php [15 June 2019].

[This website was used to check the conjugation and definition of verbs in Latin.]

Casa Rocca Piccola, https://www.casaroccapiccola.com/the-de-piro-family/ [15 June 2019].

[This website was occasionally referred to for its brief historical summary of the de Piro family throughout the ages.]

Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/science/antimony [11 January 2019].

[This online encyclopaedia was consulted for definitions and explanations of complex terms.]

Moustiers-Sainte-Marie, https://www.moustiers.fr/en/history-ceramics [23 June 2019].

[This website was briefly referred to on the town's history of ceramics, due to the unavailability of scholarly work on the topics.]

N.A., 'Before race mattered: what archives tell us about early encounters in the French colonies', *University of Cambridge*, 16 November 2016, https://www.cam.ac.uk/research/features/before-race-mattered-what-archives-tell-us-about-early-encounters-in-the-french-colonies [14 June 2019].

[In this brief article, the historian Lamotte is interviewed on her research on Atlantic slavery and makes insightful comments on the development of racial discourse.]

N.A., 'Our Lady of Light', *University of Dayton*, https://udayton.edu/imri/mary/o/our-lady-of-light.php [4 February 2019].

[This article outlines the origin of the cult of the Our Lady of Light and explains how its devotion spread.]

Perseus Latin Word Study Tool, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?lang=la [15 June 2019].

[This online Latin dictionary was referred to in order to check the meaning of words encountered in the primary sources of this research.]

Quddies, https://www.quddies.com.mt [15 June 2019].

[This webpage was referred to for the names of churches and chapels in Malta.]

Spindler, Ellen, 'The Story of Cinnabar and Vermilion (HgS) at The Met', *The Met*, 28 February 2018, https://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/collection-insights/2018/cinnabar-vermilion [11 January 2019].

[Spindler's online article provided useful information on the various uses of cinnabar in history.]

The Oxford English Dictionary, www.oed.com [15 June 2019].

[This online dictionary was continually referred to for definitions of key terms and to look up the etymology of words.]

Treccani, http://www.treccani.it [15 June 2019].

[This online Italian dictionary-vocabulary was consulted for the definitions of key words.]

Virtual Hill Museum Manuscript Library, https://www.vhmml.org/ [15 June 2019].

[The majority of the research from the Archivum de Piro was carried out through this online repository of manuscripts. It provided a user-friendly interface that allowed manuscripts to be read easily and made research more flexible and accessible.]

Zeemaps, https://www.zeemaps.com/ [15 June 2019].

[This website was utilised to create custom maps which identified spots frequented by Gio' Pio de Piro and his agents.]

Index of Names